
Radio and the Art of Resistance: a public pedagogy of the airwaves

ANTONIA DARDER

*Educational Policy Studies, College of Education,
University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, USA*

ABSTRACT The politics of the airwaves should be of vital concern to critical democracy, given the expanding realm of neoliberalism and its deeply homogenizing impact on social, political and economic relations everywhere. In light of the privatizing forces that control the media today, the article considers the manner in which community radio can provide public pedagogical spaces for often marginalized community voices to challenge the official public transcript of social life dictated, more times than not, by the powerful and wealthy leaders who shape public discourse. Here independent radio production is discussed as an important tool for building community relationships and as a viable alternative for supporting civic participation and critical forms of public engagement.

The time has come for educators to develop more engaged systematic political projects in which power, history, and social movements can play an active role in constructing the multiple and shifting political relations and cultural practices necessary for connecting the construction of diverse political constituencies to the revitalization of democratic public life. (Henry Giroux, 2003, p. 13)

The revitalization of public democratic life, as articulated in these words by Henry Giroux, speaks to the heart of all critical pedagogical efforts within and outside classroom life. In contrast, it is through both the silencing and the dismantling of democratic participatory rights that we are rendered most vulnerable to the destructive impact of neoliberal forces in the world today. At a time when public mainstream discourse touts its self-congratulatory 'post-racial' declarations, the policies and practices of the State continue to harshly impact the lives of poor African Americans and Latinos, as well as other working-class people in the United States and abroad. Moreover, their disempowering impact within the public sphere is particularly felt among those who can find little relief from the poverty, surveillance, and injustice that thwart their community participation.

In Champaign-Urbana, the twin-city Midwest university town where I live and teach, community participation is further complicated by the rhetoric of corporate interests which effectively shrouds the neoliberal objectives of small university town governance. Within this context, calls for institutional change and municipal reform must be made by community residents who depend on nomadic, albeit progressive, student and faculty participation. This aspect unfortunately serves as a double-edged sword, in that there is a transient quality to public life and the body politic of this Midwest community. Such a politically unstable context requires creative pedagogical interventions by those who will eventually move on, in concert with those who call these twin cities home. In an effort to support the tenuous nature of community relationships within the confines of a neoliberal university agenda, public pedagogical projects can serve as alternative venues for supporting civic participation and a critical form of public engagement.

Critical public interventions are of particular importance within an increasingly conservative culture of scholarship, where neoliberal interests are neatly concealed within an academic rhetoric

that furiously prioritizes global concerns over the needs of local communities. This is the case, particularly, in the current climate of 'economic decline', where university 'shock doctrine' solutions conveniently signal retrenchment among administrators, faculty, and students through institutional reliance on 'color blind' neoliberal policies that effectively reinforce traditional structures of privilege and power.

The Media in the Age of Neoliberalism

Understood as one of neoliberalism rather than simply globalization, the current era seems less the result of uncontrollable natural forces and more as the newest stage of class struggle under capitalism. (McChesney, 2001)

It is impossible to speak of the media in the age of neoliberalism without engaging its power to exercise a homogenizing impact on social, political and economic relations at a global level. McChesney insists that *neoliberalism* is a more accurate explanatory term from which to discuss the overwhelming control of the corporate sector over the public sphere. From this standpoint, 'governments are to remain large so as to better serve the corporate interests, while minimizing any activities that might undermine the rule of business and the wealthy ... The centerpiece of neoliberal policies is invariably a call for commercial media and communications markets to deregulate' (<http://www.monthlyreview.org/301rwm.htm>). Moreover, given its privatizing propensity, ownership of the airwaves has become consolidated among a few corporate giants, including General Electric, Time Warner, Univision Communication, and Viacom, who now monopolize the ideological architecture and design of US radio programming.[1]

This power over the airwaves was consolidated following the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which was the first major reform in the telecommunications law since the act of 1934. Supposedly, the law was to create greater access to the communications industry by fostering increased market competition for the airwaves. But in reality, the act radically restructured regulations in such a way as to intensify the market's rule, rather than benefit consumers, as its proponents claimed. As large corporations fought behind the scenes over the wording of the act, citizen consumers were left completely out of the picture, the majority unaware of the corporatized politics that threaten the democracy of telecommunications in this country. So, although it is true that the Telecommunications Act indeed required a radical overhaul given the dramatic changes in digital technology since 1934, McChesney (1998) argues that the result of the Act of 1996 was a complete disaster.

The results of the Telecommunications Act, with its relaxation of ownership restrictions to promote competition across sectors, have been little short of disastrous. Rather than produce competition, a far-fetched notion in view of the concentrated nature of these markets, the law has paved the way for the greatest period of corporate concentration in US media and communication history. The seven Baby Bells are now four - if the SBC Communications purchase of Ameritech goes through - with more deals on the way. In radio, where ownership restrictions were relaxed the most, the entire industry has been in upheaval, with 4,000 of the 11,000 commercial stations being sold since 1996. In the 50 largest markets, three firms now control access to over half the radio audience. In 23 of those 50 markets, the three largest firms control 80 percent of the radio audience. The irony is that radio, which is relatively inexpensive and thus ideally suited to local independent control, has become perhaps the most concentrated and centralized medium in the United States.
(<http://bostonreview.net/BR23.3/mcchesney.html>)

In line with this unprecedented corporate control of the airwaves, radio, in conjunction with other media outlets, delivers the hidden curriculum of a de facto neoliberal public pedagogy - one that, Giroux (2004a) contends, 'has become thoroughly reactionary as it constructs knowledge, values, and identities through a variety of educational sites and forms of pedagogical address that have largely become the handmaidens of corporate power, religious fundamentalism, and neo-conservative ideology' (p. 497). Hence, in contrast to the old belief that the media should function as a neutral sphere in which different ideas and perspectives can be engaged and interrogated within a democratic context, the mainstream media now, more than ever, is a powerful hegemonic

tool that functions in the overriding justification and legitimation of societal inequalities, political exclusions, and environmental demise.

Thus, efforts to counter the pervasiveness of oppression – whether tied to racism, class and gendered inequalities, or stifling homophobic representations – must contend with neoliberal distortions that create confusion and contradictions among even well-meaning people. In the homogenizing script of neoliberal existence, bootstrap accountability returns as a central value of the ‘good society’. Therefore, the stories that move across the mainstream airwaves embrace again notions of self-reliance and self-made individualism. Accordingly, a ‘rugged individualism’ is venerated, and social action, outside the marketplace or neoliberal dictates, is deemed either suspect or the product of the weak and whining.

Moreover, Giroux (2004b), in *Dissident Voice*, condemns neoliberal ideology for its dehistoricizing and depoliticizing of society, as well as ‘its aggressive attempts to destroy all of the public spheres necessary for the defense of a genuine democracy, neoliberalism reproduces the conditions for unleashing the most brutalizing forces of capitalism. Social Darwinism has been resurrected from the ashes of the 19th century sweatshops and can now be seen in full bloom.’ As such, neoliberal sensibilities turn a blind eye to the suffering of the oppressed through a systematic denial of their dehumanizing propensities – propensities that privilege profit and material gain over even the essential human needs of the most vulnerable. The stories of the disenfranchised are systematically silenced and maligned, while their truths are relegated to the political waste basket of corporate dominion. This consistent denial or marginalization of stories that unveil injustice prevents any possibility of truly becoming a democratic society, in that the strength, knowledge, and wisdom of those subjugated are rendered unavailable or nonexistent. This further prevents the genuine integration of disenfranchised populations into the decision-making life of the community. Instead, neoliberalism leaves us all at the mercy of the marketplace, restricting the nature of our very existence, as it unmercifully seeks to shrink and contort our definitions of self and humanity.

In response to the limiting neoliberal priorities of both public universities and municipalities, many communities have begun to explore the use of community radio, in an effort to both counter the silences and revitalize solidarity across cultural, class, gendered, and sexual differences. Early proponents of the use of community radio include the founders of Pacifica in California, which later merged with KPFK, one of the strongest public radio stations in the western United States.[2] KPFK has been a leader in the use of the airwaves as public pedagogy, regularly airing programming produced by David Barsamian [3] of *Alternative Radio* and Amy Goodman and Juan Gonzalez of *Democracy Now!* KBOO community radio in Portland, Oregon has been broadcasting to diverse communities for over forty years.[4] In a city that is predominantly white, the station focuses its programming *by and for* marginalized communities in the area. Since 1979, WMNF has brought alternative music, arts, and public affairs programming to the region.[5]

Independent Media Centers around the country have also played an important role in championing more democratic access and control for media resources, including the establishment of low-wave radio stations to serve their local and surrounding communities. One excellent example is the work of the Grand Rapids Community Media Consortium [6] which, for over 25 years, has maintained technology tools and created media services and community venues to benefit the larger community. Here in the Midwest – just as with the Zapatistas’ ‘Voice of the Voiceless’ and other community-based radio projects around the world – the use of alternative media has shown the potential to enhance communication and social action among disenfranchised communities. WRFU [7], a project of Champaign-Urbana Independent Media Center [8], has been an important resource for the airing of alternative voices.

An important thread that weaves through the mission of most community radio stations is an emphasis on critical engagement with controversial, neglected, and non-mainstream perspectives, as well as an expressed commitment to social justice and democratic life. No doubt that without community stations such as these, the airwaves would remain completely in the hands of corporate media moguls, eliminating the possibility for alternative programming and dissenting views. Moreover, in light of the growing international consolidation of control over the media, community radio creates an important political space where hegemonic belief systems can be challenged and alternative views can be mobilized for social action. In his writings about community radio in South Africa, Eronini R. Megwa (2007) asserts:

Community radio gives listeners a sense of community and identity and creates action space for people to have both direct and indirect link with community power structures as well as to have access to resources. Community radio is an integral part of the community in which it is located. It is acceptable to the community as a development tool. Community radio can mobilize communities to act as change agents by engaging groups and organizations to direct their resources in order to actualize strategies at individual, group, and organizational levels. (p. 53)

Community Radio as Public Pedagogy

I attended to the public pedagogy of the free radio airwaves. Between belting out oldies lyrics along with the station disc jockeys who populate the dial, I listened to National Public Radio in its various forms across two time zones. Within one 13-hour jaunt, I learned four lessons that make me a modern American:

Lesson One: Consume above all else, consume,
Lesson Two: Believe experts,
Lesson Three: Romanticize the past, and
Lesson four: Civic life is boring. (Shannon, 2007)[9]

In 1941, twenty years after the first radio news program was aired, George V. Denny, executive director of the League for Political Education, enthusiastically declared that *radio builds democracy*. As a device designed to attract attention and stimulate interest in social and political problems, radio, he surmised, could function as an effective medium of public instruction within a democratic society. Hence, the interrogation of radio as a public sphere for democratic participation has a long history within the educational field. However, initial perspectives were generally grounded upon a modernist assumption that a 'neutral' discourse, which presented a variety of sides, was in the best interests of genuine democracy.

Peter G. Mwesige (2009), who studied the promise and limits of radio programming in Uganda, strongly disagrees with any view that essentializes radio as a democratizing public sphere. He argues instead that

radio also appears to peddle misinformation and distortions; to invite adulterated debate that excites and inflames rather than informs; to give the public the illusion of influence; and, arguably, to lead to political inertia. At the group level, talk radio may have created an illusion of competition to the extent that it provided voice to oppositional political groups that were otherwise not fully free to participate in the political process. What we have, then, is an imperfect public sphere – but a sort of public sphere nonetheless. (p. 221)

Similarly, critical education theorists (Freire, 1993; Kellner, 1995; McLaren, 1997; Apple, 2004; Giroux, 2004a) have indeed shattered the assumption of neutrality attached to public media production. Instead, they unveil the hidden curriculum of wealth and power, embedded in discourses of neutrality and meritorious solutions thought to 'naturally' arise from the 'fair airing' of all sides. In concert, the four lessons garnered by Patrick Shannon during his 13 hours of 'free' radio listening shed light not only on the overwhelming adherence of radio to values that bolster neoliberal society, but also on the deceptive manner in which the notion of neutrality operates amidst the public airwaves. And, despite claims that listeners are not passive agents, constant repetition of embedded values appears to erode the human agency of unsuspecting audiences, while simultaneously conditioning and priming the mind (Croteau & Hoynes, 1994, 2002), as Shannon notes, to equate consumption with freedom; to believe in the power of experts over one's own knowledge; to objectify the past as romantic ideal; and to readily abdicate our right to civic participation in search of pleasure and entertainment. In the midst of convoluted discourses that legitimize and perpetuate the interests of the powerful and wealthy, critical educators and community activists are challenged to establish spaces for counter-hegemonic dialogue and alternative public engagement. This entails the development of a critical public pedagogy in which social agency is nurtured and critical faculties of political discernment are activated and stretched, in the interest of social justice and public democratic life.

With this intent, the *Liberacion!* [10] radio collective was established in 2005 as a means to apply critical academic knowledge to the practice of a public pedagogy within the public sphere of radio programming. Critical public pedagogy is defined here as a deliberate and sustained effort to speak through a critical lens of society in such a way as to inform (and transform) mainstream public discourses and community political practices, in the interest of the disenfranchised. This is of particular significance, as previously noted, within the contemporary neoliberal context in which we struggle to live and resist the market forces of privatization and 'accountability' that are ever encroaching upon our daily lives. More specifically, the work here points to a political process within the public life of a small rural university town in the Midwest – a context in which the power of conservative ideologies pushes forcefully against the forces of difference – forces which call for systematic and structural institutional change, predicated upon the politics of social justice, human rights, and economic democracy.

Nowhere is the battle to control the minds and hearts of the populace as contentious and strained as it is within small rural communities, where notions of 'tradition' and 'insider' entitlement are given free rein over political and cultural forces that seek social inclusion within the fabric of democratic life. More specifically, this means that forces for democratic inclusion must engage within a community context where neoliberal values and the rhetoric of impending economic collapse now offer respite from the 'bothersome' politics of diversity. Within this deeply entrenched conservative public arena, community radio plays a significant role in countering the official transcript of 'whiteness', privilege, and conserving ideals of tradition, so blindly embedded in the dominant relationships and discourses of both the university and the larger municipal landscape.

It is precisely in the midst of such a politic that critically engaged radio pedagogy, with an eye toward participation within the public sphere, has been forged. This entails a pedagogical process that makes central the significance of public life and recognizes the importance of creating alternative venues for democratic participation, especially for those who have been historically silenced and relegated to the margins of municipal existence. It was through a sustained commitment to combine graduate intellectual formation, collective media production, and critical community engagement that the *Liberacion!* radio collective was born. Its impetus emerged from an acceptance that democracy is never guaranteed and that inherent in its possibilities is the need for ongoing interaction and engagement with public issues that require the silences to be broken and the voices of the voiceless and unattended to find themselves at the center of the airwaves.

Hence, progressive, independent media production, tied foremost to the needs of the disenfranchised and oppressed within neoliberal society, encompasses a counter-hegemonic alternative for community expression and dialogue, as well as political engagement. That is, it involves a form of public engagement that places public media 'at the heart of a democratic society' (Aufderheide & McAfee, 2005) - one that 'treats people as active learners in and builders of society ... [where] people can assert themselves not only as individuals but also, if they work with others, as decision-makers and mobilizers of the public will'.

It is with these key elements in mind that the radio collective was established, to function principally as an avenue for alternative readings of the world, as well as a means to document ongoing political struggles – struggles that, although they might seem unrelated and disparate, are fundamentally interconnected with the subordination of populations deemed disposable and problematic to neoliberal capitalist dictates. Within small communities, such efforts are especially significant in that fewer public pedagogical venues are available for challenging the distortions and false readings which flourish about the 'Other', who remain underserved and only minimally acknowledged within the public life of the twin cities.

This is important here, in that the radio collective exists within a context where the airwaves, just as the streets, are dominated and policed through a racialized victim-blaming rhetoric that belies the impoverished conditions and lack of opportunities available to marginalized populations in the region. This home of the diehard Indian mascot 'tradition' is also home to poor Black and Latino families who contend daily with the impact of poor schooling, high unemployment, lack of health care, poor housing, and increasing homelessness and incarceration. Moreover, it is the site where racialized policing has led, for example, to numerous police shootings of unarmed Black youth; where corporate-inspired relationships permitted a 20-year cover-up of an abandoned toxic

waste site in a poor Black community; and where deep homophobic culture has resulted in violent attacks on working-class gay and transgendered people in the campus town area.

A recent incident serves as an illustration of the difficulties and tensions at work in this small rural college town. In October 2009, police shot to death Kiwane Carrington, a 15-year-old poor Black youth who had lost his mother to cancer two months earlier. The youth, who had forgotten his key to the house in which he was staying, was apprehended when attempting to enter the home through a rear window. Within minutes of the arrival of an officer and the Chief of Police, the boy was gunned down, allegedly for trying to flee from the scene. Although Kiwane was unarmed and there was no evidence of the youth resisting arrest, police entered the scene with pistols drawn – an action which is considered a violation of their own protocols for handling juvenile encounters. Official action taken after the death of Kiwane and the arrest of the other youth who accompanied him met with a community outcry.

A community coalition formed in response to the shooting was circulated and then presented to the City with over 1700 signatures from individuals calling for an investigation into the death and the dismissal of a criminal case filed against the other youth. Despite this and a variety of other concerted community efforts, the shooting was ruled ‘accidental’ by the State’s Attorney (whose husband is a Champaign police officer). During the months that followed the shooting, the local ‘news’ venues ran stories that seem to both support police actions in the case and belittle community participation in the matter. One editorial that appeared in the *New Gazette* on 3 March 2010 again maligned the community coalition’s persistent public involvement:

The incident is a tragedy both for Carrington’s friends and family members as well as the community, and *the event has become a cause celebre* for local residents who feel the shooting reflects an institutional bias by police against members of minority groups. So they have taken up [the arrested youth’s] cause, insisting that the charge against him be dismissed. But the [State’s Attorney], quite correctly, refused to do so, *explaining that public opinion plays no role in prosecuting cases...* The justice system would be a shambles *if the prosecution of criminal cases became the subject of popularity contests...* That’s why the petition drive ... is not just naive, but *an assault on the entire concept of the rule of law ...* [The youth being charged] is represented by a lawyer who is working with [the State Attorney’s] office to resolve this case *based on its merits*. That is how it has to be. To handle it any other way would turn the entire concept of the judicial system upside down. (My emphasis)

Members of the *Liberacion!* radio collective, as an active independent community radio project, gathered to produce and air two community radio programs on the Kiwane Carrington case as a contribution to the collective action and an effort to bring alternative voices to bear on the official transcript being circulated by the mainstream media, the courts, and the police department. The radio segments were archived on the *Liberacion!* website [11] and copies were made and distributed within the community as part of an educational campaign. It is important to note at this juncture that the effectiveness of the *Liberacion!* radio efforts on this issue was only possible given pre-established working relationships with community residents, members of the Independent Media Center’s newspaper, the community group *Citizens for Peace and Justice*, and the Solidarity Committee of the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) on campus. Key to this discussion is the impact of the radio production. The two segments on the case were played on both community radio stations and on a variety of other public affairs programs. CD copies were burned and circulated widely in the community for use in stimulating further dialogue on the issue at community meetings. Needless to say, the use of radio programming here functioned effectively to expand community awareness about the case and to consolidate the voices of community members in calling for a fundamental change in the policing of African American youth.

What must be underscored here is that public pedagogical actions are most powerful and effective when linked to larger social movement efforts, which support and sustain one another in the collective endeavor of creating public spaces for alternative political discourses. And although the theoretical lens that best informs the praxis of the radio collective is that of a critical public pedagogy, the production process by which mainstream airwaves are disrupted and redefined is firmly anchored upon an art of resistance, with its multiplicity of voices and methods for naming the world.

The Art of Resistance and Multidimensionality

'We chose the title "The Art of Resistance" as a way of communicating to fans and listeners to stop and think about their lives and the world around them,' Cunningham says. 'I'm not a teacher or a politician; I'm an artist, writer and musician, and this is my way of expressing what's on my mind and how I think I can impact people's lives. I've learned over the years that music can be as powerful a force as politics to bring out issues that need to be addressed, and the things like what we touch on here, like the prison industry and the way children are being raised, will open eyes. (Caleb Cunningham, 2009, Hip-Hop Collective Project Lionheart)[12]

The art of resistance, as described by the Project Lionheart band member above, is shaped by struggles to address in multidimensional ways the underbelly of economic and cultural domination as it manifests itself within disenfranchised communities, while simultaneously seeking critical solutions that might potentially disrupt its negative impact. There's no doubt that the art of resistance encompasses a deep faith in humanity and the profound capacity of human beings for creativity and resilience, even in the face of suffering and adversity. The art of community resistance, then, implies that there is an organic and collective quality to the manner in which issues are undertaken and to the participatory processes by means of which the design of *Liberacion!* radio programs are carried out. This posits a formulation of community resistance that inherently redefines the potential power of the airwaves within the public arena, from being solely entertainment to having public pedagogical significance for democratic life. In the Gramscian sense, then, this public media production by the radio collective functions, uncompromisingly, as a counter-narrative to hegemonic discourses of the neoliberal State. It is precisely this quality of counter-narration that supports a space in which dominant political, economic, cultural, and ideological interests and their consequences can be interrogated, unveiled, and potentially transformed.

True to the radio collective's critical foundation, *Liberacion!* radio segments focus consistently on emancipatory themes and issues raised by community participants themselves, in which multidimensional aspects of social issues can be engaged by a variety of spokespersons representing both academic and non-academic praxis. Hence, for example, an interview with a professor who can provide a critical theoretical analysis of incarceration is woven together with an interview of a parent of an incarcerated youth, and with a commentary of an educator who teaches in a prison program, as well as with the poetry of inmates and the music of *Dead Prez* that challenges the politics of incarceration in the Black community. Through the use of what I term a *multi-intellectual design*, this form of community resistance as public pedagogy is shaped, simultaneously, through multidimensional discursive forms which break with the tradition of isolated, one-dimensional approaches generally utilized even among progressive radio programmers.

This form of multidimensional community engagement is important to building greater fluidity and a more expansive understanding of political participation and community resistance. Thus, a capacity to willingly and legitimately integrate vastly different perspectives and different articulations of similar societal mechanisms and oppressive structures cannot be undermined or ignored within critical media production or community resistance efforts. Through multiple discursive engagements with a variety of social and political issues, new public discourses organically emerge to forge new avenues and possibilities for dissent.

From the experiences of the radio collective, new avenues for dialogue, solidarity, and dissent are best achieved through dismantling false competing perspectives that privilege either academic knowledge over the community or community knowledge over the academic. This calls for releasing the objectifying strictures perpetuated by anti-intellectual views of disenfranchised community members, as well as debilitating criticisms of elitism projected on to formally educated comrades. Moreover, it is only through the courage to enter into such a multidimensional praxis of public pedagogy, with humility, dignity and respect, that new relationships of solidarity can be built, anchored upon ongoing genuine exchanges of both lived and formally studied knowledge, technical skills, historical understandings, and community resources – all deeply valuable and vital to the interrogation and transformation of racialized inequalities, class and gendered formations, heterosexist ideations, and other forms of social exclusions in the world.

This is the kind of public pedagogy that embraces an integrated and communal understanding of knowledge - one that is guided by life-affirming principles of social justice, human rights, and economic democracy. The intentionality behind this public pedagogical approach with students is fundamentally linked to creating the conditions, through dialogue, reflection, and action, for the development and evolution of political consciousness – a consciousness grounded in organic community relationships and joint political labor. Effectively integrating public pedagogical projects, such as the *Liberacion!* radio collective, into the intellectual formation of graduate students demands that our teaching be rooted in a political process of critical academic praxis.

Within this perspective, the privilege of an education is not predicated upon competing against one another for individual rewards or privileged institutional status. Rather, university education is a politicizing context in which faculty and students must consistently (re)learn together to read the shifting cultural landscapes of power, so that we might sharpen our understanding of institutional constraints that thwart community self-determination. Such formation also challenges deeply held bourgeois notions of ‘professionalism’ [13] tied to traditional academic preparation and, instead, asks students to consider how their intellectual preparation will function in the service of justice.

Within such a context, academic ‘success’ is no longer attached to the material ambitions of individuals and their contribution to bolstering capitalist democracy; rather, it is linked to generating academic resources and technical skills that can be shared and utilized in the collective interest of community solidarity and democratic participation. And all of this can only be generated and sustained through the unambiguous cultivation of a revolutionary love – a love that enhances our solidarity and commitment to one another, as kin and comrades, in our struggle to overcome the debilitating forces of human oppression through the daily revitalization of democratic public life.

Notes

- [1] *Who Owns the News Media* (<http://www.stateofthemedial.org/2010/media-ownership/dashboard.php>). *Fear and Favor in the Newsroom*, produced by Beth Sanders and Randy Baker in 1996 and narrated by Stud Terkel, provides one of the most powerfully incisive critiques of corporate control of news reporting in the United States. Unfortunately, the documentary was ‘turned down by virtually every entity in the PBS system. Frontline, Point of View, PBS’s independent documentary series, and PBS itself all refused to give the show a national broadcast. Indeed, after viewing an early sample clip of the show, Mark Weiss, the Executive Producer of Point of View, told us P.O.V. would not be interested, because the show would not be well received in venues such as Redbook.’ (Sanders & Baker). To learn more about the story of the documentary, see <http://www.albionmonitor.com/9804b/copyright/fearfavor.html> and listen to a *Democracy Now!* segment about the film at http://www.democracynow.org/1997/11/18/fear_and_favor_in_the_newsroom
- [2] Pacifica was established in the late 1940s out of the peace movement surrounding World War II. In 1949 KPFA went on the air from Berkeley, California. KPFK, in Los Angeles, was the second of what would eventually become five Pacifica Stations to go on the air. See <http://www.kpfk.org/aboutkpfkpacific.html>
- [3] *Alternative Radio*, established in 1986, is dedicated to the founding principles of public broadcasting, which urge that programming serve as ‘a forum for controversy and debate’, be diverse, and ‘provide a voice for groups that may otherwise be unheard’. The project is entirely independent, sustained solely by individuals who buy transcripts and tapes of programs. See <http://www.alternativeradio.org/>
- [4] See <http://kboo.fm/node/34>
- [5] See <http://www.wmnf.org/station/about>
- [6] To learn more about the work of the Grand Rapids Community Media Center, see <http://www.grcmc.org/>
- [7] See <http://www.wrfu.net/>

- [8] The Urbana-Champaign Independent Media Center is a grassroots organization committed to using media production and distribution as tools for promoting social and economic justice in the Champaign County area. See <http://www.ucimc.org/content/about-uc-imc>
- [9] See http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~rgibson/rouge_forum/shannon.htm
- [10] I established the *Liberacion!* radio collective with graduate students and community members. The intent was to create a space where students could be involved in the practice of public pedagogy, in conjunction with community members. For more information on the program and our radio archives, see <http://www.radioliberacion.org/>
- [11] To access the radio segment of *The Police Shooting of Kiwane Carrington 1 & 2*, see <http://www.radioliberacion.org/audio/Kiwane.mp3>;
<http://www.radioliberacion.org/audio/Kiwane2.mp3>
- [12] See <http://www.prlog.org/10436445-seattlebased-hiphop-collective-project-lionheart-makes-sound-records-debut.html>
- [13] For an excellent historical discussion and critique of 'professionalism', see *The Culture of Professionalism: the middle class and the development of higher education in America* by Burton Bledstein (1978).

References

- Apple, M.W. (2004) *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Aufderheide, P. & McAfee, N. (2005) What Makes Pubcasting Public is Engagement, *Current.Org*.
<http://www.current.org/why/why0517aufdermcafee.shtml>
- Bledstein, B. (1978) *The Culture of Professionalism: the middle class and the development of higher education in America*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. (2002) *Media Society: industries, images, and audiences*. Los Angeles/London: Pine Forge Press.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. (1994) *Invitation Only: how the media limit political debate*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
- Denny, G. (1941) Radio Builds Democracy, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 14(6), 370-377.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2262537>
- Freire, P. (1993) *Pedagogy of the City*. New York: Continuum.
- Giroux, H. (2003) Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Resistance: notes on a critical theory of educational struggle, *Education Theory*, 35(1), 5-16. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1469-5812.00002>
- Giroux, H. (2004a) Public Pedagogy and the Politics of Neo-liberalism: making the political more pedagogical, *Policy Futures in Education*, 2(3-4), 494-503. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2004.2.3.5>
- Giroux, H. (2004b) Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy: resurrecting hope in dark times, *Dissident Voice*. <http://dissidentvoice.org/Aug04/Giroux0807.htm>
- Kellner, D. (1995) *Media Culture: cultural studies, identity and politics between the modern and the postmodern*. London: Routledge. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203205808>
- McChesney, R. (1998) Making Media Democracy, *Boston Review* (summer).
<http://bostonreview.net/BR23.3/mcchesney.html>
- McChesney, R. (2001) Global media, Neoliberalism, and Imperialism, *Monthly Review*, 52(10).
<http://www.monthlyreview.org/301rwm.htm>
- McLaren, Peter. (1997) *Revolutionary Multiculturalism: pedagogies of dissent for the New Millennium*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Megwa, Eronini R. (2007) Community Radio Stations as Community Technology Centers: an evaluation of the development impact of technological hybridization on stakeholder communities in South Africa, *Journal of Radio Studies*, 14(1), 49-66. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10955040701301847>
- Mwesige, P. (2009) The Democratic Functions and Dysfunctions of Political Talk Radio: the case of Uganda, *Journal of African Media Studies*, 1(2), 221-245. http://dx.doi.org/10.1386/jams.1.2.221_1
- Shannon, P. (2007) *Pedagogies of the Oppressors: critical literacies as counter narratives*. Speech presented at the Rouge Forum on March 2. http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/~rgibson/rouge_forum/shannon.htm

ANTONIA DARDER holds the Leavey Presidential Endowed Chair in Ethics and Moral Leadership at Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles and she is Professor Emerita of Educational Policy and Organizational Leadership, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. She is the author of numerous books, including *Culture and Power in the Classroom*, *Reinventing Paulo Freire: a pedagogy of love*, and *A Dissident Voice: essays in culture, pedagogy and power*. Correspondence: Professor Antonia Darder, School of Education, University Hall 2300, Loyola Marymount University, One LMU Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90045, USA (antonia.darder@lmu.edu).