

Intermedial Sutatenza:
Media[ted] Narratives of Community-Making in Rural Colombia

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
Romance Studies in the Graduate School
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

In mid-twentieth century, Colombia's illiteracy rate was 40% with numbers close to 80% in the rural areas. These areas lacked access to formal education and were isolated from the urban centers due to poor road infrastructure. Radio Sutatenza, an educational radio station, promised to educate and integrate rural communities to the nation through radio literacy campaigns and its pedagogical model of Fundamental Integral Education. Unlike previous sociological, pedagogical, and communicational studies of the Sutatenza project, *Intermedial Sutatenza* highlights the project's political and aesthetic dimensions. Dialoguing with theories and concepts from literary, cultural, and sound studies, I analyze cultural and media productions by officials and listeners of Radio Sutatenza. I focus, specifically, on radio dramas produced by the station and on *coplas* and songs composed by listeners, then broadcast in radio shows, and published in the print weekly *El Campesino*. I propose that these cultural productions are best described as intermedial narratives to highlight their many inner contradictions and the mediated context in which they emerge. Also, in their blurring of media and genre borders, these narratives dwell between the aural and the written and emerge as embattled fields of meaning production. I argue that Sutatenza's intermedial narratives show that the radio station undertook both a continuity of and a departure from the Hispanic-Catholic project of a nation put in place in Colombia by the grammarian

presidents in the nineteenth century. Likewise, I sustain that Sutatenza reproduced and remediated the literary movement of *costumbrismo* and the literary genre of the *cuadro de costumbres*, with its ideological implications, in sonic media for a twentieth century audience. At its core, my dissertation proves that the othering of rural individuals in Colombia took place also in the radio, and that Radio Sutatenza, with its far-reaching pedagogical strategies, had a fundamental role in the construction and circulation of a specific kind of rural individual and of rurality. At the same time, my work shows that, in the interstices, polysemy and the instability of the sign and the word permit for voices of resistance to emerge. Hence, the Sutatenza narratives, on the one hand, strive to unite and homogenize rural communities, and on the other, circulate and broadcast those same communities' cultural heterogeneity. Through this examination, I clarify the role of Radio Sutatenza in Colombian community-making processes and radio's part in narrating the nation during mid-twentieth century. Moreover, the questions I explore and the questions the dissertation opens-up are central in a country where unequal land ownership and rural labor exploitation are at the base of a violent conflict that has lasted for more than half a century. The ultimate goal and significance of my research is that it will lead to a recasting of the discourses (historical, sociological, cultural) about Colombian rural communities.

Para Daniel, Isa, Cristi y Nico

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Introduction: Sutatenza's Media[ted] Narratives of Community-Making

Pero era, entonces, el primer radio que había ahí, y yo lo llevaba a mi parcela de las hortalizas, y con una vara bien larga ponía un alambre que servía de antena, y entonces yo escuchaba, y la gente entonces empezaba a ir a escuchar. Y por la tarde yo lo llevaba a mi casa, y la gente empezó a reunirse alrededor del radio, y ahí sin yo pretenderlo y sin darme cuenta, en fin, fue apareciendo una relación de comunicación con mi comunidad, con los vecinos y demás – Roselino Albarracín, beneficiario de Sutatenza, Panqueba, Boyacá

But it was, then, the first radio that there was, and I took it to my vegetable garden and using a very long rod, I put a wire which served as an antenna. And then, I listened, and then, the people started to go and listen, too. And in the afternoons, I would take it to my house, and people began to gather around the radio. And without me trying and without realizing it, anyway, a relationship of communication began to emerge in my community, with the neighbors and so forth – Roselino Albarracín, Sutatenza's beneficiary from Panqueba, Boyacá (Riascos, part 2, 00:01:12)¹

As Roselino Albarracín notes, the arrival of radio transmitters to his *vereda*² in the state of Boyacá reconfigured rural communities' dynamics creating new and reinforcing old ways of bonding. Once the Sutatenza project was established in the everyday lives of rural towns, the project also presented new challenges for the making of rural

¹ Unless otherwise specified, translations from Spanish are mine.

² Vereda is the subdivisional administrative part of a *municipio* in Colombia. It is a small geographical region that usually has a collection of homes and farms in a rural area, like a hamlet. A municipio is a jurisdiction housing several veredas.

community. In this dissertation, I examine Sutatenza's media narratives of community-making in the rural areas of Colombia. I focus, specifically, on the radio adaptation of nineteenth century novel *Manuela*; on *coplas*³ and other poetic forms composed by listeners, broadcast on radio shows, and published in the weekly *El Campesino* and in the anthology *El coplero campesino*; and on the radio series *Cuadros campesinos* and the book of plays of the same name. I propose that these cultural productions are best described as intermedial narratives in order to explore their many inner contradictions and the mediated context in which they emerge. I define intermedial narratives as those narratives that blur media and genre borders and dwell in-between the aural and the written. Likewise, at the core of their meaning production, intermedial narratives are in a constant tension between the centripetal forces of the pedagogical, that try to unify, homogenize, and centralize, and the centrifugal forces of the performative, that create anew, resist, and transform. In defining those forces, I follow and put in dialogue the works of Homi Bhabha on the nation and of Bakhtin on the structure of the novel. I have

³ The copla is a poetic form of Spanish origin commonly used throughout Latin America as the lyrics of popular songs and in poetry. Coplas typically consist of four verses (of no more than eight syllables to a line) of four lines each, arranged in three possible meters: the romance (8- 8a 8- 8a), the seguidilla (7- 5a 7- 5a) or the redondilla (8a 8b 8b 8a). The copla in Colombia is widely used in different regions. Coplas can be sung or recited at social gatherings; public spoken coplas are often improvised and draw on the immediate situation in which they are composed. Coplas can also be riddles or tongue-twisters. These coplas are characterized by the use of idioms, incomplete words, and contractions. Generally, coplas draw on daily life or the surroundings of the author. Coplero is a person who uses coplas often in daily conversation and to express his or her ideas. I explore further the copla as genre in the second chapter.

found these dynamic and contradictory forces at play in these media cultural productions.

I argue that these narratives show that the Sutatenza project undertook both a continuity of and a departure from the Hispanic-Catholic project of a nation put in place in Colombia by the grammarian presidents in the nineteenth century. I also sustain that Sutatenza reproduced and remediated the literary movement of *costumbrismo* and the literary genre of the *cuadro de costumbres*, with their ideological implications, in sonic media for a twentieth century audience. At its core, my dissertation proves that the othering of rural individuals in Colombia took place also in the radio and that Radio Sutatenza, with its far-reaching pedagogical strategies, had a fundamental role in the construction and circulation of a specific kind of rural individual and of rurality. At the same time, my work shows that, in the interstices, polysemy and the instability of the sign and the word permit for voices of resistance to emerge. Hence, the Sutatenza narratives emerge as embattled fields of signification that, on the one hand, strive to unite and homogenize rural communities, and on the other, circulate and broadcast those same communities' cultural heterogeneity.

Radio Sutatenza was an educational radio station with a clear target audience: the Colombian peasantry (*el campesinado colombiano*). The station's purpose was that of educating rural communities by giving them tools and skills that could help them

transform their living conditions and increase their general wellbeing (Bernal Alarcón 2012, 9; Restrepo Torres, 135-136). With this purpose, the educational strategies used a combination of different media (radio, printed materials, discs and recordings), interpersonal communication (mail correspondence and the work by local leaders), and group work (radiophonic schools and training institutes) (Bernal Alarcón 2012, 9). Many of the pedagogical activities revolved around the radio component. As such, the radio station played a central role in the production of a rural acoustic sphere through the broadcast of radio shows, radio dramas, music programs, speeches, and radio lessons.

Since the project's inception, rural communities were the objective of the pedagogical and communicative strategies, and multiple and competing notions of rural community and rural life emerge in the station's cultural productions. Yet, a central figure stands out across the project. That is the notion of *campesino*. The *campesino* as a narrative figure is one of great importance in processes of nation building advanced and put in place by intellectual elites in Latin America. As Juan Pablo Dabove has shown in his study of the bandit as a literary trope (2007, 2017), through various narratives, Latin American lettered elites have constructed the rural outlaw as the Other of the lettered city and "the paramount Other of Latin American modernity" (2017, 262). Dabove's argument can be thought of as encompassing not only the rural outlaw, but also rural life and people living in the rural areas. In dialogue with Dabove's argument of the

construct of the rural outlaw in literature, this dissertation is a contribution to the understanding of the construction of alterity and otherness in various cultural productions in the specific context of rural Colombia.

Likewise, the analyses of the cultural productions of the Sutatenza archive also offer a counter point to the *novela de la Violencia* where the literati of the twentieth century narrated and gave testimony of violent events that took place in rural areas of Colombia in the decades of the 1950s and 1960s.⁴ Between the decades of 1946 and 1966, there was a peak in Colombia's literary production with approximately 70 novels

⁴ The first books of this tradition are *El 9 de abril* (1951) by Pedro Gómez Correa, *Viernes 9* (1953) by Ignacio Gómez Dávila, and *El Monstruo* (1955) by Carlos H. Pareja. These stories are mostly commentaries and reports of deaths and massacres and remain, for the most part, testimonies of the events. With the perspective of time, other authors began to explore violence as a complex and diverse phenomenon and advanced an aesthetic approach to the issue (Rodríguez Ruíz, Jaime Alejandro. n.d.). This is the case with *El Cristo de espaldas* (1952) and *Siervo sin tierra* (1954) by Eduardo Caballero Calderón, *El día del odio* (1951) by José Osorio Lizarazo, *El gran Burundú-Burundá* (1952) by Jorge Zalamea Borda, *Marea de ratas* (1960) by Arturo Echeverry Mejía, *La Hojarasca* (1955), *El coronel no tiene quien le escriba* (1958) y *La mala hora* (1962) by Gabriel García Márquez, *El día señalado* (1964) by Manuel Mejía Vallejo, and *La Casa Grande* (1962) by Alvaro Cepeda Samudio, among others (Rodríguez Ruíz, Jaime Alejandro. n.d.). For in depth studies of the novela de la Violencia in Colombia, see Suárez Rondón, Gerardo. 1966. *La novela sobre la violencia en Colombia*. Bogotá: Ediciones Luis F. Serrano; Bedoya, Luis Iván and Augusto Escobar. 1980. *La novela de la violencia en Colombia*. Medellín, Colombia: Ediciones Hombre Nuevo; Arango, Manuel Antonio. 1985. *Gabriel García Márquez y la novela de la violencia en Colombia*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica; Restrepo, Laura. 1985. "Niveles de realidad en la literatura de la 'violencia' colombiana." *Once ensayos sobre la violencia*, edited by Martha Cárdenas, 117-169. Bogotá: Fondo Editorial CEREC: Centro Gaitán; Escobar Mesa, Augusto. 1997. "Literatura y violencia en la línea de fuego." *Ensayos y aproximaciones a la otra literatura colombiana*. Bogotá: Universidad Central; Rodríguez Ruíz, Jaime Alejandro. 1999. "Pájaros, Bandoleros y Sicarios para una historia de la violencia en la narrativa colombiana." *Universitas Humanística*, 47 (47); González Rodas, Pablo. 2003. *Colombia: novela y violencia*. Manizales: Secretaría de Cultura de Caldas; Osorio, Óscar. 2006. "Siete estudios sobre la novela de la Violencia en Colombia, una evaluación crítica y una nueva perspectiva." *Revista Poligramas*, no. 25, 85-107; Rueda, María Helena. 2008. "Nación y narración de la violencia en Colombia (de la historia a la sociología)." *Revista Iberoamericana*, vol. LXXIV, no. 223, 345-359.

published in that period (Rodríguez Ruíz, n.d.). There was a need to narrate the atrocities experienced in the countryside due to a bipartisan violent political conflict, and rural individuals became central figures in these stories. The narratives analyzed in this dissertation offer a contrast and a different perspective on rural life during the same time period.

Although the notion of campesino is at the center of the Sutatenza project, and the usage of the term is pervasive from administrative and legal documents to users' testimonies, I move the focus of attention from the campesino as narrative figure to narratives of rural community-making. A focus on narratives, in the plural, foregrounds multiplicity and multidimensionality. A focus on communities and their formations brings forth processes of binding and bonding, as well as, social challenges and tensions among Sutatenza's leaders and users. It highlights rural social networks and interactions. Thus, with this move, I attempt to take rural individuals out of a discriminatory and pigeonholed category.⁵

⁵ With this move, I follow Hermann Herlinghaus' distinction between discourse and narration: "Mientras el discurso tiende, según Foucault a la codificación, especialización e institucionalización, es la narración (popular) la que habita los márgenes de los sistemas discursivos, la que sabe aprovecharse ágilmente de elementos y espacios tanto propios como ajenos" ("While discourse tends, according to Foucault, to the codification, specialization, and institutionalization, it is the (popular) narration the one that inhabits the margins of the discursive systems. It is the one that knows how to nimbly take advantage of elements and spaces both its own and of others") (2002, 40).

Sutatenza's mission was born to address the rural other in an attempt to fix it. Through this examination, I clarify the role of Radio Sutatenza in Colombian community-making processes and radio's part in narrating the nation during mid-twentieth century. During this period, Colombia was still mostly rural, and so, Sutatenza's aural and written storytelling marked how the whole nation was conceived. The analyses in this dissertation illustrate that in the twentieth century the nation was narrated, imagined, and formed intermedially, in a convergence of forces and mediations and in an assemblage of media and genres. Moreover, the questions I explore and the questions the dissertation opens-up are central in a country where unequal land ownership and rural labor exploitation are at the base of a century-long violent conflict. The ultimate goal and significance of my research is that it will lead to a recasting of the discourses (historical, sociological, cultural) about Colombian rural communities.

Acción Cultural Popular (ACPO) and Radio Sutatenza

"It was radio's fault...the radio set the country on fire."⁶ The events of *El Bogotazo* took place in Bogotá on April 9, 1948. On that day, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, a

⁶ Julio Sánchez Cristo, a renowned radio host of Colombia, stated as he reminisced about the events of El Bogotazo, during a radio show on the 65th anniversary of the events in 2013. To hear some audios from April 9, 1948 you can go to <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/audios/la-radio-de-los-mil-tiempos/radio-mil-tiempos-bogotazo/1733634/>

Liberal political leader and presidential candidate, was murdered; his death generated massive riots and disturbances throughout the city. In many accounts of the events that followed, historians and authors have shown how members of the Liberal political party took over several radio stations, broadcast their speeches, and encouraged people to rise up against Conservative president Mariano Ospina Pérez (Gómez Mejía 2012, 62).⁷

In August of 1947, a few months before the events, José Joaquín Salcedo arrived in Sutatenza, as the new parish priest of the small town in the Andean Tenza Valley (Boyacá department). Upon his arrival, Salcedo, a *radioaficionado*, organized community gatherings around radio broadcasts and film screenings in the central plaza. A couple of years later, he travelled to the United States to purchase a radio transmitter, and in 1951, what had begun as amateur radio transmissions became a much larger project called Asociación Cultural Popular (ACPO). ACPO's purpose was that of educating rural communities in *nociones*, the five main subjects: alphabet, numbers, health care, economy and labor, and spirituality. Utilizing strategies based on its own pedagogical model, which it called *Educación Fundamental Integral* (EFI), the ACPO took advantage of radio's

⁷ See Abel, Christopher. 1987. *Política, Iglesia y partidos en Colombia: 1886-1953*. Bogotá: FAES, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; Alape, Arturo. 1989. "El 9 de abril: asesinato de una esperanza" and "El 9 de abril en provincia." In *Nueva historia de Colombia, tomo 2. Historia política 1946-1986*. Bogotá: Planeta Colombiana Editorial; Pérez, Gustavo and Nelson Catellanos. 1998. *La radio del tercer milenio. Caracol 50 años*.

ability to reach the illiterate and those in remote areas, as well as print media's potential to accompany the learning process.



Figure 1: Sutatenza's beneficiaries listening to radio lessons and using the accompanying textbooks © Fundación ACPO - Todos los derechos reservados.

The project's strategies included radio programming, but also extended to the creation of radiophonic schools, where students gathered to hear the radio lessons, and in-person pedagogical institutes to train men and women in community leadership and instruction. As companions to the process, the ACPO produced pedagogical textbooks, printed the newspaper *El Campesino*, and published the book series *La Biblioteca del Campesino* (The Campesino's Library). These print media were published by Editorial Andes and Editora 2000, publishing houses that were also a part of the ACPO. In addition, the project encouraged weekly epistolary communication between radio teachers, community leaders, and students to share anecdotes, doubts, or complaints about the learning experience.

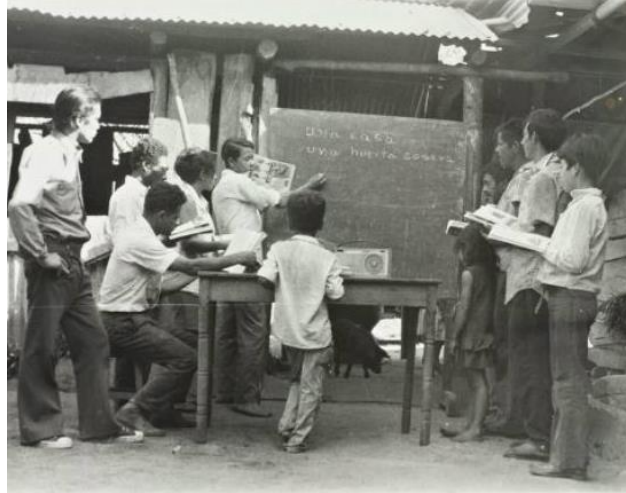


Figure 2: Radio lesson at radiophonic school © Fundación ACPO - Todos los derechos reservados.

ACPO's administrative organization relied on active participation from community members and was intimately tied to the Catholic Church's ecclesiastical divisions. The parish priest of each *municipio*⁸ coordinated ACPO's activities with the help of community members. The local radio auxiliary (auxiliar inmediato) served as teaching assistant to the radio teacher. Campesino leaders (líderes campesinos)⁹ took the roles of parish's representatives (representantes parroquiales) and parish's assistants

⁸ In Colombia *municipio* is a jurisdiction housing several veredas, towns and cities, like a township, county, borough, or civil parish. Each municipio is led by a Mayor (Alcalde) elected by popular vote. Each municipio corresponds to an ecclesiastical parish. Municipios are grouped to form states (departamentos).

⁹ Throughout this dissertation, I retain the terminology campesino leaders (líderes campesinos) because it is the one used by Sutatenza's leadership and users to designate a specific role within the project's organization chart.

(asistentes parroquiales). Among their duties, campesino leaders and radio auxiliaries exchanged epistolary communication with ACPO's leadership, helped organized radiophonic schools, and ran educational campaigns. Thus, by using the administrative divisions of the Church, the ACPO was able to reach the majority of the Colombian territory.¹⁰

The radiophonic schools were led by community members who were further along in the school lessons. A radiophonic school could be a family of three, where the sixteen-year-old daughter was the leader. Therefore, THE ACPO, as an umbrella organization, included the radio station Radio Sutatenza and all its strategies, the Editorial Andes, the weekly *El Campesino*, and the Campesino Institutes. Since Radio Sutatenza is the most visible and well-known arm of the ACPO, in the chapters of this dissertation, I refer to Radio Sutatenza, the Sutatenza project, the station, or simply Sutatenza, interchangeably, to refer to the above-mentioned organizations and strategies that were all part of the ACPO.

¹⁰ Bernal Alarcón (2012) notes that the ACPO had a direct impact on the lives of more than four million beneficiaries. By 1955 the project counted 30.000 radio transmitters and 9.000 radiophonic schools, and in 1969, the radio stations passed from programming half hour a day to programming 19 hours a day with five centers of emission in Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Barranquilla, and Magangué. The newspaper *El Campesino* distributed 3'388.542 copies in 1964 in the whole Colombian territory (Musto et al. quoted in Rojas 2012, 93). For studies that discuss the ACPO's reach and significance in terms of numerical figures and statistics, see Musto, Stefan A. 1971. *Los medios de comunicación social al servicio del desarrollo rural: análisis de eficiencia de Acción Cultural Popular-Radio Sutatenza*. Bogotá: Editorial Andes and Bernal Alarcón, Hernando. 2005. *ACPO Radio Sutatenza: de la realidad a la utopía*. Bogotá: Fundación Cultural Javeriana.



Figure 3: Radiophonic School © Fundación ACPO - Todos los derechos reservados.

Radio Sutatenza's pedagogical model was highly influential across Latin America. Venezuela, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Honduras, among others, replicated its model of intermedia pedagogy for rural communities (Bernal Alarcón 2012, 35).¹¹ In order to explain the significance of the Sutatenza project for Colombia, I provide a short overview of the conditions of rural areas and rural populations in Colombia, a review of the historical and political context of Colombia during the years the project emerged, and a discussion of the peculiar relationship between the Colombian state, the Catholic Church, and Radio Sutatenza.

¹¹ The ACPO-Radio Sutatenza collection is part of the Memory of the World Program in the Regional Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean (MOWLAC).

Rurality, Violence, the State, and the Catholic Church

Gaitán's assassination intensified the violent confrontations that had been taking place in the rural areas since the 1930s and marked the beginning of the period called la Violencia. However, Colombian history has been marked by violence and war since the independence period. Multiple civil wars took place in the nineteenth century, and they were, for the most part, cause and consequence of political bipartisanship.¹² One of the main issues that caused these confrontations was related to land tenure and the living conditions of rural populations. During the nineteenth century the process of consolidation of *haciendas* gradually led to the formation of extensive estates, a subordinated peasantry of these estates, and a free peasantry that managed to resist landlord encroachments (Zamosc, 10).¹³ This agrarian regime and the colonization movements provided the basis for one of the major problems of the Colombian countryside: high concentration of land ownership (Mondragón, 52).¹⁴

¹² See Safford, Frank and Marco Palacios. 2002. *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; and, Palacios, Marco. 2006. *Between Legitimacy and Violence: A History of Colombia, 1875-2002*, translated by Richard Stoller. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

¹³ For an extensive study of the issue, see Zamosc, Leon. 1986. *The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association 1967-1981*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and United Nations.

¹⁴ "Colombia's history has been marked by the dispossession of the land from indigenous peoples and peasants (...) During the Spanish conquest, the colonial era and the Republic, this dispossession has been executed by combining violence with institutional procedures used by people with political influence who received land titles by different means, not always legal or fair" (Mondragón 2005, 52).

In the 1930s, seventy percent of the population was rural, making Colombia still an agrarian society. After this decade, there was an increased growth of the urban populations but with a model that privileged the expansion in area and density of existing centers rather than the creation of new ones. The urban population increased by almost 500% between 1938 and 1973, while the rural population grew only 36.7% (Betancourt and Corredor 39). Moreover, Marco Palacios (2006) notes that the way in which the cities grew intensified the gaps between classes, between regions, and between cities and the countryside. However, the decisions about rural Colombia were made in Bogotá following the centralist constitution of 1886. There was a clear disconnection and misperception of the rural population, as people “out of touch with civilization,” as a 1930s report about Cundinamarca states (quoted in Palacios, 2006, 106). Marco Palacios notes how “their relations with the local haciendas had changed little since colonial days – they received tiny cash wage and a place to live that they paid for in labor and were assigned an area to clear or plant or harvest” (106).¹⁵

In 1930, the Liberal party won the presidential elections for the first time since 1886, and Enrique Olaya Herrera’s presidency marked the beginning of the period called

¹⁵ In addition, they had bad relationships with the state. According to the report, “for the tenant the government is a) the mayor who throws him in jail for violating a law he didn’t know about; b) the authority who throws him in jail for making or drinking contraband liquor; c) the authority that charges road and bridge tolls; and d) the authority who is quick to evict him whenever the landowner requests it” (quoted in Palacios 2006, 106).

“Liberal Republic” (1930-1946). The Liberal Republic did not make any substantial changes to the social structure of the countryside. It did promulgate the idea that “the land is for the one who works it” but that idea included the great landholders (Palacios 2006, 107). New laws were created trying to regulate land tenure, but eventually they either were not followed or were interpreted in ways that benefitted the great landowners generating further hostilities between rural communities and landowners and creating generalized unrest in the rural areas (Palacios 2006, 107). After the Conservatives won back the elections in 1946, they set out to recover their bases in the municipios by means of increased sectarian violence.

In many towns the party in power protected common criminals and let them operate with impunity. Juries in criminal trials and judges in both criminal and civil cases favored members of their own party. ... The Conservatives’ campaign to intimidate voters by murdering Liberal politicians and burning party offices and newspapers began in strategic cities ... but soon spread to adjoining municipios, which were ‘cleansed’ of Liberal voters (Palacios 2006, 141).

However, this kind of violence had begun since the 1930s when the Liberals got back in power after sixty years of Conservative hegemony. At the time, parish priests and bishops are known to have instigated Conservatives against Liberals, by different means, among them using the papal declaration that Liberalism was a sin. “Bishops Rafael Afanador in Popayán, Manuel González Arbeláez in Pamplona, and Miguel

Ángel Builes in Santa Rosa de Osos (Antioquia) were notorious for their incendiary antiLiberalism ... they were effective promoters of political violence” (Palacios 2006, 73).

The role of the Catholic Church in Colombian politics has been very strong since Independence through its alliance with the Conservative party.¹⁶ During the period of the Conservative Hegemony (1886-1930) the Catholic Church and the state were closely linked. The papal nuncio, archbishops, bishops, and parish priests had a strong influence in the decision making and the selection of Conservative candidates for the presidency and the different positions for public office. In addition, since the Concordat of 1887 between the Vatican and the Colombian state, the leadership of public and private education was given to Catholic congregations, such as the Jesuits and the Dominicans. This move was in fact a reversal to the process of secularization that occurred since the early republic. Meanwhile parish priests attended Catholic population and owed obedience to the bishop. It is worth noting that the parish priests during mid-twentieth century Colombia acquired nominal importance. This was due to the social changes that the nation was experiencing. There was an increased tendency for the regional elites to move to bigger urban centers leaving the small regional towns

¹⁶ For a detailed description of this close relationship during the nineteenth century see Rodríguez García, José María. 2010. *The City of Translation: Poetry and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

culturally isolated and under the influence of sectarian local leaders like the parish priests (Palacios 2006).

Some scholars talk about la Violencia, capitalized, as ending in 1958 with the beginning of the bipartisan coalition between the leaders of the Liberal and the Conservative parties called the National Front. This agreement was based on the principles of alternation, parity, and exclusion of any other political stance. However, many other scholars have noted how the events of the 9th of April of 1948 stemmed from years before and how the same kind of sectarian violence continued well into the 1960s when it did not end but evolved into other kind of violence. In the end, the National Front achieved its goal and four Liberal and Conservative presidents alternated during a period of sixteen years. It was an institutional project conceived and executed by the political and business elites and the Catholic Church hierarchy. Because of its exclusionary nature, "it repressed political dissidence and sought to co-opt and control both the poor and the emerging middle classes by widening their patronage networks" (Palacios 2006, 170).

It is in this context of bipartisanship, Catholic influence, repression, and violence that Radio Sutatenza emerged and developed. Since it was created by a Catholic parish priest, it had solid links with Catholicism's ideological and religious agenda, and it received financing from the Church and the Vatican. At the same time, Sutatenza had

strong ties with the Conservative regimes that were in place and immediately followed Gaitán's assassination. Later, as the National Front consolidated, and the Liberal political elites became "conservatized" (Palacios 2006, 136), the Sutatenza project supported either party's presidents in the political and economic strategies and activities that involved the rural areas.

Radio Sutatenza, Catholicism, and the Colombian State

It is very likely that, as Gómez Mejía (2012, 62) has noted, Sutatenza's strengthening during this period was due precisely to the events of El bogotazo, and especially to the role played by the radio during the events. As it was mentioned earlier, the Liberals' interventions in numerous radio stations played an important role in encouraging the riots. The Conservative governments used these facts to support their later decisions and regulations regarding radio waves. The decree 1682 from May 1948 allowed the government to cancel the licenses of all stations, which were, for the most part, owned by Liberals.

The idea of using media with educational purposes was not new when Sutatenza came into play. The presidencies of the Liberal Republic implemented massive campaigns to educate people in literacy and disseminated large numbers of books across public schools. It also had mobile caravans that went across municipios and remote veredas screening films. During Eduardo Santos' presidency (1938-1942), the

government implemented the new project of a public national radio station that was inaugurated as Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia (National Radio of Colombia) in 1940 (Silva 2005, 72). This was a big innovation since Colombian radio broadcast had developed and was mostly owned by private businesses.

When the Conservatives got back to power in 1946, the National Radio of Colombia took a clear Conservative agenda. Within the Conservative sector, the Catholic Church searched to acquire licenses to counteract the advances made by the Liberals with the National Radio and other stations when they were in power. In this sense, it had an explicit interest in rural communities because in its view the new migrations to the city promoted habits and lifestyles that went against good Christian values and were damaging to the spiritual health of the Colombian people (Gómez Mejía 2012, 59).

In addition, Radio Sutatenza was constituted at a time when theorizations about the role of media in contributing to development in Latin America were emerging.¹⁷ These theorizations developed from the understanding that media had the ability to influence and determine social and cultural behaviors. The creation of the radio programming and the print materials aimed at changing the behaviors of the rural

¹⁷ The work by Wilbur Schramm, director of the Institute for Communication Research and professor at Stanford University, was fundamental in setting the theoretical and methodological bases to thinking about media and development in Latin America. His book *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries* published Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1964, was supported financially by UNESCO.

communities in order to civilize them, to take them out of their isolation, and to make them modern. Gabriel Gómez Mejía (2012) notes how Sutatenza relied heavily on what he calls the “dream of a radio project,” meaning that the project had a strong belief in radio’s transformative power and its ability to modernize through its technological innovation. Similarly, Brian Larkin (2008), talking about making radio in Nigeria, notes how for the Nigerian colonial regime the introduction of radio, both the radio towers and the radio signal, meant the infrastructure to making things mobile and placing them in circulation. Like all infrastructures (bridges, railroads, telegraph), in Nigeria, radio was implemented in order to end the isolation of the Northern region and to make it modern.

Likewise, Sutatenza’s radio programming and print production was understood as a tool to make education mobile (to reach the remote areas) as a means to modernize the nation, especially its rural sectors. For the Sutatenza project, its programming was based on the belief that

el campesino, o habitante rural, puede con educación y entrenamiento, jugar un papel activo en su propio desarrollo y puede pasar de ser el ‘hombre marginado’ a una posición participante en la sociedad general.

the campesino or rural inhabitant can, with *education and training*, play an active role in his own development and can go from being the ‘marginal man’ to being in a position as participant in society (my emphasis) (Bernal Alarcón quoted in Gómez Mejía 2012, 51).

A parallel goal of Radio Sutatenza was that of suppressing the possibility of the rural population's insurrection. Hurtado (2012) explains that Conservative governments in Colombia in the mid-twentieth century sought to reduce illiteracy¹⁸ as a strategy to prevent an uprising of the people (69), and Radio Sutatenza was founded to serve these Conservative interests (Gómez 43). While the Church was worried about how urban life would corrupt the souls of the people who were migrating to the city, Sutatenza used a discourse against communism as a strategy to raise funds internationally. THE ACPO emerged right after the Liberal republic ended and at the beginning of the cold war, a time when there were significant preoccupations with the expansion of communism. Monsignor Salcedo and Sutatenza's leadership took advantage of this historical context to undertake fundraising campaigns in the United States and elsewhere. Using a discourse that presented Sutatenza as a strategy to fight communism, Salcedo got funding from UNESCO, the Vatican, and other major organizations (Roldán 2016b). A heading in *El Campesino* in 1963 that read "La cultura del pueblo ganará la batalla ante el comunismo" proves the underpinnings of such strategy. The Socialist Revolutionary Party was founded in 1926 and in 1930 was succeeded by the Communist Party. During the revolts of the 1920s many socialists were absorbed by the Liberals and the Liberal

¹⁸ According to a report by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) from December of 1956, in 1951, 42.5% of the population was illiterate. Larger numbers, close to 80%, were the case in the rural areas (Restrepo Torres 2014, 135).

Party named the popular classes as its basis and its foundation. In the 1930s, the Communist Party supported the governments of Olaya Herrera and López Pumarejo since, in the view of the Comintern, those were progressive regimes. Thus, communist ideals were flowing in the political spheres and both the Conservative Party and the Catholic Church were committed to stop them. Another force that played a big role was the United States with its anticommunist ideas. After World War II, Colombia reinforced the diplomatic alliance with the U.S. and, according to Reynaldo Pareja (1984), the *Voice of America*, which was produced by the U.S. International Communications Agency, distributed for free several radio programs to Radio Sutatenza. This strengthened affiliation with the U.S. was an important shift in their relationship compared with the tensions at the beginning of the twentieth century when the U.S. supported Panama's independence in 1903.

Additionally, Radio Sutatenza served the State's need to build a discourse that supported and unified the people and the territories and the purpose of disseminating propaganda to serve the needs of a certain political regime.¹⁹ The project had close collaborative relationships with state institutions like the Colombian Agricultural Institute (ICA) and the Agrarian Credit Bank (Caja de Crédito Agrario). Through *El*

¹⁹ See Susan Douglas (1999) and Michele Hilmes (1997) for explorations of the role of radio in building an imagined national identity in the United States, inspired by Benedict Anderson's exploration of the role of print media in the creation of an imagined homogeneous community.

Campesino and radio commercials, Radio Sutatenza disseminated information about these institutions' services, which included direct credit loans, training in agrarian techniques, and health care campaigns. In many ways the strategies of these state's institutions and those of Sutatenza were complementary. Sutatenza lent its auditorium in Bogotá to state representatives to announce and discuss the research and preliminary work done to design the agrarian reform of 1961 launched by Liberal president Alberto Lleras Camargo. In turn, the project benefited from the government's support to implement many of its own strategies.

Within the paradigm of modernization, Radio Sutatenza also served the Catholic Church's intentions at achieving social justice. In a context like Colombia's where rural communities lacked recognition as productive agents and as social and political actors,²⁰ here there was a project dedicated to promoting their inclusion in society.²¹ It is important to clarify that although Radio Sutatenza relied heavily on the community to implement its strategies; its main objective was not to open spaces of participation to listeners and students as producers of contents in the radio programming or the

²⁰ "The absence of recognition of the peasantry is seen in their non-inclusion in the social contract. That is, the formal institutions – the constitution, the law, jurisprudence, the government – do not recognize them as a distinct social group nor are their collective rights recorded explicitly (positively). In the daily life of the nation, the peasantry is unknown or stigmatized" (Corrales et al. 128).

²¹ Bernal Alarcón notes that one of ACPO's objectives was to include rural individuals in society through the attempt to diminish the social distances and to try to ensure that all citizens have access to and participation in the opportunities and services that society has to offer (Bernal Alarcón 1978, 58).

newspaper. However, there were still some instances where their participation was encouraged, as in the letters and coplas that they were invited to write, and the different ways in which those were shared publicly through radio broadcast and print media.

Thus, in the Radio Sutatenza, the interests of the Catholic Church and the Colombian state converged. The station fostered and replicated the close relationship that these two institutions have historically had. This close relationship had its roots in the post-independence period and the nation-building years. And, it is a unique feature of the Colombian context. In addition, this association between Church and state was mediated by literature and philology. In the following section, I discuss in more detail this peculiar convergence of politics, the Catholic Church, the Spanish language, and the literati's project of a nation in nineteenth century Colombia. In the twentieth century, Sutatenza actively participated and continued with the implementation of such a project.

The Grammarian Presidents and the Hispanic-Catholic Project

In nineteenth century Latin America, what Angel Rama called the lettered city, the concentration of power in the urban centers and among those who had the ability to read and write, was a major mechanism to create exclusion. In Colombia, the lettered city was paired with the grammatic state and the grammarian presidents (Jáuregui 1999). During the Conservative Hegemony (1886-1930), the country had a series of presidents who diligently studied Spanish philology and grammar (Rodríguez García

2010). These presidents were also lawyers, writers, and journalists. They were convinced of the importance of preserving the Spanish language as pure as possible and of maintaining the spread and supremacy of Catholicism, privileging in the process, the Hispanic heritage over the indigenous and the African ones. They wrote treatises, dictionaries, books, and anthologies defending the proper use of the Spanish language, its grammar rules, its correct pronunciation and its linguistics. Through language, they established a direct link to the Hispanic past (Deas 47). In doing so, they imagined a nation that was homogeneous and discriminatory.

The lettered elites in Colombia during the 1850s and 1860s were formed by university-educated men both from the big urban centers like Bogotá, Popayán, and Cartagena, and from some towns in the regional provinces. These men, in addition, formed the political class and worked as lawyers, merchants, and land-owners. Other men were also involved in politics like the priests in rural communities. In the larger cities, some artisans had been able to play active roles as voters and supporters of the university-educated politicians (Safford and Palacios 2002, 135). All these men across their different origins, socio-economic characteristics, and occupations, were members of either one of the two unique political parties: Liberal or Conservative.

What is interesting to note is that during the 1830s and 1840s when these two political parties emerged, they did not have major ideological differences.

The discord between the two factions was rather over how to respond to memories of the political battles of the 1820s, in which moderates [later named Conservatives] and *exaltados* [later named Liberals] had been allied in opposition to Bolivarian authoritarianism. In effect, during the 1830s they divided over issues that were ceasing to have more than symbolic significance (Safford and Palacios 2002, 136).

Both supported free-trade and Liberalism, both believed in a secular state, and both were equally individualistic in their views of the lowered classes. Their differences lay in the way they approached each of these stances. For example, with respect to the Church, Liberals were more confrontational wanting to take away the clergy's economic privileges and lands, while the Conservatives wanted to keep the Church at a distance but in amicable terms letting them have their privileges. Thus, these elites differed ideologically on the surface, but deeply were very similar and shared common interests.

The lettered elite's ideology also manifested in a shared conviction that what was needed after the independence was to expand civilization throughout the new unified territory. For these creole elites, the source of civilization was Europe and thus imitating their models was the best possible way to civilize the country (Rojas xxvi). This "desire for civilization" was sought after by "an enlightened creole elite" and what they had in mind was a "civilización mestiza" in which all traces of African and indigenous heritages would be erased. It was a project of whitening the nation shared across bipartisan differences (Rojas 2002, xxvi). This whitening project is evidenced by the censuses of 1851 and 1912. In the sixty years between these two, "the percentage of

'whites' in the population doubled (from 17 to 34.4 percent). By contrast, the percentage of 'Indians' in the population halved and the percentage of 'mixed' dropped by a quarter" (Safford and Palacios 2002, 260).

Again, both Liberals and Conservatives agreed on the civilizing whitening project, and they only differed on the means through which it should be undertaken. The Liberals supported the British Liberalism, federalism, and opposed control by the church or the State. Conservatives thought that the Spanish legacy of religion and morality were fundamental to the development of civilization. Thus, they were fervent Catholics concerned with order and authority and supported centralism (Rojas 2002, xxv).

This preoccupation of the Conservatives for keeping order and control was also evident in their passion for studying the Spanish language and their commitment to maintaining its supposed purity. For Malcolm Deas (1993), the main issue was that the language, its grammar rules, and its linguistics, allowed these literati to establish a direct connection with their Spanish past, which in turn defined the kind of republic, or in Rojas's terms civilizing project, that these men envisioned.

In nineteenth century Latin America, literature played a fundamental role in the construction of the notion of a unified territory. Specifically, in Colombia, this took the form of a literary gathering called *El Mosaico*. The gathering was founded in 1858 by

Eugenio Díaz Castro, the author of the novel *Manuela* whose radio adaptation by Sutatenza is analyzed here, and José María Vergara y Vergara. *El Mosaico* drafted the contours of Colombian national literature and consolidated literature's central role in the creation of national imaginaries (von der Walde 2007, 243). Their literary production focused mainly on the dissemination and consolidation of *costumbrismo*, a Hispanic artistic movement expressed both in the literary and the visual arts. *Costumbrismo* is characterized by detailed descriptions of local customs, geographical spaces, peoples, and social, and economic formations (von der Walde, 243).

According to Malcolm Deas (1993), in Colombia, it was mostly Conservatives who were worried with preserving the language untouched, and this preoccupation responded to the same principle that took them to be writers of *cuadros de costumbres* (50). The *cuadro de costumbres*, a literary genre within *costumbrismo*, is a written piece, in form of prose, where the author describes in detail everyday life practices and traditions of a place. This included speech styles, linguistic registers, and ways of talking. The intention was to document and to capture the diverse cultural expressions and linguistic variants of the territory (von der Walde, 248). The interest these literati had in popular verses, proverbs, and sayings was, for the most part, philological (Deas, 50).

Gramática y filología son predominantemente conservadoras en Colombia. Lo propio ocurre con el folclor y todo esto está relacionado por la visión compartida del pasado.

Grammar and philology are predominantly Conservative in Colombia. Something similar happens with folklore, and all these are related by a shared vision of the past (Deas, 49).

This shared vision of the past is one that aims at the historical and cultural continuity with the Spanish crown and the idea that after independence Colombia could be a replica of Spain. It honors “el recuerdo de aquellos hombres de fe y sin miedo que trajeron y establecieron la lengua de Castilla en estas regiones andinas” (“the memory of those men of faith and without fear who brought and established the language of Castilla in these Andean regions”) (Miguel Antonio Caro quoted in Deas, 47).

Moreover, as Rojas notes, in a territory where ninety percent of the population was illiterate, the few men who had access to the written word – the remaining mere ten percent – had the power, and their literacy made them the owners of civilization. In this respect, Erna von der Walde (2007) brilliantly clarifies that

más allá de la superficial diferencia entre la cultura letrada y la oral cuando se mide sólo por los medios que utilizan para su transmisión, lo que separa sustancialmente al letrado del resto de la comunidad es el logos civilizador y colonizador que impulsa a través de la letra. Es decir, no es el medio mismo – la escritura –, sino su inscripción dentro de una sociedad dividida en castas, razas y clases lo que hace que la práctica del hombre de letras hispanoamericano se entienda como una continuación de esa lógica. El espacio de la letra se traduce en un espacio de control de los cuerpos (abolición de otras prácticas escriturales) y de las mentes (saber decir) que se halla estrechamente ligado a la vigilancia del lenguaje por medio de la norma gramatical

Beyond the superficial difference between the literate culture and the oral one, when measured only by the means they use for its transmission, what separates, substantially, the literato from the rest of the community is the civilizing and colonizing logos that he implements through the letter. That is, it is not the medium itself – writing— but its inscription within a society divided into castes, races, and classes what makes the practice of the Hispanic American man of letters be understood as a continuation of that logic. The space of the letter translates into a space of control of the bodies (abolition of other scriptural practices) and of the minds (to know how to say) which is closely linked to the vigilance of the language by means of the grammatical norm (245).

Additionally, these lettered men were mostly concentrated in the bigger urban centers. Although the two political parties had members both from the big cities and from the smaller regional towns and provinces, men from the urban centers looked down on the people of the provinces. This is evident in the writings of Francisco Soto from Pamplona in 1831. Soto had risen through merit. He had been born in San José de Cúcuta and studied law in Santafé de Bogotá, however, he complained of Bogotanos' tendency "to suppose themselves infallible, and for that reason to disregard the ideas of those of us who live in the provinces" (Soto quoted in Safford and Palacios 2002, 153).

This situation was related to the tensions between those who sought more political autonomy from the regions, and those who wanted to keep most of the power centered in Bogotá and with conflicts over higher education policies. These conflicts dated from the 1820s into the 1850s. For example, in 1826, authorities in Bogotá implemented restrictions so legal and professional instruction could only be offered in

those centers of colonial aristocracy like Bogotá, Cartagena, and Popayán (Safford and Palacios 2002, 154). However, the lettered men of Colombia included grammarians and philologists from the big urban centers and from the provinces.

Notable representatives from the provinces in the nineteenth century were, among others, Candelario Obeso from the Caribbean city of Mompox, Jorge Isaacs from the Cauca region, and Eugenio Díaz Castro, who was born in Soacha, a small town in Cundinamarca. These three writers occupy ambivalent and contradictory positions in relation to a homogeneous literary project of a nation. A writer of African descent, Obeso published most notably *Cantos populares de mi tierra* (1877), a collection of poems that inscribed the way common people in the Mompox area spoke and gave voice to its rural inhabitants and those who did not have access to education or literacy. Obeso, also a philologist, published one play in three acts, several translations, and adaptations of language courses. Jorge Isaacs was a converted Jew and a Conservative that became a Liberal later in his life. In his novel *María*, which has been deemed the Colombian national novel, he also portrays the speech and customs of Afro-descendent communities of the time.²² Eugenio Díaz Castro, whose subject position as author of

²² For in depth studies of Obeso's and Isaacs's ambivalent positions in the Colombian lettered city and grammatic state, see Jáuregui, Carlos A. 1999. "Candelario Obeso: Entre la espada del romanticismo y la pared del proyecto nacional." *Revista Iberoamericana*, 567-590; von der Walde, Erna. 2007. "El 'Cuadro de Costumbres' y el proyecto hispano-católico de unificación nacional en Colombia." *Arbor* 183 (724): 243-253;

Manuela I explore further in the first chapter, lived in the rural areas most of his life even though he had been educated in Bogotá. Ideologies of race, religion, and class made these three writers both insiders and outsiders of the lettered city and the grammatic state.

As Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2014) reminds us, some of the literati of the nineteenth century were Liberals who contributed to the existence of competing ideological, political, and national projects. “In the mid to late nineteenth century, the cultivation of philological endeavors was mediated by scholars of many different political persuasions and with a wide variety of interests” (79). In her study on popular song in nineteenth century Colombia, Ochoa notes that José María Vergara y Vergara, Candelario Obeso, and Jorge Isaacs used similar techniques of orthographic manipulation of sound with very different political agendas (78). Yet, there were still unequal power relations among them.

All in all, in Colombia, wealth was not the only source of exercise of power but also the ability to read and write. “Grammar conferred on the literati the capacity not only to write the rules of grammar, political economy, and constitutional law, but also to impose their vision from the highest levels of political power” (Rojas 55). It is not

Ochoa Gautier, Ana María. 2014. “On Popular Song.” In *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Colombia*, 77-121. Durham: Duke University Press.

surprising then that the writers of the history and the literature of the emerging nation were one and same with the presidents, vice-presidents, lawyers, governors, and local leaders.

The Sounds of Radio: Disrupting and Reinforcing the Lettered City

The emergence of radio technology during the early decades of the twentieth century changed the soundscape put in place by the nineteenth century lettered city and grammatic state. In dialogue with Rama, Ana María Ochoa Gautier (2006) has proposed to talk about Latin America as an aural region to call attention to the fact that the auditory realm has been and continues to be as fundamental as the lettered in the constitution of Latin America's public sphere. This movement from the lettered city to the aural region is not an attempt to oppose one to the other nor is it trying to argue that the sonic replaces the lettered. It exposes the fact that aurality, meaning the practices of listening both by lettered elites and by common people, what was heard, and who was heard, was also embedded in power. Thus, the construction of alterity and exclusion is executed through the letter and the aural in an overlapping manner.

In the twentieth century, radio allowed for the voices of those that the lettered city left out to be heard and circulate more widely. Suddenly more and more people had access to information and knowledge that they had been denied. Unlike print media, which required a long learning process, radio only required two ears and the disposition

to listen (Franco 2002). Thus, radio in its beginnings was a democratizing medium that expanded access both to the production and the reception of information. Although it is true that soon after its emergence it was co-opted by political and commercial interests, in Latin America and other regions, it has also developed as the media for those who have been excluded from the walls of literacy. Today, radio is produced both by major commercial conglomerates and by indigenous communities across the globe (Gumucio 1989; Gomez Mejia 2001; Murillo 2008; Cárcamo-Huechante 2013; Fisher 2004, 2016).

Even though by the middle of the twentieth century literacy rates had increased significantly in Colombia, going from 1% in the 1850s to 45% in the 1950s, in the rural areas the numbers reached 80% (Restrepo Torres 2014, 135). Thus, in the context of rural Colombia, radio emerged as a space that cracked the walls of the lettered city and shacked its foundations. In Latin America, most people did not gain access to modernity through the book; they accessed it through media technologies and the audiovisual image (Martín-Barbero quoted in Herlinghaus 2002, 21). It was radio before television the technology that allowed this access to people who did not read or write. In mid-twentieth century, the sounds of radio and the spaces of participation it fostered reconfigured the intricate relationships between power, aurality, and literacy in the region.

In Colombia, the studies on radio have focused mostly on the social uses of radio programming and especially on the radio as a space of participation for marginalized communities and for the construction of citizenship.²³ Moreover, this understanding of radio informs the current cultural policies about radio in Colombia.²⁴ The scholarly work done on the experience of Radio Sutatenza has privileged the sociological, pedagogical, and communicational perspectives. Scholars have explored the efficacy of the literacy campaigns, the role of media in the development of the communities and the countryside, the way Sutatenza's educational media production changed the rural communities' behaviors, attitudes, and practices, or the impact of the campaigns on their everyday lives.²⁵ Meanwhile, the sonic sphere of Sutatenza has received almost no

²³ See Murillo, Mario. 2008. "Weaving a Communication Quilt in Colombia: Civil Conflict, Indigenous Resistance, and Community Radio in Northern Cauca." In *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics*, edited by Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart, 145-159. Durham: Duke University Press; Vargas, Lorenzo. 2014. "Producing Citizenship in Contexts of Conflict: Citizenship Practices among Youth Participating in Save the Children's Media Production Programs in Colombia." eTheses; Department of Art History and Communications Studies. Montreal: McGill University. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=127239; Pérez Bernal, Juan Carlos. 2012. *Ser ciudadano en la radio: experiencias exitosas de comunicación y periodismo para la construcción de ciudadanía*. Primera edición. Serie Comunicación social y periodismo. Bogotá, D.C.: Escuela de Comunicación Social y Periodismo, Universidad Sergio Arboleda; Rocha Torres, César Augusto. 2010. *La radio comunitaria en Cundinamarca: una posibilidad para pensar el desarrollo*. Bogotá: Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios, Facultad de Ciencias de la Comunicación; Gómez Mejía, Gabriel, and Juan Carlos Quintero Velásquez. 2001. "Para entender la radio comunitaria hoy." *Signo y Pensamiento Universidad Javeriana* 38 (XX):140-147. Pereira, José Miguel. 2001. "Comunicación y ciudadanía: Apuntes para comprender las radios comunitarias en Colombia." *Signo y Pensamiento Universidad Javeriana* 38 (XX):102-116.

²⁴ See Programa Radios Ciudadanas. Espacios para la democracia, Colombia. 2010. *Voces y sonoridades de un proceso ciudadano: Sistematización de una experiencia social*. Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura.

²⁵ Some titles include Camilo Torres Restrepo y Berta Corredor Rodríguez. 1961. *Las escuelas radiofónicas de Sutatenza-Colombia; evaluación sociológica de los resultados*. Friburgo, Suiza, Oficina Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de FERES. Bernal Alarcón, Hernando. 2012. "Radio Sutatenza: Un modelo

attention by scholars interested in the project. This has resulted in lack of awareness of what can be called the Sutatenza soundscape. My work is an important contribution to fill this gap.²⁶

My work dialogues with radio studies in the Global South such as Dany Fisher's work on Aboriginal radio in Australia, Dorothea Schulz's work on radio in Mali, Rosalía Winocur's work on radio in Mexico, and Cárcamo-Huechante's work with Mapuche radio in Chile. Following these works, this dissertation also highlights, how radio is a medium simultaneously crossed by multiple forces and mediations. These forces and mediations range from the State, religion, and economic and political interests, to the voice, cultural identities, notions of citizenship, participation, and agency.²⁷ In the field

colombiano de industria cultural y educativa." *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* 46 (82): 4-41. Jane M. Rausch. 2012. "Promoción de alfabetización en la frontera de los Llanos: la influencia de Radio Sutatenza y Acción Cultural Popular en el departamento del Meta, 1950 a 1990." *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* 46 (82): 93-128. For a thorough bibliography on ACPO go to http://www.banrepcultural.org/sites/default/files/acpo_-_radio_sutatenza_0.pdf. This bibliography does not include other recent work by Hernando Vaca Guitiérrez. 2011. "Procesos interactivos mediáticos de Radio Sutatenza con los campesinos de Colombia (1947-1989)." *Revista Signo y Pensamiento* 30 (58): 254-269; and Gutiérrez, Eduardo. 2010. "En Busca del Pueblo. Popular, culto y masivo, luchas de sentido en la radio colombiana a finales de los años 40." Paper presented at X Congreso de ALAIC Comunicación en Tiempos de Crisis. Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, September 22, 23 and 24.

²⁶ The concept of soundscape can be traced back to R. Murray Schafer (1977). He proposed the concept of "soundscape" as equivalent to that of "landscape" in that it encompasses all sounds that are available to the ear in a given environment. The term also points to the fact that, as "landscape" is constituted by ideologies and practices of seeing, soundscape is determined by ideologies and practices of listening. Thus, the concept brings attention to the fact that sound is produced and listened to historically and politically.

²⁷ See Fisher, Daniel. 2009. "Mediating Kinship: Country, Family, and Radio in Northern Australia." *Cultural Anthropology*, 24 (2): 280-312; Fisher, Daniel. 2012. "From the Studio to the Street: Producing Voice in Indigenous Australia." In *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century*. New York and London: New York University Press; Fisher, Daniel. 2016. *The Voice and Its Doubles: Media and Music in Northern Australia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press; Schulz, Dorothea. 2014. "The Power of Resonance:

of radio studies, this dissertation also dialogues with Liz Gunner's work on Zulu radio in South Africa in the sense that it acknowledges and foregrounds the intermediality of radio, the role of language, and ways in which radio productions are in constant tension with other media like theater and literature.²⁸ On the same vein, my work seeks to highlight the materiality of sound in the radio productions through analyses of voices, vocalizations, speech styles, music, and sound effects and to explore what they mean politically and aesthetically.

Like the above-mentioned studies, my work engages with radio studies and sound studies as emerging fields in relation to one another and highlights their intrinsic intermediality. Although radio is an aural medium, the majority of scholarly works on radio have often overlooked the nuances that studying the materiality of voice, music, and sound effects can bring. Likewise, sound studies have not given much attention to the contributions that the study of radio sounds and its infrastructure can make to a

Music, Local Radio Stations, and the Sounds of Cultural Belonging in Mali." In *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in the 21st Century*, edited by Ebenezer Obadare & Wendy Willems; foreword by Patrick Chabal. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey; Winocur, Rosalía. 2002. *Ciudadanos mediáticos: La construcción de lo público en la radio*. Barcelona: Gedisa; Winocur, Rosalía. 2005. "Radio and Everyday Life: Uses and Meanings in the Domestic Sphere." *Television & New Media* 6, no. 3 (August 2005): 319–32; Winocur, Rosalía. 2007. "La Participación en la Radio: Una Posibilidad Negociada de Ampliación del Espacio Público." *Razón y Palabra* 12 (55): n.p.; Cárcamo-Huechante, Luis E. 2013. "Indigenous Interference: Mapuche Use of Radio in Times of Acoustic Colonialism." *Latin American Research Review* 48: 50-68.

²⁸ Gunner, Liz. 2000. "Wrestling with the Present, Beckoning to the Past: Contemporary Zulu Radio Drama." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26 (2): 223-237; Gunner, Liz. 2002. "Resistant Medium: The Voices of Zulu Radio Drama in the 1970s". *Theatre Research International* 27 (3): 259–74; Gunner, Liz. 2018. *Radio Soundings: South Africa and the Black Modern*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

deeper understanding of mediated aurality. Within this approach, my work offers a new dimension to studies that have explored Radio Sutatenza. The history of the station has focused on its emblematic literacy campaign. This, in my view, shows the centrality that literate culture has in academia and how the history of modernity has been interpreted as occularcentric. The aural realm has been left aside and, in the background, curiously enough in a project that had a very clear auditory dimension. The notion of intermediality allows for an articulation of these two spheres: the lettered and the aural. It also offers a more multifaceted understanding of the Sutatenza project, as one where several media intersected in different ways and directions: print (books and newspapers), manuscripts, radio, voice. This approach to the project offers a radically new perspective to Sutatenza studies and Colombian radio studies. As it was mentioned, the majority of these have left aside radio's, more generally, and Sutatenza's, specifically, aesthetic dimension and its role in the production and negotiation of meanings around rural community life.

By examining the politics and poetics of sound production in a rural radio station, my work participates in an exciting emerging field that questions Latin America's modernity as eminently visual. Unlike previous sociological, pedagogical, and communicational studies of the Sutatenza project, my approach highlights its

political and aesthetic dimension by dialoguing with theories and concepts from literary, cultural, and sound studies.

Radio Sutatenza's Mediations and Intermediality

Radio Sutatenza is a place of encounter and negotiation of projects that reach out in several directions: attempts to continue a Christian indoctrination of rural populations, civilizing ideologies that were intended to make rural communities modern, and ideologies of social justice that sought to include them within society. In addition to the mediation of the state and the Church, Sutatenza is also a site where multiple media technologies and the economic and pedagogical forces behind them function simultaneously—radio, voice, newspaper, textbooks, manuscripts – and their encounter makes for an intricate site to explore rural community-making narratives.

In studying the intersections between media, religion, and community, Birgit Meyer (2009) proposes to understand religion as a practice of mediation to which media are intrinsic. Meyer notes that, previously, scholars focused on studies of religion and media. Meyer, by contrast, follows recent studies that advance the notion of religion as mediation, an understanding that is especially useful in the Sutatenza context. Although I do not focus my analysis on the making of a Catholic community per se, a central question to my study is the process of narrating the making of rural communities in this

mediated context. Under this light, Catholicism in the context of Radio Sutatenza becomes one of the different layers of mediation.

In his conceptualization of mediations, Jesús Martín-Barbero (1987), Colombian-Spanish media and cultural critic, proposes an understanding of the process of media reception as an embattled field. The notion of mediations in his study of the media highlights the fact that media is consumed in the context of everyday life and not in isolated contexts. Further, he argues, media consumption is a contested process where audiences continuously negotiate meanings offered by media producers. Viewers and listeners are in an active engagement and in a constant give-and-take process where mediatic messages dialogue with listeners' worldviews, belief systems, costumes, and historical situations in the world. This understanding of the radiophonic medium as mediation also informs my approach to the cultural production in Sutatenza.

Following Martín-Barbero, Eduardo Gutiérrez's findings in his study of Colombian radio at the end of the 1940s²⁹ showed that the notion of *el pueblo*, which in Gutiérrez's work encompasses the rural populations, dwells in a struggle of meanings as learners, parishioners, consumers, fans, and listeners, among others. Gutiérrez focuses on radio as a site where listeners construct, appropriate, and inhabit their being an

²⁹ Gutiérrez, Eduardo. 2010. "En busca del pueblo: Popular, culto y masivo, luchas de sentido en la radio colombiana a finales de los años 40." Paper presented at X Congreso de ALAIC Comunicación en Tiempos de Crisis. Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, September 22, 23 and 24.

audience in diverse ways. Following Gutiérrez's work and moving away from understandings that anchor the people in the past and in tradition, I understand the people as a dynamic notion, and more importantly, as "signifier and as actor" (Gutiérrez, n.p.). Thus, I address Sutatenza's users as beneficiaries, parishioners, students, listeners, and actors, depending on the roles they play in different contexts.

Similarly, Benedict Anderson's theorizations on the nation as an imagined community are central to my analyses. In *Imagined Communities* (1991), Benedict Anderson argues that the cultural revolution brought about by the creation of the printing press was a necessary condition for the emergence of the idea of a nation. The novel and the newspaper, made possible by the printing press, enabled a new organization of everyday experience and a new conception of time. This new way of relating to time involved a sense of simultaneity, the 'meanwhile', in Anderson's words, where many individuals who did not know each other physically developed a sense of being connected or a part of the same group through reading the newspaper or a novel.

This ability to imagine each other as part of one community was possible due to the circulation of the book as commodity. In other words, the forces of capitalism together with the forces of the printing press, working together, or what he calls print capitalism, were pivotal in the emergence of a national consciousness. Anderson's notion highlights the fact that communities are not given but imagined, and as such they

are mediated. But this notion of being connected across moderately (or largely) distant locations (a nation) only involved those who could actually read a newspaper or a novel. In a context where 80% of the rural population was illiterate, radio became an available means to narrate the nation to those who were not reading novels or newspapers. As a new technology to imagine the nation, radio is also a mediation crossed and influenced by the forces of capitalism. The radio transmitter together with radio shows and programs became commodities. Likewise, radio as medium, during the twentieth century, consolidated as a powerful cultural industry in tandem with the discographic industry. The narration of *Manuela* in its sonic version; the composition, broadcast and publication of *coplas*; and the production of the *Cuadros campesinos* radio dramas and written plays, emerge in this highly mediated and contested ground that could be called, following Anderson, radio capitalism.

The notion of intermediality is a helpful one to foreground the highly mediated context in which the narratives analyzed here emerged, and to account for the interactions and intersections of these mediations. It also points to a blurring of limits between different media and a porous exchange of elements among them. Furthermore, it speaks of the transgression of genre-established rules and to these narratives' hybrid character, their being in-between genres.

Intermediality concerns mainly a crossing of borders between media and genres.

According to Hermann Herlinghaus, intermediality can be defined as

Prácticas transgresoras entre diversos medios que se constituyen en *interculturalidad conflictiva* y remite a las prácticas populares que, narrando o imaginando narrativamente, atraviesan, ocupan y desocupan distintos terrenos simbólicos ... Igualmente, apunta a la versatilidad que permite atravesar géneros y medios generando intersticios y nuevos puentes conceptuales.

Transgressive practices between various media that constitute themselves in *conflicting interculturality* and refers to popular practices that, narrating or imagining narratively, traverse, occupy, and vacate different symbolic terrains ... Likewise, it points to the versatility that allows to traverse genres and media generating interstices and new conceptual bridges (Herlinghaus 2002, 40).

The term has been used by and defined from a wide variety of disciplines, which points to its versatility. Media studies, literary studies, sociology, film studies, and art history have made use of the term with changing objectives. Several scholars have noted the concept's potential for vagueness, inconsistency, and misunderstanding (Rajewsky 2005, 45). This is because its meaning is tied to that of medium, whose definition is one of the most contested and shifting ones (Rippl 6). Yet, when clearly defined, intermediality as a field, and as a critical category, can become "one of the most promising and invigorating research areas within postcolonial studies today" (Neumann 512). In theorizing intermediality, Irina Rajewsky highlights, precisely, a proliferation of

heterogeneous conceptions of intermediality and heterogeneous ways in which the term is used (2005, 45). She then sets to offer clear definitions of intermediality, both in a broader and a narrower sense, with the purpose of using it in her analyses of specific media products. Yet, she does not advocate for a unifying theory of intermediality or one intermedial perspective as such. Instead, she advocates for the term's heuristic and practical value (2005, 45).

In the broader sense, intermediality works as an umbrella-term, and as such, it describes all kinds of phenomena that take place between media: intramedial phenomena where there is no transgression of media boundaries; intermedial phenomena where there is a crossing of borders between media; and, transmedial phenomena where a certain motif, style, aesthetic or discourse appear across different media. These three notions that describe relationships between media and arts have had a revisited interest with the emergence of digital media and its enhancement of the inter-exchange and simultaneity of multiple arts and media in one platform, made possible by digital technologies like the Internet, among others. However, questions about the ways how media interact and relate reach back to ancient times. Rippl notes how already in Greece and Rome, in his *Ars poetica*, Horace (75-8 BCE) referred to Simonides of Ceos's "as in painting so in poetry," which observed structural as well as functional analogies

between text and image and was later highly influential in the Renaissance (4). Thus, intermedial configurations and medial border blurring are not at all novelties, but

new aspects and problems have emerged especially with respect to electronic and digital media and have led to a heightened awareness of the materiality and mediality of artistic practices in general (Rajewsky 2005, 44)

It was during the Renaissance that painting and poetry were first referred to as sister arts, even if in a competitive arena, and when writers and artists proposed ideas of medial purification and separation (Rippl 6).³⁰ However, from the sister arts paradigm to interart studies and comparative arts, studies focused on the interactions between literature and the so-called high arts such as music and painting (Rippl 6). By contrast, intermediality studies

are more 'democratic' since they not only deal with art forms and highbrow cultural products exclusively, but with all kinds of cultural configurations, be they performances, products of popular culture or the new media (Rippl 6).

My understanding of the term intermediality and the way I use it throughout this dissertation is grounded in the theorizations by Irina Rajewsky (2005, 2010) and Hermann Herlinghaus (2002, 2004, 2006).³¹ These two authors are by no means the only

³⁰ For an overview of the different questions of intermediality through history and the disciplines see Rippl (2015). For a history of the use of the term see Herlinghaus (2002), Rajewsky (2005) and Rippl (2015).

³¹ Werner Wolf, also in the field of literary studies, specifically, in connection to narratology, has developed a compelling theory of intermediality in the European and North American contexts, see Wolf (2005, 2011, 2015).

or most important ones in the field of intermediality studies. However, due to their definitions and usage of the term, their theorizations are the most helpful ones for the analysis of intermedial phenomena in the Sutatenza project. Both authors ground their definitions of the term in literary and cultural studies, with Herlinghaus doing so, specifically, in the Latin American context. In addition, neither one confine their exploration to literary texts but, instead, take various forms of medial articulation into account. That is precisely one of intermediality's contributions to the field of literary studies: an expansion of its object of study to include various media and artistic products and configurations. This move foregrounds that

literature's role in a cultural field characterized by networks of media and of artistic constellations has to be investigated" and that "questions concerning literature's 'mediality', i.e. its status as verbal or written text, as printed ... or digitally encoded document ..., are crucial to the understanding of how meaning is produced (Rippl 10).

The notion of intermediality, of course, implies that there are actual borders between media that can be transgressed and has the potential of falling into essentializing media borders and into media purism. Scholars such as Vonßkamp and Weingart warn against this and claim the constructedness and historicity of any conception of medium referring to Mitchell and Derrida (Weingart 2001; Vonßkamp and Weingart 2005 quoted in Rippl, 16). By contrast, Rajewsky has argued that

The concept of the border is the precondition for techniques of crossing or challenging, dissolving or emphasizing medial boundaries, which can

consequently be experienced and reflected on as constructs and conventions. [...] My thesis thus encompasses the idea of fostering a process of rethinking the notion of boundaries: it should be shifted from taxonomies to the dynamic and creative potential of the border itself (Rajewsky 2010, 63-65).

As Rippl notes, it is precisely against rigid and essentializing conceptions of media borders as well as media purism that theoreticians like Rajewsky and, I add, Herlinghaus point to intermediality as a notion that understands media “as relational constellations and situational incidences” (Rippl 17).

Herlinghaus, for instance, assembles his definition of intermediality on an understanding of cultural heterogeneity that transcends simplifying notions of diversity or plurality and gives attention to cultural matrixes that stem from the mass media (2002, 38). More important, Herlinghaus proposes a notion of cultural heterogeneity that can “acceder y problematizar las asimetrías entre ‘discurso’ y ‘narración’ las que constituyen un fondo clave de los combates simbólicos de la modernidad” (“access and problematize the asymmetries between ‘discourse’ and ‘narration,’ which constitute a key foundation for modernity’s symbolic struggles”) (2002, 41). In these asymmetric relationships, there are conflicts that not only happen between ‘lo alto’ (high) and ‘lo bajo’ (low), but also as a negotiation of several levels at the same time. His notion of “interculturalidad conflictiva” (“conflictive interculturality”), in his above-quoted definition of intermediality, refers to that negotiation. For Herlinghaus, intermediality is

the critical category that lets him “reemplazar la ecuación entre ‘popular’ y ‘masivo’ (o su romántica oposición) por un interés en sus modos de interacción” (“replace the equation between ‘popular’ and ‘massive’ (or their romantic opposition) with an interest in their modes of interaction”) (2002, 42).

In order to avoid falling in essentializing media or media borders, in the analyses that follow, I develop an understanding of intermediality that integrates, as noted, Martín-Barbero’s notion of mediations as territories of constant negotiation. I also use Bakhtin’s theorizations on the inner structures of the novel (crossed by centripetal and centrifugal forces in constant movement), Bhabha’s understanding of nations as dynamic and embattled fields, and Victor Turner’s theorizations on the agonistic relationship between social drama and stage drama.

Consequently, intermedial narratives are those narratives that, in the crossing of borders of media and genres, dwell between the aural and the written and emerge as embattled fields of signification. In these narratives, the centripetal forces of the pedagogical, that try to unify, homogenize, and centralize, are in tension and continuously change gears with the centrifugal forces of the performative, that create anew, resist, and transform. The studies that I undertake in this dissertation contribute to the scarce body of work on intermediality in postcolonial contexts and the Global

South. They also offer an exploration of intermediality studies among analog media, as opposed to the many number of works on digital media.

Intermedial Narratives of Community-Making

Throughout the following chapters, I call the group of cultural productions analyzed in this dissertation intermedial narratives to highlight the convergence of literary and auditory media and their ideologies in narrating rural community-making. The notion of intermedial narratives also accounts for the mediated ground in which these narratives were created, a ground where radio, writing, and religion are active mediations.

In the first chapter, “Building the Nation from Below? *Manuela’s* Accounts from the Countryside,” I delve into the politics and the poetics of the adaptation of the nineteenth century Colombian novel *Manuela: Novela de costumbres* (1858) into a radionovela by the same name for a twentieth-century audience. I focus on the ideological underpinnings that inform what elements of the original story are included and privileged and what elements are left out and silenced. I also inquire about the construction of a sense of place and of belonging by examining in detail the sonic production of rural characters and places through voice, music, and sound effects. I support my analysis on Bakhtin’s theorizations on the inner structures of the novel and his notion of centripetal and centrifugal forces in the production of meaning within the

genre. Likewise, I use Bhabha's understanding of the nation as a dynamic and embattled field where the forces of the pedagogical and the performative are in a continuous clash and exchange. I sustain that the radionovela performs a continuity of the male Hispanic-Catholic lettered project of a nation began in the nineteenth century and, at the same time, challenges that same project through the multiplicity of ideological perspectives that take voice in its aural storytelling.

In the second chapter, "Voicing Rural Community: *Copla* Composition, Broadcast and Publication," I analyze coplas composed by listeners, users and leaders of Sutatenza and the implications of their radio broadcast and print publication as another form of intermedial narratives of community-making, also in the middle of the aural and the lettered. Sutatenza's officials invited leaders, students and listeners to compose their own coplas and to participate in copla competition. Listeners and students sent coplas to the station's leadership in handwritten letters with the expectation for them to be published in the weekly or read aloud in the radio show *El correo de Sutatenza*. Understanding these poetic compositions through Ranciere's notion of aesthetic events, I develop my analysis also dialoguing with Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed and an expanded definition of citizen participation proposed by Rosalía Winocur (2002) and Clemencia Rodríguez (2001). I argue that copla composition, broadcast and publication emerge as a space of self-expression and citizen participation and became a means for

rural community-making across the territory. At the same time, Sutatenza's intense promotion of copla composition establishes a clear connection with nineteenth century costumbrismo, and more important, with its white Hispanic-Catholic project of a nation. In this way, Sutatenza's copla collection represent both a continuity and a departure from this project.

In the third and last chapter, "Staging Daily Life: *Cuadros campesinos* Radio Dramatizations and Rural Theater," I explore the narratives *Cuadros campesinos* written by Elisio Rodríguez. *Cuadros campesinos* were first written for radio and produced and broadcast weekly through Radio Sutatenza from 1961 through at least 1976. They were then published in print, in 1976, as a collection of seven plays for open-air theater. The audience for the radio dramas and the written plays were leaders and users of the radiophonic schools in the different veredas, and the stories in both media had a pedagogical purpose. They were meant to prompt deep thinking and discussion around rural communities' problems and challenges. In this sense, they also worked as mirrors that created a reflection. I approach the analysis of this reflection using Victor Turner's concept of social drama and its agonistic relationship with stage drama in organized communities. Meanwhile, I highlight the aurality of this reflection by proposing that the *Cuadros campesinos* created a reverberating effect in their audiences. I analyze the radio dramatizations by hearing in detail the choice of vocalizations and intonations to

express conflict and agreement, listening closely to modes and styles of speech as ways to represent regionalisms and everyday life, and paying special attention to the use of dialogue to handle confrontation. I also explore the trajectory of the *Cuadros* from sound to print to explore the tensions between radio and writing in the Sutatenza project. I sustain that the radio dramatizations reinforce the construction of the region as an ideological device that creates the other of the Andean region and its inhabitants and serve as a vehicle of Sutatenza's civilizing project and pedagogical system. At the same time, the portrayal of regional accents circulated the multiplicity of speech styles of the territory, and the narratives provided rural communities with tools and strategies to organize and unite forces to resist the status quo and implement changes in their localities.



Figure 4: Map of Colombia, denoting its limits, and its administrative division.
 © Wikimedia Commons.

Building the Nation from Below? *Manuela's* Accounts from the Countryside

On December 21, 1858, in Bogotá, a man wearing *ruana* and *alpargatas* visited the office of Colombian journalist, politician, and writer, José María Vergara y Vergara with a book manuscript of his authorship. Vergara y Vergara described in detail the man's attire and manners adding that

[e]ste vestido que es el de los hijos del pueblo, no engañaba: se veía sin dificultad que si así vestía era por costumbre campesina; pero su piel blanca, sus manos finas, sus modales corteses, sus palabras discretas daban a conocer que era un hombre educado.

This attire that is that of the sons of the people did not deceive: one saw without difficulty that if he so dressed was by peasant custom. But his white skin, his thin hands, his polite manners, his discreet words showed that he was an educated man ([1865] 1973, 202)

This man was Eugenio Díaz Castro, and the manuscript was that of *Manuela, novela de costumbres colombianas*.

This anecdote illustrates an unusual combination for the period. A man dressed in the manner of "the sons of the people" had written a novel at a time when the great majority of people who wore *ruana* and *alpargatas* were farmers and laborers who did not know how to read and write. It also illustrates Díaz Castro's paradoxical subject position as an unpretentious intellectual who made a statement on human equality through his attire. Furthermore, Díaz Castro's subject position accounts for the

ideological tensions of the novel. In it, a Conservative Catholic, landowner himself, narrates the lives of the disadvantaged, the farmers, and the laborers who are victims of landowners' exploitations.

Díaz Castro wrote the novel right after the civil war of 1854. In this war, for the first time, a social class different from the elite, the *artesanos* (working class artisans), led by General Melo, took power through a coup d'état. In this context, the novel gives voice to a wide range of political perspectives and to competing projects of nation-building. Why did Sutatenza choose to adapt and retell this story? Why *Manuela* and not *María*, the consolidated national novel of Colombia, for example?³²

In this chapter, I delve into the politics and the poetics of the adaptation of nineteenth century Colombian novel *Manuela: novela de costumbres* (1858) into a radio soap opera by the same name for a twentieth-century audience. I focus on the ideological underpinnings that inform what elements of the original story are included and privileged and what elements are left out and silenced. I also inquire about the construction of a sense of place and of belonging by examining in detail the sonic production of rural characters and places through voice, music, and sounds effects. I argue that *Manuela's* twentieth century sonic version modeled ways of being Catholic

³² The archive counts with radionovela adaptations of well-known US American works like *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Little Women*, English novels like *Treasure Island*, as well as Latin American classics like *Amelia*. *María*, the commonly named national novel of Colombia is not part of Sutatenza's archive.

citizens of an allegedly unified territory that was still in the making in the midst of violence. Further, I sustain that the radionovela is a highly contradictory and unstable genre that dwells in the in-betweenness of the literary and the aural and is better described as intermedial. From its intermediality, the radionovela *Manuela* performs a continuity of the male Hispanic Catholic project of a nation began in the nineteenth century and, at the same time, challenges that same project through the multiplicity of ideological perspectives that take voice in its aural storytelling. Through this examination, I clarify the role of Sutatenza in Colombian community-making processes and radio's part in narrating the nation in the twentieth century.

The story of the original novel resonated deeply with many of the pressing issues that rural Colombia was experiencing in mid-twentieth century. Land ownership was still a contested issue, violence had invaded the homes of rural Colombians, and labor exploitation and abuses by landowners tinted rural labor relationships. While Sutatenza predicated and actively implemented educative and training strategies to integrate rural Colombians as active participants of society, it was also trying to unify the people under one umbrella of Catholic citizenship that ignored Colombia's cultural heterogeneity. Vergara y Vergara notes of Díaz Castro's writings, that "un suave tinte de moral cristiana baña sus escritos como la tibia luz crepuscular dora los campos cuando va a ausentarse el sol" ("a soft hint of Christian morale bathes his writings like a dim

crepuscular light gilds the fields of bronze at sundown”) (Vergara y Vergara 1866). What in the novel was a “dim crepuscular light,” in the radio soap becomes a bright beam of light that impregnates the whole story. In order to better understand the ways how the radionovela both endorses and contests the Hispanic-Catholic national project, I will begin by providing the framework that helps me explain *Manuela’s* mediations, its intermediality, and its unstable and contradictory dimensions.

Aural Manuela’s Mediations and Intermediality

During the nineteenth century, when the newly independent communities in América advanced the construction of the nations, in Colombia, 99% of the population did not read or write. Thus, it was the lettered men who were imagining this nation, and in Colombia, these lettered men were often philologists and grammarians. By mid-twentieth century this percentage had gone down to 45% but remained at 80% in the rural areas. Radio then became an available means to imagine and to narrate the nation to those who were not reading novels or newspapers. In the Latin American context characterized by high rates of illiteracy, it was radio the infrastructure that would better fulfill the expectations of solidifying the population’s perception of them being part of a territory. The radionovela was at the center of processes of imagining and narrating the nation in the radio.

For Jesús Martín-Barbero (1987), media consumption is a contested process where viewers and listeners continuously negotiate meanings offered by media producers. This contested process is a thick fabric woven out by many threads that represent the various worldviews and belief systems that converge in the consumption of media. Likewise, media production takes place in a disputed ground. As Louise Meintjes has shown the production of Zulu music in a South African studio is a site where a certain politics of aesthetics is constantly negotiated with national and ethnic identities (Meintjes 2003). Similarly, Daniel Fisher (2012, 2016) demonstrates that the production of voice in Aboriginal radio stations in Australia is at the center of negotiations around various understandings of voice. In this context voice can mean representation and identity, proof of agency and authenticity, but also a site of governmental interest and elicitation. These two works prove that radio technology is yet another layer that mediates in the production and circulation of how music or voice should sound (more or less African, South African, or Zulu; more or less Aboriginal). From this, radio emerges as a site of cultural production through sounds, music, and voice, and radio productions materialize as intimately tied to the social and aesthetic values of the contexts in which they are created (Fisher 2009; Schulz 2014).

The production of *Manuela* in its sonic version also emerges in a highly mediated and contested ground. It was a context simultaneously crossed by several ideological

forces: attempts to control the threat of revolt in the rural populations, efforts to continue their Christian indoctrination, civilizing ideologies that wanted rural communities to fit in a modernizing development model, and ideologies of social justice that sought to include them within society. In addition, there was the challenge of containing the rampant spread of la Violencia in the rural areas, the dissemination of communism and leftist ideals, and discussions around an agrarian reform. At the center of these debates were notions of rurality, of rural individuals, their communities, and their role and significance in the nation.

The notion of intermedial narratives allows for the articulation of the dense fabric of mediations in which sonic *Manuela* was produced with its narration as one that dwells in an intermediate space. Being a radio adaption of a print novel, the narration of *Manuela* in its sonic version dwells in the margins and the in-betweenness of the lettered and the aural. Produced in sound, it is consumed through listening and imbued with aurality; originally meant to be read, it is filled with long prosaic interventions and the organization of the written word. And as such, it carries with it many of the novel's internal structures and workings. The radionovela, a distinctively Latin American genre, disrupted the notion of a closed lettered city and an excluding aural region. In blurring the limits between the literary and the aural, it contested the writing regime of the grammarian presidents by massively circulating literary stories through radio waves.

Further, it broadcasts a multiplicity of linguistic registers, speech styles, and ideological perspectives that were part of the Colombian territory. These multiplicity and diversity are already present in the print version of *Manuela*; however, they were in writing and its circulation inaccessible to most Colombians. By intersecting the literary and the aural, the radionovela as genre, opened the way to intermedial narratives, a more inclusive form of storytelling. The radio transmission of literary stories allowed for unprecedented ways of bonding and binding through new ways of narrating community-making processes. Radio gave these narratives massive circulation and more importantly, reached those marginal to the lettered city.

Homi Bhabha's (1994) theorizations on the concept of the nation are useful to understand Sutatenza's narratives of the Colombian nation. The nation, according to Bhabha has at its center a continuous tension between what he calls the pedagogical and the performative. The pedagogical is associated to a stable, immobile structure that is anchored in the past and in tradition, and that is, somehow, imposed over groups of people. The performative, on the other hand, is associated with dynamism and movement and, instead of being anchored, it is continuously created and performed in the present. It also entails a constant consent instead of imposition. Thus, for Bhabha the nation is not a static pedagogical entity that is imposed over a group of people and a territory. It is an organism in a continuous tension between the pedagogical and the

performative. This gives way to an understanding of the nation as dynamic and in constant change. This notion resonates with Meyer's (2009) conception of aesthetic formations. For Meyer, the use of the term formations points to a community's continuous taking shape and to its constant need to formulate and reformulate itself. Likewise, the pedagogical can be associated to a fixed meaning, while the performative can be associated with polysemy. From the productive tension between these two poles emerges a nation in continual reinvention. Both forces coexist changing gears between each other.

In theorizing a unique internal structure of the novel that distinguishes it as artistic prose from poetry or rhetoric, Bakhtin (1981) opens a path to a better understanding of the radionovela's inner structure. Although he refers solely to the print novel, a dialogue between Bakhtin's *prosaics* of the novel and the sonic turn's emphasis on the materiality of sound – a turn to voice's materiality, its texture, pitch, volume – and speech's materiality – intonation, elocution, articulation, accentuation – provide a useful framework to analyze both the poetics (in its broader sense) and the politics in the aural version of *Manuela*. Bakhtin's main purpose in "Discourse in the Novel" is to overcome the divorce between form and content, style and semantics, in an organic

unity; a notion that is anchored in an understanding of verbal discourse as an eminently social phenomenon.³³

Further, Bakhtin's interpretations of the sign and of language as an ideologically saturated terrain and as an embattled field where two forces, centripetal (unifying and centralizing) and centrifugal (disunifying) are at play prove illuminating in the analysis of aural *Manuela's* multiplicity of languages, consciousness, and linguistic registers.

According to Bakhtin, "a unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the processes of sociopolitical and cultural centralization" (271).

Bakhtin's emphasis on multiplicity and heterogeneity is useful when approaching *Manuela's* inner structure. His notion of heteroglossia also emphasizes movement, change, and dynamism.

Bakhtin's notions of centripetal and centrifugal forces that intersect in the utterance of a word and which orient the construction of discourse resonate with Bhabha's dynamic understanding of a nation. As it was noted, Bhabha understands the nation as an organic entity that comes into being through a constant tension, a

³³ This also resonates with Meyer's proposal: "As I have outlined in an earlier publication (Meyer 2004a), an emphasis on style liberates us researchers from a sole focus on meaning—for a long time one of the prime concerns of the anthropology of religion—and opens up a broader field of inquiry that alerts us to the importance of appearance and modes of doing things without dismissing them as mere outward, and hence secondary, matters" (10).

continuous dynamic encounter of two forces, the pedagogical and the performative, which keeps the nation in uninterrupted process of change and reformulation. Similarly, for Bakhtin, the intersection between centripetal and centrifugal forces create a contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of the language. This active and productive tension occurs within a single word (internal dialogization), within an utterance, within a communicative exchange, and within the unitary language of nation (272).³⁴ Understanding language as this embattled terrain accounts for the multiplicity of meanings within a single sign and for the unstable nature of meaning in a radionovela. Bakhtin's calling attention to the internal dialogism of the word emphasizes the fact that any discourse is oriented and structured with concrete listeners in mind (280). A relationship with concrete listeners "enters into the very internal construction of rhetorical discourse." In his critique to linguistics, he notes that its scholars have taken the listener for a person who passively understands but not for one who actively answers and reacts.³⁵

³⁴ "Thus a unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the processes of sociopolitical and cultural centralization. And this stratification and heteroglossia, once realized, is not only a static invariant of linguistic life, but also what insures its dynamics: stratification and heteroglossia widen and deepen as long as language is alive and developing. Alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward" (272).

³⁵ This understanding is at the basis of Umberto Eco's active reader and Martín-Barbero's notion of mediations.

Likewise, Sutatenza's intermedial narratives on community-making replicate these tensions and, in a micro level, reiterate the dynamics between the pedagogical and the performative. In the radionovela *Manuela*, Sutatenza's leadership continuously strives to educate and impose a model of Catholic citizenship to its listeners. In her article "Acción Cultural Popular, Responsible Procreation, and the Roots of Social Activism in Rural Colombia," Mary Roldán accurately points out the fact that Sutatenza's leadership consciously merged religious and citizenship subjectivities.³⁶ The radio soap admirably reflects this way of constructing rural subjectivities in what I call Catholic citizenship. This Catholic citizenship is a pedagogical force that tries to unify diverse communities and belief systems. This notion further foregrounds the fact that, across Sutatenza's cultural productions, Catholicism functions as a mediation.

In sonic *Manuela*, the pedagogical forces are mostly incarnated by the characters of the priest and Demóstenes and reinforced by the voice of the narrator. Yet, the performative polysemic forces of the story foster the multiplicity of voices, points of view, political affiliations, and beliefs, in tandem with diverse voicings, speech styles,

³⁶ "At stake was not simply the possibility of building a more equitable and just society where the long-ignored spiritual and material needs of rural citizens were addressed from the perspective of Christian ethics in order to forestall violence or revolution. Rather, the goal was the conscious intermingling of religious and citizenship subjectivities in which the restructuring of household gender relations held the key to building a democracy, and in which practicing rural Catholic women became protagonists and agents of social change" (Roldán 2014, 29).

and linguistic registers. This multiplicity is incarnated in the characters of José, Rosa, Lisandro, and Camilo.

From this, I suggest that the notion of intermedial narratives account for the radionovela's continuous dialogue between the literary and the aural; its dense fabric of mediations; and both its pointing towards an intermediate space that dwells in the in-betweenness and the movement and tensions between two opposing forces. Before going into the analysis of *Manuela's* internal tensions and contradictions, and to better grasp Sutatenza's notion of Catholic citizenship and the radionovela's contested narration of the nation, I briefly give an overview of the main storyline and the characters in each version of the story. Then, I elaborate on Sutatenza's Catholic citizenship and how it works within the radionovela. Lastly, I explore the ways the radionovela subverts the lettered city and the aural region from within.

Díaz Castro's Project of a Nation

The novel *Manuela* tells the adventures of Demóstenes, a literate visitor from the capital. He arrives in a small parish in the rural areas of *tierra caliente* (warm lowlands), one day away, through the roads of the time, from Bogotá. This visit serves as an excuse to depict the customs of rural life and to describe the partisan political conflicts of the second half of the nineteenth century in Colombia, in the style of *costumbrismo*. The novel is composed by short chapters where each one serves as a *cuadro de costumbre*

where local customs are described in detail. The center of the narrative and the common thread to all the *cuadros* is Demóstenes's visit and his friendship with a local young woman named Manuela.

Manuela is described as a beautiful and smart woman who is struggling to escape the advances and manipulations by the town's *tinterillo*, a corrupt and fraudulent lawyer, named Tadeo. Tadeo wants to interfere in Manuela's relationship with his boyfriend, Dámaso. Around Manuela's struggle, the novel relates several other stories equally important that in sum paint a detailed picture of rural life during post-independence years while exposing the injustices that farmworkers and laborers suffered from landowners and those in power. These multiple stories account for a diverse range of political discourses, speech styles, and consciousness in Colombian society of the time.

The main characters have long dialogs that inform the reader of the histories and current circumstances of many of the parishioners, and the author uses these dialogues to let the characters fully express their political opinions and points of view (Pineda Botero 1999). These dialogues are of major importance in the development of the story because they are the vehicle through which readers learn about the characters' political stances. The fact that Díaz Castro chose to use dialogue in this way is telling of what kind of nation he envisioned: one where people could express their opinion and listen to

their neighbors' point of view. Yet, in the story, dialogue and listening are not conducive to agreement nor do they enable negotiation (Pineda Botero 1999). Thus, Díaz Castro did not provide a model for people to imagine a way of living in harmony with such diverse range of opinions. Dialogue and listening are not enough to build a nation where multiple voices are heard in peace. At the end, in an act of revenge and violence, Tadeo burns the church where Manuela is getting married trapping everyone inside. Manuela dies in Dámaso's arms right after priest Jiménez has married them.

The main characters of the story are divided into the *calzados*, those who wore shoes, who were the landowners, lettered politicians, and economically powerful, and the *descalzos*, those without shoes, who were laborers and farmworkers, and who were usually illiterate. Throughout the story there is a continued tension between these two groups that emerge as ideological forces.

Priest Jiménez is an important character. Soon after Demóstenes's arrival, they become friends and allies as they share a passion for botany, literature, and politics. They are able to befriend each other in spite of their political differences. Yet, in their dialogues, the priest's arguments are more solid than those of Demóstenes, whose political ideals are flawed, and in many occasions questioned by the priest but also by the villagers (Pineda Botero 1999). As a result, in many of the dialogues, the priest ends up winning the argument. Whereas Demóstenes' character is ridiculed, the priest's is

not. This fact could be interpreted as Díaz Castro advancing a Conservative project of the nation-state because of the way the priest's political discourse is represented.³⁷

However, Sergio Escobar (2009) has convincingly argued against this interpretation and, following Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia, proposes that *Manuela* is a polyphonic novel where there is an ongoing dialogue between multiple consciousness and linguistic registers. *Manuela* in its original version was a novel that portrayed and described the multiple difficulties of the construction of the nation-state and it advised the elites as to the dangers of trying to build the nation-state at the expense of the majorities, in other words, leaving them out.³⁸

Because it was a novel that defied the principles of the ideological project of the lettered urban elites, *Manuela* was excluded from Colombia's literary canon when Isaac's *María* was published. Sergio Escobar (2009) argues that while *Manuela* affirms the heterogeneity of the territory, *María*, with its monolithic narrative, served the interests of the lettered elites and reinforced their institutions like the patriarchy, slavery, and

³⁷ See Germán Colmenares (1988) and Pineda Botero (1999). Pineda Botero affirms that this characterization of Demóstenes was a critique to a specific social class, mostly from Bogotá, and to their ideological and political discourse, supporting Colmenares's claim.

³⁸ This was even noticed by his contemporaries. Vergara y Vergara states about Díaz Castro: "Viendo nuestras costumbres populares, observando los efectos de nuestra anárquica organización política, y la ligereza que preside a las deliberaciones de nuestros congresos, redujo su sistema a esta fórmula: 'La República se debe fundar de abajo para arriba; de la parroquia para el Congreso'. Con su *Manuela* se proponía mostrar lo vicioso de nuestra organización política, y hacer un cuadro donde los legisladores vieran los resultados buenos o malos que daban sus leyes en el municipio campesino" ((1865) 1973, 205)

elitism. In his view, *María* was a novel at the service of an authoritarian project.³⁹

However, as Erna von der Walde (2007) has noted, the reading of *María* as a romantic, realist, and costumbrista novel hides the multiplicity of representations that it contains.

Likewise, Ochoa Gautier (2014) mentions how recent interpretations of *María* have read differently Isaacs' depictions of slavery and the African heritage in the Pacific:

While some see [Isaacs] as condemning slavery and exalting Afrodescendants and others as condoning it, most see his stance as marked by an indecipherable ambivalence (117).⁴⁰

In any case, *María* passed into history as the national novel while *Manuela* did not. In the prologue to *Manuela*'s first edition in 1858 in the newspaper *El Mosaico*, Vergara y Vergara qualifies *Manuela* as such: "así es, como nos hemos puesto, por madrugadores, en posición de poder asegurar a ese centenar de almas que nos escuchan: poseemos ya la novela nacional" ("this is how, we, early birds, are in a position to assert to the hundred souls that listen to us: we already have the national novel") (Vergara 1858). In spite of this statement, when *María* was published in 1867, *Manuela* lost

³⁹ Escobar (2009) notes: "El análisis de la relación y el estado de los campos anteriores permitirá concluir que se prefirió canonizar a *María* porque era una novela que estaba por completo exenta de los coqueteos democráticos y de la resonancia popular característicos de *Manuela*. *María* satisfacía cómodamente el deseo, de las élites dominantes, como fantasía conservadora, de una vuelta al pasado (conservador, jerárquico, patriarcal, elitista y católico); al mismo tiempo apaciguaba el temor a que volvieran a repetirse los desmanes populares que había despertado la apertura popular del liberalismo al comenzar la década de 1850" (6).

⁴⁰ See also Almario, Óscar. 2007. "Los paisajes ocultos y la invisibilidad de los 'otros' en Jorge Isaacs." In *Jorge Isaacs, el creador en todas sus facetas*, edited by Dario Henao Restrepo, 213-230. Cali: Universidad del Valle.

Múnica, Alfonso. 2006. "María de Jorge Isaacs: La otra geografía." *Poligramas* 25: 49-61.

prominence. Nevertheless, it was *Manuela* and not *María* the novel that Radio Sutatenza adapted for radio approximately in 1970.⁴¹

Manuela's Sonic Version

Andrés Pardo Tovar, a renown folklorist who at the time was working for Colombia's National Public Radio, adapted the novel for the radiophonic medium. Ricardo Castillo Franco directed the adaptation and Acción Cultural Popular's theater troupe performed it in studio. According to Gabriel Rodríguez, who had several appointments at Sutatenza from radio teacher to CEO, the group of actors that performed the station's radio dramas were among the best of the time:

Radio Sutatenza tenía un elenco de radio-actores de primera línea. Es decir, eran los mejores en su momento en Colombia. Radio-actores con mucha experiencia ... Las grabaciones las hacíamos en un estudio que era el más grande que tenía la emisora, era el estudio 9.

Radio Sutatenza had a cast of front-line radio actors. That is, they were the best at the time in Colombia, radio-actors with a lot of experience ... We made the production in a studio that was the largest studio that the station had. It was studio 9 (pers. comm., December 10, 2018).

⁴¹ The exact dates for the radionovela's broadcast are uncertain. The scripts are lost, and the open reel tapes are not dated. Since it was adapted by Andrés Pardo Tovar who died in 1972, it must have been adapted and very likely broadcast before then. Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango has assigned a date of 1970 with a note clarifying that it is an approximate date. *Manuela* was also adapted for television by Producciones Punch S.A. in 1975.

Consequently, in addition to the already contradictory story of print *Manuela*, sonic *Manuela* is the result of even more layers of mediation. Andrés Pardo Tovar's subject position as folklorist was at play, together with the actors' interpretation of the script and their own contributions and improvisations of the characters. This is to say that the speech styles, accents, and ways of talking that aural *Manuela* circulate are staged and performed in a negotiation of varied interests and ideologies. In this section, I discuss briefly the storyline of the radionovela and then I explore in more depth the ideological underpinnings that inform what elements of the original story are included and privileged and what elements are left out, nuanced, or silenced.

Since the novel *Manuela* has at its core life in the rural areas, its stories lent themselves quite well as a vehicle to disseminate Sutatenza's ideology and civilizing project. Thus, the adaptation of such an ideologically contradictory cultural form, like the novel *Manuela*, into a radio soap opera was also a contested enterprise. The radiophonic version of the story kept the main characters Demóstenes, Manuela and Tadeo with little changes. Also, the main thread of the storyline remains: Demóstenes, a literate man from the capital, arrives in a village west of Bogotá in the Magdalena River valley with the intention of studying the plants as he is very interested in botany. In fact, some of the details that define this character evolve and change throughout the radionovela's forty chapters. At the beginning he is just interested in botany (chapter 3),

but, as the story advances, he is presented as a lawyer (chapter 18) and a politician (chapter 25).

The time period of the radionovela's story, as well, is inconsistent. Sometimes the narrator places it in 1866, ten years after the events take place in the novel; other times, the characters place it later than that. In chapter three, when a man is reading out loud a new law issued by the mayor, he states that it is read on the 18 of May of 1871 (ACPO 1970, chapter 3, 00:16:06). Demóstenes arrives accompanied by his servant, José Tisunza.⁴² In contrast with the print novel, in the radionovela, José's character acquires greater importance. He is one of the characters to voice the perspective of the *descalzos* in the story. Upon arriving, Demóstenes becomes friends with Manuela. Tadeo is, like in the novel, the town's *tinterillo*. He is literate and uses his knowledge of the lettered word to his advantage and to exploit people who cannot read or write. Manuela is Tadeo's love interest. Due to her refusals, Tadeo harasses her and her boyfriend Dámaso. When Demóstenes arrives in the town, Dámaso is on the run because Tadeo filed a false suit against him.

⁴² The radio adaptation changes the last names of the main characters, the first names of some secondary characters and their back stories. Demóstenes's last name in the novel is Bemúdez and José's is Fitatá.

The area where the story takes place is rural, and the economy is based on the farming of sugar cane. As in the novel, the description of laborers' lives in the *trapiches*⁴³ serve as setting of the main plot and subplots. In the novel, these descriptions serve to expose the conditions of extreme poverty and labor exploitation of the sugar-cane presses. These denunciations are a major part of the novel's storytelling where they take central stage in many of the chapters. Meanwhile, in the radio soap, Pardo Tovar lessened the tone of denunciation of these labor conditions, which, in this case, become part of the background. By mid-twentieth century, the central issue became the violence.⁴⁴ Pardo Tovar takes on the novel's violence and narrates events that resonated with what twentieth-century rural listeners were experiencing during the 1960s and 1970s. The radio soap brings in new characters that echoed those that emerged in the dominant narratives of la Violencia (the Violence) period: *bandoleros*, and *guerrilleros*, absent in the novel, come to life in the radio soap as the incarnation and the cause of

⁴³ Trapiche is a sugar-cane press. It is made with two wooden rollers that press the cane stalks. The juice is received in metal vessels or wells. The residue of this process is called *bagazo*. By extension the farm where the press is located is also called *trapiche* in Colombia. See also OED definition: "A mill for crushing the sugar-cane; a sugar-mill; also, a sugar plantation."

⁴⁴ Ojeda et.al (2003) and Williams (1989) have pointed to the fact that *Manuela* is the first novel to represent Colombia's political violence. Sergio Escobar (2009) notes how *Manuela* provides the "historical genesis" of "bandidaje": "[E]n este sentido, la novela revela sutilmente la génesis histórica del bandidaje como expresión del desencuentro entre el deseo (de la ciudad letrada) y la realidad (de la mayoría que habitaba los supuestos límites del Estado-nación): al no tener un paradigma para interpretar la petición popular de incluir realmente al pueblo en la república y unificar la democracia en las leyes y en la práctica, la ciudad letrada es incapaz y refractaria a ver en ello la petición social de un sujeto político, recurriendo por ello a la figura de la cataresis para interpretar una cuestión que la rebasa.

violent events. This is more explicit in the construction of the character of Tadeo and the members of the *tadeísta* party.

In the novel, Tadeo is presented as the *tinterillo*, a corrupt and fraudulent lawyer and the source of conflict in the town. In the radio soap, he keeps that role and, in addition, is close friends with the mayor, has important contacts in the county's district, and manages the village's and its inhabitants' fate from the shadows. At the same time, other characters describe him as "the advocate of the people's rights"⁴⁵ and the tadeísta party as that of the people's party (chapter 14, p 199; chapter 17, p. 238). Consequently, in the novel, Tadeo is a highly conflicted character and the source of contradictory critical interpretations of Díaz Castro's work.⁴⁶

In the radionovela, Tadeo suffers a transformation that speaks for the political and historical situation of Colombia at the time of the adaptation. The radionovela was written and produced only a decade or so after the end of la Violencia (1948-1958). And it is written and produced during the National Front when political participation and affiliation was restricted. In the novel, Tadeo abuses his power and commits violent acts

⁴⁵ "El sostenimiento del acuerdo municipal del 18 de mayo era un triunfo para el partido tadeísta, y el partido tadeísta era el partido del pueblo. Don Tadeo era el defensor de los derechos del pueblo; sin embargo, había un hecho fatal para el supremo director de los jueces y era la desaparición de Manuela" (Díaz Castro, v. 1, 199); "--Mil gracias dijo don Francisco, con una venia expresiva. -- Sé que usted reconoce en don Tadeo al defensor acérrimo de los derechos del pueblo. -- Así es, contestó don Francisco.

⁴⁶ See Colmenares (1988) and Escobar (2009).

like burning the church in an act of revenge, but he is named as “polilla,” “tinterillo,” and “gamonal”, terms that are derogatory, but that do not imply violence. By contrast, in the radio soap, Tadeo becomes a “bandido” who evolves to be a “bandolero” and later a “guerrillero.”

Since listeners do not get to listen Tadeo’s voice, they learn about him through the dialogues between the landowners, Blas and Cosme, and the priest and Demóstenes. These characters, who embody the Conservative pole, are in constant tension with Tadeo. In these Conservative characters’ voices, in the first half of the radionovela Tadeo is named “tinterillo” and “polilla.” By chapter thirty, Blas calls him “bandido” and “bandolero,” and by the last five chapters, he fully incarnates the “guerrillero” and Tadeo’s guerrilla is the devil that attacks the village of Agua Blanca on Manuela’s wedding day. In the sonic version, the character of Tadeo comes to incarnate the pole of “the bad” in its full extension. His party is a vilified enactment of guerrilla groups that emerged in the territory during the 1960s and 1970s as a result, in part, of covert political repression fostered by the elitist alliance of the National Front.

Sutatenza’s Catholic Citizenship

The parish priest, Demóstenes, and the voice of the narrator incarnate the dissemination of a Catholic citizenship. Although the parish priest is quite important in the novel, in the radionovela Father Franco, as he is named in the radio soap, acquires

greater centrality driving most of the storyline throughout the forty episodes, displacing Manuela who plays that role in the novel. The priest has voice in almost all the episodes, and he leads the actions and the gathering of the most important spaces of citizen participation that the radio soap portrays, while promulgating in every opportunity his Conservative and Christian conviction.

At the end of chapter eight, Demóstenes and Father Franco, get together in the priest's home and decide to organize a "committee of notables" ("comité de notables"). The committee would count with the participation of the main landowners Blas and Cosme, their respective daughters Clotilde and Pepita, Manuela, doña Patrocinio, and the school teacher. The dialogue that leads to the planning of the committee shows how the discourses on citizenship and religious subjectivities are imbricated in the story, as it was in the Sutatenza project. In the following passage, Demóstenes has just suggested that the committee can also count with his party's support, the gólgotas, and the following dialogue takes place:

PADRE FRANCO: ehh, bueno, bueno, con perdón suyo, don Demostenes, eh, pero me parece que a esto no le debemos dar cariz político, ¿me comprende, usted?

DEMÓSTENES: hm...

PADRE FRANCO: para nuestros propósitos no necesitamos sino de buenos ciudadanos, cualquiera que sea el partido al que pertenezcan

DEMÓSTENES: A ver, a ver, hm... bueno, sí, señor, tiene usted muchísima razón. (Con pasión) Será la nuestra una unión patriótica, una cruzada auténticamente cristiana, un movimiento redentor

FATHER FRANCO: Erm, well, well, with your forgiveness, don Demóstenes, eh, but it seems to me that we should not give it a political tone, you know what I mean?

DEMÓSTENES: Hm...

FATHER FRANCO: For our purposes, we only need good citizens, whatever the party they belong to.

DEMÓSTENES: Let's see, let's see, hm... Well, yes, sir, you're quite right. (With passion) Ours will be a patriotic union, an authentically Christian crusade, a redeeming movement (ACPO 1970, Chapter 8, 00:22:19)

The committee counts then with “good citizens” regardless of their political party, and then Demóstenes articulates the committee as a space of local citizen participation that is at the same time, in his words, “a Christian crusade and a savior movement.” In Sutatenza, citizen participation and the inclusion of rural communities as active participants in society happens via active Catholic involvement and practice.

Later in the story, the committee gathers, again in the priest's home, to have lunch after Sunday mass. But Manuela and doña Patrocinio are not invited. Although in the above conversation, the priest and Demóstenes talked about having Manuela and doña Patrocinio be part of the committee, this never takes place. The committee of notables does not include the people of the village. It was a savior movement from

above, where the privileged Catholic – often literate – acts as a “good citizen” by helping the poor.

In many ways Father Franco emerges as the alter ego of Monsignor Salcedo and his good deeds and initiatives. Like Salcedo, Father Franco began his training in his hometown, then was transferred to Boyacá, then to Santander, and lastly to Agua Blanca (ACPO 1970, chapter 17). Likewise, rural life in Agua Blanca arises as the alter ego of the many veredas listening to Sutatenza’s station. In this passage the words of the narrator, connect the committee of notables with the everyday experience of rural communities involved in the Sutatenza project:

NARRADOR: de la reunión de los hacendados, sus hijas, don Demóstenes, y el cura párroco resultó la formación de dos comités. Uno integrado por señores y otro por damas de la región. Se trató de ejercer una influencia civilizadora sobre la población por medio de conferencias y debates públicos. Las damas por su parte se encargarían de visitar los hogares campesinos para remediar necesidades, dar buenos consejos y procurar el mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida de los trabajadores

NARRATOR: Out of the meeting of the landowners, their daughters, don Demóstenes, and the parish priest, it came out the formation of two committees. One composed by gentlemen and the other by ladies of the region. It tried to exert a civilizing influence on the population by means of lectures and public debates. The ladies, for their part, would be in charge of visiting peasant households to remedy needs, give good advice, and seek to improve the living conditions of workers (ACPO 1970, chapter 9, 00:15:50).

In addition to being central to the storyline, Father Franco becomes the grounding entity for most of the characters; and his house and the church emerge as focal points of gathering for Agua Blanca community. The priest's home is a central place in the radionovela's narrative. It is the place where the main characters make important decisions about the story's events and where they discuss actions of citizen participation. The priest's home becomes a gathering space and a space to come together to share meals but mainly by the landowners, his daughters, and Demóstenes. Seldomly, do the village people get invited. An exception to this is when Rosa is celebrating one year of his father's death. After mass, the priest invites her and her husband, José to join them for lunch at his home, but they decline the invitation (Chapter 31). This also contrasts with the settings of the novel where the characters have conversations and gather in open public spaces like the plaza, the monte, just outside the house or at Manuela's home.

The all-encompassing presence of the Catholic church is intensified by the presence of the church's bells. The producers chose the sound of the bells as one of the effects to create the space of the village. It is used consistently throughout the forty chapters of the radionovela and becomes a clear means to sonically produce a sense of belonging. This is reinforced by the narrator's words about the bells. In chapter fifteen, Demóstenes has left the village to go to the county seat (la cabecera del distrito) and on

his return the narrator affirms that “lo recibieron las lentas sonoridades de las campanas cuyo timbre ya le era familiar” (“he was received by the slow sonorities of the bells that by then were already familiar to him”) (ACPO 1970, chapter 15, 00:01:37). The narrator’s words also imply that, by this time, Demóstenes had already developed a sense of belonging to the parish, in spite of his urban origins and Liberal convictions. “Campanas pueblerinas que van midiendo el fluir de las horas lentas, calladas, monótonas” (“Parochial bells that measure the flow of slow, quiet, routine hours”). The sound of the bells, thus, creates a sense of place in the radionovela. And, for loyal listeners, by then as well, the bells were already familiar. The regular and timely sound of the bells imbues the parish and its inhabitants, and the radionovela’s listeners, with the sounds of the Catholic church.

The voice of the narrator also plays a central role in the dissemination of Sutatenza’s Catholic citizenship. Like the novel, the radionovela has a primary global narrator.⁴⁷ In the radionovela, the narrator is a male voice that within the world of the story, would belong to the calzados, as his enunciation is akin to that of them. The narrator is present in every single one of the episodes until the very end. He guides the

⁴⁷ Pineda Botero notes about the narrative voice in the novel *Manuela*: “No hay uniformidad en el uso de la voz narrativa: a veces se describe la conciencia de Demóstenes (intradiegesis); otras sólo vemos sus actuaciones y desconocemos los motivos (extradiegesis). En cuanto a la participación en los hechos narrados, la voz siempre es heterodiegética, pues los narra el autor sin involucrarse. Desde esta perspectiva, se trata de un narrador bastante tradicional, de los denominados ‘omniscientes’” (100).

story and helps it move forward. His voice situates the story in time and space, provide temporal transitions, give information about the inner world of the characters and about events that take place simultaneously to the action in the story. On certain occasions, the narrator addresses the listeners directly allowing for what would be equivalent to an implicit author to emerge and reinforcing his all-knowing character. For example, in chapter thirty-four, the narrator notes: “el curso del relato nos obliga a alejarnos de momento de las haciendas de don Blas y don Demóstenes para retornar a la posada de Agua Blanca, es decir, a la casa de la señora Patrocinio” (“the course of the story forces us to move away from the haciendas of Don Blas and Don Demóstenes to return to the Posada de Agua Blanca, in other words, to Doña Patrocinio’s house”) (00:07:50). The narrator’s role throughout the development of the story is that of an explicit vehicle of Sutatenza’s Catholic citizenship and the containment of that that could subvert it. His mechanisms are successful during the first half of the series. Yet, by chapter seventeen, the voices and consciousness of those marginal to it begin to overflow the narrative.

A dialogue that travels from the print novel to the radionovela almost to the letter exemplifies the rivalry between multiple ideological forces within the story. While it reinforces the merging of Catholic and citizen subjectivities it also shows how it is subverted from within. The dialogue takes place between Lisandro and his compadre Camilo. Lisandro is a seasoned *baquiano*, a local expert knowledgeable of roads, paths,

and shortcuts who serves as guide for others to travel through them. After Manuela and Dámaso get out of jail and escape their village of Agua Blanca to run away from Tadeo, Demóstenes asks Lisandro to go find them in their journey to Ambalema. On his way down to the port town on the Magdalena river, Lisandro runs into his compadre Camilo. Camilo is serving as the mail man for Tadeo and is also en route to Ambalema. They share the reasons for their journeys, and they begin to talk politics. In this talking politics, Camilo is with the tadeista party, the *liberales draconianos* (Dacronian Liberals), which was, historically, the party of the artisans who allied with the military and advanced the coup-d'état in 1854. Meanwhile, Lisandro is with the manuelistas or Conservative landowners. Camilo is trying to explain to Lisandro one of the precepts of his party: that the government is the people. The best way Camilo finds to explain this contradiction to Lisandro is by comparing it with the mystery of the holy Trinity in the Catholic church (chapter 25, 00:21:56).

LISANDRO: (murmurando) avemaría (normal) pe... pero es que lo que no entiendo es cómo el presidente es yo y yo soy el presidente o el gobierno de este país

CAMILO: ayy, compadre, no sea tan xxxmente. ¿No es cierto que busté sí entiende que el padre es Dios y el hijo es Dios y el espíritu santo también? ¿Y que no son tres dioses sino un solo dios verdadero?

LISANDRO: ¡ah! Pues eso no lo entiendo pero lo creigo. Porque es uno de los misterios de nuestra madre iglesia

CAMILO: que lo del gobierno es por el estilo, y debemos creerlo, compadre

LISANDRO: pues, pues, pe, pe, pero antonces, si todos somos gobierno, ¿por qué será que no mandan sino unos poquitos y los demás obedecen aunque les sepa a cacho?

CAMILO: ay compadre, ay jueo bestia que es busté, ¿no?

LISANDRO: ¿ah sí? Pues yo creigo que buestecito es mucho más bestia que yo. Si es que no puede de explicarme, pero bien de explicado eso que le he preguntado yo

CAMILO: pues, pues, bueno, compadre, bueno eso será dentro de un ratico.

LISANDRO: mejor será que, que sigamos buscando el rastro

LISANDRO: (muttering) Hail Mary.... (normal) bu... But what I don't understand is how the president is me and I am the president or the government of this country

CAMILO: oh, compadre, don't be so xxxmente. Is it not true that you do understand that the father is God and the son is God and the Holy Spirit too? And that they are not three gods but one true God?

LISANDRO: Ah! Well, I don't understand that, but I believe in it because it is one of the mysteries of our mother church

CAMILO: so that of the government is like that, and we must believe it, compadre

LISANDRO: Well, bu, bu, but so, if we are all the government, why is it that only a few are in charge and the others obey even when they're tired of it?

CAMILO: Oh compadre, oh what a beast you are, aren't you?

LISANDRO: Ah yes? Well, I believe that you are much more of a beast than I am. If you cannot explain, but well explained, what I asked you

CAMILO: Well, well, compadre, well that will be in a little bit

LISANDRO: We'd better keep looking for the trail (chapter 25, 00:22:43)

This passage not only merges Catholic and citizen subjectivities, it also gives the government a mystic, mysterious character as if it belonged to the realm of the beyond and was devoid of its terrestrial and material qualities. In some way placing the government in the beyond makes it inaccessible and unchangeable. It takes away from citizens their ability to intervene and act to make changes in that government. It also validates it. However, Lisandro's counters Camilo's affirmation by questioning not being, in the end, satisfied with Camilo's explanations. That this dialogue was taken out of the novel almost unchanged⁴⁸ shows how print *Manuela* can be interpreted as a highly Conservative project of a nation. Yet, as I noted, the inner dialogism of the word and of the novel, allows for the centrifugal forces to compete with the centripetal ones in an ambiguous and tense uninterrupted changing of gears. In the above dialogue, this is illustrated by Lisandro's relentless questioning and Camilo's inability to appropriately explain the contradiction of his party's precept.

⁴⁸ The only alteration that it has is that in the novel, Lisandro (named Dimas in the novel) was going to vote for Manuela and the manuelitas/landowners party. In the radionovela, it is Demóstenes' party. Again, the radionovela smothers the strength and importance of female characters in the novel.

Besides being practicing Catholics, Catholic citizenship implied being educated, which in the context of Sutatenza meant learning the many dictates that the project disseminated. These dictates referred both to school-like education such as reading and writing and speaking well, and everyday life education like campaigns to bring water to the farms (El sorbo de agua) or to build an elevated stove instead of cooking at floor-level. One of Sutatenza's slogans was "¡La educación nos hace libres, el ignorante es un esclavo!" ("Education makes us free, the ignorant is a slave!"). In the radionovela, the institution of the school is a new addition that came with twentieth-century's awareness of the importance of bringing education to rural areas, and of course, of Sutatenza's mission and driving principle.

The deliberate fusion of religious and citizen subjectivities stems from Sutatenza's major civilizing project, which in the radionovela is circulated through the dialogues between Demóstenes and Father Franco. Many times, in their dialogues, the two characters agree that they need to "civilize these poor people" (ACPO 1970, Chapter 8, 00:20:54). When the committee of notables is created, Demóstenes offers a passionate speech that clearly connects religiosity with citizenship:

solo consagrando nuestros mejores esfuerzos a la redención espiritual de nuestros conciudadanos seremos dignos de ser neogranadinos. El pueblo necesita de nuestros consejos, de nuestra acción y de nuestro ejemplo. Los ministros del señor procurarán la salud espiritual de su grey. Nosotros los seglares forjaremos una conciencia social e impediremos que sigan

cometiendo desafueros y atropellos de que son víctimas los más humildes y desvalidos

Only by consecrating our best efforts to the spiritual redemption of our fellow citizens will we be worthy to be neogranadinos. The people need our advice, our action, and our example. The Lord's ministers will seek the spiritual health of their flock. We, lay persons, are going to forge a social conscience and prevent them from continuing to commit illegalities and abuses of which the most humble and helpless are victims (chapter 9, 00:16:42).

Moreover, in this speech, Demóstenes is connecting Sutatenza's Catholic citizenship as a necessary condition for being worthy of being a neogranadino or belonging to New Granada. His statement illustrates what kind of community it was that Sutatenza promoted through *Manuela's* sonic version. This ideology is often conveyed through Demostenes's speeches and his dialogues with Father Franco (chapter 9 and 12) but also through the women's participation in the committee of notables. Clotilde and Pepita, daughters of two landowners, come up with the idea of building a school for the children of trapiche laborers (ACPO 1970, chapter 10, 00:19:34). Afterwards, when the fathers of the young ladies share the idea with Demóstenes, he replies that it is an admirable initiative because "La escuela es el fundamento de toda auténtica democracia" ("the school is the foundation of a genuine democracy") (chapter 12).

The radio soap opera portrays Sutateza's ideal of a nation, one that reinforces the nineteenth century male Hispanich-Catholic project. However, this project was one that overlooked the multiculturalism that was present in the Colombian territory since the republic. In Díaz Castro's *Manuela* this multiculturalism is present, among others, in the detailed descriptions of the celebrations of San Juan, Corpus Christi, and a child's funeral; in the descriptions of life in the tobacco port town of Ambalema; and in the descriptions of life in the trapiches. Yet these instances in the radionovela are either silenced or diminished. Demóstenes and the priest take on the roles of redeemers through education and God. The radio soap is indeed a vehicle for the dissemination of a Conservative, Catholic agenda that deliberately sought to blur the limits between religious and citizenship subjectivities in an attempt of unifying and centralizing verbal-ideological movements.

Silencing Diversity and Multiculturalism

Díaz Castro describes vividly the soundscape of the San Juan festivities.⁴⁹ Don Demóstenes hears a lot of cheering and shouting, and fireworks and gunshots: "la tambora y los cohetes hacían retumbar la loma y la montaña" (the drums and the

⁴⁹ The celebration of San Juan is a Catholic festivity that celebrates the nativity of Saint John the Baptist. Although it is a Catholic celebration, it still carries residual elements of pagan celebrations and its date, June 23, is quite close to the summer solstice in the northern hemisphere.

fireworks made the hill and the mountain resound”) (88). He hears music coming out of several homes, and while walking down the mountain, villagers shout to him: “San Juan,” to which he doesn’t reply, and then, they add “San Juan callado” (“silent Saint John”). There is a lot of dancing and singing of *bambuco* and *torbellino*, drinking liquor and moonshine. The celebrations last two days and music is played continuously (Díaz Castro 1858 v. 2, chapter 24). Díaz Castro’s depictions of the celebrations show the syncretism of Catholic and pagan elements. People take a bath in the well at dawn to clean and purify their bodies because water runs holy on this day (93). Meanwhile, “el sonido de los tiples y bandolas armonizaba con el ruido de la quebrada” (“the sound of tipples and mandolins harmonized with the noise of the stream”) (Díaz Castro 1858 v. 2, 95).

One of the rituals is the sacrifice of a rooster. While a band of tipples and guacharacas plays torbellinos, blindfolded parishioners behead the animal that is buried up to the neck. Then, they unbury the remains and spill each other with its blood. The beheading resonates with John the Baptiste’s death, and Díaz Castro alludes to how Judith cut Holofernes’ head when Manuela is the one who can behead the rooster. Right then, when Manuela wins, the cheering of “¡San Juan! ¡San Juan!” resounds throughout (Díaz Castro 1858 v. 2, 112). Although Díaz Castro’s portrayal of San Juan was highly sonic and musical, Pardo Tovar got rid of it. Throughout the narrative of the radio soap,

the characters make some references to San Juan celebrations (ACPO 1970, episodes 5 and 15) but in its storyline it never takes place.

The radionovela also portrays the conversation between Manuela and Demóstenes about dancing bambuco during San Juan several weeks before the actual date (ACPO 1970, episode 15). However, by the end of the story, writer and producers have taken it out and have replaced it with Nochebuena (Christmas Eve) and the sounds of villancicos. Similarly, writer and producers took out the celebrations of Corpus Christi, where Díaz Castro described the bosques, sketches where villagers made fun of those in power (chapter 22). They also erased the funeral of a child where, to Demóstenes's surprise, people danced to "the little angel" (angelito) for several days (chapter 23).

The fact that the radionovela silenced these celebrations shows the disciplining of the expression of Colombia's diversity and multiculturalism by Sutatenza. Whether Andrés Pardo Tovar has all the responsibility, or his decision-making process was influenced by Sutatenza's board of directors and leadership, is not important here. The final result is the same: the disciplining of diverse beliefs and of the bodies by Catholicism takes precedence and is privileged in the radionovela.

This religious disciplining is also expressed in the erasure of step-fathers and the addition of two weddings that are absent from the novel. In the novel, many women

were living out of marriage with a partner that was the step-father of their daughters. The character of Dimas, Pía's step-father, who in the original story escapes the priest's pressures to get married is taken out and replaced by a father who is a widow. This religious disciplining of coupling and erasure of step-fathers goes hand in hand with new weddings and romantic love stories that aren't part of the original novel. Rosa who, being single, dies of love in the novel, in the radio soap is partnered and married with José, and Demóstenes falls in love with Clotilde and marries her. His girlfriend, Celia, from Bogotá, is taken out of the radio soap opera. Thus, Demóstenes himself is also disciplined by the radionovela version. In the original story he is a flirtatious adventurer concerned with botany and his ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity. In the radionovela, Demóstenes is much more akin and receptive to the priest's recommendations and to follow Catholic precepts. In fact, the novel *Manuela* departs from the characteristic romanticism of its time by showing a male main character who is flirty with every woman in the village without actually engaging in romantic relationships with them. More important, he does not have the one and only love for which to die for. At the end of the novel, when he realizes that he has fallen in love with *Manuela*, he leaves the village to reunite with his Bogotan girlfriend.

Lessening Bambuco's Presence

Another way how writer, producers and Sutatenza's leadership disciplined multiplicity and heterogeneity was by diminishing the presence of bambucos and torbellinos in the radionovela. In the print novel, bambucos and torbellinos are the two musics that the characters listen to and dance to in everyday life, parties, holidays, funerals, and festivities (Díaz Castro, v. 1: 19-20; 33-34; 99; 226; v. 2: 6; 13, 71-78, 84-85; 88, 94). Chapters twenty (Ambalema), twenty-three (El angelito), and twenty-four (El San Juan) are among the richest ones in sonorous descriptions of rural life and rural soundscapes and, in those, bambuco and torbellinos are central. However, Pardo Tovar and the producers chose to entirely take out the sonic setting of a laborers' ball in Ambalema, the dance at the funeral of Pía's child, and the celebrations of San Juan, as it was noted. Further, they privileged the use of *pasillos* and *villancicos* instead of bambucos and torbellinos to set the sonic environment of the parties and festivities that they did choose to include. Why, if bambuco was "the national music" of Colombia, did they decide to lessen its presence in the radionovela? A clue to the answer is a long-standing debate about bambuco's origins and its inscription in writing, that took place in the middle of the development of nation-building discourses during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During the last third of the nineteenth century and way into the first half of the twentieth century, there was a long and heated debate about the African origins of bambuco. The debate began with Jorge Isaacs' hypothesis, suggested in *María*, that bambuco was brought from Africa to Cauca by black slaves.⁵⁰ As Santamaría (2007) notes, Isaacs account published in 1867 provoked several opposed reactions by some lettered men. As a result, they brought up all sorts of musical and textual features that proved the Spanish origin of the genre. They highlighted bambuco's poetic structure, how it was played with string instruments with Spanish origins, and its harmonic organization.

Detailed musical analyses of bambuco show it as characterized by complex musical structures and highlight that one of bambuco's most prominent features is its polyrhythm. In the bambuco, there are binary and ternary durations that are rhythmically superimposed. There are also binary and ternary melodic articulations and syncopations. Bambuco's metric combines elements of 3/4 and 6/8 and it is very common that both accentuations coexist (Ochoa 1997; Santamaría 2007).⁵¹

⁵⁰ Most of this debate can be found in Restrepo Duque, Hernán. 1986. *A mí cánteme un bambuco*. Medellín: Autores Antioqueños and in Davidson, Harry C. 1970. *Diccionario folklórico de Colombia: música, instrumentos y danzas*. Vol. 1, 2 y 3. Bogotá: Banco de la República.

⁵¹ For a detailed and thought-provoking analysis of bambuco's polyrhythm and its disciplining see Santamaría (2007) and Ochoa (1997). To hear an example of its polyrhythm, listen to the bambuco "Cuatro preguntas" composed by Pedro Morales Pino and interpreted here by Los tres ídolos: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rf6PKMOAvQI>

This complexity of bambuco is evidenced in the big controversy around its inscription in musical notation. During the 1940s and 1950s with the emergence of the radio and the music industry, musicians were forced to inscribe their music through musical notation in order to record it overseas, since there were no local recording studios at the time. This required musical notation (Santamaría 2007, 208). However, bambuco's polyrhythms resisted their inscription in the Western European metric. Since bambuco's metric can combine elements of 3/4 and 6/8 and both accentuations can coexist, musicians could not decide if they should transcribe it in 3/4 or 6/8. Santamaría (2007) proposes that bambuco's elusiveness to be inscribed in the Western European metric system is due to its creation from an epistemology other, different from the one used to design the metric system.⁵²

Santamaría notes that this epistemology other, which she names epistemología mestiza (mestizo epistemology), could not be explained through the paradigms of thinking of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (198).⁵³ It was only in the first

⁵² "La métrica de la música europea funciona con temporalidades simétricas, dentro de lo que Ángel Quintero Rivera llama una cosmovisión newtoniana, que choca con otras maneras no simétricas de contar y subdividir el tiempo, como las que se encuentran en las claves de la música tropical, de raíces africanas (Quintero Rivera, 1998). Tratando de no caer nuevamente en las interminables controversias acerca del posible origen étnico del ritmo del bambuco, es posible afirmar que su lógica métrica se aproxima bastante a la superposición de diferentes niveles rítmicos, característica de muchas tradiciones musicales africanas" (Santamaría 2007, 211).

⁵³ "Mi hipótesis es que, más allá de los prejuicios raciales, los intentos por "blanquear" una tradición musical surgieron de la imposibilidad colonial de acceder a epistemes que no eran del todo europeas; las músicas "mestizas", como el bambuco, encarnaban una mezcla de saberes musicales europeos con otros indígenas o

decade of the twenty-first century that scholars were able to make sense of bambuco's polyrhythm without trying to make it fit the Western European metric, and this was only possible once the Eurocentric scientific paradigm was questioned as limited and incomplete (211).

In chapter twenty of the print novel, Manuela and Dámaso have fled their hometown and have gone to Ambalema, a vibrant port town on the Magdalena river. In this chapter, bambuco appears right after Manuela and Matea, her friend and local to Ambalema, have been dancing a varsoviana at a laborers ball in town. They have just left the dance and are walking down the street when Manuela hears a "distant singing" that captures her attention. When she realizes what it is, she exclaims: "¡Opita⁵⁴, el bambuco!" When Matea notes that the tune is coming from Campo-alegre, Manuela exclaims: "pues a allá, paisana, porque eso no es de perder" ("well, let's go there because it can't be missed!") (v. 2, 13). When Manuela and Matea arrive, they find two laborers playing the music. The female is singing, and the male is accompanying her with the tiple. According to Díaz Castro, "el canto era fluido, libre y sonoro, y lo favorecía el temple de la atmósfera de media noche y el eco de los grandes edificios que se levantaban a los lados ("the singing was flowing, free, and sonorous, and it was

africanos, dando como resultado saberes que simplemente "no encajaban" bien dentro de los parámetros reconocidos como absolutos, objetivos y científicos (2007, 198).

⁵⁴ Opita is a term used to designate the people from Tolima, the region in which the scene takes place.

enriched by the atmosphere of the midnight”) (v. 2, 13). Further on, he describes it as being flexible, harmonious, loose, and fluent.⁵⁵ Díaz Castro’s descriptions of bambuco and torbellino show that, at the time, bambuco had a percussive aesthetic. When Díaz Castro depicts the music as “flowing,” he puts forward an association with “an easy feel for the beat” (Meintjes 2003, 116) as is characteristic of African sounds. Saying that it is “free” reminds an association to its rebel and “free” rhythmic structure, to “its constant game of polyrhythms” (Ochoa 1997, 42).

In *Sound of Africa!* Louise Meintjes explores the associations between the production of liveness as sound in the studio, Africanness, and a percussive aesthetic in dominant discourses about African music. In conversation with musicians and producers recording Zulu music in a South African studio, Meintjes proposes that percussive aesthetics is associated in the Mbaqanga style with sonorous qualities that have weight, simultaneous sounds, and drive at the bottom of the musical mix (113-114). In the expressions quoted by Meintjes from the recording studio, the musicians mentioned that “the synth bass epitomizes an African feel because it is so heavy and powerful” (Meintjes 2003, 114). And later on, in regard to another recording they have made, the sound engineer mentions “it was almost fighting, you know. All the elements

⁵⁵ “Los sonidos eran flexibles, muy armoniosos por las influencias del clima que le da soltura y fluidez a la voz humana en la tierra caliente, así como en la tierra fría endurece y dificulta los órganos de la voz” (v. 2, 14).

were fighting with each other” (115). Western aesthetic unlike percussive, is associated with cleanness and a mix that is less dense.

Díaz Castro descriptions of the dances of these tunes make the point of their percussive aesthetic. In chapter twenty-three (El angelito), when describing the way Rosa dances at the funeral of Pía’s baby, he highlights “the looseness of her body” and how strongly she made her feet sound against the floor to the compass of guacharacas and drums:

La música ejecutaba el torbellino en los tiples, las guacharacas y la carraca, y un dúo de chuchos, que también llaman alfandoques. ... Rosa de Malabrigo era la que bailaba y se hacía notable, tanto por la soltura de su cuerpo, como por la sombra densa de sus cejas especiales. ... Tenía el sombrero levantado de adelanto, la camiseta atravesada y echada sobre los hombros; las piernas un poco encogidas, y hacía sonar fuertemente las quimbas contra la tierra al compás de las guacharacas y la tambora

The music performed the *torbellino* in the *tiples*, the *guacharacas* and the ratchet, and a duo of rattles, which are also called *alfandoques*. ... Rosa of MalAbrigo was the one who danced and became remarkable, both by the ease of her body, and by the dense shadow of her special eyebrows. ... She had the hat raised on the front, the shirt crossed and cast over the shoulders; the legs a little bended, and she strongly made her feet sound against the soil to the beat of the *guacharacas* and the *tambora* (v. 2, 71).

A percussive aesthetic is generally associated with a “frenzied” style of body movement and vocalization that resonates with the above description of the music and the dance at the funeral. Meintjes notes that “the engagement of the body in the

physicality of sound is of crucial significance in the generation of a feeling of liveness. That physiological experience of the listener out there is imagined by music-makers in the studio when they succeed in creating the “Sound of Africa! Africa!” (116).⁵⁶

As I have mentioned, Pardo Tovar and the producers chose to play pasillos instead of bambucos and torbellinos in the parties and festivities. Pasillo is a dance-music genre that emerged in Gran Colombia during the colonization period. Its origin can be clearly traced to Austrian waltz (Slonimsky; Gradante; Béhague et al.). It is played with piano, tiple, guitarra, bandola, and with percussions like pandereta and cuchara, among others. It is noted in a triple meter time of 3/4 and was used as a formal ballroom dance. Nicolas Slonimsky in *Music of Latin America* (1946) situates pasillo in the bourgeois salons and as a favorite among the elite classes (167). The political undertones of this choice of music points to a privileging of a tune with clearer urban and European origins. Pasillo has evolved and in the Andean region of Colombia was influenced by bambuco music and, as such, the Andean pasillo can have syncopated melodies and

⁵⁶ Meintjes further elaborates on these associations: “The African essence of beat, embodiment, and naturalness is rendered in the physicality of playing, in dancing, in an emphasis on percussion, and in the participatory ethos of African music making. These are the features that support the idea of Africanness being about liveness. No wonder, then, that African music is so often presented as synonymous with dance music and that drumming and percussion playing, with their visually dramatic realization of the beat, have come to epitomize the continent’s musicality and musical traditions for consumers of African music as well as for some mbaqanga music-makers in the studio” (119).

polyrhythms. However, for the most part it is written in 3/4 and fits the European metric.

In the adaptation of the village party soon after Demóstenes has arrived, party attendants, instead of dancing bambuco as it is told in the print novel, dance a pasillo. During the dance party, two men, one of them being José, get into a fight, Manuela separates them and resolve the conflict. To make things up between them, she asks the music players to play a pasillo because she wants to dance it with the two men (chapter 4, 00:11:30). Another strategy to lessen the presence of bambuco in the story was to replace the San Juan festival with the celebration of Christmas Eve. Thus, instead of bambucos and torbellinos, the characters play villancicos, a music genre originated in Europe and that by the nineteenth century had become associated solely to Christmas time. Writer and producers of the radionovela, clearly privileged pasillo over bambuco to sound more European and urban, which in the context of the story is very contradictory. This choice of music is a decision informed by the same ideology and power dynamic that looked to tame bambuco's polyrhythm in the first place.

A Male Project of a Nation

The project of nation woven in the radio soap's plot also is one that is predominantly male. In the novel, female characters are represented fully in all their complexity. Manuela is very young, but she is also very independent and autonomous.

She goes by herself to the market in a nearby town (episode 28) and she confronts Demóstenes in his idealist thinking (episode 15). When she runs into him in the forest, he wants her to go in front of him because that is the custom of Bogotá. But the custom in Manuela's village is that women go behind because in that way, men can help clean the road from branches that obstruct the road. Also, that way men cannot watch them walk. Manuela without any shame confronts his suggestion, and they walk in the way she feels more comfortable. In addition, she is the one who calls him on the lack of coherence between his discourse and his actions. Each time he talks about equality she challenges him. For example, she challenges his way of hanging the hammock in the middle of the living room, which for her is the opposite of equality because then people living at the house have to take a detour (Díaz Castro 1858 v. 1, 95-96).

Pardo Tovar transferred this questioning from female to male characters like José, Elías (Rosa's father), the priest, and the landowners. Writers and producers of the radio soap reduced the complexity and multidimensionality of the female characters in the original novel making the sonic version male centered. In the first chapter, for example, it is Elías, Rosa's father, who warns Demóstenes of the dangers of Tadeo and not Rosa, who does so in the novel. In fact, the character of Rosa who is so important in the novel, almost as important as Manuela, is put in second place. Rosa passes from being the innkeeper in MalAbrigo and the one in charge, to be the daughter of the

innkeeper of MalAbrigo. The character of Rosa, like that of Pía, are of great importance in the original novel because they represent the exploitation of the landowners. However, that dimension of their story gets silenced in the radio soap. In the end, Manuela, for being the protagonist of the story, is the only one left with the task of challenging the patriarchy of the literate project of a nation. Rosa has been silenced and disciplined and so are all the other female characters who in the original novel offered a multidimensional image of women in the countryside.

Quieting Labor Exploitation

In the novel, descriptions of life conditions and labor relations in the trapiche serve as the backdrop for the main story. Díaz Castro devotes several pages to describe in detail the lifestyle and the living conditions of laborers of the sugar press exposing poverty, abuses, and labor exploitation that is close to slavery (Díaz Castro 1858, chapter V, VI, VIII, X, among several). His depictions of el trapiche of El Retiro highlight “the sadness” that these conditions inspire in the daughters of the sugar-cane press owners, Juanita and Clotilde (Díaz Castro 1858 v. 1, 43-44). In contrast, in the radio soap opera, in chapter six, the narrator romanticizes life in the trapiche by describing the “sweet smells” of the sugar cane comparing them with honey and pine apple: “Olía a miel y piña madura y hoja de gualaca” (“It smelled of honey and ripe pineapple and gualaca leaf”) (ACPO 1970, chapter 6, 00:11:18). Likewise, in chapter two, when Demóstenes asks

Rosa about her work in the trapiche, she describes it as “a little cheerful” (“como alegrito” (chapter 2, 00:10:52). She adds that laborers sing coplas to help them watch the hours go by. At this point, producers take listeners to the space of the trapiche through music and voice. Listeners hear a very nostalgic melody by a stringed instrument that accompanies the coplas recited by farmworkers in the voices of Rosa and a male laborer, with the following lyrics:

ROSA:

Trapiche molé la caña

Molé la caña pasada

Moléla todito el día

Moléla a la madrugada

VOZ MASCULINA:

Trapiche, molé, molé,

Molé la caña pasada

Pa’endulzale la vida

A mi linda enamorada

ROSA:

Trapiche, grind the sugar cane

Grind the rotten sugar cane

Grind it all day

Grind it at dawn

MALE VOICE:

Trapiche, grind, grind,

Grind the rotten sugar cane

To sweeten the life

Of my beautiful sweetheart (Chapter 2, 00:11:09)

The trapiche's soundscape contradicts the narrator's idealization of trapiche life and Rosa's verbal description of it as "a little cheerful." Her voice is recorded with her mouth very close to the microphone to give it a sense of her being close to the listener's ear and to imbue the act of listening to her with closeness and intimacy. In the background, a nostalgic strumming of the guitar resounds, and Rosa's intimate voicing and slow-paced intonation allow the sadness of life in the trapiche to surface amid the centripetal forces that want to silence the exploitation that brings forth the sadness.

In chapter six, in a dialogue between Blas, the owner of the sugar press farm, La Soledad, and his daughter Clotilde, listeners learn about the poor living conditions of Eduvigis, their domestic helper. Blas describes Eduvigis and people like her as "buenas y fieles" regretting that he and his fellow landowners give them so little. Clotilde states that they live happily under the affection of their masters. Blas agrees with the fact that they love them, but he thinks they don't procure for their wellbeing. Clotilde, naively,

believes that the servants have what they want and what they need. Yet, Blas doesn't agree. He then states that soon he will build wooden houses "for the peons and the farm tenants" (00:23:57). He will give Eduvigis a bed and a drawer, so she doesn't have to continue sleeping on dirt floor. Clotilde replies admiring and praising Blas's goodness. But Clotilde has just received a love letter from Demóstenes and has not been able to sleep in the whole night. She is only thinking about Pepita's visit so she can alleviate her romantic anxiety. Thus, in this context, listeners learn about Eduvigis's poor living conditions, but those conditions are overshadowed by Clotilde's overt emotions of anguish and nervousness about Demóstenes's love letter (ACPO 1970, chapter 6, 00:20:00).

Likewise, Díaz Castro devotes several pages to a passage where Rosa, the owner of Mal-Abrigo, tells Demóstenes with detail about the abuses she experienced from the master of the sugar cane press where she used to work. The owner wanted her sexually, and when she resisted his advances, he kicked her and her family out of their own land where they had a house, crops, and trees (Díaz Castro 1858 v. 1, 117). Yet, Pardo Tovar erased Rosa's story from the radio soap opera. Instead, Rosa is courted by José, and soon they get engaged and marry.

The second instance when listeners hear about the trapiche labor conditions is in chapter 7, through a dialogue between Blas, the owner of the sugar press La Soledad,

and Pepita, his daughter's friend and daughter of Cosme, Los Jasmines sugar press owner, listeners learn for the first time about the business of sugar cane. Blas and Pepita (Juanita in the original novel), as landowners, discuss the number of peons that each one has and how much a specific number of peons produces. Yet, there is no mention of exploitation conditions, slavery, or injustice. Nowhere are there abuses, and exploitation suffered by the workers of the trapiches (ACPO 1970, chapter 7, 00:14:00). Thus, the producers of the radio soap privileged narrating romantic relationships over narrating labor relations and social inequality. As it is typical of the radionovela genre, its producers enhanced the melodrama, which is not as prominent in the original novel.⁵⁷

However, as I have noted before, within the radionovela there are instances and characters that challenge the quieting of labor exploitation. When the people of the village prepare a mutiny against Demóstenes, they chant with vigor "¡¡abajo los trapicheros!!" This chant exposes extreme and unbearable labor conditions for workers and is one of the instances where listeners can hear, loud and clear, the voices of workers and farmers resisting the impositions of landowners and lettered elites (ACPO 1970, chapters 17 and 18). In fact, chapter seventeen marks a turning point in the radionovela's

⁵⁷ The other instance of the oblivion that sugar press workers and their families experienced is when the daughters of the landowners come up with the idea of building a school for their children. However, this scene is used again, to praise the landowners' kindness and caring, instead of using it to expose and denounce the lack of education in the rural areas.

production. The voices of the main characters Demóstenes, José, and Priest Franco change and are replaced by others. This is sonically conveyed by having each one of these characters do a monologue where they summarize and reflect on recent events in the story (chapter 17, 00:01:20). Additionally, José's character loses prominence from this chapter on while other *descalzo* characters like Lisandro, Camilo, Natalicio, and comadre Resura gain importance.

After this turning point, the radionovela sounds less contained by Sutatenza's unifying ideology. Using Bakhtin's terminology, the radionovela's centripetal forces of unification and centralization begin to lose strength from chapter seventeen on, and the centrifugal ones gain momentum. Listeners begin to hear the resisting voices of workers and farmers and bear witness to the political and social tensions that Colombia was experiencing in the historical moment of the late 1960s while giving ear to a story set in the nineteenth century. A close examination of the characters of José and Lisandro, their character construction, the performance of their linguistic registers, and speech styles, in tension with those of Demóstenes's exemplify the ways in which the radionovela also challenges the Hispanic-Catholic project of a nation. Both José and Lisandro offer other ideological perspectives while questioning Demóstenes' literate ideology.

Multiple Voices in Community-Making Narratives

As it was noted, the story's ideological struggle has at its center the tensions and confrontations between the *descalzos* and the *calzados*. Both in the novel and in the radio soap opera, this takes shape by rooting the construction of the characters on their speech styles and ways of talking, which marks a clear distinction between *descalzos* and *calzados*. In the novel, Díaz Castro made this distinction by putting in italics the words that he considered purely conversational and altering the spelling of words to inscribe their phonetic dimension. In the radionovela, *descalzos* often use contractions, dropping some syllables or letters in the words. Other times, they alter the standard pronunciation of some words. In the case of the word "pobre" ("poor"), José, Rosa, and Lisandro change the pronunciation of the word by switching the location of the letter "r." Thus, they pronounce "probe" instead of "pobre." In contrast, *calzados* pronounce all the letters in the words and follow a standard pronunciation.

In the story of *Manuela*, Demóstenes represents the virtues of the lettered city while Tadeo represents its vices. Demóstenes is described as having good character and being fair with the poor. In dialogues between Demóstenes, and José, his helper, we hear José calling Demóstenes "patrón" and "mi amo" and self-representing as "probe." After establishing this relationship, we hear a dialogue where Demóstenes corrects José's pronunciation of the word "gólgota," as José places the accent on the second syllable

and not, per its standard spelling, on the third, (chapter 1, 00:09:08-00:09:16). A couple of minutes after this dialogue, Demóstenes' authority to correct José is emphasized by Demóstenes saying that before he goes to bed he is going to read for a little bit. In that moment, he is put in the category of the urban lettered men. At the same time, the performance of José as a person who mispronounces illustrate the aural region at play. In the staging of this unequal relationship of power, the powerful character is represented as the one who pronounces correctly, while the subaltern character mispronounces the words. Hearing what for Demóstenes is José's mispronunciation, he goes ahead and lets him know that he is wrong and continues to impose his pronunciation over José's.

This is the rule of the grammatic state and the grammarian presidents. As it was noted, these presidents were a group of politicians who were also lawyers, writers, and journalists. As such, they advanced the project of a Colombian nation that privileged the Hispanic heritage over the indigenous and the African ones. One of the ways they did this was by promulgating that the Spanish language should be preserved as pure as possible. They wrote treatises, dictionaries, books, and anthologies defending the proper use of the Spanish language, its grammar rules, its correct pronunciation and its linguistics. Through language, they established a direct link to the Hispanic past. In doing so, they imagined a nation that was homogenous and discriminatory. Carlos

Jáuregui (1999) affirms that this grammatical discourse shapes difference and constitutes itself a force that disciplines orality and its perceived chaos.

Yet, in the interpretation, the character of José challenges this power dynamic. José does not change his pronunciation. He responds, cutting Demóstenes, “bueno, bueno, así será, como el patrón ‘tá diciendo,” and he continues to pronounce the word in the same way he has been pronouncing it since the beginning. The content of the dialogue, as well, is revealing. In the conversation, José keeps questioning Demóstenes’s statements, tacitly and subtly making fun of his idealist philosophy (ACPO 1970, chapter 1, 00:08:42).

Another character who challenges this power dynamic is Lisandro. In the sonic construction of Lisandro’s character, he speaks with a low, gravelly, and husky voice that drags each word with a shakily vibration. Words come out from his mouth at a slow pace. Lisandro’s character has an idiosyncratic way of talking. He uses the pronoun “a yo” instead of “a mí.” He also pronounces “probe” instead of “pobre,” and he conjugates the first person of the verb “reír” as “yo reigo” instead of its standard form “yo río.” He also pronounces the sound of the letter “f” as if it was a “j.” The performance of these linguistic variations is meant to communicate the character’s subject position, which places him with the *descalzos* characters.

The narrator describes Lisandro as an elderly man very knowledgeable of the roads that connect Bogotá with Honda and Amabalema because he once was a mailman. Demóstenes has reached out to him to ask him to go look for Manuela and her boyfriend Dámaso, who have run away together after being jailed for disobeying an arbitrary ruled imposed by Tadeo. Lisandro challenges Demóstenes from the very beginning by expressing disbelief by the fact that Demóstenes knows who Lisandro is since “los ricos no alcanzan a ver a los probes” (“the rich don’t get to see the poor”) (chapter 24, 00:04:41). To this complaint, Demóstenes replies, energetically, that he should not tell that to him because he worships the dogma of equality among citizens. Demóstenes’ mention of equality gives Lisandro the opportunity to express his point of view of this literato’ discourse on equality and on the situation of equality in the republic. In Lisandro’s opinion, equality does not exist in the republic and gives several examples from his lived experience to argue his point:

LISANDRO: (riéndose suavemente) pues yo me reigo de la igualdad y perdóneme, sumercé

DEMÓSTENES: ¿Cómo? Yo me refiero a la igualdad política y social. ¿Acaso no somos todos iguales en la Nueva Granada?

LISANDRO: (cortándolo) jejeje, ehh, ¿no le digo yo que me reigo de la igualdad, sumercé?

DEMÓSTENES: Y, ¿por qué taita Lisandro?

LISANDRO: porque sumercé es tan igual a yo como aquel botuno a esta matica de ahí.

DEMÓSTENES: pues está usted muy equivocado. Entre nosotros reina el dogma de la igualdad.

LISANDRO: Y, ¿por qué será entonces que si nos topamos en un camino yo soy el que tengo que saludarlo primero? Y, ¿por qué será que yo le tengo que decir "mi amo Demóstenes" y sumercé me dijo a yo "taita Lisandro"? Y, ¿por qué los dueños de las tierras nos tratan como a sus criados? Y, ¿por qué será que no amarran para llevárselos al cuartel a los de botas y en cambio sí lo hacen con los de quimbas y con los que llevamos la pata al suelo? Y, ¿por qué los ricos se salen con lo que quieren y a los probes nos meten a la juandoca por una majadería, ¿eh?

DEMÓSTENES: (dubitativo) bueno, eso ... eso es cosa bien distinta, son resagos de la colonia

LISANDRO: aaahhh, ¿y entoes pa' qué sería que nos dieron la libertad cuando mi amo Bolívar nos quitó de encima a los chapetones, ¿eh? ¿Pa' qué sería? Porque lo cierto es que los dueños de tierras de po' aquí se ponen furiosos cuando uno no les dice "mis amos" ... pero sumercé 'izque venía a que yo le ayudara a una emprieta, ¿no?

LISANDRO: (Laughing softly) because I laugh of equality and forgive me, sumercé

DEMÓSTENES: What? I mean political and social equality. Aren't we all equals in the New Grenada?

LISANDRO: (cutting) hehehe, erm, don't I tell you that I laugh about equality, sumercé?

DEMÓSTENES: And why is that Taita Lisandro?

LISANDRO: Because sumercé is as equal to me as that bush is to this little plant over here.

DEMÓSTENES: Well, you're very much mistaken. Among us it reigns the dogma of equality.

LISANDRO: And why is it that if we cross paths, I'm the one who has to greet you first? And why is it that I must call you "master Demóstenes" and sumercé calls me "taita Lisandro"? And why do the land owners treat us like their servants? And why is it that they don't tie those who wear boots to take them to the barracks and instead they do tie those who wear canvas sandals or walk barefooted? And why do the rich get away with what they want and the poor, they put us in jail for nonsense, huh?

DEMÓSTENES: (doubtfully) Well, that... That is a very different thing, those are remains of the colony.

LISANDRO: Aaahhh, and so what for would it be that they gave us freedom when my Master Bolivar took the Spaniards from us, huh? What for would that be? Because it is true that the landowners around here get upset when one does not call them "my Master"... But sumercé came to me for help with some business, right? (chapter 24, 00:04:53)

In this dialogue, one hears the contrast between the vocalizations and enunciations of the performance of the calzados characters, who are the literati, and the descalzos, who are the common people and again the characters are in unequal power relations. In this passage, Lisandro continues to denounce the many reasons why there is no equality in the nation and corners Demóstenes who is left without solid arguments to refute Lisandro's affirmations. Demóstenes is left speechless, and Lisandro changes the subject.

Later in the chapter, Lisandro shows all his skills in interpreting nature to track Manuela's and Dámaso's path. The construction of Lisandro's character in sound highlights his embodiment and his close connection with the soil. He uses all his five senses to read their trail. Smelling a leave of Payaca tree, he notes that those trees only

grow in the temperate mountains and concludes that Manuela and Dámaso must have brought it with them (chapter 24, 00:15:58). Then, he observes a group of Caracolí trees and deduces that their shadow must have been inviting to the fugitives. Finally, he finds Manuela's footprints close to a stream and, with this discovery, knows that he is getting closer to finding them. He later slept under the open sky. Lisandro's character sonic enactment often makes listeners aware of his body. He usually gurgles right before he articulates a word in a conversation and listeners hear him roaring when he is stretching out right after he wakes up (chapter 24, 00:19:47).

In contrast, the performance of the enunciation of the calzados characters is characterized by a clear pronunciation of each letter and each syllable in the words. Their voices sound operatic, staged, and stiff. These types of voicings seem disembodied as they try to erase any trace of bodily sounds. For example, in chapter thirteen, Demóstenes has had an accident when traveling from Agua Blanca to La Soledad to visit Clotilde and her father in the middle of a storm. Listeners can hear the thunders and the wind blowing. A branch of a tree has fallen and hit Demóstenes. Blas and Cosme, who were gathered at La Soledad, decide to go in his help with José who comes to notify them of the accident. José arrives out of breath and panting (chapter 13, 00:07:29). Sounds that express his agitation.

Cosme and Blas ride their horses and arrive to where Demóstenes is. In this scene (00:08:00), they are involved in physical activity where they have to carry Demóstenes's body from one point to the other and lift it. They are doing physical effort which would normally affect the voice. When Cosme intervenes, there is some panting and being out of breath, but in a very controlled manner. Meanwhile, Blas's voicings sound as if he was sitting in his living room drinking coffee. The background is completely silent, and his voice tends to be flat; there is no heavy breathing, no panting no breaking of his voice (chapter 13). José's and Lisandro's voicings are distinctly embodied while Blas's, Cosme's, and Demóstenes's are not.

Additionally, in the construction of Lisandro's character writer and producers chose to use religious syncretism. Before parting to Ambalema, Lisandro wanted to go get his rosary. The reason he needed it was because he believed that it would protect him from the *patasola* and the *madremonte*⁵⁸ and from lost souls that inhabited the Magdalena meadows (chapter 24, 00:11:54). Thus, Lisandro is a character that embodies the blending of Catholic and pagan beliefs and practices in a way that contest the well-defined Catholic citizenship of the Sutatenza project.

⁵⁸ Female monsters of many myths in South American folklore.

The construction of Manuela's character in sound is more complicated: although Manuela is *descalza* (in chapter twenty-four when Lisandro is looking for her, he sees her footprints on the soil) and in the very first chapter she is presented as "una *muchacha campesina*," the performance of her speech style is different to other *descalzos* characters. Rosa is also *descalza* and she is the owner of the *posada*, a small and precarious inn, where Demóstenes spends the first night when he arrives to the parish. Yet, Manuela articulates and vocalizes the words differently from Rosa. She pronounces each one of the syllables, unlike Rosa, who drops some letters, and syllables and uses contractions (chapter 1, 00:01:50; 00:04:51).

Manuela is a character that navigates both worlds and serves as a bridge between the two. She is deeply connected to the aural. And from this location, she is the only female who continues to directly challenge Demóstenes's lack of connection with their world. The first episode of the radionovela begins with Manuela in the middle of nature, talking to singing birds (chapter 1, 00:01:50). When Demóstenes first encounters her at the panning site, she is reciting coplas (00:09:00 and 00:14:00). Later, she makes him get silent to be able to listen to the birds that she identifies by their song (chapter 5, 00:14:55). Yet, at the same time, her speech both in the novel and the radio soap is like that of the *calzados*. When Manuela speaks, Díaz Castro does not use italics and describes her voice in the following manner: "La voz de Manuela era dulce y sus frases

tenían la fuerza y los adornos de locución de las hijas de los llanos del Magdalena, que expresan mejor una idea que los estudiantes de retórica de los colegios” (“Manuela's voice was sweet and her phrases had the strength and ornaments of the speech of the daughters of the Magdalena plains, who express an idea better than the students of rhetoric in schools”) (Díaz Castro 1858 v.1 , 95). This is replicated in the radio soap, and Manuela’s speech is more like that of Clotilde’s, Blas’s daughter, landowner and proprietor of the trapiche where Rosa works.

But Manuela also navigates the lettered world even if not as comfortably. In the radionovela, Manuela is presented as literate. Demóstenes lends her a book, and she tells him that she read it, but then asks him what the point of reading is questioning again his idealism (chapter 28, 00:14:33). Manuela’s speech is also akin to that of Demóstenes’s. And is very different from Rosa’s. Yet, Manuela who does not belong to the literate and wealthy is presented sonically as one of them.

The Production of a Tropical Space in Sound

Like Manuela, the character, *Manuela*, the radionovela, also dwells in the margins of the lettered city and the aural region. The production of a tropical space in sound through the voice of the narrator and the use of sound effects is another feature that illustrates how this takes place. The omniscient narrator of the radionovela seems to come straight from the written world. Yet through his act of voicing detailed

descriptions and use of aural images, he inhabits at the same time the world of the auditory. The narrator's interventions are thick descriptions infused with lyricism. The presence and function of the narrator in the radio soap highlights the intense dialogue between the literary and the aural in the radio soap.

In nineteenth century Latin America, literature played a fundamental role in the construction of the notion of a unified territory. Specifically, in Colombia, this took the form of a literary gathering called *El Mosaico*. Founded in 1858 by Eugenio Díaz Castro and José María Vergara y Vergara, the literate whose words I used to introduce *Manuela's* author at the beginning of this chapter. *El Mosaico* drafted the contours of Colombian national literature and consolidated literature's central role in the creation of national imaginaries (von der Walde, 243). Their literary production focused mainly on the dissemination and consolidation of costumbrismo, a genre characterized by detailed descriptions of local customs, geographical spaces, peoples, and social and economic formations (von der Walde, 243). Solidly rooted in costumbrismo, *Manuela*, in print, is full of such descriptions. The producers of the radionovela draw from the print novel's detailed descriptions of the tropical space of the warm lowlands to recreate these spaces in sound participating in the creation of national imaginaries through auralness.

In the radionovela, the narrator has a central role in creating these spaces using descriptions that appeal to the senses and awaken auditory images that in the mind of

the listeners take them to known or totally new places. The following passage is filled with a thorough description of the morning land- and soundscape of tierra caliente:

NARRADOR: Mañanas de tierra caliente. Cuando el sol va ascendiendo por un cielo sin nubes y las sombras de las palmeras y de los guácimos se van cortando hasta desaparecer. Trinar de toches, azulejos y mirlas pautado por el largo estridor de las chicharras incansables. Súbito, el vuelo bullicioso de una bandada de pericos. Minutos más tarde, un hondo vacío de silencio como si la brisa barrierá todos los rumores del mundo transportándolos hacia el horizonte lejano, prometedor de una felicidad interminable

NARRATOR: Mornings of the warm lands when the sun rises through a cloudless sky and the shadows of the palms and the bay cedars decrease until they disappear. Singing of orioles, indigo buntings, and thrushes patterned by the long stridor of the tireless cicadas. Sudden, the boisterous flight of a flock of parakeets. Minutes later, a deep emptiness of silence as if the breeze swept all the rumors of the world carrying them towards the distant horizon, promising an endless happiness (chapter 2, 00:02:25).

The above passage is a highly literary passage. Instead of using sound effects to produce the soundscape of the morning in the warm lowlands, in this case, the producers chose to have the narrator describe it. The sentence structure is one that is long, meant to be read, and its syntax is typical of formal speech and written language. In addition, his interventions are usually accompanied by ballad music reinforcing its closeness to the *calzados'* world. However, the fact that it appeals so strongly to the

senses reinforces its ability to engage the listeners and generate mental images that re-create the sensory perception of sights, sounds, tastes, smells, touch, and movements.

In another passage, the appeal to the smell of the *monte*, or forest, and the naming of the different plants that constitute it, again generate in the listeners a connection to the soil through the senses. In the following passage the narrator enhances smells and images:

ENTRA CORTINA MUSICAL, BAJA Y QUEDA DE FONDO

NARRADOR: Al día siguiente, mucho antes de amanecer, don Demóstenes y su criado José salieron rumbo a la montaña, a la que llegaron cuando el sol comenzaba a dorar los lejanos picachos de la cordillera oriental. Ante ellos se alzaban los robles, nogales y cedros de la montaña, en majestuosos escuadrones ligados entre sí por el abrazo de las dianas y los bejucos, olía a musgo, a hojas secas, a flores invisibles todavía.

SUBE CORTINA MUSICAL POR 10 SEGUNDOS, BAJA Y SALE

IN MUSICAL INTERLUDE, LOWER AND STAYS IN THE BACKGROUND

NARRATOR: The next day, long before dawn, don Demóstenes and his servant, José, left for the mountain. They arrived when the sun began to gild the distant peaks of the eastern ranges. Before them the oaks, walnuts, and cedars stood in majestic squadrons linked to each other by the embrace of lianas and vines. It smelt of moss, dry leaves, flowers still invisible.

RISE MUSICAL INTERLUDE FOR 10 SECONDS, LOWER AND OUT
(chapter 8, 00:07:00)

Meanwhile, the following passage exalts the heat characteristic of the warm lowlands and the tropical environment appealing to sight, touch, smell, movement, and sound:

ENTRA CORTINA MUSICAL, BAJA Y QUEDA DE FONDO

NARRADOR: En la posada de Doña Patrocinio el almuerzo dominical fue muy alegre. Vino después la siesta. El sol en lo alto del cielo azul pálido destellaba con fuerza implacable, ardía la tierra reverberando a lo lejos, y de los campos se elevaba un aliento frutal. Siestas de tierra caliente, al vaivén de las hamacas y en medio al coro del interminable estridor de las chicharras.

SUBE CORTINA MUSICAL POR 10 SEGUNDOS, BAJA Y SALE.

IN MUSICAL INTERLUDE, LOWER AND REMAINS IN THE BACKGROUND

NARRATOR: At doña Patrocinio's inn, Sunday lunch was very cheerful. The nap came afterwards. The sun at the top of the pale blue sky flashed with unrelenting force, the earth burned reverberating far away, and a fruity breath rose from the fields. Hot-lands naps, swaying hammocks amidst the chorus of the endless stridor of the cicadas.

RISE MUSICAL INTERLUDE FOR 10 SECONDS, LOWER AND OUT
(chapter 3, 00:16:20)

In addition to the use of the narrator's voice, producers often use sound effects to construct the feeling of a tropical space to further situate listeners in the warm lowlands. In chapter one, producers introduce for the first time the soundscape of tierra caliente where Demóstenes has just arrived using nature-like sounds like a rooster's crowing,

dogs barking, birds singing, and cicadas and crickets chirping. These sound effects are produced in the studio and not recorded in the field. In retrospect and with today's advancements in sound recording and reproduction, it is easy to judge these features as lacking authenticity. However, this studio production uses the resources available at that specific point in time.

Conclusion

The radionovela's producers established a connection with the tradition of costumbrismo, more specifically their detailed description of geographical locations, through the creation of auditory images that exalt the senses and through the use of nature-like sound effects. In doing so, they participated in the creation of a sense of place and of belonging via the connection with nature, the land, and its soundscapes. The notion of intermedial narratives allows for the articulation of the dense fabric of mediations in which sonic *Manuela* was produced and the ways how its narration dwells in the in-betweenness, an intermediate space in the margins of the lettered city and the aural region. From its intermediality, its contested inner workings, and its highly mediated context, the rural accounts of *Manuela* both endorse and resist the building the nation from above. Another way how the Sutatenza project enacted a continuity with the ideological project of costumbrismo was through the intense promotion of copla

composition among rural communities, their broadcast, compilation and publication. I analyze this in the following chapter.

Voicing Rural Community: Copla Composition, Broadcast and Publication

On March 10th, 1964 in the town of Encino, Santander on the hills of the eastern ranges of the Colombian Andes, Carmenza Reyes, a newly named parish representative, wrote a letter to the radiophonic schools' director where she introduced herself and asked for instructions to start serving the project. She also composed a copla that she shared in the letter and requested it to be published in the weekly *El Campesino*:

También me place en enviarles para la publicidad en nuestro periódico El campesino la siguiente coplita intitulada

El vecino

Esto dijo mi viejo vecino

Limpiándose la boca

Nuestro pueblito Encino

Progresará por la escolita radiofónica⁵⁹

⁵⁹ In transcribing the coplas and compositions I respect the spelling and punctuation that the writers use in the original in Spanish. I am aware that making this decision is problematic, in the same way that altering the original spelling is. For a discussion of the politics involved in this kind of decision and "el llamado a la rusticidad" ("a call to rusticity") see Posada (2000). Since the process of translation is out of the scope of this dissertation, in the translations of coplas and poetic forms, I don't convey those spelling variations.

I'm also delighted to send for publication in our newspaper El campesino the following little copla titled

The Neighbor

This is what my neighbor said

Cleaning up his mouth

Our little town Encino

Will progress because of the little radiophonic school (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3825, Zona 4, Vol. 144)

Throughout the life of the project, Sutatenza's officials asked campesino leaders to write letters reporting on the implementation of radiophonic schools in the different veredas while radio teachers invited students to write letters relating their advancement in the learning process. These letters were diligently replied by the project's officials. Among other things, in those letters, officials gave advice to leaders on how to solve difficulties and how to proceed with the radiophonic schools. They also provided support and encouragement to students to keep their hard work with the radio lessons and the small projects they were implementing after the station's teachings.

In the more than one hundred thousand letters that make Sutatenza's epistolary archive, students, leaders, and radio listeners very often included poetic compositions like coplas, poems, song lyrics, odes, and riddles. Carmenza's copla contains some of the main subjects that listeners addressed in these compositions. It speaks of a sense of belonging to her town and to the project while it relates social ties with neighbors. In the

copla, Carmenza also appropriates Sutatenza's discourse on progress and tells of the impact that radiophonic schools had on the betterment of the towns and communities where they functioned. Other coplas sometimes denounce the precarity of the rural areas or speak about the role of God and the Church in the lives of the authors.

In this chapter, I analyze coplas and other poetic forms composed by listeners, users, and leaders of Sutatenza and the implications of their radio broadcast and print publication. Coexisting both in oral and literary form for centuries, and thus, dwelling in between the aural and the lettered, the coplas emerge as another form of intermedial narratives of community-making. Like the radionovela and the radio dramatizations, Sutatenza's collection of coplas are an embattled field of meaning production. Copla composition, broadcast and publication emerge as a space of self-expression and citizen participation and became a means for rural community-making across the territory. At the same time, Sutatenza's intense promotion of copla composition establishes a clear connection with nineteenth century costumbrismo, and more important, with its Hispanic-Catholic project of a nation. In this way, Sutatenza's copla collection, found in handwritten form, print, and on radio broadcasts, represent both a continuity and a departure from this project.

As requested by authors and offered by officials, many of these compositions were broadcast in the radio shows *El correo de Sutatenza* or *Buenos días* and published in

the weekly *El Campesino*. In addition, during the 1960s and 1970s, Elisio Rodríguez copy-edited, typed, compiled and bound the coplas in ten volumes called *Expresiones del alma campesina remitidas a ACPO en forma de coplas en los años 1964-1976: Coplas de la tierra*. At some point during those years, he edited a selection of these coplas that were then published as *El coplero campesino* (n.d.) by Editorial Andes. In 2018, Astrid Ávila and Santiago Álvarez prepared a reedition of this book called *Corazón coplero*, which in addition to a selection of coplas includes five scholarly essays about Radio Sutatenza and illustrations by Colombian artists. This way the coplas had of traveling between media is also emphasized when approaching them as intermedial narratives.

I focus my analysis of copla composition on the years between 1958 and 1978. These two decades include the National Front (1958-1974) and the next presidential term, which was by a Liberal president after the last Conservative one. The National Front was a bipartisan alliance implemented to address the violence. It was a period when the two main political parties agreed to alternate the presidential terms for the following sixteen years, which resulted in a period of limited formal participation. Further, this alliance limited the possibility of other political parties to emerge, strengthen and win the presidency. There were covert strategies to make sure that the presidential candidate of the political party on shift won the presidency for that term. The countryside was at the center of these covert strategies since Colombia was still

mostly rural with migration to the cities beginning to increase. This controlled participation together with repression of political liberties created a fertile ground for the development of armed civil organizations and guerrillas in the late 1960s. Thus, in a context marked by control and repression especially in the rural areas, a space that asked for contributions from listeners and community members is very significant.

Freire and Rancière: Superseding the Knowledge Divide

Although in radically different contexts, both Paulo Freire (1968) and Jacques Rancière ([1981] 2012) critiqued systems of oppression that maintain a divide between those who know and those who do not know. In helping Brazilian adults learn to read and write in the 1950s, Paulo Freire developed a critique of the traditional model of education, or what he calls the banking concept of education. In it, Freire denounces that this traditional education promotes and helps maintain oppression and that it is through praxis, a balance between theory and practices, and through dialogical action that liberation can take place.

Throughout his work, Freire highlights the narrative character of the teacher-student relationship both inside and outside the school. In this relationship, the teacher is the narrating subject and the student is the listening object. The contents, values, or empirical dimensions of reality, and of the narration, become lifeless and petrified in the process of being narrated. Thus, he concludes, education is suffering from narration

sickness. Freire critiques the fact that in this educational model, students memorize and repeat instead of perceiving or experiencing the notions studied. This is the result of the teacher solely as the narrator. This model turns students into containers to be filled by the teacher. In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider knowing nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence – but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher. By contrast, the purpose of libertarian education lies in its drive towards reconciliation. Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students.

Similarly, but on the other side of the Atlantic, in exploring the workers' archives of nineteenth century France, Jacques Rancière finds, to his surprise, that workers were not writing to struggle and revolt. Instead, they were writing verses and letters telling about their Sunday walks and inventing philosophies (vii). Rancière's approach to the workers writings acknowledges their liberty, autonomy, and creativity. The workers

show in their writings that they are poets and philosophers. In this sense, for Rancière, the workers' writings are a rupture of a linear understanding of time that he describes as "a manner of putting things and beings in a hierarchical order, in their proper place" (viii). This understanding of time "is the legitimization of the knowledge that dictates what is or is not important, what makes history or does not" (viii). For Rancière, the workers writings show that besides being workers, they were writers and thinkers. Because of this, the workers writings challenged "the distribution of roles between the language of the people and literary language, reality and fiction, document and argument" (x). In his later work, he will name this understanding of time and distribution of roles, the distribution of the sensible (Rancière 2004). This distribution of the sensible refers to what can be perceived through the senses; thus, it defines, for example, what and who is seen, what and who is heard, what and who is made part of. It also creates a division between the intellect and the sensible, and on a deeper level, it creates a division between two humanities: one that knows and one that does not, generating inequality. It, thus, implies who is included and who is excluded.

Political struggle happens when those excluded challenge the given social order or the established distribution of the sensible and make themselves seen and heard. In his discussion of Joseph Jacotot's pedagogy (1991), Rancière proposes that access to artistic expression offers a promise to equality. The affirmation "Me too, I'm a painter" subverts

society's false division between those who know and those who do not know, in other words, those included and those excluded. It does so because it asserts the creative power in all humans and the potential of equality (Rancière 1991, 71). In the Sutatenza project, copla composition, broadcast, and publication mark a counterpoint to the narration of rural communities and rural individuals in the nineteenth century *cuadro de costumbres* and the twentieth century *novela de la violencia*. The coplas narratives emerge as spaces of creation and self-expression redefining contributors' sense of being social and political subjects. At another level, the sharing through radio shows and print took these creations beyond their immediate social circle redefining notions of community. Moreover, as spaces of self-expression, coplas became a means for the exercise of citizenship: users gave their opinions on issues that directly affected them and denounced the lack of infrastructure, education, and resources in the rural areas.

Both Freire's and Rancière's critiques resonate with Bhabha's proposal of the pedagogical and the performative as two forces that coexist, changing gears, in a continuous formation of the nation. For Freire, the two forces are, on the one hand, the banking concept of education and antialogic theories, and, on the other, dialogic theories of cultural action. The former is an instrument of oppression and the latter is an instrument of liberation. Rancière notes, on the one hand, those forces that police, control, and discipline, and on the other, a redistribution of the sensible in which

performance, the constant reenactment of rituals, symbols, and ideologies give way to aesthetic events that destabilize and disrupt the previous organization. The continuous changing of gears between the pedagogical and the performative takes place also in the coplas narratives highlighting the tensions and contradictions between rural communities' performative creativity and self-expression, and Sutatenza's pedagogical civilizing project.

Aesthetic Events as Citizen Participation

Important studies on citizenship highlight the fact that formal citizenship or recognition of citizenship in the law does not guarantee real access to civil rights. Instead they advocate the fact that new ways and sites of participation have been enabled by the media (Winocur 2002; Rodriguez 2001) and that everyday life is a key sphere where the exercise of citizenship takes place today (Brown 1997; McClure 1992). The inquiry for the notions of rural life that emerge from the exploration of the listeners' poetic compositions asks for an even broader understanding of citizenship and participation, one that accounts for their aesthetic dimension. Rancière's understanding of the political dimension of aesthetic events in the context of citizenship and participation can shed light into a possible understanding of contributions by rural communities as participation. For Rancière, too, "democracy is not located within constitutional law and citizenship is not defined strictly by the content and depth of legal rights and

obligations" (Means 29). Instead, he proposes democratic politics as aesthetic events defined as "moments and acts whereby those with no-part emerge as visible and audible subjects of equality and in the process disarticulate and restructure the sensible architecture out of which they emerge" (Means 29). Further, for Rancière, the aesthetic event defies the police of the state, which aims at suppressing the production of knowledge and meaning that comes from the body and the emotions. By turning to listeners' poetic composition, their way of knowing through the senses, like the ear, and through the emotions, emerges.

This collection of coplas that were broadcast on radio, typed in manuscripts, and published in books emerges as a space where the subjectivities of the listeners and the campesino leaders emerge. In using the notion of subjectivities, I follow theorizations by Rodriguez (2001), Mouffe (1988), and McClure (1992) on political subjects. In *Fissures in the Mediascape* (2001), Clemencia Rodríguez proposes, following Chantal Mouffe's theorizations on radical democracy, the understanding of the socio-political subject as one that has heterogeneous and multiple identities and as such can be conceived as subjectivities "at the intersection of various discourses" (Mouffe 1988, 90). Questioning the idea of the social subject as constituted by an essence, Mouffe proposes to understand the social subject as constituted by his/her historical locations and "as a kaleidoscopic encounter of identities and differentiated 'portions-of-power.'" Thus,

political subjects are located in differentiated power positions that are not fixed, they are historical:

Subjectivities are socially located, temporally specific and potentially riven within a series of other relational differences. And where social subjects are complexly constituted not only through categories of gender, but of race and sexuality, ethnicity and class, and perhaps of religion and nationality as well, a position of privilege within one frame may be simultaneously and contradictorily constructed within a position of oppression within another (McClure 1992, 122).

In addition to the heterogeneous and multifaceted political dimension of the term, I propose its use to highlight its subjective nature as the expression of personal feelings, tastes, or opinions.

The Coplas' Intermediality

Although many times the form and the content of the coplas was informed by Sutatenza's civilizing project, in the interstices, the coplas served to circulate rural communities' voices and interpretations of their realities, as well as of issues that were important to them. Listeners composed original coplas that narrated their relationships with their immediate communities and their surroundings, with a distant but intimate Sutatenza community, and with a larger Colombian community. In writing letters to Sutatenza to give feedback and participate, listeners followed, for the most part, the conventions for writing a letter, but at the same time took advantage of the sonority of copla and song to voice their most felt affections and preoccupations. Likewise, in the

composition of copla, listeners do not follow the orthographic rules dictated by the Royal Spanish Academy of the Language for standard written Spanish. They follow the ear, their perception, and their experience. This means that the Sutatenza coplas dwell in the in-betweenness of the lettered and the aural, which highlight their intermediality. From their intermediality, the composition, broadcast and publication of coplas defied the purity of the Spanish language and the grammarians attempt at disciplining voice and speech.

The Colombian grammarians of the nineteenth century identified this fact of writing following the ear and hearing very early during the nation-building years. José Manuel Marroquín in his *Tratados de Ortología y Ortografía*, published in 1869, wrote: “We call words of dubious orthography those that can be wrongly written by a person who, in writing, follows no guide but the ear” (quoted in Ochoa 2014, 165). In her discussion of eloquence, etymology, and orthographies as means for training the voice into propriety, Ana María Ochoa (2014) notes how in the second part of the nineteenth century, knowledge acquired through listening became more and more suspicious. This, in turn, gave rise to “a grammaticalization of the voice with the institutionalized deployment of ever more formalized ideas about appropriate forms of vocality” (2014, 165). Thus, Marroquín’s intention was that of ordering and controlling the multiplicity

of pronunciations and accentuations that were left out of the control of the Spanish monarchy after the Independence years.

Marroquín's understanding and approach to the Spanish language, the letter, and the ear was part of a larger ideological project of the nation-building years. The grammarian presidents were a political lettered elite that exercised power and legitimized a political project through discourses that linked purity and proper use of the Spanish language, its grammar rules, and its linguistics with a Hispanic past and religious morality.⁶⁰ Through language, they established a direct connection with the Colonial Spanish past and its Catholic expansionism. This political project took form as the Conservative Hegemony which lasted from 1880 through 1930, a period when only Conservative presidents won the elections. Its most concrete expression was the National Constitution of 1886. What is important to highlight is that this political project was a project of exclusion based on the power and privilege given by the access to literacy in a territory where ninety percent of the population was illiterate.

⁶⁰ For a detailed description and analysis of this close relationship during the nineteenth century in Colombia, see Rodríguez García, José María (2010), Rojas, Cristina (2002), Von der Walde, Erna (1997, 2007), and Deas, Malcolm (1993).

Coplas and the Conservative Hispanic-Catholic Project

The copla is a poetic form of four octosyllabic verses that contains a complete idea and a clear meaning (Rodríguez Rivera, 161).⁶¹ The copla was brought directly by the Spaniards during the conquest and colonization and became widespread throughout Latin America. The copla has its roots in the medieval period and was sung by the troubadours to express a full range of emotions like love, humor, sadness, or happiness. The form of copla has evolved through the centuries, and with the emergence of the printing press, it was taken by writers and adapted to a more literary form. Since then, oral forms have coexisted with literary ones, and in the Sutatenza project coplas emerge as one more intermedial narrative, crossed by lettered and aural ideologies.

Noting how coplas in oral and written form have coexisted for years, Carbayo (2013) distinguishes the popular ones from the literary and notes that the popular form has more humorous, mocking, and mischievous elements (512). Carbayo also notes that coplas were used for pedagogical purposes. They were used “con la intención de instruir a una audiencia mayormente analfabeta sobre su propia historia” (“with the intention of

⁶¹ In Spain, coplas as poetic form evolved to become the basis of a Spanish popular song called *copla andaluza* or *canción andaluza*. This popular song became Spain’s national song during the Franco regime after a process of disciplining the mischievous and sexual connotations of the original popular poetic form. For an overview of copla’s evolution in Spain, see Carbayo (2013). For a fascinating and in-depth study of the role of copla during Franco’s regime as a way for the defeated to cope with chronic terror, grief, and trauma, see Sieburth (2014).

instructing an audience that was for the most part illiterate about their own history”) (512) and that coplas were both an important vehicle of entertainment and “de educación histórica sobre el pasado” (“of historical education about the past”) (513). It is not surprising, then, that a pedagogical project like Sutatenza chose the copla as one of the vehicles to disseminate its ideology. Yet, as I show in this chapter, it is the mischievous and affective elements of the copla that makes it also an ideal vehicle to counter Sutatenza’s pedagogical forces. As Rodríguez Rivera (1944) notes, the copla as a genre is intimately tied to affect:

como lo esencial en la copla es el sentido afectivo, adquiere por este solo hecho todas las facetas de la vida humana, y va desde lo ingenuo a lo pasional y trágico y pasa a través de diversas gradaciones del sentimiento humano.

Since what is essential in the copla is the affective meaning, the copla acquires, by this very fact, all facets of human life. It goes from the naïve to the passionate and tragic and through diverse gradations of human sentiment (162).

Consequently, through its performative dimension, coplas lend themselves to reply back and resist Sutatenza’s pedagogical forces.

An important formal characteristic of the copla is that it encapsulates a message in a few verses. And it is this very fact that served well the pedagogical within the nation and the Radio Sutatenza. As I mentioned, in nineteenth century Latin America,

literature played a fundamental role in the construction of the notion of a unified territory through the literary movement of costumbrismo. As Erna Von der Walde (2007) has shown, there was a clear connection between costumbrismo and “el proyecto de unificación nacional que cristalizó en la década de 1880 alrededor de una visión conservadora, hispano-católica de la nación” (“the national unification project that solidified in the decades of 1880, around a conservative Hispanic-Catholic vision of the nation”) (244). Costumbrismo’s cultural productions included short stories, poems, travel journals, coplas, print images, and any other materials that fell under the rubric (248).

As I have shown, in the radionovela *Manuela*, writer and producers established a direct connection with the tradition of costumbrismo through the production of a tropical soundscape. Similarly, through the exacerbation of the use of copla both in the radionovela and in the whole project, the Radio Sutatenza actively participated of this ideological project, updating it to the twentieth century and adapting it to new media. The copla as poetic form establishes a direct connection with the Hispanic-Catholic tradition and heritage. In *Manuela*, Díaz Castro has his rural characters communicate often through the singing and reciting of coplas (1858 v. 1 35, 42, 108; v. 2 14, 60, 77, 108). As Erna Von der Walde has noted, “hasta bien entrado el siglo XX, el costumbrismo dominaba la representación de la realidad social en Colombia, especialmente la rural”

("costumbrismo dominated the representation of Colombia's social reality, especially the rural, well into the twentieth century") (248).

Within this tradition, Sutatenza actively participates in the grammarians' political project by promoting the composition and recitation of coplas among rural communities and by producing a coplero rural individual. The political project of the grammarians imagined a nation where although multiplicity and diversity were acknowledged on paper and used as a discursive strategy, in everyday life, they were to be controlled and ordered in the name of civilization and morality. They exercised power through the ability to read and write. "Grammar conferred on the literati the capacity not only to write the rules of grammar, political economy, and constitutional law, but also to impose their vision from the highest levels of political power" (Rojas 2002, 55). This vision imagined a country that was homogeneous, Andean, Catholic, and white-Spanish, excluding the presence and culture of multiple indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. What is more, this project, rooted in the rationalist principles of the Enlightenment, aimed at controlling and suppressing bodily and affective ways of knowing and of relating to the world because it deemed them irrational and superstitious.

Radio Sutatenza had an important role in producing a rural individual who recites coplas to communicate their thoughts and feelings. The character of José in the

radionovela is a case in point. In the original novel, José Fitatá is a *descalzo*, and his speech style is one that uses contractions, drops some syllables or alters the order of letters in the words. The radionovela maintains these features of José's speech, but in sound, José very often uses *coplas* and proverbs to express himself. This does not take place as often in the original novel. Honoring the etymology of the word *copla*, which derives from the Latin *copula*, (link or union), José uses *coplas* mostly to court Rosa and to express her his love. Especially in the first twenty episodes of the story, José recites *coplas* with mischievous and double meanings, and in many occasions, both Rosa and he call him "coplero y piropeador" meaning that he often recites *coplas* and makes flirtatious, flattering comments to women in conversation (chapter 2, 00:06:29).

Interestingly, in the radionovela, there is a witty commentary that mocks the Colombian grammarians, and it comes from Rosa. In a dialogue between Rosa and José, she calls him "jorajido" meaning that he is a foreigner. José corrects her and tells her that *jorajidos* are those who are *bandoleros* and that the correct word to express that he is a foreigner is "jorástero." After being corrected, Rosa replies:

Ay, no le digo, y con las que viene a salir ahora. 'Izque a'más de coplero,
gramatiquero

Oh! Don't I tell you, what you come up with. In addition to coplero, a
grammar expert too (ACPO 1970, chapter 6, 00:08:00) (chapter 6, 00:08:00)

In addition to participating in the production of a coplero rural individual, Sutatenza also intensely promoted copla composition by its listeners. Among the strategies used, radio hosts created radio game-shows where listeners would win a radio transmitter when they sent coplas about the project to the station. Likewise, on page 17 of the book *El coplero campesino*, Elisio Rodríguez explains the structure of the copla to his readers and its worth quoting it at length to show its pedagogical tone:

ESTRUCTURA DE LA COPLA

La lectura atenta de las coplas anteriores, nos va a permitir sacar las deducciones siguientes:

1. En cada copla se desarrolla, por lo regular, un pensamiento, asunto o tema. Es lo que se llama FONDO.
2. El fondo se expresa con palabras que se ordenan de un modo especial. Esta es la FORMA.
3. En la forma podemos apreciar los siguientes detalles:
 - a) Cada copla tiene cierto número de renglones que se llaman VERSOS.
 - b) Los versos forman agrupaciones iguales. Son las ESTROFAS.
 - c) Como las estrofas que hemos visto son de cuatro versos, se denominan CUARTETOS. Pero las hay también de cinco, seis o más versos. Las de cinco, se llaman QUINTETOS; las de seis, SEXTETOS o SEXTILLAS; las de ocho, OCTAVAS u OCTAVILLAS, etc.
 - d) Los versos obedecen a una especie de medida que es el RITMO. También obedecen a cierta armonía o compás: es la CADENCIA. Y a cierta igualdad o semejanza en la terminación de todos o de algunos versos: la RIMA.

Agregaremos a lo dicho que la copla se destina al canto.

De ahí el nombre de CANTA con que se le conoce en algunos lugares. Pero se le utiliza también en la recitación.

STRUCTURE OF THE COPLA

The attentive reading of the previous verses allows us to arrive to the following conclusions:

1. Each copla usually develops one thought, matter, or subject. This is called CONTENT.
2. The content is expressed in words that are ordered in a special way. This is the FORM.
3. In the form we can appreciate the followings details:
 - a) Each copla has a certain number of lines that are called VERSES.
 - b) The verses make groups of equal length. These are the STANZAS.
 - c) Since the stanzas we have seen are of four verses, they are called QUARTETS. But there are also stanzas of five, six, or more verses. Those of five, are called QUINTETS; those of six, SEXTETS; those of eight, OCTAVES, etc.
 - d) The verses follow a kind of measure that is the RHYTHM. They also follow a certain harmony or compass: this is the CADENCE. And, they follow a certain likeness or parallel in the ending of all or some verses: this is the RHYME.

We will add that the copla is meant to be sung.

Hence its name CANTA with which it is also known in some places. But it is also used in recitation (17).

The above instruction on the structure of coplas is followed by a discussion on its uses. This explanation shows that the promotion of the use of copla had a clear

pedagogical purpose that meant to connect Sutatenza and its users directly with a Hispanic-Catholic past. There was probably nothing more exhilarating to a Colombian literato than to hear a rural person, who did not know how to read and write, reciting a copla by Francisco Quevedo y Villegas (Alstrum 2006).⁶² Was there a better and more effective way to connect the Colombian bases to Spain than through copla composition and its sharing?

Singing to Distant and Local Emotional Bonds

Both the ties with the emotions and its mischievous elements make copla an ideal device to express feelings of attachment and bonding, while also denouncing the difficulties listeners experienced due to scarcity and precarious living conditions. The presence of radio shows in the everyday lives of the communities led to the formation of emotional bonds with the radio's characters, who, through daily or weekly broadcasts, entered the homes and the intimate spaces of each one of those who listened to them. Many coplas account for these affective bonds. These compositions meant for the

⁶² "En efecto, Germán Arciniegas (1900-1999), el gran ensayista colombiano del siglo pasado, recordaba en su 'Estudio preliminar' escrito para prologar las *Obras escogidas* de Francisco Quevedo y Villegas (1584-1645), que de niño, él aprendió de memoria muchas coplas del poeta español sin saber su origen al escucharlas recitadas en la Sabana de Bogotá por campesinos analfabetos (LX-X)" ("In effect, Germán Arciniegas (1900-1999), the great Colombian essayist of the past century, remembered in his 'Estudio preliminar' written as prologue of the *Obras escogidas* by Francisco Quevedo y Villegas (1584-1645), that as a child, he memorized many coplas by the Spanish poet, without knowing their origin, by listening to illiterate peasants recite them") (Alstrum, 13).

listeners the possibility of communicating directly with those radio characters and of expressing their attachment to them.

A contribution that speaks of the expression of affection and the creation of bonds with a radio show through the composition of poetic form is one by Roberto Patiño. Roberto writes from Cartago in the state of Valle, on the western part of the country, about his fondness for the radio show “Nuestra casita está a la orden” (“Our Little House is at Your Service”). In the letter, Roberto expresses his preference for this show, shares his composition of a children’s song about the program and expressly requests it to be sung during the broadcast of the show.

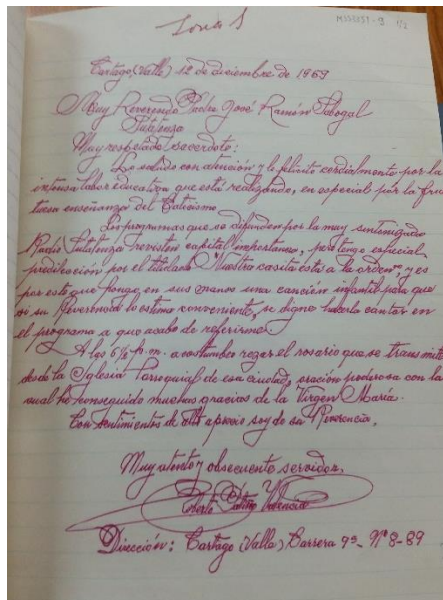


Figure 5: Letter sent by Roberto Patiño to Sutatenza with the song Nuestra casita está a la orden.

The composition is as follows:

La casita está a la orden
Con su huertica y jardín
Con flores de mil colores
Donde cantan ruiseñores
A la salida del sol

Cuando la luna se asoma
Tras los naranjos en flor,
Y con sus hilos de plata
Teje la dicha y amor,
Alegres todos los niños
Cantan la dulce canción

The little house is at your service
with its little orchard and garden
with flowers of a thousand colors
where nightingales sing
at daybreak

When the moon appears,

behind the flowering orange trees,
and with its silver threads,
it weaves happiness and love
joyfully all children
sing the sweet song (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-9, Zona 1, Vol. 1)

Inspired by the radio show, this song talks about a close and vital relationship with nature and brings forth the role of sounds in everyday life. The author describes the nature that surrounds him, in a setting where the song of birds and children are fundamental. This composition illustrates how Roberto connects elements of his quotidian activities like the orchard and the bird's song with a new element in his routine: the radio show "Nuestra casita está a la orden." Roberto captures these elements in song and writing. This composition is significant because it highlights the role that the habit of listening to the radio show had gained in the day-to-day activities of the listeners. Moreover, the very fact that he chose a children's song further points to the proximity that this content had to his heart and affects.

Other coplas articulate listeners' bonds with the project itself, like the following copla:

Dos cosas hay en el mundo
que me inspiran gran cariño
las escuelas radiofónicas

y el periódico El campesino

Soy un estudiante que estudia

con una gran emoción

porque sigo los programas

de don emigdio rincón

Att Carlos Humberto hernandes

There are two things in the world

that inspire in me great affection

the radiophonic schools

and the weekly El campesino

I'm a student who studies

with great excitement

because I follow the radio shows

with Mr. Emigdio Rincón

Sincerely, Carlos Humberto hernandes (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351, Zona
1, Vol. 14) ⁶³

⁶³ I consulted these sources when the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango was still cataloguing the letters. For this reason, some of the citations do not contain the letter's number.

Through the radio shows and the letter exchange, listeners were creating new social bonds at home from a distance with the radio hosts and the project's officials. These compositions, created in the intimate domestic space, became public through their broadcast and publication. Then, they re-entered the sphere of the domestic as the broadcasts and weekly arrived at the homes and became part of daily routines. The radio hosts are visually unknown to most of the listeners. Yet through listening to the hosts' voices, community members felt close to them and comfortable expressing their affection:

Le doy agradecimientos
A todos los locutores
Por las buenas enseñanzas
Y por todas las labores.

Por medio de esta cartica
Ya los mande saludar
Al ilustre Monastoque
Y tambien a Sabogal

I give thanks
To all radio hosts

For the good teachings

And all their hard work

Through this little letter

I already sent my regards

To the illustrious Monastoque

As well as Sabogal (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3858, Zona 4, 1964, Vol. 144)

The mediation of print and radio words brings forth a tension between intimacy and distance, making possible a distant presence through letters and sounds.

Sometimes, it was as if the radio teacher was one more neighbor. Through copla composition and sharing, users created traditional bonds even at a distance:

En el patio de mi casa

Cuido una hermosa novilla

Para cuando de aumento

Darle la leche al profesor Bonilla

Edelmira Vargas de Ortiz

In the patio of my house

I take care of a beautiful heifer

So, when there are left overs

I give the milk to professor Bonilla

Edelmira Vargas de Ortiz (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351, Zona 4, 1973, Vol. 173)

Similarly, contributors sing to emotional bonds created in local social networks like the family, the vereda, and the *junta veredal* (veredal assembly). The following is an example of affection inspired by family:

En Fusagasugá yo tengo
todito mi corazón
porque allá tengo mis padres
y en ellos mi adoración.

Rosaura Domínguez

In Fusagasugá I have
all my heart
because there I have my parents
and they are my adoration

Rosaura Domínguez (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

Family is the most basic social organization in the countryside followed by the vereda. The vereda is an administrative subdivision of a municipio. However, beyond its administrative functions, the vereda is a central social organization in the rural areas.

As such “la vereda es sinónimo de comunidad rural e institución que afirma la territorialidad, la noción de identidad y pertenencia, así como un tejido básico de relaciones de parentesco y vecindario” (“The vereda is synonymous of rural community and institution that affirms territoriality, the notion of identity and belonging, as well as a basic fabric of kinship and neighborhood”) (Corrales et al. 138). In the coplas, the vereda is a theme that comes up often. In the following copla, Hernando Amaya, a “paisa,” meaning that he is from the state of Antioquia, sings to his vereda:

Yo soy un humilde paisa

Y amo mucho a mi vereda;

progreso, paz y bonanza

para todos yo quisiera.

Hernando Amaya – Antioquia

I’m a humble paisa

And I really love my vereda

Progress, peace, and prosperity

I would want for all

Hernando Amaya – Antioquia (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

In this copla, Hernando highlights his love for the vereda and brings forth a sense of the collective that makes him wish wellbeing to all members of his community. His love for the vereda is tightly linked with a sense of proud for the land where he is from. This is shown by his mentioning that he is a “paisa.” The expression of affection to community members is often connected to the land and the local reinforcing a sense of belonging.

Similarly, the junta veredal refers to the community action assembly which is a local administrative organization formed by neighbors who join forces to work towards the common good of the vereda. There are also several coplas that sing to the junta veredal expressing enthusiasm for their existence: “Que viva nuestra vereda y la junta communal.” Likewise, listeners expressed in various ways their appreciation for members of the junta. The following copla illustrates the fact that the junta plays an important role in the development of the vereda:

JUNTA VEREDAL

En este sector tenemos
nuestra Junta Veredal:
hicimos amplio camino
para poder transitar.

Alicia Muriel de Fernandez – El Cedro (Antioquia)

VEREDAL ASSEMBLY

In this area we have

Our veredal assembly:

We made a wide road

So we could travel and move around

Alicia Muriel de Fernandez – El Cedro (Antioquia) (ACPO 1964-1976,
MSS3525 v. 1)

In this case, the copla celebrates that through joined forces the community built a road for the vereda. The junta is a link between the local and the national governments and as such had a key role in the life of rural communities.

These two nodes of community are recurrent themes in the coplas of the Sutatenza archive, showing that the vereda and the junta veredal were key spaces of socialization at the time. Their recurrence as themes also speaks of the importance that they had in the daily lives of the Sutatenza users and that, the sharing of stories about them in radio and print media helped reinforce their significance. Life revolved around labor but also around bonding and forming community. In addition, the radio station, the radio transmitters, and the newspaper were integrated as new elements in the traditional routines and relations of the community. Before, while neighbors went next door to ask for a cup of sugar, with Sutatenza, they also went to borrow the newspaper

El Campesino:

Nosotros los colombianos
buscamos “El Campesino”
y cuando no lo encontramos
corremos donde el vecino.

José del Carmen Barragán – Carupa (Cundinamarca)

We, Colombians
look for “El Campesino”
and when we cannot find it
we run to the neighbor

José del Carmen Barragán – Carupa (Cundinamarca) (ACPO 1964-1976,
MSS3525 v. 1)

Scarcity and difficulty also brought together members of the community while
integrating the newspaper in their lives:

Yo compro “El Campesino”
porque tengo con qué,
le presto a mi vecino
porque él plata no vé.

LUPGOM – Charalá (Santander)

I buy “El Campesino”

because I have the resources

I lend it to my neighbor

because he doesn't see money

LUPGOM – Charalá (Santander) (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

The narratives in the coplas show that the sharing of copla composition through print and radio introduced new ways of bonding as listeners connected in the distance with the intimacy of the voices of radio hosts. At the same time, this sharing reinforced previous ways of relating in traditional social networks like the vereda and the junta veredal. Yet, a third way of bonding emerges in these narratives. By composing to be broadcast and published, users began to bond in new ways with other users of the project and with listeners in other regions of the country. This offered new ways of forming community across distances. The coplas also became a space where the listeners vented their inconformity with the state and the government. In their expression of this inconformity, listeners enacted their right to participate and executed their citizenship. In this sense, the compositions served as an unparalleled window into the communities' perspectives on issues that affected them.

Venting Inconformity, Exercising Citizenship

Through sonorous poetic composition, listeners denounced labor exploitation, censured the State's absence in the rural areas and expressed their frustration with their

conditions of poverty. While making these claims, listeners established bonds with other listeners in different regions. A listener in the department of Chocó composes a copla denouncing how the Colombian State has forgotten about his region. The department of Chocó is in fact an area forgotten by the Colombian State and, as a result, one of the most remote areas in the country. Still today, it lacks roads and infrastructure. Pablo Valencia writes to Sutatenza from Acandí, a distant town in the most northwestern end of Colombia, on the border with Panama, to explicitly complain because there is no school in his town:

Ya seis años sin escuela,
esto certifico yo;
de nosotros no se acuerdan
de el bendito Chocó.

Laborantes, como pocos,
es un mal que nos afecta;
a este Departamento
no nos dan ni una maestra.

Pablo Valencia Godoy – Acandi (Chocó)

It's already six years without a school,

This I certify;
They forget about us
About the blessed Chocó

Hard workers, as few,
It's a malady that affects us;
This department
They don't even give us a teacher.

Pablo Valencia Godoy – Acandi (Chocó) (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

It was and is, even today, a very unusual event that somebody in the rural eastern mountains of Santander, next to Venezuela, in the opposite border from Pablo's town, hear from the sea shores of Acandí, Chocó. Although the communication was mediated by the newspaper, through this copla, people in different regions learned directly from one of its inhabitants about Acandí's difficulties. The importance of this composition lies in this very fact: Readers received the information in poetic form, from the heart and from direct experience. There are no journalists involved or entertainment industries or economic interests. In turn, it is very likely that many readers who were experiencing similar difficulties (something that was very likely in the remote, rural areas) could relate with Pablo's situation. As Benedict Anderson has shown, print media allowed communities to imagine themselves as being part of a bigger collective, which

reconfigured previous understandings of space and time. In reading and listening to this copla from Acandí, Chocó and identifying with it, readers in different regions could bond in entirely new ways. The publication of Pablo's copla enabled communication and connection between Acandí and the rest of the territory establishing relations, from a shared experience across distances, that otherwise would not have been possible.

Through an aesthetic event, one that was not explicitly political in the sense of rallies or voting but political in the sense that it implies the exercise of the right to participate, listeners exposed their point of view of issues that directly affected them. In another contribution, Alfonso Bedoya questions the way his employer understands social justice:

En Antioquia al campesino

le pagan poco jornal:

los patrones desconocen

lo que es justicia social.

Alfonso Bedoya Va. – Santa Bárbara (Antioquia)

In Antioquia the campesino

Is paid very little daily wage

The employer does not know

What social justice is

Alfonso Bedoya Va. – Santa Bárbara (Antioquia) (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

With a note of humor, an anonymous author contributed a joke that tells of scarcity in the rural areas:

Juan fue a que lo viera el Médico.

El doctor lo examinó y le recetó unas papeletas-

-Tómese dos antes de las comidas.

-Y a dónde las consigo, doctor?

-Qué, las papeletas?

-No, doctor, las comidas.

N.N. Charalá (Santander)

Juan went to the doctor.

The doctor examined him and prescribed some pills:

-Take two before each meal

-And where can I get them doctor?

-What? The pills?

-No, doctor. The meals.

N.N. Charalá (Santander) (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

In the composition and sharing of the copla, users of the project took advantage of the participatory space that the station and the newspaper gave them. They used it to

express intimate feelings, as well as to denounce broader issues that concerned the community as a whole. In the context of limited formal participation like the National Front years, this kind of participation was all the more valuable because it gave listeners a sense of being heard on issues that were important for them.

Expressing a Sense of Belonging

Although the copla is a poetic form meant to be shared, that is, traditionally it is sung or declaimed in social settings, the act of sending these compositions to the radio shows and the newspaper meant that listeners were willing to share their creations in a larger setting, one that went beyond their local and immediate community, again decentering previous notions of time and space. Rubén Salazar writes from the prison of San Andrés in the state of Santander. His compositions show his sense of belonging to the Sutatenza community and to the Colombian nation. Rubén writes frequently to the project and in each letter, he sends an average of six and ten coplas. Most contributions offered between one and four. He used to be radio auxiliary in his vereda having created several radiophonic schools. In one of his letters, he writes asking for help from the project and noting that he was incarcerated for acts that he did not commit (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3891).

His subsequent letters focus on informing the project that the Director of the prison is very enthusiastic about the prison's radiophonic school and that the prisoners

are diligently listening to the lessons and learning to read and write (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3858). He records that on the coplas, as well:

Al señor Director

En este plantel recibimos

Mas contentos y mejor,

Y con Buena disciplina

Por medio del el director

To Mr. Director

In this institution we receive

Happier and better

And with good discipline

With Mr. Director (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3865)

Rubén turned to listening to the radio, and to writing coplas and sharing them to deal with his incarceration. His coplas are very explicit about how grateful he is for having the opportunity to listen to the station even if from jail:

Con la radio sutatenza

Estoy muy agradesido

Recibo muchos programas

Y el tiempo no he perdido

With the Sutatenza radio

I am very grateful

I receive many programs

And haven't lost the time

Although Rubén does not speak directly about his seclusion, the frequency of his letters and the high number of contributions he sent show his desire to reach to the outer world. The opportunity to listen to the radio lessons and programming of Sutatenza gave him a sense of belonging and kept alive the memory of his previous involvement with the project. Even if not all his coplas were printed in the weekly, this creative and participatory space enabled him to connect beyond the walls of the jail and to establish a different relationship with the space of his imprisonment.

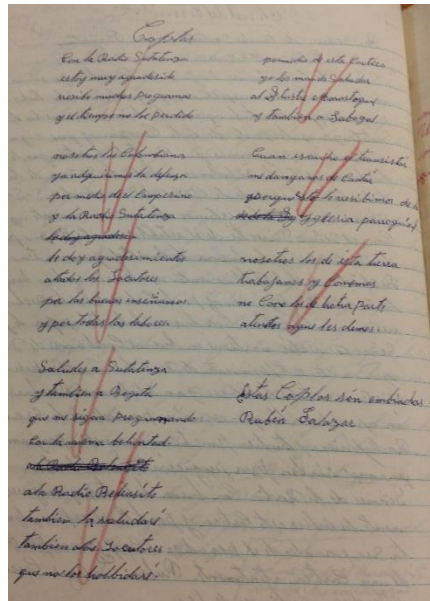


Figure 6: Coplas sent by Rubén Salazar.

Additionally, coplas narratives show how users from varied subject positions negotiated meanings about notions that had a direct impact on their lives. Luis Héctor Galeano was a soldier member of the 5th Infantry Battalion called “Córdoba 2” (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3849). He writes from the city of Santa Marta in the Atlantic coast. In his letter, he notes that he has sworn in front of the pennant and has been accepted to take a course to become a member of the National Police Department. He also plans to continue his training to become an officer in the Military Police. Luis Héctor sent a poetic contribution with a letter addressed to *El Campesino*'s director.

The tone of the letter is very formal and demonstrates command of the rules for standard writing and uses elaborated vocabulary and speech. The contribution is overall

reflective and passionate about the role of the soldier in a society at war with itself. Although Luis Héctor does not state this explicitly, the composition is very autobiographical considering what he shares about himself in the letter. Like Rubén, he probably contributed creative compositions on a regular basis since he mentions it is “a new collaboration.” After addressing the director with compliments and good wishes for the initiatives of the weekly, Luis Héctor introduces himself. Then, he adds: “adjunto a la presente una nueva colaboración que tiende a exaltar al Soldado tolimense” (“attached to this, [find] a new collaboration that tends to exalt the Tolimense soldier”) (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3849):

“SOLDADO TOLIMENSE”

Por tus venas corre sangre de una raza altiva como tus nevados,
indomable raza Pijao que de antaño nos legó sublimes ejemplos de valor
cuál es preferir la muerte antes que entregarse pasivamente al
infrahumano vasallaje de los conquistadores españoles, estas
ineludiblemente ligado al sublime culto de morir por el magno ideal
patrio, pues en cualquier momento debes estar presto para presentar tu
vida como dádiva ante el ara de la Patria, que como diosa imponente de
la marcialidad, te ordena la defienda[s] del ataque de sus alevos hijos que
tratan de mancillarla sembrando la muerte y la desolación en los campos,
segando a diario vidas de inocentes y humildes campesinos. No te
amedrentan los embates del peligro que te conducen por el tétrico
sendero de la muerte, porque en tu corazón está indeleblemente
impregnado el bello sentimiento de amor exacerbado a la tierra que te
recibió en su tierno regazo, eres el prototipo del valor y del coraje, vas al
sacrificio con tranquilidad pasmable porque sabes que tu nombre
quedará grabado para siempre en el libro de los héroes, y sobre tu inerte
cuerpo se ceñirá majestuoso el oriflama colombiano y sobre la taciturna
lápida de tu sepulcro se leerá con indescrípible sublimidad éste epitáfio.

“A MUERTO POR LA CAUSA PATRIA”

“TOLIMENSE SOLDIER”

Through your veins runs the blood of a domineering race as high as your snow-capped mountains, indomitable Pijao race that yesteryear bequeathed us sublime examples of bravery like choosing death before passively surrendering to the inhumane serfdom of the Spanish conquistadores. You are inescapably linked to the sublime cult of dying for the grand ideal of the Motherland since at any moment you must be ready to offer your life on the altar of the Motherland, who like a magnificent goddess of the military, orders you to defend her from the attack of her treacherous children who try to dishonor her spreading death and devastation throughout the countryside, reaping on the daily the lives of innocent and humble campesinos. You don't get frightened by the buffeting of danger that leads you through the dismal path of death because your heart is indelibly impregnated with the beautiful sentiment of an exacerbated love for the land that received you in its tender lap, you are the prototype of bravery and courage, you go to sacrifice with surprising calmness because you know that your name will be forever engraved in the book of heroes, and that the majestic Colombian insignia will hang on your lifeless body and that the following epitaph will read with indescribable sublimity on the taciturn gravestone of your tomb:

“HE HAS DIED FOR THE MOTHERLAND” (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3849)

Tolimense is the demonym of the state of Tolima, a region characterized by its high mountains with snow-covered peaks in the Andes range. This contribution pays tribute to the soldier of the national army who serves the motherland while at the same time it sings an ode to the indigenous blood that gives this soldier the courage to do so. In many ways, the contribution sings more truly to the Pijao blood than this soldier

carries in his veins than to the motherland herself. It is a blood that is rebellious and resisting of the Spaniards' attempts at subjugating them, and later, one would think, to the white elites' oppression. However, it is a contribution that wants to honor and revere the projects inherited from the Spanish colonizers and implemented by the white elite: the nation and the motherland, and in many ways the ideal of the lettered. The writer seeks to insert himself in the lettered tradition.

The unavoidable presence of death is intensely felt throughout the piece. Although the author's intention is to praise the role and the labor of the *solider*, his poem also denounces the fact that brothers, neighbors, and friends are killing each other in the countryside due to political polarization. It also expresses either his mourning for a comrade or the anticipation of his own death. These are deep felt emotions that touch on existential issues, which foregrounds, as Rancière notes, the ways common people reflect on their everyday lives. It also shows how the participatory space opened by Sutatenza fostered the circulation of these creative reflections.

There is also a tension between the love for the land that saw him being born and "the grand ideal of the Motherland." This motherland/nation that is portrayed like a goddess who sends her children in sacrifice does not offer any protection to them. On the contrary, she orders them to take arms on her name and honor without giving back to them. In the composition, that grand ideal seems to seep through and get lost in its

idealization. In contrast, the concrete virtues of the Pijao ethnicity are concretely exalted, and Pijaos emerge as courageous warriors who held on to their heritage, their roots, and their connection to the land. This connection with nature and the soil is illustrated by the analogy between the steep mountains and the proud character of the Pijao blood.

The contribution also denounces violence in the countryside. Seldom do the compositions sent by listeners directly address the violence that marked Colombia during the 1960s. Because of Luis's subject position as a soldier in the middle of the battleground, the armed confrontations were imminent for him in daily life. The only way out is the sublime cult of dying of the Pijaos. It is only by connecting with that ancestry and the connection with the land itself through the Pijaos that this soldier can be redeemed finding meaning in his deathly actions because the meaning of the "grand ideal of the motherland" is empty. In the mist of daily life struggles with scarcity, seclusion, and violence, listeners were creating poetic form by reflecting about life, the motherland, the land and the soil, collective life, progress, and God.

Enacting Catholic Citizenship

The Catholic Church as an institution, the parish priest, the sacraments, and other Catholic practices are a frequent theme in the narratives of coplas. They show that the Church still had a major role in the lives of rural communities. Indeed, it was thanks to the Catholic Church's administrative organization and, especially, to its presence in

far-off regions that Sutatenza was so successful in reaching the vast majority of the Colombian territory. As I have stated before, this intimate link between Sutatenza and Catholicism led to Sutatenza's modelling a Catholic citizenship to its listeners in a way that was consciously merging religious and citizenship subjectivities (Roldán 2014, 29).

In the rural areas of the 1960s when television had not arrived, the Church still had a big influence and a central role as a social institution. What these coplas show is that for many listeners Radio Sutatenza went hand in hand with the Catholic institution. Venancio Ramírez writes from Malagavita, Santander and in his coplas, he acknowledges Sutatenza's great achievement in reaching the distant towns and notes that Sutatenza was in fact preaching the Gospel around the world:

El radio Sutatenza

Va llegado a todos los pueblos

Llevando el evangelio

Por todo el mundo entero

Sutatenza radio

Arrives to every town

Taking the Gospel

Around the world

Att, Venancio Ramírez Jaimes, Malagavita, Santander (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3907, Zona 4, 1964, vol. 144)

Similarly, in a copla written by Graciano Ariza, he blesses the figures of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the Sutatenza transmitter like in a prayer:

Bendito el padre y el hijo

Y el espíritu divino

Y el transistor Sutatenza

Que le enseña al campesino

Blessed is the father and the son

and the divine spirit

and the Sutatenza transistor

that teaches the campesino (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3910)

Graciano Ariza composed this copla to compete in the radio game show “Write and Win.” The game-show called participants to write coplas about the stations’ transmitter in order to win one for their homes. In many instances Sutatenza’s discourse articulated its intention to take the rural communities out of their supposed state of ignorance and barbarism both through a Christian salvation of their souls (through Sutatenza’s affiliation with the Church), and through the salvation of their minds through the reordering of their speech and listening through literacy and education. Thus, coplas narratives show a tension between appropriating such discourse of advancement and progress and a negotiation and an attempt at reformulating it.

The game-show explicitly asked listeners to talk about the project, the radio station, and the radio transmitters to be able to win the prize. In the coplas sent to participate in the game, listeners were motivated to praise the project in order to win transmitters for their homes and in doing so, they replicate the messages they were constantly hearing on the radio. The following three coplas, sent from different towns, address how through listening to Radio Sutatenza, rural communities were going to learn about culture, progress, and advancement:

El transistor Zutatenza

Nuestro mejor compañero

Que nos enseña cultura

Y a ahorrar mas el dinero

Teresa Bohórquez de Tasco, Barichara

the Sutatenza transistor

our best comrade,

who teaches us culture

and to save money better

Teresa Bohórquez de Tasco, Barichara (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3968, Zona 4, 1964, vol. 144)

En los hogares campesinos

Nunca nos deve faltar

El receptor sutatenza

Para poder progrezar

Gabriel Olarte

In the campesino homes

We should never lack

The Sutatenza receiver

So that we can progress

Gabriel Olarte (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3964, Zona 4, 1964, vol. 144)

Yo era un campesino rudo

Lleno de pura pereza,

Y ahora boy adelante

Con mi Radio Sutatenza

Juan Gamboa Suárez, Charta, Santander

I was a rough campesino

Full of laziness

And now I move forward

With my Radio Sutatenza

Juan Gamboa Suárez, *Charta*, Santander (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3924, Zona 4, 1964, vol. 144)

Other coplas show more explicitly how listeners integrated the merging of religious and citizen subjectivities by connecting the notions of progress, education, and religious salvation. Serafin Rodríguez Sepúlveda juxtaposes Sutatenza's discourse on progress and education with that of Catholic salvation, notions that eerily resonate with one of Demóstenes' speeches in the radionovela *Manuela* (ACPO 1970, chapter 9, 00:16:00-00:17:18). Serafín's copla speaks of the need to have a radio transmitter in order to save his soul and go to heaven:

En todo el hogar cristiano,

Debe aver temor a Dios

Y esto solo se consigue

Con el radio reseptor

Siguiendo las enceñanzas

Que lanzan con gran fervor

Llegaremos a imitar

Al divino Salvador

Para salvar nuestra alma

Que esta sobretodo anelo
A ver si tarde o temprano
Podemos entrar al cielo

In every Christian home,
There must be fear of God
And this can only be achieved
With the radio receiver

Following the teachings
Sent with great fervor
We'll get to imitate
The Divine Savior

To save our soul
That is above all desire
To see if sooner or later
We can enter heaven (ACPO 1958-1978, MSS3351-3926)

Copla composition also led listeners to reformulate notions like progress in their own terms. In the following copla, a listener who did not share her or his name and used the initials AMR, writes from the town Camilo Torres in the state of Cauca and

articulates her own understanding of progress. In the following copla, AMR associates progress and industrialization with cooperative economy and a community center:

Tunía está progresando,
sobre todo, en lo industrial:
tenemos cooperativa y un buen
centro comunal

Tunía is progressing,
above all in the industrial:
we have a cooperative and a good
community center

AMR, Camilo Torres (Cauca) (ACPO 1964-1976, MSS3525 v. 1)

Thus, for him or her, progress was about building community and strong relationships that encouraged collaboration among neighbors. AMR's reinterpretation of the idea of progress brings forth her values, which speaks again of the way copla composition became a space for the expression of the users' individualities through creation and engagement with their social world. Coplas narratives become a space for the expression of listeners' inner world. Through these compositions they recounted and disseminated their knowledges, their customs, their traditions, and their relationships to others and the environment.

Conclusion

Similar to the radionovela *Manuela*, the copla as a genre is ambiguous and emerges as a contested field of meaning production while it also shows the tensions between the forces of the pedagogical and the performative within organized groups. On the one hand, the collection of these compositions raises important questions about participation and citizenship. During the National Front, the creative participation of the Sutatenza listeners becomes particularly meaningful because through the composition of coplas, rural communities articulated their own interpretation of their environment, executing their right to participate in a setting of limited formal political participation. In the coplas narratives, listeners turned authors expressed their subjectivities, their feelings of attachment, and their understandings of communities. In the sharing of these narratives, Sutatenza disseminated and circulated their voices in a setting that went beyond their local and immediate social circle. On the other, Sutatenza's collection of coplas show that, through the intense promotion of copla composition and recitation, the project established a clear connection to costumbrismo and the white Andean national project of the grammarians. This campaign to instruct rural communities on how to compose and recite coplas was crossed by a disciplining of speech and the production and fixation of a very specific rural individual. This rural individual's way of being in the world was created in the cuadros de costumbres and was remediated in the

compilation and broadcast of the “expresiones del alma campesina” (“expressions of the campesino soul”) in Sutatenza. A third way how the Sutatenza project established a connection to Colombia’s costumbrismo tradition and developed an even more explicit reference to the cuadro de costumbres was through the radio drama series *Cuadros campesinos*.

Staging Daily Life: *Cuadros Campesinos* Radio Dramatizations and Rural Theater

Aníbal, a campesino leader from Antioquia, a state in the western mountains, has just arrived to Peñablanca, a remote vereda in the state of Santander in the eastern mountains. According to this Cuadro's narrator, "el ambiente es poco favorable a sus propósitos de promover la organización de la comunidad. Pero como él no se desanima, comienza la lucha" ("the atmosphere is less than favorable for his purposes of promoting community organization. But, since he doesn't give up, the struggle begins") (ACPO 1976, episode 9, 00:00:12). This episode of *Cuadros campesinos* radio dramas starts with the above introduction illustrating a common thread along many of the episodes: the tensions between unity and multiplicity in radiophonic schools and the challenges of community-making and community organization among culturally diverse populations.

In this chapter, I explore the radio dramas *Cuadros campesinos* written by Elisio Rodríguez. *Cuadros campesinos* were broadcast weekly through Radio Sutatenza from 1961 through at least 1976. That year they were published in print as *Cuadros campesinos: Teatro rural*, a collection of seven plays for open-air theater. The audience for the radio dramas and the written plays were leaders and students of radiophonic schools in the different veredas. The stories in both media had an explicit pedagogical purpose. They were meant to prompt thinking and discussion around rural communities' problems

and challenges. Sutatenza's radio teachers created them, in part, out of the many questions, complaints, and inquiries that community leaders and listeners expressed in their letters to the station. What to do with a husband that squanders the money drinking? How to make him aware of what he is doing? What to do about young people not wanting to work the land? How to deal with quarrels between neighbors during community meetings?

In this way, the *Cuadros campesinos* provided a stage for the re-presentation of everyday life in radiophonic schools. I argue that through the performance of colloquial speech and regional accents, and by mirroring radiophonic schools' social values and conflicts, the *Cuadros* narratives created a reverberating effect in the listeners. Aired every Monday to kick-start the week's lessons, the *Cuadros* stories and sounds lingered throughout the week. Furthermore, I suggest that, in privileging their pedagogical purpose, *Cuadros campesinos* dramatizations, both in sound and on paper, disrupt genre boundaries, blurring the limits between them, and becoming a hybrid genre, or what I call intermedial narratives. As intermedial narratives, these dramatizations are a site where several contradictory forces converge: On the one hand, the dramatizations serve as a vehicle of Sutatenza's civilizing project and pedagogical model, which is built on and replicates the nineteenth century lettered elites' cultural model of Andeanization. A model that elevates the Andean culture and constructs it as *mestiza* by exalting the

Hispanic heritage and tradition, excluding Afro-Colombian cultural expressions, and paternalistically representing indigenous communities' knowledges. On the other, it provided rural communities with tools and strategies to organize and unite forces to resist the status quo and implement changes in their localities. The exploration of these dramatizations illuminates the ambivalence that individuals experienced while trying to disseminate and receive Sutatenza's teachings. Moreover, it exposes the challenges of rural community-making in highly traditional and regionalist groups and the tensions of implementing a project based on ideals of community that promote homogeneous values and leaves out multiplicity.

The *Cuadros campesinos* series encompasses narratives in several media, formats, and genres. It includes radio scripts from 1961 through 1976 for thirty-minute-dramatizations; the (only) remaining sonic record, which is a 1976-collection of eight radio dramatizations; and, the written plays for rural theater published as a book in 1976. I focus on the sonic record and the print plays using the radio scripts as reference. I analyze these narratives in dialogue with Victor Turner's notion of social drama and its dynamic relationship with stage drama in the lives of organized communities. I also dialogue with Ana María Ochoa Gautier's concept of the aural region (2006), therefore, keeping in mind these narratives sonic dimension and the power structures embedded in them:

In speaking about Latin America as an aural region, I argue that under the contemporary processes of social globalization and regionalization coupled with the transformations in the technologies of sound, the public sphere is increasingly mediated by the aural. These processes are, if not subverting, at least displacing the relation between the sonic and the lettered word (807).

I analyze the radio dramatizations by hearing in detail the choice of vocalizations and intonations to express conflict, listening closely to modes and styles of speech as ways to represent regionalisms, and paying special attention to the use of dialogue to handle confrontation. I also explore the trajectory of the *Cuadros* from sound to print to explore the tensions between radio and writing in the Sutatenza project. As intermedial narratives, the *Cuadros* account for the porous boundaries between the written and the aural. Intermediality also brings out how Sutatenza's encompassing pedagogical purpose gave way to creative hybrid genres.

"Cuadros campesinos. Dramatización."

The *Cuadros* aired weekly on Mondays. Gabriel Rodríguez, who had several appointments at Sutatenza from radio teacher to CEO,⁶⁴ notes that the radio series was

⁶⁴ Gabriel Rodríguez's professional experience in Sutatenza ranges from being radio teacher for Spanish language courses in the radiophonic schools, to participating in the implementation of the project's model in Dominican Republic and Honduras as a USAID employee in 1982, and becoming the project's director in 1986: "Experiencia laboral: profesor-locutor de Lenguaje en las Escuelas Radiofónicas de Acción Cultural Popular – Escuelas Radiofónicas; libretista, productor y locutor de Radio Sutatenza (1975 a 1981); Investigador Social de Media & Contents para República Dominicana y Honduras, a través de proyectos en comunicación popular con la Agencia para el Desarrollo Internacional, AID, de los Estados Unidos de América (1982 a 1985); Director Nacional de Radio Sutatenza (1986 A 1989); Director del periódico El

meant to set the main theme that radio teachers planned to discuss in the lessons of that week in the radiophonic schools (pers. comm., December 10, 2018). Each week explored a different issue, problem, or need of rural life. Elisio Rodríguez appears as the main and only author of the *Cuadros*'s scripts and book. Elisio Rodríguez was a playwright, musician, writer, poet, and teacher (Sabogal, n.d., p. 3; Ávila, 2018, p. 13). He used to be a rural school teacher and arrived to Sutatenza, in 1956, to be a radio teacher in the department of education in the cultural division (Gabriel Rodríguez, personal communication, December 10, 2018).

Elisio's approach to the radio scripts offers a clue to better understand the *Cuadros*' ambiguous genre. Elisio wrote the scripts following the format of a radio play. On the top of the first page, one finds the title and subtitle, the author's name, the date, the theme, the length of the episode, the location of the story and the characters. Yet he named his stories dramatizations. The title of each script reads: "Cuadros Campesinos. Dramatización." The subtitle shows that, initially, Elisio did not conceive the *Cuadros* as radio plays per se. Throughout this study, I call these radio dramas, radio dramatizations to retain their pedagogical character and the purpose with which they were conceived and to highlight their contradictory and embattled field of meanings.

Campesino (1988 A 1989); Rector de los Institutos de Formación de Líderes de Acción Cultural Popular (1990 a 1993)" (excerpt from Gabriel Rodríguez's "Síntesis hoja de vida," shared with me via email).

Further, understanding them as dramatizations brings out their blurring of boundaries between genres and allows for a richer analysis of their trajectory from radio sounds to written plays.

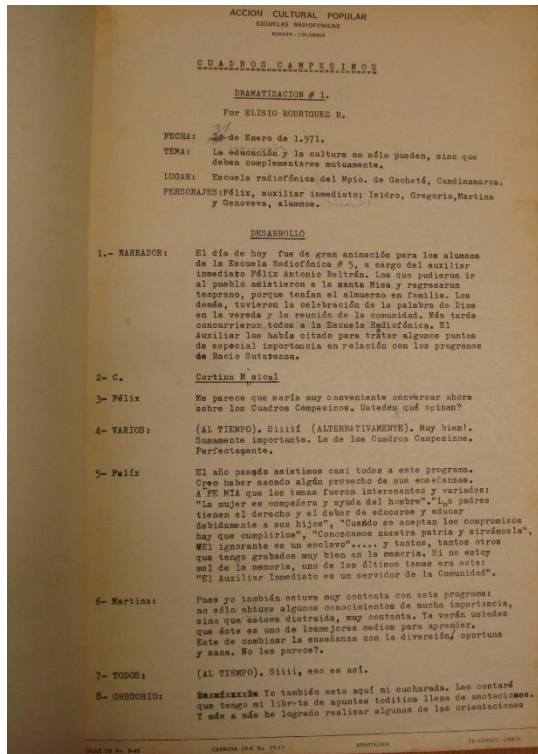


Figure 7: Cuadros Campesinos Radio Script by Elisio Rodríguez.

Like the radionovelas, the radio dramatizations were produced in Sutatenza’s radio studios and performed by the project’s theater troupe. As Gabriel Rodríguez notes, Radio Sutatenza had a cast of front-line radio actors with many years of experience and who were considered among the best in their field. The sonic production was recorded and mixed at the station’s largest studio in Bogotá (pers. comm., December 10, 2018).

The *Cuadro* for that week dramatized and staged a situation of everyday life that illustrated the issue or problem and was followed by a round-table or debate with experts in the topic. Both the radio dramatization and the debate motivated discussion and reflection around these themes in the community. They also offered possible solutions. Afterwards, radio teachers expanded and elaborated on different dimensions of the issue in the radio lessons that they hosted throughout the day and week.

The *Cuadros* both in sound and in print follow a similar structure. The story takes place in a vereda during a meeting organized by the radio auxiliary or by a campesino leader. A narrator sets the scene by situating the story in a specific region or state, giving background information about the characters and introducing the main issues that the *Cuadro* addresses. One character is usually a Sutatenza affiliated leader or auxiliary who has arrived in the community to teach, implement the radiophonic project, and support the radiophonic schools. The other two or three characters are engaged community members who support the leader's or auxiliary's innovative endeavor. The remaining two or three characters are community members who are attached to traditional practices and unfamiliar and resistant to the leader's teachings.

In the first part of the story the resistant characters complain and don't agree with the leader's or auxiliary's advice. This is followed by a discussion where all attendants to the meeting vociferously argue, some supporting the change or advice,

others opposing it. This marks the climax of the plot. After this discussion, the characters who support the innovation convince the opposing ones of the benefits of implementing new information, tools, and skills offered by the campesino leader. In most episodes, at the end, all community members agree that the best thing to do for the community is to embrace innovation. Usually the resistant character gets convinced by the others of the benefits of implementing new information. Other times, the story does not have a clear conclusion, or the conflict is not resolved and is left open ended. The *Cuadros'* pedagogical purpose was that of staging daily life to generate reflection in the communities, to make them find themselves in the stories.

Reflecting Everyday Life in Sound

In working with Ndembu communities in Central Africa, Victor Turner identified a fundamental unit or structure of experience that, for him, is social ground for many types of narratives and that he calls social drama. A fundamental element of social drama is the presence of conflict. Turner has defined social drama as a “aharmonic or disharmonic social process, arising in conflict situations” (1974, 37).⁶⁵ The *Cuadros* exemplify a kind of social drama, one in which rural characters clashed with Sutatenza’s

⁶⁵ According to Turner, this structure has four phases: breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration or recognition of schism. For Turner’s elaboration on these phases, see Turner 1974 page 37-38 and 1982 page 69-71.

ideologies of progress, advancement, and civilization. Turner argues that social drama is “a spontaneous unit of social process and a fact of everyone’s experience in every human society” (1982, 68). Although in some passages of his work, Turner presents social drama as an isolable unit that remains stable across cultures; he also elaborates on social drama’s power struggle and fluidity:

Social dramas are in large measure political processes, that is, they involve competition for scarce ends, power, dignity, prestige, honor, purity by particular means and by the utilization of resources that are also scarce — goods, territory, money, men and women. Ends, means, and resources are caught up in an interdependent feedback process (Turner 1982, 72).

Throughout his work, Turner makes a distinction between social drama and stage drama (or cultural performances) as the two modes of acting in everyday life, one in real life and the other on stage, and proposes to examine the relationship between the two as components of a dynamic and agonistic system of interdependence (1982, 107).⁶⁶ The *Cuadros* narratives emerge as sites where the conflictive fluidity between social and, in this case, radio-stage drama takes place while the equally agonistic tension between unity and diversity within community runs parallel through their stories.

⁶⁶ Similar to Turner’s distinction between social and stage drama, Diana Taylor (1991) differentiates between theatre and social spectacle. She proposes the notion of theatricality to highlight the politics of both. Just as theater controls the audience’s perception and directs its attention through the conscious use of movement, timing, light, sound, space, and so on, the theatricality of social events also directs and controls the attention of its population. As in theater, the political bracketing of events encourages the public to participate in them and accept them unquestionably.

To develop this notion of a dynamic agonistic relationship between social drama and stage drama, Victor Turner shows how the multiple meanings of the word “acting” reveal the ambiguous nature of plays and their centrality in daily life.

Acting can mean doing things in everyday life or performing on stage or in a temple. It can take place in ordinary time or in extraordinary time. It may be a way of working or moving, like a body's or machine's 'action;' or it may be the art or occupation of performing in plays ... We speak of 'playing a role,' when we intend a reference to some civically *serious* activity, such as an advisory role to a president ... Acting is therefore both work and play, solemn and ludic, pretense or earnest, our mundane trafficking and commerce and what we do or behold in ritual or theatre (102).⁶⁷

Discussing the history of theater, Turner notes, borrowing Clifford Geertz's phrase, that Greek cultural performances such as myth recitation, ritual, oral epic or saga, and plays were social meta-commentaries on Greek society, “that is, whatever the nature of their plot, whether drawn from myths or reputed historical accounts, they were intensely ‘reflexive’” (104). In Turner's terms, these performances were “*active* mirrors.” They were a “‘story a group tells itself about itself’ or in the case of theatre, a

⁶⁷ “The very word ‘ambiguity’ is derived from the Latin *agere* to ‘act’ for it comes from the verb *ambigere*, to ‘wander,’ *ambi-*, about, around + *agere*, ‘to do,’ resulting in the sense of having two or more possible meanings, ‘moving from side to side,’ ‘of doubtful nature.’ In both major senses, doing deeds and performing, it is indispensable to mental health; as William Blake said: ‘He who nourishes Desires but Acts not, breeds Pestilence,’ a doublet ‘Proverb of Hell’ to, ‘Expect Poison from the standing Water.’ In Western languages, action has also the flavor of contestation. Action is ‘agonistic.’ Act, *agon*, agony, and agitate are all derived from the same Indo-European base **ag-*, ‘to drive,’ from which came the Latin *agere*, to do, and the Greek *agein*, to lead” (Turner, 102).

play a society acts about itself – not only a reading of its experience but an interpretive reenactment of its experience” (104). Cultural performance affects and is affected by a process of reflexivity in which the performance acts as a mirror. This reflection that the mirror offers is not always a faithful one. It can be inverted, reversed, or distorted. For Turner, it is this distortion that has an effect on the audience’s consciousness and invites the community to implement change:

In this hall of mirrors the reflections are multiple, some magnifying, some diminishing, some distorting the faces peering into them, but in such a way as to provoke not merely thought, but also powerful feelings and the will to modify everyday matters in the minds of the gazers (105).

Furthermore, through the etymology of the word “narrative,” Turner affirms the connection between “narrative” and “knowing” noting that “narrative is, it would seem, rather an appropriate term for a reflexive activity which seeks to ‘know’ (even in its ritual aspect, to have gnosis about) antecedent events, and about the meaning of those events” (87). Thus, he concludes that it is in the continuous exchange and mutual influence between social drama and stage drama that human learning occurs.

Cuadros campesinos became a meta-commentary about life in radiophonic schools, a space of reflexivity for users who heard speech styles variations and everyday life challenges staged on the radio. In order to foreground the sonic dimension of these meta-commentaries, I call the *Cuadros’* aural reflexivity reverberation. This reverberation signals the processes by which listeners received the aural productions of the *Cuadros*,

reflected on them, negotiated their meanings, and used them, or not, throughout the week as a model to organize and implement changes in their immediate communities.

In choosing the term reverberation, I am inspired in Dorothea Schulz's (2014) use of the term resonance in her discussion of the connections between music programs, local radio stations, and cultural belonging in Mali. Schulz argues that "listeners' experience of genuine (*yèrèyèrè*) attachment is best rendered by the term 'resonance.' In physics and acoustics, the term sympathetic resonance refers to a harmonic process in which a container or string moves in response to vibrations to which it is harmonically alike" (198). Following the work of Birgit Meyer (2009) and her terms aesthetic formations and sensational forms, Schulz adds that

'[r]esonance' highlights the working of the 'forming forms' of music broadcasts, that is, how they inform listeners' recognition, and contestations of certain broadcasts as their 'truly own' tradition" (198). Further, "[a] *bè bèn an'w ma* (this is agreeable to us, this is something on which we can agree) highlights that a performance 'is agreeable' to one's sense and aesthetic preferences but also to one's moral values (198).

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, resonance is "[t]he reinforcement or prolongation of sound by reflection or by the synchronous vibration of a surrounding space or a neighbouring object" (OED). Thus, it implies a synchronicity, and Schulz's resonance foregrounds a harmonic sensual and moral agreement. By contrast, the notion

of reverberation, while it also implies “a reflection from nearby surfaces” (OED),⁶⁸ unlike the term resonance, it does not necessarily suggest full agreement. The *Cuadros* have a focus on conflict and tension among users of radiophonic schools. In addition, since the reflection of the *Cuadros* implied some level of distortion, that is, some artificially produced constructs, the metaphor of a reverberating effect better describes it. However, this is not to say that there was not some level of resonance between the *Cuadros* narratives and the listeners. It was in the mirroring of their sonic aesthetic preferences and shared social and moral values that the reverberation occurred.

The Cuadros’ Story and Intermediality

As I have mentioned, in an earlier chapter, Sutatenza’s organization in the field relied heavily on active participation from community members and was intimately tied to the Catholic Church’s ecclesiastical organization. The parish priest of each municipio oversaw Sutatenza’s activities with the help of community members. The local radio auxiliary (auxiliar inmediato) served as teaching assistant to the radio teacher. Campesino leaders took the roles of parish’s representatives (representantes parroquiales) and parish’s assistants (asistentes parroquiales). Among their duties,

⁶⁸ Reverberation: “Repeated echoing or occurrence of a sound; (in later use) spec. temporary persistence of sound without perceptible distinct echoes, resulting from repeated reflection from nearby surfaces or produced artificially; the degree to which this occurs” (OED).

campesino leaders and radio auxiliaries exchanged epistolary communication with Sutateza's leadership, helped organized radiophonic schools, and ran educational campaigns.

In order to find the right candidates for these roles, Sutatenza identified natural community leaders, both male and female, and invited them to receive training in community leadership at the Campesino Institutes. These institutes were located in the town of Sutatenza in the central Andean state of Boyacá, two hours away from Bogotá. Many times, Sutatenza's leadership awarded scholarships and funding. Awardees still had the responsibility of buying clothing, bus tickets, and other requirements to attend the institutes (Riascos). These students would later become liaisons with the community in the roles of campesino leaders or radio auxiliaries to support the development of radiophonic schools. After finishing training at Campesino Institutes, leaders travelled to remote rural areas different from their places of origin to work with various communities in building or strengthening the radiophonic schools. But this process was not always easy, and many times leaders and auxiliaries had to face skepticism and suspicion from parishioners.

At the Campesino Institutes, participants were asked to engage in theatrical activities as part of their training. One of these, for example, was a *festival de teatro* (Theater Festival) where students were divided into groups and each group prepared a

play to present to the other students. The play could be of their own creation or by another author. These activities did not have a direct relation with the *Cuadros campesinos* series but were pedagogical devices (Gabriel Rodríguez, pers. comm., December 10, 2018). According to Gabriel Rodríguez, these theatrical activities were meant to help students increase their comfort when speaking in public and, in general, helped them develop skills to better work in the field. Theater was a tool, and sometimes a pretext, for students to loosen up and learn communication skills. Other times, the institutes fostered spaces of collective creations where students were asked to create their own plays. In those cases, they usually re-presented their own communities' situations and problems (Gabriel Rodríguez, pers. comm., December 10, 2018).

Likewise, radio drama was a key pedagogical strategy outside the institutes, in the field, and at radiophonic schools. Radio dramas had several uses and manifestations. One of them, for example, was to dramatize and broadcast the life, passion, and death of Jesus Christ during Easter through the radio drama "Estampas de un libro eterno." Radionovelas was another form of radio drama in the Sutatenza project. The archive holds hundreds of originals and adaptations of renown literary works both Colombian and foreign. Last but not least, there was the *Cuadros campesinos*, which were produced as one component of radio lessons in radiophonic schools. The same theater troupe performed all these forms of radio dramas.

Each semester, as part of its curricular design, Sutatenza planned each week's topic and radiophonic classes in advance. *Cuadros campesinos* radio dramatizations served as the starting point for discussion and exploration of that week's topic. The dramatizations aired early in the morning on Mondays to kick-start the week's lessons and set the thematic thread for the week. These issues or topics changed every week and usually fell under the umbrella of one of the notions of Integral Fundamental Education.

The book *Cuadros campesinos* was another tool that Sutatenza's leadership designed as a pedagogical tool for local leaders.⁶⁹ The book is a collection of seven plays for open-air theater (teatro al aire libre) performances that included scripts and stage directions. Being written for open-air-theater, the performance of the plays didn't require a hall or an elaborate building. They could be acted on the patio, the backyard, the park, or the plaza. The book specifically was meant to give tools to people in the vereda and instruct on how to set up a stage, perform, and watch a play. It contains explicit guidelines on how to build a stage, how to organize it, and how to set the mise-en-scene. Additionally, it offers sample discussion questions intended to guide a subsequent debate with the audience. It was another resource for leaders to use with the

⁶⁹ The book was published by Editorial Andes and Editora Dosmil in Bogotá in 1976 as part of the art collection of the Biblioteca del Campesino (The Campesino's Library).

students in the veredas where they were sent to work. The plays were meant to be performed for the community by the community to generate reflection and change.⁷⁰

Elisio Rodríguez appears as the solely author of the *Cuadros* radio dramatizations and of the book. In his curriculum vitae, archived at ACPO's headquarters in Bogotá, Elisio writes that he was born in the town of Guachetá in the Andean central state of Cundinamarca the 10th of September of 1906. At the time of his job application to Sutatenza, Elisio was 49 years old and lived in the nearby town of Usaqué in Bogotá. He also notes that, by then, he had worked as a public-school teacher for 15 years and as a public-school inspector for 9 years, both with the state of Cundinamarca. He counted with basic and higher education degrees through the Escuela Normal Central de Bogotá, a teacher training institute. Elisio notes that the reason why he searched for a job with Sutatenza was to be able to qualify for a retirement pension. And when he is asked to describe his profession, he writes "educador aficionado a la literatura" ("teacher and literature enthusiast") (1955). Elisio himself embodied the encounter between the pedagogical and the performative. He was, on the one hand, a radio school teacher and, on the other, a creative writer, a playwright, and a musician. Gabriel Rodríguez mentions that writing drama came naturally to Elisio (pers. comm.) and Juan Pablo

⁷⁰ "El Teatro al Aire Libre es el presente que hace el grupo de artistas de la vereda o del pueblo a su propia comunidad. Es un servicio cultural que 'corrigiendo ríe y sonriendo enseña'" (Sabogal 1976, 5).

Angarita, co-curator of the 2017 Sutatenza exhibit at Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango, comments that Elisio taught music lessons in the town of Sutatenza in the 1950s and wrote the music score for the hymn of the radiophonic schools (email exchange).

After joining the Sutatenza project, Elisio wrote weekly scripts for the *Cuadros campesinos* for the following 15 years. He also wrote weekly columns for *El Campesino* newspaper and oversaw the housing campaign. In addition, Elisio revised and edited the thousands of coplas that students and listeners sent to the station throughout the years and that I have analyzed in the previous chapter. Out of that work, he compiled the manuscripts *Expresiones del alma campesina remitidas a ACPO en forma de coplas en los años 1964-1976: Coplas de la tierra* and edited and published the book *El coplero campesino*. Elisio retired from the Sutatenza project with a pension on January 1, 1978. He died on April 11, 1984 in Bogotá.

As Elisio's creations, the *Cuadros* emerge, like the coplas and the radionovela, at the convergence of pedagogical and performative forces, which were at play in the project, the community, and the nation. This conflictive encounter manifests differently in these theatrical expressions. As Diana Taylor (1991) has noted,

Theatre is politically too unstable to be an unequivocal, reliable 'weapon' in political struggle. Though it can alter the social order through the laborious process of consciousness raising, it is dangerously vulnerable to assimilation by any given social order. Systems and parties appropriate theatre and theatricality (icons, images, plots, rhetoric) to

further their own ends, to bolster themselves through images that signal stability and legitimacy (18).

While the *Cuadros* had a clear indoctrinating and pedagogical objective, it was also giving access to what Augusto Boal would call the means of theatrical production (Boal 1974, 12). This takes place more explicitly in the written plays for open-air-theater. In the prologue to the book, Sabogal encourages students to create their own “juicy” *Cuadros*:

lo mejor es rogar a ustedes que piensen, comenten, escriban lo que estos cuadros les sugieren, y confeccionen, como buenos discípulos de las escuelas radiofónicas, sus propios, sustanciosos y eficaces Cuadros Campesinos

the best is to ask from you to think, comment, write what these cuadros suggest to you, and make, like good disciples of the radiophonic schools, your own, juicy, and effective Cuadros Campesinos (1976, 7).

The first sections of the book address the basic concepts of open-air-theater with an explicitly pedagogical and didactic tone. Elisio Rodríguez starts by providing definitions for basic concepts like theater, stage, proscenium, wings, drops, etc. Then, he discusses the possible locations for rural theatre and solutions in the event of rain or different types of fields. On pages 10 through 14, he offers six drawings of wooden platforms or stages with instructions on how to build them and resourceful ideas in the event of lacking some of the materials. For example, he suggests that in the event of not having fabrics to create the drops, readers could use their *ruanas*, warm woolen ponchos very common in the Andean region.

By encouraging community members to create original *Cuadros* and by providing tools and recommendations on how to implement a stage and a play, the *Cuadros* was giving access to means of theatrical production. This way of understanding theater and theatrical activities resonate with Augusto Boal's theater of the oppressed. Influenced by Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and, more specifically, by Freire's understanding of a theory of dialogic action as one of the tools to achieve liberation, the creation of the theatre of the oppressed is largely based on the idea of dialogue and interaction between audience and performers. It is again about a blurring of limits. Boal proposes crossing the barrier between actors and spectators and suggests that this very statement can give way to superseding the dominator-dominated divide:

Para completar el ciclo, faltaba lo que se está dando actualmente en América Latina: la destrucción de las barreras creadas por las clases dominantes. Primero se destruye la barrera entre actores y espectadores: todos deben actuar, todos deben protagonizar las necesarias transformaciones de la sociedad. ... Luego, se destruye la barrera entre protagonistas y coros: todos deben ser, a la vez, coro y protagonistas: es el *sistema comodín*. Así tiene que ser *la poética del oprimido*: la conquista de los medios de producción teatral (Boal 1974, 10).

What was lacking to complete the cycle was what is happening at present in Latin America – the destruction of the barriers created by the ruling classes. First, the barrier between actors and spectators is destroyed: all must act, all must be protagonists in the necessary transformation of society. ... Then the barrier between protagonists and choruses is destroyed: all must be simultaneously chorus and protagonist – this is the “Joker” system. Thus we arrive at the *poetics of the oppressed*, the conquest

of the means of theatrical production (Boal 1979, foreword, translated by Charles A. and Maria-Odilia Leal McBride)

By 1976, when the book *Cuadros campesinos* was published, Sutatenza was inviting community members to engage in theatrical performances in their communities and was giving them instruction on how to do it. In this way, the pedagogical and the performative forces within the project converge.

The intermediality of the *Cuadros* is also expressed in the borrowing elements from one media to the other and between genres. In the prologue to the book, Sabogal catalogues Elisio's inclusion of a narrator and a coordinator in the written plays as innovations:

Nuestro dramaturgo Elisio Rodríguez ha introducido novedades dignas de observación. Son dos las principales. El Narrador que es el amigo preparado, siempre listo a decir en palabras sencillas y precisas lo que raciocinando, estudiando y consultando encuentra bueno, útil y oportuno para la comunidad ... La otra novedad de primera línea es el Coordinador que, a mi modo de ver, es el líder responsable de que quienes actúan en este Teatro al Aire Libre lo hagan muy bien.

Our playwright, Elisio Rodríguez, has introduced innovations worthy of observation. These are mainly two. The Narrator is the qualified friend who, after reasoning, studying, and examining, is always ready to say, in simple and precise words, what he finds useful and timely for the community... The other frontline innovation is the Coordinator, who, in my view, is the leader responsible of making sure that those who perform in this open-air-theater do it very well (Sabogal 1976, 6).

The existence of the narrator and the coordinator marks one of the ways how the *Cuadros* challenge genre conventions that differentiate drama from narrative both in their radiophonic and print versions. In the instructional section of the book, Elisio Rodríguez defines the roles of the narrator and the coordinator. The existence of the narrator marks one of the ways how the *Cuadros* dramatizations and written plays challenge genre conventions that differentiate drama from narrative. In traditional theater, the action takes place on the stage, and there is no need for a telling of the story. The story is performed. The chorus offers its reflections on what is happening, and the *Cuadros* narrator sometimes takes a similar role. Yet, the pedagogical purpose of the stories makes the narrator's role in the *Cuadros* unique and unusual for theater:

Narrador: es quien narra, cuenta o explica el sentido o la dirección que van tomando los acontecimientos en las obras que se están representando. Y es, al mismo tiempo, quien formula preguntas y hace reflexionar al público sobre la conveniencia o no de hacer determinada cosa

Narrator is who narrates, tells, or explains the meaning or direction that events are taking in the plays that are being represented. And he is, at the same time, who asks questions and makes the public reflect on the convenience or not of doing something (Rodríguez 1976, 15).

In the radio dramatizations, sometimes the narrator takes the role of the chorus by commenting on the events. Other times he intervenes a few times during the development of the plot summarizing or sharing information that took place at a place

and time different from the stage. Above all, the role of the narrator is to invite the audience to think deeply about the challenges presented by the *Cuadro*. At the end of the story, he usually concludes reiterating the main message or morale that the dramatization wants to transmit. The innovation of the narrator comes from the need to have a voice that knows and can guide the audience through the learning process.

The coordinator illustrates the intermediality of the written plays. The coordinator works as the stage manager or director. His tasks range from raising funds to finance the performance to coordinating the actors and making the sound effects on stage (1976, 13-14). In this case, the coordinator combines the roles of the theatrical director and of the sound engineer, a figure borrowed straight from the radio script and radio production. Similarly, the play script, incorporates the role of the sound engineer by way of the new figure of the coordinator. In the following excerpt from the book, the play script tells the coordinator to create sounds of cows and calves mooing and of horses neighing.

COORDINADOR: FUERA DEL ESCENARIO BRAMIDO DE VACAS Y
TERNEROS, Y RELINCHO DE CABALLOS. SOSTENER POR 10
SEGUNDOS

COORDINATOR: FROM OUT OF STAGE CALVES AND COWS
MOOING, AND HORSES NEIGHING. HOLD FOR 10 SECONDS
(Rodríguez 1976, 53).

The wording also directly references the radio script, as in “HOLD FOR 10 SECONDS.” Like in the radionovela, sounds of animals are used to produce sonically the farm or rural setting where the story takes place. Sound effects are also used to reinforce the pedagogical elements of the plays and the radio dramatizations. In the same play, community members are discussing the erosion of the land. Suddenly they hear the fields burning:

COORDINADOR: BALIDO DE CABRAS. SOSTENER POR 10 SEGUNDOS. EN SEGUIDA RUIDO DE UNA QUEMA. SOSTENER POR 10 SEGUNDOS

Simón: ¿sí oyen? Ahí está la quema. Así se agota la capa vegetal del suelo.

COORDINATOR: GOATS BLEATING. HOLD FOR 10 SECONDS. RIGHT AFTER SOUNDS OF FIELDS BURNING. HOLD FOR 10 SECONDS

SIMÓN: Do you hear? It’s the fields burning. That’s how the soil’s vegetable cap wears out (Rodríguez 1976, 56).

The written plays are also intermedial through another of Elisio’s innovations: the use of script-borrowed cues as stage directions. In the scripts, Elisio came up with a way to produce an agitated discussion in sound. These cues are “cutting,” “linking,” and “trans.” In the written plays, Elisio borrows these elements from his scripts to recreate hectic discussions and overlapping utterances. In the book, he explains what each one of these cues mean:

El texto emplea, a veces, algunas palabras cuyo sentido hay que conocer:

Cortando: quiere decir que el actor siguiente rapa o corta la palabra al anterior, sin esperar a que termine lo que venía diciendo.

Ligando: significa que el actor siguiente termina lo que el anterior venía diciendo.

Trans: es lo mismo que transición e indica que el actor cambia de tono en un momento dado, como cuando eleva la voz para llamar a una persona distante, o cuando después de hablar en alta voz vuelve al tono natural

Sometimes, the text uses some words whose meaning must be known:

Cutting: It means that the next actor steals or cuts the word from the previous one, without waiting for him to finish what he was saying.

Linking: means that the next actor finishes what the previous one was saying.

Trans: It is the same as transition and indicates that the actor changes tone at a given time, as when he raises the voice to call a distant person, or when after speaking in a loud voice he returns to the natural tone (1976, 19-20).

In this way radio sipped through the written plays and imbued them with sound. Likewise, the incorporation of the narrator and the coordinator blur genre borders making the *Cuadros* a hybrid genre. The influence of the radio drama script creatively contaminated the written plays with their auralty. Both the porosity of genre and media borders and the meeting of the pedagogical and the performative make the *Cuadros* another kind of intermedial narratives. From this encounter of forces and

crossing of borders, the *Cuadros* emerge as contradiction-ridden and tension-filled grounds of signification.

Producing the Region Sonically

The radio series *Cuadros campesinos*, through its name and slogan, directly references the nineteenth century's cuadros de costumbres and the costumbrismo literary movement. As Erna von der Walde (2007) has accurately pointed out, costumbrismo in Colombia was intimately tied to the nation-building process and to attempts at unifying the nation under a conservative Hispanic-Catholic project. This project was undertaken in great part through literature by the literary gathering *El Mosaico*, founded by Eugenio Díaz Castro (Manuela's author) and José María Vergara y Vergara. Costumbrismo served as a device to describe and construct the nation's territory and social life through the composition of a wide range of literary works from copla to travel journals, novels, chronicles, poems and short stories, among others. In the hands of Vergara y Vergara and his *Historia de la literatura en la Nueva Granada* (1867), costumbrismo became a means to reinterpret Colombia's colonial Hispanic past and to establish "una continuidad cultural con el legado colonial español, sobre todo en lo que respecta a la lengua y la religión" ("a cultural continuity with the colonial Hispanic legacy, especially, with respect to language and religion") (von der Walde 2007, 244).

In her article, von der Walde also draws attention to the fact that costumbrismo was a privileged vehicle to disseminate the ideology of the region (244). The region works as an ideology that has defined the cultural divisions of the country in connection to its geographical territory (244).

Si bien la multiplicidad y diversidad geográfica, cultural e histórica de Colombia son innegables, la 'región' es ante todo un discurso, un dispositivo que se ha hecho operativo dentro de las relaciones de poder y en los conflictos políticos.

Although Colombia's geographic, cultural, and historical multiplicity and diversity are undeniable, the 'region' is, above all, a discourse, a dispositive that has been operative among relationships of power and political conflicts (244).

In an attempt at being inclusive and having all the regions represented in the stories by staging and performing regional accents and linguistic variations associated with specific regional provinces, the *Cuadros campesinos* actively participated in the reinforcement of the region as an ideological device. According to Gabriel Rodríguez, the radio teachers tried to attend to the specificities of the regions (pers. comm., December 10, 2018). For example, the problem of access to drinking water manifested differently in the Andean region than in the Pacific, the Atlantic or the plains. So, the radio teachers tried to approach the issues from a general perspective (pers. comm., December 10, 2018). Likewise, Hilaria Gutiérrez, who was affiliated to Sutatenza in

different roles from volunteer to regional director, notes that in yearly meetings community leaders from all regions gathered at the Sutatenza institutes for two weeks to share field work experiences and design strategic planning for the next year (Gutiérrez quoted in Torres Álvarez 2012). Out of these meetings, campesino leaders came up with the idea of creating pedagogical materials that represented the cultural diversity and the multiplicity of styles of speech of the regions: “The decision was made to create materials specific to each region, that is, we wrote them in local dialect or slang so that they would feel more immediate to peasants” (Gutiérrez quoted in Torres Álvarez 2012, translated by Mary Roldán 2014, 31). *Cuadros campesinos* displays that intention to represent the diversity of regionalisms of the territory. At the same time, it represents the tensions among them.

This ideology of the region is tightly linked to ideological projects of whitening and Andeanizing the country. Discussing the first compilations of popular poetry in Colombia, Consuelo Posada (2000) notes that since the nineteenth century, there was a clear attempt, in the part of the literati, to build a discourse that put the Andean region and its inhabitants above the others. She points specifically to Francisco José de Caldas’s deterministic understanding of the relationship between geography and physical and moral conditions. Caldas was a forerunner of the fight for the independence. Posada notes how

Todo su esfuerzo se concentró en probar que las cordilleras de los Andes estaban naturalmente dotadas para dar nacimiento a un hombre física, intelectual y moralmente igual al europeo. Al discurso sobre la inferioridad del hombre americano, presente en Europa, el sabio Caldas introducía, de esta manera, una variante importante: mientras los Andes albergaban seres superiores, las tierras costeras y ardientes del Nuevo Mundo producían una naturaleza y unos seres humanos irremediablemente inferiores.

All his efforts focused on proving that the Andes ranges were naturally prepared to give birth to a man physically, intellectually, and morally comparable to the European. In addition to the discourse about the inferiority of the American man, present in Europe, the Learned Caldas added an important variable: while the Andes were home to superior beings, the costal and ardent lands of the New World produced nature and human beings inevitably inferior (60).

These arguments circulated throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries and became the basis for a project to build Colombia as an Andean nation.

This, in turn, placed the coasts and the other regions as “the other,” leaving them on the margins of the nation. The *Cuadros campesinos* are inserted in these ideological projects and the construction of its characters is built upon them. The most represented states in the radio series are the states that belong to the Andean region. The radio dramatizations, for which there’s sonic record, take place in Huila, Tolima, Santander, Antioquia, and Cundinamarca. Meanwhile, in the collection of plays, out of seven plays, one takes place in the Atlantic coast, the remaining six are set in Boyacá, Tolima, Huila, Antioquia, and Cundinamarca.

In addition, the stories fall in the essentializing of regional types. In the above-mentioned episode about Aníbal, the antioqueño leader, after the narrator introduces the adverse conditions for community organization, Aníbal and a local leader, Inés, discuss the reasons why that is the case. Right from the start, the narrator has established identifiers of the regions by stating that Aníbal is from Antioquia and that he arrives to Santander. When the listeners hear the characters talk, the first thing that stands out is their accents and the idioms and colloquial expressions they use, which further emphasize the regional difference. The content of the dialogue mark that difference even more. According to Inés, that vereda in Santander is “trabajosona” (“difficult”) because its people are very individualistic. They don’t get to know each other, and they don’t visit each other. “They are not interested in what happens beyond their fence.” Aníbal confirms this adding that, in his view, they are very conformist people. Later, Aníbal and Inés run into Flavio, Belén, Julia and Saúl, all of them locals. Flavio is reluctant to listen to Aníbal because in his opinion, people from Antioquia speak too much:

FLAVIO (interrumpiéndola): pero es que, lo que pasa es que ustedes los antioqueños hablan mucha bosta y porque usted es antioqueño, ¿sí o no?

ANÍBAL: ah eso, sí, pero de los buenos, de los que apenas hablan lo indispensable.

FLAVIO (interrupting): But what happens is that you, the antioqueños, speak a lot of dung. You are from Antioquia, aren't you?

HANNIBAL: Ah that, yes, but one of the good ones, one of those who only speak the necessary (ACPO 1976, episode 9)

In this case, the dramatizations recreate regionalisms emphasizing negative traits while erasing the good ones: Santandereanos are pigeon-holed as conformists, asocial, very traditional and reluctant to change, erasing their hard-working and brave characters. Meanwhile, antioqueños are shown as fraudster chatterboxes, erasing their warm and outgoing personalities. Likewise, the producers of the *Cuadros* chose Andean musics like pasillos, guabinas, and bambucos to create the opening and closing themes and in transitions between scenes. The *Cuadros* never uses music from other regions.

In the collection of plays that is the book *Cuadros campesinos*, Elisio chose to include one play that takes place in the Caribbean region of Colombia. For this play, Rodríguez altered the spelling of the words to represent the speech style of people in the Colombian Caribbean. Specifically, he replaces the "s" present in the plural forms of adjectives, verbs, and adverbs with a "j." In the instructions section of the book, Elisio explains how to pronounce the "j" and explains that such spelling is there only to guide actors from the inland. So, he notes:

La j del costeño, vervigracia [sic], se pone allí, más que todo, para orientación de los del interior. Dicha letra debe pronunciarse de una manera casi imperceptible. Solo así podrá lograrse una pronunciación bastante aproximada.

The “j” of the person from the coast, for example, is used, more than anything, as a guide for those in the inland. This letter should be pronounced in an almost imperceptible way. Only in this way can a fairly approximate pronunciation be achieved (16).

He doesn’t do the same with the other six plays that take place in the Andean region. This points to the Andean, its linguistic variations and its cultural expressions, as an unmarked category implying something like a default standard. The instruction “para orientación de los del interior” (“as a guide for those in the inland”) leaves people in the coastal areas without instructions to perform the speech styles of the plays that take place in the inland. Out of seven plays, only one takes place in the northern coastal region and none in the other cultural regions. There is no representation of the Pacific coast, which as the Caribbean, has a big Afro-descendent population. Likewise, regions like the plains or the Amazonia with big indigenous populations are excluded.

Sutatenza’s centralized cultural model is built on and replicated the nineteenth century lettered elites’ model of Andeanization of the whole territory. At the same time, the *Cuadros* tried to be inclusive and represent the territories varied cultural expressions and speech styles. Yet, this inclusion was performed and produced on the radio stage. In other words, the actors who interpreted the local characters were not originally from the localities where the stories took place and were not using their own speech styles.

They were performing what for the Sutatenza leadership, radio teachers, and radio producers, the local characters should sound like.

On the same vein, the *Cuadros campesinos* are also heirs of the nineteenth century cuadro de costumbres by signaling “las líneas por donde pasaba la divisoria fundamental entre el uso ‘correcto’ de la lengua por parte del letrado, cuya mirada construía el conjunto que se describía, y las ‘desviaciones’ que se observaban en el uso de las gentes comunes” (“the lines whereby passed the fundamental division between the ‘correct’ use of the language by the literate (whose gaze built the whole that he described) and the ‘deviations’ observed in the common people’s usage”) (von der Walde 2007, 248). In his plays and radio dramatizations, Elisio’s construction of characters is marked by a clear distinction in speech styles that replicates that dividing line between literate and common people:

PERSONAJES: Eugenio, Ismenia y César, *lenguaje y vestido correctos*; Pablo, Herminia, Laura y Josefa, *lenguaje y vestido al uso del lugar*. Todos boyacenses (mi énfasis).

CHARACTERS: Eugenio, Ismenia and Cesar, *correct language and attire*; Pablo, Herminia, Laura and Josefa, *local language and attire*. All from Boyacá (my emphasis) (1976, 23).

Meanwhile, in the instructions section of the book, Elisio associates more explicitly those with “correct” attire and language with culture and education and the local speech and dress with lack of them:

Si le correspondió el papel de una persona de escasa cultura debe imitarla cuidadosamente en todo, lo mismo si le correspondió el de una persona educada. Esto es fundamental en toda representación, y esto es lo que permite apreciar al verdadero actor. No, hay papeles malos, sino malos actores.

Should you get the part of a person of little culture, you must imitate her carefully in everything. The same happens should you get the part of an educated person. This is fundamental in every representation, and this is where the value of a real actor lays. There are no bad parts, but bad actors (16).

As can be anticipated, the characters who have “correct” attire and language are the characters who are trying to implement new information in the communities. Characters who speak and dress “al uso del lugar” are, for the most part, those who are resisting the innovation. This divide reinforced stereotypes and a paternalistic representation of rural individuals inherited from the conservative Hispanic-Catholic project.

The production of the narrator in sound makes the divide more explicit. The voice of the narrator is one that corresponds with the kind of speech that Elisio categorizes as “lenguaje correcto” (“correct speech”). He pronounces all the syllables,

uses a moderate tone of voice and enunciates slowly and deliberately. Throughout the *Cuadros*, the narrator works as the voice of consciousness. Always a male voice, he reflects on the events and conveys the morale or delves into the fact that the ending of the narrative is inconclusive. In the book, Elisio clearly states how the narrator should present himself visually, “con vestido correcto” (“with correct attire”), and how he should present himself sonically: “conviene que hable tranquila y pausadamente. Mejor si tuviere voz llena o grave” (“It is convenient that he speaks calmly and slowly. It’s better if he has a deep or serious voice”) (1976, 15).⁷¹ A deep and serious voice is associated with authority and with being knowledgeable, and as Sabogal noted, the narrator is the qualified friend. This way of voicing is also associated with the voice of a father figure, which reinforces the narrator’s role as the educated voice of consciousness and also its paternalistic tone.

Like *Manuela’s* narrator, the narrator of the *Cuadros campesinos* embodies the voice of the pedagogical forces in these narratives. Thus, in sound, the voice of consciousness, the one that reflects and owns the moralizing message is a voice and a speech style that is equated to that which is considered “correct.” This way of constructing the narrator, directly produces him with a specific way of talking and

⁷¹ “Conviene que aparezca con vestido correcto y que hable tranquila y pausadamente. Mejor si tuviere voz llena o grave” (Rodríguez 1976, 15).

voicing that associates him with having knowledge. In contrast, listeners never hear the voice of consciousness using local speech styles. Instead, in the prologue to the book, while praising the role of the narrator, Sabogal encourages his readers to become like him:

Qué gran cátedra, el Teatro al Aire Libre, para este maestro que es el Narrador. Y estoy convencido de que todas y todos los asistentes serán con el tiempo Narradores en su propia casa, parcela o instalaciones de empresas familiares o de oficios en grande.

What a great lecture it is the Open-Air Theatre for this master who is the Narrator. And, I am convinced that all the attendants will eventually be storytellers in their own home, parcel, or in the facilities of family businesses or large trades (1976, 6).

On the contrary, the performance of the local characters is done by speaking faster and with colloquial expressions, closer to the way people talk in everyday life. However, as noted, the speech styles were staged, and the actors performed the accents and the expressions. Actors were not using their own speech styles when in-character. Characters interrupt each other and talk at the same time, giving some realism to the story and allowing for listeners to find themselves in the characters. In many of the *Cuadros*, characters scream and yell at each other. Even when there is no conflict, they use this kind of intonation and enunciation to highlight and bring attention to important issues (episode 22, 00:04:30).

This way of sonically constructing the narrator and the characters in the *Cuadros campesinos* played an important role in the building the nation, in sound, as a country of regions and reinforcing the divide between the lettered and the common people (Von der Walde 2007). Further, across the territory and, especially, in the rural areas, listeners became able to imagine, although not always truthful, accents of fellow Colombians from far away towns by listening to them in the *Cuadros campesinos*. This for sure contributed to specific ways of fixating regional speech styles and accents in the imagination of the population.

While Sutatenza participated in the continuity of the ideological project of costumbrismo, the Andeanization of the country, and the region as a marker of difference, the *Cuadros* stories reverberated with its listeners through a meta-commentary of daily life in radiophonic schools and their use of colloquial speech and those same regional accents. The use of regional accents then is a highly embattled terrain of meaning production. On the one hand, it was reinforcing the construction of the nation as a country of regions where the Andean region and its inhabitants were superior. On the other, it meant the wide circulation of multiple regional accents and speech styles while it also fostered the imagination of the nation, in sound, as a country of cultural heterogeneity.

Everyday Life Reverberating

The dramatizations engage their listeners by reproducing difficulties that leaders and auxiliaries encountered in the communities and by offering possible ways to manage them. The *Cuadros'* stories revolve around the organization of community meetings and about identifying common problems and finding a solution together. They also explore repetitively the issues that divide the community. By representing daily problems encountered in radiophonic schools and then broadcasting them through the radio, the agonistic and dynamic relationship between radio-stage drama and social drama takes place.

As a meta-commentary, the meetings motto was that of the *Cuadros'* themselves: Their purpose was “[la exposición de] problemas de común ocurrencia y su fácil solución” (“[The exposure of] problems of common occurrence and their easy solution”) (ACPO, 1976, episode 6, 00:00:30). The meetings served two purposes. On one hand, they were the space where conflict takes place. Conflict took many forms from resistance to innovation (episodes 9-11), to love triangles and jealousy between neighbors (episodes 16-20, 21-23), to family conflicts both between spouses and between parents and children (episodes 6-10, 13), to confrontations between youths and adults (episodes 28-32). On the other hand, meetings are the space where the characters model citizen participation and agency and learn community organization.

In the meetings, listeners, specifically, learned guidelines on how to identify the problems and how to get organized to solve them. Usually, the meeting begins with the identification of the most pressing problems. These problems are repetitive throughout the eight stories: poor conditions of roads, lack of water supply systems, lack of schools, poverty and scarcity, apathy of youths to work the land connected with migration to the city, learning adequate management of natural resources, among others. The process of identifying the problems take place through a dialogue where the campesino leader asks meeting participants to tell him what the main problems in the community are.

After the problems are identified, the leader directs the conversation to finding possible solutions. Often the solutions take campesino leaders, community members, and listeners back in a loop where the solutions to these problems are education and technical training, which according to the characters, would be achieved through participation in radiophonic schools and through community organization. This illustrates the fact that the *Cuadros* worked as meta-commentaries and speaks of the fluid, yet, intense exchange between radio-stage drama and everyday life drama in radiophonic schools. After the problems are explained, meeting participants model organization and possible implementation of solutions.

The episode where Anibal, the paisa leader, arrives in a vereda in Santander and meets resistance is a case in point. This episode highlights the tensions and cultural

differences between the regions, the attachment to traditional practices and the resistance to change, which emerge as an obstacle to the implementation of the Sutatenza project. It shows that unity and working towards the same goal wasn't always natural or organic in these communities. Leaders had to work hard on creating and generating unity and agreement.

What happens next offers possible ways out of the situation. They begin a dialogue where Inés talks about Aníbal's credentials and knowledge about their vereda. In the conversation, Julia notes how Aníbal is right about the poor condition of the roads and about the exploitation they are object of by buyers who pay much less of what they should when buying their produce. In this moment, Belén tells a funny story about her falling down due to running into many of the typical hormiga culona santandereana (*atta laevigata*; one of the largest leafcutter ants). This anecdote eased some of the tensions by adding humor to the conversation. At the end of the episode, Aníbal invites Flavio, Belén, Julia, and Saúl to a community meeting that coming Friday.

Episode ten begins with the fact that very few people showed up to the meeting. In spite of this, they start the meeting with fifteen assistants. At the meeting, Aníbal suggests creating a governing board. He explains that the board is comprised by a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and a financial controller (ACPO, 1976, episode 10, 00:06:49). This episode models a very clear structure to organize and associate in rural

community. Although the representations of antioqueños and santandereanos in this episode are highly stereotypical and essentializing, the conflict that the episode shows reflects some of the difficulties that campesino leaders encountered in the communities, and which they shared in the letters with Sutatenza's leadership (ACPO, 1958-1978, Zona 3, Vol. 122, MSS3351). Campesino leaders did run into resistance from local communities that were highly conservative and reluctant to change. This is one of the dramatizations that has no closure. The absence of closure shows that the producers of the story did not have an answer to how to deal with the clash between innovation and attachment to tradition that leaders encountered in the communities.

The modeling of assigning clear roles to get organized takes place in other stories, as well. In episode twenty-two, Noé is the president, while Dessi is the secretary. In this story, characters take turns in each one of the roles, so each person has the opportunity to carry out different tasks each week. In addition to naming a governing board, characters also determine commissions that lead and take care of specific problems (episodes 21-23, 36-40). In episode forty, community members have proposed different strategies to resolve the problems they have identified. Those strategies are illiteracy census, training of radio auxiliaries, classes about vaccinations, first aid and horticulture (episode 39). In order to clarify who is doing what, Lucía suggests creating a

chart that lists each strategy with its corresponding due date, activities required, supplies, location, and people in charge (episode 40, 00:06:00).

Similarly, in the written play titled *Poco pero bien tenido (Uso del suelo)*, farmworkers decide to create an association and share both the expenses and the gains out of the different pieces of land they own. The farmworkers have been following all the recommendations to make the soil fertile again (Rodríguez, 1976, p. 98). Yet, its production is still low in certain fields, and the land doesn't produce enough for them. After discussing this further, Edgar concludes that the problem is that they don't make the most out of the land they own (98). Everyone then begins brainstorming on how to better use the land. Some of the ideas are growing timberland, hosting more cattle in each field, other fields could be used to expand the crops, the hen-house or the pigsty (98-99). When they arrive to the realization that all of those projects would require money to be implemented, Edgar and Carlos suggest taking a loan with Caja Agraria, the INCORA, or the Banco Ganadero. Arcadio and Helia [sic] are not comfortable with the idea of getting in debt because they say they can't be sure that things will turn out well (101). Edgar, then, proposes to exchanged the plots, but Daniel doesn't like the idea (103). Finally, Carlos proposes to create an association of the five families to take advantage of all the pieces of land:

CARLOS: (CORTANDO) Entonces yo les propongo otra cosa. Hagamos una compañía, una especie de sociedad entre las cinco familias, para explotar entre todas las tierras: las suyas y las nuestras. ¿Les parece?

CARLOS: (CUTTING) Then I propose something else. Let make a company, a kind of society among the five families, to exploit the lands together: Yours and ours. What do you think? (Rodríguez 1976, 103).

With that proposal, Carlos adds that both the loses and the gains will be divided proportionally to each's contribution to the association. They would also divide labor accordingly. Daniel asks for one week to think about it and they agree to reconvene later. The narrator concludes the story by telling the audience that the characters did create the association and that everything is going well. They are making the most out of their lands. Then the narrator asks questions to the audience on how they are doing regarding the same problems and what ideas and solutions they have come up with for these issues.

Another example of meta-commentary and the exchange between radio-stage drama and social drama takes place in episodes 24-27. As noted, community unification was challenging for local leaders. While the explicit topic of the meeting in the state of Huila is order and liberty, the neighbors Raúl, Constanza, Cándido, and Nieves keep going back to issues that divide the community. Raúl, for his part, thinks that everyone should be self-sufficient and that the proverb "sálvese quien pueda" ("every man for himself") is very useful. Constanza disagrees with him as she thinks that helping each

other and the values of solidarity and collaboration are fundamental (episode 24, 00:06:41-00:07:35).

The sonic production of conflict in this and almost all the *Cuadros* stories is created by a vociferously and heated discussion where the resistant characters and the innovating ones clash. This is the climax of the meeting and of the story. In episode twenty-four, the idea of working together in order was met with resistance by some neighbors. Sonically, characters cut each other's conversation, speak at the same time, and speak loudly (ACPO 1976, episode 24, 00:05:55 and 00:08:37).

In this highly-charged moment, the enunciation sometimes becomes mumbling and drifts towards unintelligible voicings for a few seconds until the campesino leader or radio auxiliary, who usually preside over the meeting, draws everybody's attention back to the objectives of the meeting with a calm and clear intonation and enunciation. This way of producing conflict in sound takes place similarly in many radio dramatizations and at different points during the meetings (ACPO 1976, episode 6, 00:05:00; episode 10, 00:05:00).

In sonic terms, agreement is produced similarly to conflict. In the story set in Huila, community members are still trying to determine what the major challenges to a unified community are:

CÁNDIDO (en tono de voz alto): La politiquería divide a la comunidad, fomenta el odio

VECINO (a lo lejos): claro, ocasiona disgustos y peleas

EN EL FONDO SE OYEN VOCES ININTELIGIBLES

CÁNDIDO: y a veces crímenes horrendos

VECINOS Y VECINAS: ¡¡eso es así!! (algarabía y voces ininteligibles)

CANDIDO (loudly): Politics divides the community and stimulates hatred

NEIGHBOR (in the distance): Of course, it causes dislikes and quarrels

UNINTELLIGIBLE VOICES IN THE BACKGROUND

CANDIDO: And sometimes horrendous crimes

NEIGHBORS: That is so!! (Shouting and unintelligible voices) (episode 25, 00:02:20).

Here the issue discussed in the *Cuadro* must have clearly resonated with local leaders across the territory who were facing similar challenges. Also, both the issues identified, and the solutions suggested, very likely, reverberated in the communities.

The excerpt also exemplifies how conflict and agreement was produced sonically in the *Cuadros*. In this moment, Cándido has suggested that political intrigue is one of the causes that divide the community. He is met with agreement from other two community members, and in the end, all or many agree with him. This takes place by simultaneous expressions of agreement where several characters speak loudly all at the same time (episode 25, 00:02:22-00:02:38). This is a common resolution in different

dramatizations. In episode eleven, when participants in the meeting finally reach an agreement, they loudly and simultaneously shout words of enthusiasm like “¡qué viva! ¡sí! ¡qué viva!” (episode 11, 00:03:03-00:04:00).

Participation and involvement are other key pedagogical objectives. During community meetings, leaders and auxiliaries make a point to emphasize the importance of participating and speaking up. Each and every one will be heard. In episodes 6-8, when deciding the future of Alfredo’s finances, Calixto notes that he won’t take any action without listening to Alfredo and Blanca’s opinion (episode 7) and later that of teenagers Fanny and César (episode 8). In episode seventeen, Casilda shares her ideas about land erosion and explicitly notes that in the meetings everyone has the right to express their opinion. The campesino leader invites the meeting participants to express their opinion and point of view modeling citizen participation for listeners. Likewise, the episode models how a local leader should manage a situation of tension between individuals. In this case, Zenaida is jealous of Inés because Octavio is now interested in the latter romantically and has lost interest in Zenaida. (episode 17, 00:01:10).

In episode twenty-two, the different characters take the opportunity to express their point of view on issues that directly affect them like the oppression by the privileged, the migration to the cities mostly by young people, and the criminal activities that those young people engage in when arriving in the urban centers. The episode ends

with a morale that predicates that work dignifies and crime and vice demote. The community decides to take action to face these issues which they do in episode twenty-three. Likewise, in episode twenty-nine, several leaders gather to listen to the youths Quintín and Ofelia to listen to their difficulties finding jobs in the countryside (00:02:00). Thus, the dramatizations present organization, participation and dialogue as possible solutions to the problems the characters encounter in the countryside.

Despite the contradictions of the use of regional accents and regional difference throughout the *Cuadros*, the representation and aural reflection of conflict and tension within rural community rose awareness of the challenges of community organization. The listening of these stories that closely resemble everyday life encounters and interactions reverberated throughout the week of radio lessons, but also must have had a repercussion in social dynamics in everyday life. It is very hard to establish a direct correlation between Sutatenza's leadership training and emphasis on community organization and rural organized movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. However, it is possible to consider that Sutatenza's narratives of community-making may have had some kind of incidence in their consolidation. All in all, the *Cuadros campesinos* series, through dialogues, models building community around identifying and solving problems together and organizing as citizens to take responsibility for their own living conditions.

Conclusion

From their contradiction-ridden and tension-filled production of meaning, the *Cuadros* reinforce the region as an ideological device while they also foster the circulation of multiple speech styles and regional accents. Through the incorporation of regional accents and speech styles, listeners across the territory were able to imagine what could sound like Colombia's cultural heterogeneity even if the accents were staged and performed. At the same time, the pedagogical model and attempts at controlling that same diversity through the project of Andeanization excluded Afro-Colombian cultural expressions and left the coasts, other regions, and their people on the margins of the nation. Additionally, radio dramatizations gave listeners strategies to build community, unite forces, get organized, and participate as citizens. These strategies were meant to help them implement changes to fix issues and problems in their communities. The repetitive appearance of the subject of community organization and association in the *Cuadros* speaks of Sutatenza's leaders' high levels of anxiety about this topic. Soon after the publication of the plays, in the 1980s, the project began to decline.

Conclusion: Sutatenza's Intermediality

The analyzes in this dissertation show that the Sutatenza project had a fundamental role in continuing the nineteenth century's Conservative Catholic-Hispanic project of a nation undertaken by the grammarian presidents. The grammarian presidents were a group of lettered men living mostly in the urban centers who established a direct connection with Colombia's Hispanic past through language (the purity of Spanish) and religion (Catholicism). This project kept developing well into the twentieth century, and Sutatenza had a key role in expanding it in the second half of the century.

In the nineteenth century, literature, and more specifically, the literary movement of costumbrismo was one of the most important vehicles to disseminate this ideological project, and Sutatenza's role in its continuity involved the remediation of costumbrismo and the cuadro de costumbres through radio technology for a twentieth century audience. Irina Rajewsky points out that remediation, as conceived by Bolter and Grusin (2000), denotes specific types of intermedial relationships. In these intermedial relationships, "both newer and older [media] forms are involved in a struggle for culture recognition" (Bolter and Grusin qtd in Rajewsky 2005, 60). Further, she adds that this process means both a homage and a rivalry between media, where earlier and newer media appropriate and refashion the representational practices of the

other (2005, 60). Yet, from the interstices, the performative forces within these rural communities and intermedial narratives make visible and audible aesthetic events in rural settings that otherwise would have been unnoticed. These aesthetic events and their broadcast disrupted, up to a level, the notion of a closed lettered city and an excluding aural region.

The radionovela's intermediality is more explicit and has been widely studied. However, the analysis of copla composition and radio dramatizations posed similar dilemmas and crossroads: coplas aren't poetry like radio dramatizations aren't radio theater. They fall into a similar aesthetic stigmatization and marginalization that Herlinghaus points out about melodrama. Melodrama as a genre has been aesthetically stigmatized as being lacking in depth, subtlety, good taste, and refinement. Herlinghaus notes how cultural studies took a long time to acknowledge melodrama as an interpretative category. One of the reasons for this was the total marginalization of melodrama by the philosophical and poetic discourse of modernity. Further, he suggests, melodramatic narratives is a category of analysis with enormous cultural thickness. And,

[d]esentrañar, en el mundo de estas narrativas recurrentes y heterogéneas, las insólitas tramas de sabiduría práctica, identidad cultural y subjetividad política, debería ser un proyecto prestigioso de los estudios culturales de nuestro presente (2002, 15).

In his work, Herlinghaus inquires about the contributions that the analysis of melodrama could bring to the understanding of modernity otherwise, a modernity that is not conceived within the cultural and epistemological rules of the lettered city (15). Thus, he advocates for the exploration of melodrama as “una matriz de la imaginación teatral y narrativa que ayuda a producir sentido en medio de las experiencias cotidianas de individuos y grupos sociales diversos” (23). Similarly, Sutatenza’s intermedial narratives emerge as rich texts that offer a window into the ideological construction of rural individuals and rural communities. Out of this crossroads, the notion of intermediality serves as a category of analysis that allows for the exploration of the complexities and contradictions within these cultural forms.

I have shown that these intermedial narratives dwell in the in-betweenness of the lettered and the aural and in the tensions amid the pedagogical and the performative forces that are continuously at play in the imagination, narration, and formation of the nation. From this liminality, these narratives emerge as tension-filled, ambivalent, and contradictory. On one hand, they represent a continuity of the nineteenth century’s Conservative Catholic-Hispanic project of a nation undertaken by the literati. On the other, they show that, in the interstices, resistant voices reinterpreted, reformulated, and reconfigured notions of community, citizenship, agency, and participation in rural Colombia.

The continuation of the Conservative Hispanic-Catholic project in Sutatenza was achieved through several narrative strategies. First, Sutatenza's leadership constructed radio drama characters that exalted and circulated a Catholic citizenship, which meant a conscious merging of religious and citizen subjectivities. This Catholic citizenship was picked up by listeners who in the coplas created verses that speak of an exercise of this Catholic citizenship. Second, in the radio dramas, Sutatenza's leadership produced a tropical soundscape, in the style of the cuadro de costumbres, filled with warm mornings, roosters crowing, dogs barking, birds singing, cicadas and crickets chirping, and deadly tropical storms.

Likewise, Sutatenza actively participated in the delimitation and the fixation, in sound, of the region as an ideological device of exclusion via the construction of characters in tight connection to speech styles and regional accents. This fixation of the region was part of projects of Andeanization that positioned the Andean region, its inhabitants, and speech styles as above the rest. Radio allowed for the nation to listen to itself and was an ideal device to fix the construction of the nation as a country of regions through the circulation of regional speech styles that were placed in unequal power relations regarding the central-Andean style. At the same time, the incorporation of these very regional accents meant the broader circulation of Colombia's multiple speech styles and the possibility of imagining the nation's cultural heterogeneity in sound.

Sutatenza also established a connection to the Hispanic past through intense campaigns and instruction of copla composition and the production of a rural individual who is expected to recite coplas, a genre that also exalts the colonial Hispanic-Catholic past.

In the process of remediating the cuadro de costumbres, Sutatenza was also key in the construction of a rural acoustic sphere, one that included the voices of exemplary Catholic citizens, the sounds of the bells of the Church, a tropical soundscape, and pasillo music. Meanwhile, this rural acoustic sphere included the multiplicity of regional accents and speech styles across the territory, while, it also broadcast vociferation, loud speech, and overlapping utterances to convey community dynamics. Within this rural acoustic sphere, tensions between unity and multiplicity and the bonding and binding also take place. Thus, dialogue and community organization emerge as fundamental forces in the formation of rural community.

The presence of Radio Sutatenza in the everyday lives of the listeners led to the creation of new and the reinforcement of old emotional, social, and cultural bonds. Similarly, the circulation of their poetic creations reconfigured rural individuals' sense of being social and political subjects. The intermediality of the narratives, or the notion of intermediality, is not only useful to think the narratives analyzed here but also to think about the project as a whole. It was an intermedial project where visual, literary, and auditory media converged amid pedagogical, religious, and political mediations. In the

era of the podcast, the Sutatenza sources help reformulate the intermediality of radio and print media, as well, as aural narration's centrality and pertinence in our time.

A Note on ACPO's Evolution

ACPO's evolution shows important gains in the transformation of Colombia's project as a nation. The National Constitution of 1991, which replaced the Conservative Catholic Constitution of 1886, acknowledges Colombia's cultural heterogeneity with its multiple languages and promulgates religious freedom. Although there is still much to do in terms of true inclusion and equality, there has been some advancements. While Radio Sutatenza was operational until 1990, ACPO's board of directors, composed mostly by Catholic Church's members, have kept the organization alive for the past three decades.

Beginning in 2013 and with the support of international NGOs, Sutatenza's radiophonic schools evolved into Escuelas Digitales Campesinas (EDC) and the weekly *El Campesino* is today Elcampesino.co, a digital newspaper that revolves around rural life in Colombia. The images of the EDC website show communities from all areas of Colombia and the institutional videos capture their voices and testimonies.

Furthermore, the EDC offer courses that train and provide tools for the production of media contents by community members. The course offerings range from digital literacy to civic and democratic values, association and entrepreneurship, and

rural journalism. This latter course offers training and skills to become a *reportero rural* (rural reporter) as content producers of Elcampesino.co and a member of the Red de Reporteros Rurales (Network of Rural Reporters). Likewise, the EDC supports Irradio, an organization that promotes citizen participation in community radios with an emphasis on *cultura de paz* (peace culture).

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Biography

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