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ASSIMETRIAS E (IN)VISIBILIDADES: VIGILÂNCIA, GÊNERO E RAÇA
ASIMETRÍAS Y (IN)VISIBILIDADES: VIGILANCIA, GÉNERO Y RAZA
ASYMMETRIES AND (IN) VISIBILITIES: SURVEILLANCE, GENDER AND RACE

A colonialidade como laboratório da vigilância: América Latina e o rádio católico

Coloniality as surveillance laboratory: Latin America and catholic radio

La colonialidad como laboratorio de vigilancia: América Latina y radio católico.

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Resumo

Considerando a centralidade sócio-econômica e geo-política das comunicações sem fio na contemporaneidade, este paper discute uma mentalidade colonial que informa a maneira pela qual o espectro eletromagnético é utilizado de modo a servir para um processo disciplinar e de vigilância. A partir de uso do rádio como forma pedagógica e direcionadora de condutas, analisamos as relações políticas e culturais que se formam pela visão moderna e colonial das comunicações sem fio e como isso se articula com a ética católica da colonização. Como exemplo, tomamos o caso da Rádio Sutatenza da Colômbia, primeira rádio "comunitária" do continente Latino Americano e modelo de "rádio escola" para populações do campo.

Abstract

Considering the socio-economic and geo-political centrality of wireless communications in the contemporary world, this paper discusses a colonial mentality that informs the way in which the electromagnetic spectrum is used in order to serve as a disciplinary and surveillance process. From the use of radio as a pedagogical and behavioral instrument, we analyze the political and cultural relations that are formed by the modern and colonial vision of wireless communications and how this articulates with the Catholic ethics of colonization. As an example, we take the case of Colombia's Radio Sutatenza, Latin America's first "community" radio and model for "radio school" for rural populations.

Resumen

Teniendo en cuenta la centralidad socioeconómica y geopolítica de las comunicaciones inalámbricas en el mundo contemporáneo, este documento analiza una mentalidad colonial que informa la forma en que se utiliza el espectro electromagnético para servir un proceso disciplinario y de vigilancia. Desde el uso de la radio como una forma pedagógica y comportamental, analizamos las relaciones políticas y culturales que se forman a partir de la visión moderna y colonial de las comunicaciones

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inalámbricas y cómo esto se articula con la ética católica de la colonización. Como ejemplo, tomamos el caso de la Radio Sutatenza de Colombia, la primera radio "comunitaria" del continente y el modelo de "escuela de radio" para las poblaciones rurales.

Palavras Chave: Rádio; América Latina; Tecnocultura.

Electromagnetic Spectrum and wireless communication

The exploration of the electromagnetic spectrum nowadays represents a powerful combination of economic, spatial, political, and military power. Wireless technology is a fundamental condition for the political economy of surveillance and, more generally, for the bellicist info-financial market, illustrated by the idea of "sinister operations"[2] of surveillance capitalism.

While electromagnetism can be considered a fundamental force of nature, interpreted in different ways through its historical and cultural uses and according to the scientific and spiritual status of different societies, "wireless technologies" are the socio-technical and conceptual system which was established in the late nineteenth century with the technological, geo-political and economic dominance over the radio waves. The strategic role and amount of economic resources applied in the infrastructure of this technology is observable by the numbers involved in spectrum band auctions for digital wireless communication.[3]

However, the amalgamation that the technical exploitation of this infrastructure represents goes beyond its uses for the communication economy. The German company LS Telecom – which represents this multifunctionality very well – describes itself in its brochure as the "global leader in spectrum efficiency with customers in over 100 countries worldwide" which delivers its activities "in the most optimal and cost-efficient way".[4] LSTelcom is a company which provides services and technologies in the field of spectrum management, dynamic spectrum access, spectrum policy, Radio Frequency (RF) monitoring, white spaces, data mining and business models for Internet of Things. Founded in 1992, is an ITU-D[5] sector member and has a strong market presence in the defence field

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2 Term used by Evgeny Morozov to ilustrate the research conducted by Soshana Zuboff in her book "Surveillance Capitalism" in Capitalism's New Clothes. The Baffler, February, 2019. Availabl at <<https://thebaffler.com/latest/capitalisms-new-clothes-morozov>>

3 In April 2017 T-Mobile acquired 45% of all low-band spectrum in the band of 600MhZ for nearly 8 billion dollars, used to provide infrastructure for mobile communications in the band previously used for TV broadcast. The total amount of what was collected from the auction was close to 20 billion US Dollars, equivalent of 2,5 times of the value of everything that is produced in Haiti in that year.

4 See: http://www.lstelcom.ca/ca/home/

5 The "ITU Telecommunication Development Sector" is one of the sectors of the International Telecommunications Union. See: https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Pages/About.aspx

with its SPECTRAMil: a "Military's Automated Spectrum Management and Electronic Warfare System". In the cover of one of its brochures offered during the Rio conference, one reads the proud announcement of its "high fidelity spectrum surveillance" solution: "LS OBSERVER: The next Generation Monitoring System of Spectrum Control ...is not just about monitoring." Specialized on measuring "the efficiency of current spectrum usage" the company reduces the question of spectrum allocation into problems of technical and policy matters. Its solutions for both is automation and monitoring as to efficiently collect, compare and report data usage, "turning spectrum information into a data mine that can be analysed and manipulated"[6] and advocacy for application and enforcement of the existing spectrum management policies, emphasizing that "new emerging policies will be the key to much greater efficiency and access to spectrum".[7]

Facebook's project for a "Broadband backhaul service delivered via stratospheric solar planes" known as Aquila[8], halted in June 2018, consisted of an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle with a wingspan of 40m which flies at 60.000 feet above ground delivering wireless internet signal to inland terminals. emphasizing the "value of connectivity", "to the developing world on par with the developed world"[9] the company claimed that if their program of access and connectivity was employed, 160 million people would be lifted out from poverty, 640 million children would be given access to tools and resources for affordable learning, 2,5 million lives would be "saved by reducing child mortality by 7%" and there will be a 1,3% increase in economic growth.

The focus of their strategy – attention to the global south – is made clear when it claims that only 35% of the population in such areas have internet access, compared to the 82% internet penetration in advanced industrial societies. The website of internet.org,[10] the organization responsible to elaborate the plan and its conceptual justification, is filled with photographs of non-white, non

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6 Robert Thelen-Bartholomew. Measuring the efficiency of current spectrum usage across Latin American and Caribbean Countries. LS Telcom presentation at The 2nd Annual Latin America Spectrum Management Conference. Rio, 2015.

7 Ibid.

8 This type of platform is called HAPS (High Altitude Platform Station), also researched by Google through its "Project Loon". Placed in between satellite and terrestrial platforms, HAPS have been object of studies of viability by ITU and it is expected to be discussed in the WRC-19 since, according to an ITU report, "Spectrum identifications and international regulations already exist for HAPS, but these may not be sufficient for the delivery of broadband services". ITU has the 2 GHz, 6.5 GHz, 27/31 GHz and 47/48 GHz bands and a resolution (160) of the WRC-15 seeks to "facilitate access to broadband applications by HAPS". Nonetheless, although takes the further studies as a good promise for delivering internet signals, the same report states that "these bands have geographical limitations and may not be large enough to provide high-rate broadband". See: ITU GSR-16 Discussion Paper. Emerging Technologies and the global regulatory agendas. Available at: <http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Conferences/GSR/Documents/ITU_EmergingTech_GSR16.pdf>

9 Chris Weasler. Broadband connectivity to underserved communities via solar aircraft. Facebook presentation at The 2nd Annual Latin America Spectrum Management Conference. Rio, 2015.

10 "goal of bringing internet access and the benefits of connectivity to the portion of the world that doesn't have them."

western happy people in their original places, mostly rural and tropical, characterizing the situation of exoticism, foreignness and otherness which is the argument for the geographical entrance for the two main projects of the organization: "free basics"[11] and "connectivity lab". Both initiatives aim to "bring internet access and relevant basic internet services" and "extend internet access to areas that are not yet covered by existing solutions". Facebook's plan to occupy the air and expand its business into "underserved communities" required "spectrum identifications for high altitude solar planes" to be "expanded geographically and spectrally" and invites ITU-R "to identify globally harmonized spectrum by conducting a study of: 10.95-11.2 GHz, 11.45-11.7 GHz, 21.4-22.0 GHz, and 24.25-28.35 GHz". This huge apparatus of technical standards, spacial allocation, economic prospection and political power, known as the "spectrum regulation" reveals a particular instrumental use and a narrow idea according to which the spectrum is an explorable natural good managed, regulated and governed by science and technology.

Behind the arguments covering the political, economic, and spatial exploration of the spectrum, which articulate the technical specialization and hypercomplexification with the appeal for security, connectivity, access, development and progress, lies the colonial veil that weaves social rules, moral postulates, and condescending historical determinism with an ascetic discipline for conduct. This colonial apparatus can be pointed out in the formation of the universe where the first radio experiences in Latin America appear. Not only the post-war political environment and its cultural modernity but also a Christian and Catholic modernity helps to understand the conflicts and political challenges that mark the uses of wireless media.

The economy, technology, and policies in which large-scale companies of spectrum exploration influence and are determinant have a history and socio-cultural particularities. Beyond the inheritance of the colonialist mentality and being established as a consequence of the exploration of space, labor, souls and new social conformations arising from the great navigations, they are articulated in Latin America in a way that reproduces a relationship that is in the genesis of the conquest that seeks to know, tame and evangelize the other through the technologies of

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11 A corporate partnership between Facebook and six other giant telecom companies, Free Basics is part of the internet.org initiative, criticized by violating net-neutrality and aimed to connect people in areas where infrastructure is precarious. The website describes it as "Free Basics by Facebook provides people with access to useful services on their mobile phones in markets where internet access may be less affordable. The websites are available for free without data charges, and include content on things like news, employment, health, education and local information. By introducing people to the benefits of the internet through these websites, we hope to bring more people online and help improve their lives." https://info.internet.org/en/story/free-basics-from-internet-org/

communication while exploring the resources of a new world and its knowledge for the sake of material and spiritual domination.

In the case presented here, colonial discipline reveals an architecture and an exercise of spiritual power and conduct that informs the idea of vigilance as "the focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction".[12] This political economy of space camouflages the colonial operation that occurs in the very justifications of technical progress, social development and collective protection taken by technological means. The pedagogical and religious discipline provides the control of conduct and the acceptance of justifications and the tolerance necessary for the maintenance of order sustained by an idea of development, progress and integration that is in the genesis of coloniality.

Sutatenza

In the municipality of Sutatenza, on the Andean region of Colombia, a catholic priest named Joaquín Salcedo started in 1947 the use of an amateur radio transmitter to undergo a project of literacy and evangelization, based on the idea that the poverty suffered by the campesinato *was fully bound to their lack of education and underdevelopment. In May 1948, Salcedo got a licence from the Ministry of Communication to install a cultural radio with transmission power of 250Watts13 which covered 15 radio-schools14 with a once in a week educational radio show. In August 1949 another licence was released allowing Sutatenza to broadcast in short waves with a power of 1KW following that, in October of that same year, the ACPO15 (Acción Cultural Popular) was registered as a civil organization responsible for Radio Sutatenza.*

In 1955, a publication from UNESCO,[16] celebrated the achievements of ACPO which now possessed a 25KW radio transmitter (said to be the most powerful in Colombia), covering 200.000 people over 12 of the 16 Colombian departments and eventually "overflowing to neighbours Venezuela and Ecuador".[17] At that time, its signals were captured by 6.000 "battery powered short-waves receivers

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12 David Lyon. Surveillance Studies: An Overview. Oxford: Polity Press, 2007, p.15.

13 This is reported in Reynaldo Parejas, 'Radio Sutatenza: Notas para su historia'. In. Comunicacion y Cultura en America Latina, Vol.8, No 8, 1982.

14 Classrooms set up in peasent's houses which served as spaces for learning.

15 Although the inauguration of the activities of ACPO was in 1947 with a transmitter then still unlicensed, the formal organization of the association is from 1949 (resolution 260 of October 18th) and the shift of ACPO to a juridical ecclesiastic body was given on the 29th of June 1951.

16 UNESCO, 'Don Quixote of the Radio' In. Courier: A window open on the world. (Awakening Continent: Latin America in new perspective'. Year 8, N.2, 1955)

17 UNESCO, 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p 19

manufactured for ACPO by Dutch and American companies" specially built to tune only radio Sutatenza and bring "Literacy and general culture" for the 7 million illiterates of Colombia.

From 1953 to 1957 Colombia was under the dictatorship of Gal. Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, former Mail and Telegraph Minister who happened to be an acquaintance of Salcedo. After the political turmoil of the late 40' known as Bogotazo, Pinilla was able to mount a substantial political support which included the Catholic church. His mandate coincide with were the years when the Sutatenza network thrived the most. Although Sutatenza was not free from attempts of official intervention, it remained with a certain degree of autonomy due to its "community" engagement, its lack of clear political position together with its affiliation to the powerful and mostly conservative catholic church.

The most successful period of the radiophonic schools reflected the development of governmental long-distance education programs in Colombia, and was financially supported by the Colombian Banco Central Hipotecario *and foreign catholic institutions.18 In 1969, the program grid was full from 3:55 in the morning to 11:00 at night, with a variety of contents from courses, news, sports, story-telling, soap operas, feminine as well as children thematics. The UN, through UNESCO, provided technical and cultural assistance as well as institutional support. The World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, global electronic manufactures and the USAID, helped ACPO to create indicators to measure the impact of its work in the peasants in 1976.19*

Father Salcedo was regarded by UNESCO[20] as an adventurer "young Catholic priest", who wanted to improve the lives of those who "scrape their livelihood from incredible farms hugging dizzy mountain slopes".[21] As a visionary envoy of a modern world – a "Don Quixote of the Radio" - he was celebrated by having mobilized the population through the multimedia modern novelty and its lessons on how to be educated, obedient and resolute in contrast to a sort of wild life of relegated savages in the mountain jungle. The UNESCO propaganda pictures a difficult, "steep" and "grim" geography where illiterate, alcoholic, rough and underdeveloped inhabitants "farmed their plots as their ancestors had

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18 "en 1951 la Unesco le brindó asistencia técnica y cultural. La asistencia económica de los primeros años la proveyó el Banco Central Hipotecario con un préstamo a largo plazo y el aporte de las fundaciones religiosas alemanas Misereor y Adveniat". Reynaldo Parejas. Radio Sutatenza: Notas para su historia. Ibid. p39.

19 "Some of the indicators were: avoidance of the practice of burning to prepare land for cultivation; construction or improvement of animal shelters; planting of family vegetable gardens; practice of personal hygiene; ability to read and write; and participation in study groups." Colin Fraser & Sonia Restrepo-Estrada, 'The quick and the dead', Ibid. p155-156.

20 From the documentation used in this research, a good amount was commissioned, funded of published by UNESCO (Fraser & Estrada; UNESCO) and one was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation (Gumucio Dragon).

21 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p 18

always farmed them".[22] Tenza Valley, the place where the municipality of Sutatenza lies, is described as a "topographical chaos" with its "fertile, sub-tropical (…) tortured jumble of hills and ridges, serpentine valleys and side valleys".[23] Besides the celebration of the noble mission of civilizing, offering culture and dignity for rural population, the reports about radio Sutatenza mentions the harshness of the natural landscapes where Father Salcedo arrived to carry his mission. Such arid environment where peasants were apparently doomed to make their living appeared as a condition that contributed to the radio's success: "the isolation of the mountaineers made it possible for the Accion Cultural Popular to win them over".[24]

The educational model for the radio-schools was implemented using the "adobe homes" of the peasants as classrooms which contained basic material for learning. The "classrooms" were chosen amongst the homes of the "farmers with the most modern ideas in their communities".[25] The householders – coordinators entitled "immediate auxiliary" – were responsible to "take attendance, turn on the radio when the school begins, and write lessons on the blackboard according to instructions given to him by the unseen radio teacher".[26] The collective classes were organized around five components: "health, literacy, arithmetic calculus, economy and labour and spirituality".[27] The mediatic universe of Sutatenza included the periodical "El campesino", recorded tapes, cartilhas, books together with video documentaries about its actions, methods and platforms for education.

The radio stimulated moral and behavioural patterns from the campesinos and the schedule of the radio sought to arrange the lessons in times as to fit to "the only time that most men can spare from their fields".[28] Everything had to be clocked, appointed and ordered. Students arriving on time "filled the house in silence (…) by the half-light of the morning" when instruction alongside directions were given by the voice on the radio acting as pedagogue, tutor, teacher and priest. The UNESCO appeared to be amazed by the obedience and seriousness:

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22 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p18.

23 Colin Fraser & Sonia Restrepo-Estrada, 'The quick and the dead'. Ibid. p146.

24 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p 20.

25 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p18.

26 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p19.

27 Luis A. Sarmiento Moreno. La educacion abierta y a distancia em Colombia. Ibid. p74. Fraser and Estrada point out 14 objectives which were traced by ACPO throughout its project, including " basic skills of literacy (...) acquisition of economic knowledge (...) utilization of free time to participate in sport (…) reaching decision (…) living according to ethical and religious principles (…) development of political consciousness focused on the protection of human rights". See: Colin Fraser & Sonia Restrepo-Estrada, 'The quick and the dead'. Ibid. p152.

28 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p 18.

> "The sight of this class obeying an unseen teacher was uncanny. Every time the music began, every head bent down over every desk. Pupils worked conscientiously without a whisper or a nudge. School was serious business for these people."[29]

The radio was supposed to take over the sphere of the street[30] turning the "public space" of the radio spectrum which ACPO occupied into a closed, oratorial, intimate, and instructive tool for the would-be modern peasant. This is constantly made in different degrees by media everywhere, and it has consequences on the aesthetic experience of populations, providing a one-dimensional vision of what is right and good, wiping out the diabolic, grotesque and dread feelings which constitute the production of senses, aesthetic sovereignty and political resistance.

The category of *campesino* had an ultimate importance in the action of ACPO and Radio Sutatenza. Its definition, nonetheless, is depreciating and detractive as it tends to view the *campesinato* as a group who needed protection as well as instruction. Gutierrez defines this specific category of radio interlocutor as:

> "lo no urbano, lo no moderno, lo tradicional; un pueblo incomunicado, avergonzado de sí mismo, olvidado, despreciado, conformista y minifundista; pero, al mismo tiempo, un pueblo religioso, trabajador, amante de la radio y de la música, capaz de transformarse y de transformar, de educarse y educar; una fuerza histórica"[31]

The idea of Christian education is tied to the value of peasant's life inner aspects and the process of aesthetic adaptation is constant in religious education, as noted by Richardson: "Religious educators, more so than general educators, stand in a position to observe and facilitate encounters with the unknown, the strange or ineffable".[32] Abrahan Moreno lists a number of cultural expressions and social constructions[33] integrated by the work of Father Salcedo and ACPO through mass media

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29 UNESCO. 'Don Quixote of the Radio' Ibid. p 20.

30 "the streets indicate basically the world, with its improvisations, accidents and passions, whilst the house, lead to a controlled universe, where things are in their right places (..) thus, the social groups that occupy the house are radically diverse from those out on the streets". Roberto da Matta, Carnaval, Malandros e Heróis (São Paulo, Rocco, 1997) p90.

31 "The non-urban, the non-modern, the traditional; An incommunicado population, ashamed of itself, forgotten, despised, conformist and minifundists; But at the same time a religious, hard working people, lover of radio and music, capable of transform itself and transforming, educate itself and educate; A historical force." Hernando Vaca Gutiérrez. 'Procesos interactivos mediáticos de Radio Sutatenza con los campesinos de Colombia' (1948 – 1989). In. Signo y Pensamiento 58 · Documentos de investigación. (Vol.XXX. Jan-Jun 2011 pp 254-269) p.259.

32 Christopher K. Richardson. "Encoutering the supercalifragilisticexpialidocious: The roles of art in religious learning'. In. Journal of Adult Theological Education. Vol 6, Issue 2, 2009. p 6.

33 "Escuelas Radiofónicas, asociaciones agrarias y pecuarias, Organización de tiendas comunales, asociación de líderes; construcción de escuelas, fundación de veredas, construcción de caminos y puentes; aprendizaje básico, lectoescritura, huertas caseras, superar el problema de nutrición, equipos deportivos, organización de juntas veredales, construcción de campos deportivos, construcción de acueductos, fundación y organización de bandas musicales, mejoramiento de

technology, claiming the recognition of the priest as "one of the highest artificer in the construction of the concept and sentiment of the nation", for he was able to mix, as a cultural policy, many cultural expressions present in Colombian life:

> "logra integrar la gastronomía de la costa con el cine bogotano, la copla boyacense con la leyenda llanera, la música del eje cafetero con el humor opita, la pintura valluna con el teatro antioqueño, la escultura santandereana con la poesía amazónica, la danza pastusa con la literatura insular, la fotografía sanandresana con el deporte chocoano, la artesanía guajira con las costumbres caquetenses."[34]

The interpretations over the fragile condition, timidity, weakness and ignorance in which the *campesino* lived as well as its cultural interaction, produces the positive potential of *mestizaje*, addressed in these terms by Salcedo:

> "Sin lugar a dudas, el mestizaje de la América Latina, que no es solamente genético sino principalmente cultural, es uno de los elementos que operan en parte como mecanismos de retroceso pero también como aceleradores del cambio. El dualismo, entendido no solamente como confrontación sino como interacción y proceso de fusión y amalgama, crea un dinamismo propio de la cultura"[35]

The idea of the synthesis from cosmological interchanges as a beneficial cultural aspect and political form for Latin America is addressed famously by José de Vasconcellos. The Mexican thinker and politician inaugurated the controversial and largely debated idea of "Raza Cózmica" (cosmic Race), a biological as much as spiritual synthesis of all the "four racial trunks: the Black, the Indian, the Mongol, and the White".[36] Latin Americans would then be responsible to fulfil the task of synthesizing humanity in a new epistemological and human consolidation, to "consummate the mission" regarding "the triumph of fecund love and the improvement of all the human races".[37] The cosmic deals with a spiritual cause, shifting "the semantic weight from the material to the spiritual,

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viviendas, reforestación" Luís Abrahán Sarmiento Moreno. ACPO, Una experiencia Educativa: Desarollo integral de la humanidad. Pensamiento educativo del monseñor Jose Joaquín Salcedo Guarín. (UNAD. Tunja: 2009). p233.

34 "It manages to integrate the gastronomy of the coast with the Bogota cinema, the boyacense copla with the llanera legend, the music of the coffee axis with the opita humor, the valluna painting with the antioqueño theater, the santandereana sculpture with the Amazonian poetry, the pastusa dance with insular literature, Sanandresana photography with the Chocoano sport, the Guajira handicraft with the Caquetenses customs." Luís Abrahán Sarmiento Moreno. ACPO, Una experiencia Educativa, Ibid, p340.

35 "Undoubtedly, the mestizaje of Latin America, which is not only genetic but mainly cultural, is one of the elements that operate in part as mechanisms of regression but also as accelerators of change. Dualism, understood not only as a confrontation but as an interaction and process of fusion and amalgam, creates a dynamism proper to culture". José Joaquín Salcedo Guarín; Bernal Alarcón and Hernando Gutiérrez, *América Latina Interrogante Angustioso,* (Bogotá: Planeta, 1992). Quoted from Moreno. Ibid. 2009. p.117.

36 Jose Vasconcellos, 'The Cosmic Race', In. The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics, (Eds. Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson) (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p9

37 Jose Vasconcellos, 'The Cosmic Race', In. The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics, (Eds. Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson) (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p16–19.

from corporeal, to aesthetic mestizaje".[38] Throughout the last century, the notion went from a physical, biological notion to an aesthetical, political discourse.[39] Just as the view of "race as an attitude", proposed by Leopoldo Zea in his reading of Vasconcelos, we find many references to *mestizaje* as a "posture"[40] or as a "praxis": a form of bricolage.

In an investigation of *Revista Folklore*, firstly published in the same year which Sutatenza was aired, Diego Suárez argues that the magazine was primarily concerned that, "given the political, economic and cultural centrality of the Andean region in the national space (…), the representative of the nation in sociocultural terms was the Andean *mestizo*",[41] while obliterating the importance to black and indigenous populations.[42] The magazine constructed mestizo image as a synonym of the "national" and sought to smoothly oversee Colombian social contradictions. Colombian private radios fostered music from the Andean region and "the first genres of Atlantic music" whereas the State owned *Radiodifusora Nacional* presented a "lettered media" to deliver "high culture" in its mission to "civilize the musical taste of the masses".[43] This desired "mestizo nation", intended to integrate the black and the Indian population presenting the successor of the *criollo* as the cultural carrier of the nation's expressions: "The *mestizaje* implied the legitimacy of colonial hierarchies orienting them towards the modern state in culture, seeking its affirmation as a place where converges, in a non-conflicting way in its order, the Hispanic inheritances and in subordination to the indigenous and African contributions".[44]

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38 Marilyn Grace Miller. Rise and Fall of the cosmic race: The cult of Mestizaje in Latin America. (University of Texas Press. Austin: 2004) p29

39 See: Stefanie Wickstrom, Philip D. Young (Eds), Mestizaje and Globalization: Transformations of Identity and Power, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014)

40 See: Francois Lionnet. 'The politics and aesthetics of méstissage'. In Autobiographical Voices. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

41 Diego Fernando Buitrago Suárez, 'Nación mestiza: el caso de la Revista de Folklore en Colombia, 1947-2011', Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura 44.1 (2017): 279-302. p283.

42 Catherine Walsh criticizes this perspective from a 'decolonial' view in terms that "the hegemony of Eurocentrism as the perspective of knowledge, and an association of intellectual production with 'civilization', the power of the written word, and with the established racial hierarchy (Quijano 2000). In this construction and its maintenance over more that 500 years, indigenous and black peoples are still considered (by dominant society but also by the white-mestizo Left) as incapable of serious 'intellectual' thinking. It is in this context that the eurocentricity and racialized character of critical thought takes form. Still, the construction, logic, and use of a critical thought have long existed amongst indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples, although Latin American philosophers, social scientists, and leftist intellectuals have seldom recognized or valued its existence". Catherine Walsh. 'Shifting the geopolitics of critical knowledge', In. Cultural Studies, Vol 21 Issue 2, 2007. pp. 224 – 239. p229.

43 Diego Fernando Buitrago Suárez, 'Nación mestiza'. Ibid. p286.

44 "El mestizaje implicó la legitimación de las jerarquías coloniales orientándolas hacia el Estado moderno en la cultura, procurando su afirmación como lugar donde confluyen, de manera no conflictiva en su orden, las herencias hispánicas y en subordinación los aportes indígenas y africanos". Diego Fernando Buitrago Suárez, 'Nación mestiza'. Ibid. p297.

The vision of a pre-modern life, combined with many necessities of the rural life and the vocational mission of the modern national church made UNESCO to state that "Radio Sutatenza may be all that a *campesino* ever hears from the *rest of the world*". The question here is the idea that a *campesino*, to improve their life conditions together with thriving in the direction of citizenship, should be filled with information and guidance coming from the "rest of the world". Similar to a western post war "cultural policy" blended with popular culture and mass media features, the radio aimed to development the marginal other from the high "spirit" of modern, industrial and urban world.

Instead of an heterologic project of giving voice in order to learn from the other, Sutatenza chose to inflict education so the 'primitive' could become 'modern'. The new notion for the spectrum's order which established the technical, economic, political and regulated condition for its use, inflicted a radioactive method of colonial submission as a noble pedagogical instrument for reception. In this sense, the idea that "the greatest sin is the ignorance" means that salvation must come from the church, modern achievements and civilized instructions directed to, in the words of Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, a "crusade for progress".

The importance of national identity is here tied to not only the apostolic but also political mission and its inherent duty to integrate the different under the same universal principle. It recalls the Catholic arguments for the conquest fostered and incorporated by radio and its power as a modern technology for national integration.

Conclusion

Radio is the first modern technological form of the spectrum as "wireless communication" and when electromagnetism takes the ethical and political form of modernity: "It is an ethical question when agency is attributed to a technological device or system rather than to people."[45] The radio therefore appears as a pioneering apparatus that employs "the capability of technologies to gather, assemble, store and recategorize people".[46] The way radio was established in its political, economic, managerial, and conceptual dynamics was fundamental to the hegemony of a colonial media in the 'wireless' environment of modern communications.

The church and the empires, in their colonial venture, justified their mission with the same terms that the state and the economic discourse justify modern surveillance. Adjectives that illustrate the

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45 Eric stoddart. A surveillance of care: Evaluating surveillance ethically. in K Ball, K Haggerty & D Lyon (eds), Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies. Routledge International Handbooks, Routledge, 2012, pp. 369-376. p375.

46 Eric stoddard. Ibidem. p372.

ethical aspects of surveillance, such as "intrusive", "invasive", "interfering", "oppressive" or "violating" are the same that permeate the ethical debate about colonization. The commitment to security, to enforce progress under order, to the social health of the West, and to the reproduction of its norms are material and spiritual characteristics of the Iberian colonization. They reveal a discipline, a control, a pedagogy, a language and a behaviour that underpin a modern ideology of technique, progress, social development and culture.

Thus, coloniality is directly related to the disciplinary processes induced by the techniques of communication, based on a colonial history, which, values orality, aesthetics, conduct and moral as pivotal for the modern-colonial civilization process. The technological modernity initiated by the use of the radio waves, together with its eagerness for progress and development, allies with the pedagogical and patronizing heritage in order to impose a particular idea of community, education, hygiene, behavior and space that influences the way in which the media will face an ascetic apostolic mission.

The colonial process not only disregards the social pact around law, politics, regulation and institutional conformation (since it imposes them on realities that are qualitatively different from the points of view of its political cosmology), as it does not justify actions of remediation and safeguard by which "reputations can be protected from harm through the disclosure of information that is distorted because it is partial".[47] Surveillance is a creation of colonial modernity.

For an ethical evaluation of surveillance, Stoddard comments that one can think of a rights-based category and a discursive-disclosive one. As for the first category, although antiquity presents indications of inalienable rights and discourses of freedom and sovereignty, "it is the formulations of the closing decades of the eighteenth century that have significantly advanced the currency of a language of rights". This statement is based on the state declarations of the United States (1776), French (1789), English (1689) and, generally, European (1948, 1950) regarding modern fundamental rights. The discursive-disclosive approach, unlike the principles of normative conduct imposed by the rights-based key, appears as an ethics of alterity, relational, face-to-face and related to the body and the universe of the other and it is sustained by the ambivalence of visibility and invisibility.

In this rights-based category, privacy is reconfigured and transformed into an asset of the judicial, legislative, and private universe, building the grid on which "surveillance capitalism" operates, generating profits for politicians, lawyers and businessmen of digital programming. Now, we see that

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47 Eric stoddard. Ibidem. p371.

navigation and colonial documents account many examples of the clash with the natives and slaves with respect to the value of privacy, intimacy, and the conduct of bodies and practices of social collectives. This key of "privacy" allows us to open up the counter-colonial critique against rights-based assessment insofar as linked to the right of self-determination, to a life regardless of external gaze and to the absence of unwanted intrusion or interference, such right has never been a preoccupation of colonial politics to this day.

The ethical analysis based on the "discursive-disclosive" category, alternately, points out to political, relational, subjective, and polyformed actions, projects and tasks in different domains and times. David Lyon points to an ethical level where policies, care, accountability and managerial responsibilities would reposition the perspectives on surveillance beyond its instrumental mission and towards a "surveillance of care". Although it is an attempt to reconfigure through the key of alterity, the political practice of vigilance, engaging with a categorical ambivalence that disputes the "regulatory frameworks to which specific people can be held accountable" and questions the managerial order of surveillance, the discursive perspective shows itself to be also an equally colonial agency when we analyze it under the prism of Catholic radio.

Caring for the self, the attention to practices that reveal situations, conditions, and relationships with oneself and the other which seeks who we really want to become is conceptually analogous to the colonial order that called for an end to injustice against the natives, but always based on relational, moral and behavioral practices aimed at a social progress historically determined by imperial civilization.

Both models (rights based and discursive-disclosive based) can be noted in colonial strategies that have been reproduced in the technological colonial modernity from the ways in which the radio served as instrument of modern control, discipline and pedagogy. It includes the naturalization of the managerial order that presupposes that political control and negotiation are elements that close the debate about the use of the properties and qualities of what it presents as wireless communication, thus halting expanded visions of what can signify the use of the electromagnetic spectrum for social benefits.

The religious, ethical and moral bias that justifies a surveillance of "care" is an example of the colonial ambivalence that, while at the same time concerned with alterity, dignity and salvation, forces the meaning of a system in which communication is nothing but the message of modernity that is already born with established rules and postulates.

Thus, considering that the ethical-pedagogical project of coloniality-modernity is an effort to discover, decipher, adapt, control and allocate ethics and behaviors, radio analysis shows us that even within the environment of progressive Catholic community radios – where many community radios in the continent continue to move – the principle that manages the way social realities view the potential of the electromagnetic spectrum is reduced by the force of its colonial conceptualization.

The ideologies propagated by the technology that dominates wireless communication is, in principle, the defence of the Nation State, the search for *campesinato* as a social synthesis of that non-integrated original, the primacy of socio-cultural development on Western bases, the technological progress and acceptance of postwar European cultural policies. The current idea of surveillance, therefore, forms part of a modern-colonial universe that creates the conceptual bases that justify the intrusion, the ordering of conduct, obedience and political alienation on the management of communications that is reflected in the experiences of radios in the Latin American continent.

The condition of underdevelopment (the Hegelian condemnation of which Latin America has always suffered in modernity) thus becomes the justification for the naturalization of the infrastructural order of communications, allowing the continuity of a colonial practice that uses the romantic aesthetics and mercantile economy to reproduce the supposedly uncontested form of the use of the natural infrastructures of relational potencies. Spectrum, as a functional and instrumental order that is subordinate to the managerial, economic, and political order of coloniality, reproduces the model that, since colonization, imposes a mode of conduct that differentiates genotypes, phenotypes and resources in a way in which exercises power through its quality – unquestionable because it is taken as universal, and particularly restricted in its interpretation.

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