

Life Experiences and Generative Community: the Role of the Community Radio Station in Building Resistance in the Palmares II Settlement

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Abstract: The article analyzes the historical narrative of the Rádio Comunitária Camponesa “Palmares FM 106,3” from the Settlement of the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) in Parauapebas, southeastern Pará. For this, a qualitative methodological matrix is used, based on choice, field description and collaborative and non-extractivist conversation circles. As results and discussions, the cultural and political resistance associations of Rádio Palmares II is understood with the foundations on the importance of dialogic communication in the conceptions of Freire (1971) and of the generative community of Paiva and Sodr e (2006). In the final considerations, the discussion of the dialogic potential and the life experiences of the peasants in the construction of the Community Radio station as a space for culture and for the promotion of better living conditions was problematized.

Keywords: Community Communication; Resistance; Life Experiences; Community Radio station; Palmares II Settlement.

1. INTRODUCTION

Freire's (2006) thinking about communication inspired the movements of dialogic and participatory communication and critical reading in the 1970s, providing another logic in the communication process. His praxis awakened and guided the actions of popular movements in the use of communication as a tool for transforming men and women into social individuals. As a result, the popular movements that emerged in the period marked by the civil-military dictatorship and post-dictatorship inserted into their social practices the political and pedagogical dimension of communication, expanding the right to use the word, in a democratic, participatory, critical, dialogical and liberating context.

The MST (Landless Rural Workers Movement), from its genesis, had communication as a strategic area of struggle and resistance in the face of oppression, violence and conflicts, resulting from its activities of access to land in vacant areas and unproductive large estates. Thus, the Movement's communication is not just about the use of available means and the dissemination of content that give visibility to the social struggle in the countryside and to Agrarian Reform. The MST developed a critical reflection in relation to the mass media and created its own communication tools such as: Jornal do MST [MST Newspaper], Local, Regional and State Bulletins and Tabloids, Community/Alternative Radios and TVs in several settlements across the country. As a result, activities in the area of communication required investments in the training and qualification of peasants to act, whether in dialogue and criticism of the media, or in the management and production of vehicles linked to the movement.

The communicational strategy has been historically linked to the cultural and educational dimensions, undergoing updates to respond to the Movement's metamorphosis and the challenges of struggle and resistance in the Brazilian field. Thus, Barbosa (2013) highlights four important moments, and fronts of action in the area of communication: a) the use of the newspaper as a collective organizer; b) the newspaper as a means of communication to help build the national identity of the Movement; c) the construction of different communication channels for the base and for society and; d) communication in interface with education, becoming an element for the formation of militants as a strategy for solving the new challenges faced by the Movement.

In this sense, this article aims to demonstrate the importance of Rádio Comunitária Palmares II as a proposal for a "generative community" in the process of struggle and resistance for land tenure in the Palmares II Settlement, as one of the central elements of changes in conditions of peasants' life. This is a study on the role of dialogic communication in a rural settlement in the southeast of Pará, Eastern Amazon, whose expression is the Rádio Comunitária FM, whose motto is: "A wave of freedom in the air", which is highlighted by the MST as a strategic mechanism for the construction of Agrarian Reform and dissemination of the settlers' way of life, in most cases, made invisible in the historical context of peasant social struggles.

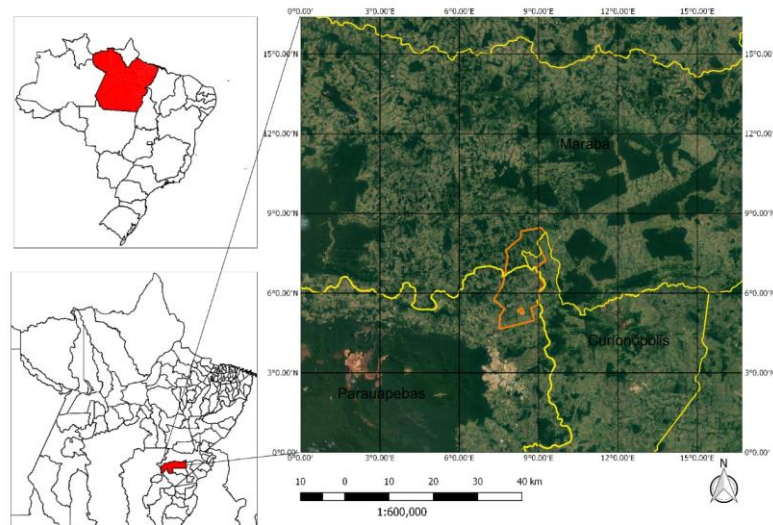
2. WHERE ARE WE TALKING FROM?

Access to land in the southeast of Pará is marked by conflicts, violence and murders. The arrival of the MST in the region, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, marks an important period in the history of the peasantry in the Amazon. The main areas occupied by the movement were unproductive large estates, lands taken over and destined by the State for large rural companies, banks and other enterprises linked to agribusiness. The legitimate conquest of the Reunidas Rio Branco Farm area gave rise to three settlements (Rio Branco, Palmares I or Sul and Palmares II) and the dispute that marked access to this farm began in the early 1990s, with the groundwork carried out by the MST in the region's municipalities, such as Curionópolis and Parauapebas, especially in the Serra Pelada mine and on the outskirts of those cities.

The Palmares II Settlement, located 20 km from the city of Parauapebas, in the southeast region of Pará, Eastern Amazon, covers, although in a smaller territorial proportion, the municipalities of Curionópolis and Marabá. It is part of the historical process of spatialization of the MST in Pará and the history of confronting the region's unproductive and degrading latifundium. The occupation that originated the settlement took place in 1994, and only two years later, in 1996, it was made official by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform - INCRA, in an area of 14,922 hectares, with 517 settled families, each family receiving a plot of 25 hectares and a plot of land in the agrovila 10 meters in the front part and 30 meters in depth.

The name of the settlement expresses the characteristics of the people who occupied the area of the farm, which according to the explanations expressed in studies by Monteiro and Teixeira (2006) and Brito-Filho (2016), most settlers in Palmares II are black, more than 70% illiterate, migrants from the State of Maranhão, expelled from their lands and condemned to follow the trail of the Amazon frontier. Under conditions of exclusion, they became miners, farm laborers, slaves and the landless peasants in southeastern Pará. As a result, the name Palmares is a reference to the symbol of resistance and struggle, Zumbi who freed and organized around thirty thousand people in the then quilombo dos Palmares.

Area under Study



Source: Prepared by the authors (2021) based on Google Maps.

It was in this context of effervescence in the struggle for Agrarian Reform that the MST created the Rádio Comunitária Camponesa, amid structural difficulties, but recognizing the importance of this medium for a dialogue with the social actors involved in access to land. Rádio Comunitária FM 106.3 was a pioneer in rural areas in the southeast of Pará, having as its essential characteristic being a collective space for communication based on dialog and on the sharing of life experiences and knowledge. “Through it, we share the challenges and achievements of the struggle for land, as well as mobilize workers in their lots for MST assemblies and meetings”, narrates Uruguaio, settled at Palmares II, one of the pioneers working in radio programming. As a result of this, the radio has consolidated itself as another space for collective organization and sharing of the settlers' lives and work, becoming an essential communication channel in the struggle and resistance on earth and for better living conditions.

3. RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The methodology sought to dialogue, organize and interpret the data, attributing meanings and significance, with a focus on the case study, as it is based on the assumption that the locus of the study object is built in a dynamic that involves history and culture, present and past, in a permanent dialectical process.

As highlighted by Robert Yin (2010), the case study is a methodological strategy that aims to examine contextual contemporary events, with many of the techniques used by historical research; however, it adds two sources of evidence that are not usually included in a historian's repertoire: discussion groups, roundtables, and a systematic series of interviews.

The historical and spatial contextualization of the case study is carried out through the interaction and comparison of the specific case with the broader spaces in which it is inserted. Contextualization allows us to understand the case as the result of a broader historical process in which that particular territory is inserted. This can be done, for example, through analyses between the particular and the general, which enable a greater understanding of the proximities and differences of that territory (Palmares II settlement) with other socio-spatial scales, such as the state (Pará), regional (Amazon scales), national (Brazil) and continental (Latin America).

The starting point was the systematization of the experiences of Rádio Comunitária Palmares from the reading of reports, interviews with MST leaders, dialogues with the settlers, roundtables, participation in the congress that discussed the 25 years of advances and challenges of the Palmares II, in order to understand the trajectory of communication, based on the radio narratives. In this sense, we use the procedure of a non-extractive collaborative nature.

Carrying out works from this theoretical-methodological perspective presupposes valuing communicational processes and dialogues in which the questions, answers and explanations found for a given research problem are collectively constructed, valuing the contributions and information discovered in the constructive and dynamic context (Santos, 2010; Fasanello; Nunes; Porto, 2018).

As Becker (1994) points out, the sociological understanding of the relationship between researchers and potential individuals of study is fundamental, in order to enable the development of analytically appropriate methods to guarantee access to the groups under study, with a view to exchanging knowledge.

According to Martins (1992), a historical review of the struggles of the peasantry in the Amazon demonstrates that “peasants represent a resistance to what the rational (and capitalist) had and has of dehumanizing in nature. They proclaim what capitalism has not done and could not do. Develop a conception of the human and of the man” (Martins, 1992, p. 29-30). This evidence was perceived in the narratives of Rádio Palmares through the non-extractivist collaborative trail, qualitative in nature, and careful craftsmanship. Thus, the information contained in this article is part of a doctoral research carried out in 2020. The names of those interviewed will not be revealed due to the dangers arising from a state of permanent tension in frontier areas in the Amazon, especially in the southeast of Pará. Thus, we will use codenames from countries in South America and the Caribbean.

4. THEORETICAL REFERENCE

Communication is one of those topics that everyone claims to understand (Araújo, 2007). This is comprehensive since one of its faces is individual and collective experience, social practice, everyday experience that leads to the formation of points of view about social reality. Habermas (1984), in his critique of Max Weber, Horkheimer and Adorno, draws attention to the assumptions of communicative action, demonstrating the importance of intersubjective interactions:

It is not the relationship of a solitary individual with something in the objective world that can be represented and manipulated, but the intersubjective relationship, which individuals who speak and act assume when they seek to understand each other, about something. By doing so, communicative actors move through a natural language, using culturally transmitted interpretations and refer to something simultaneously in an objective world, in their common social world, and in their own subjective world (Habermas, 1984, pp. 392).

Thus, communication makes it possible to verify its interconnections with life, expressed, for example, in economics, politics, culture and the technological system. “His study leads us to understand, furthermore, the interrelationships with other areas of human activity, such as education, health, ecology, agriculture, social movements, among others” (Araújo, 2007, p.19).

Thus, as a theoretical framework for this article, dialogic communication is a possible bridge for the promotion of life, bonds of solidarity and networks of collective struggles. As a mechanism for building better living conditions and health, it concerns the study and use of strategies to inform, denounce and influence the decisions of individuals and communities, in order to promote ways of life that favor welfare.

Peruzzo (2004; 2007; 2009) emphasizes that the means of community communication are strategic for popular organizations, both in the process of organization and struggle and resistance. Among the main characteristics of this communication process, as highlighted by the author, are:

The political option of putting the media at the service of popular interests; transmission of content from new sources of information (from ordinary citizens and their community organizations); communication is more than means and messages, as it takes place as part of a dynamic of organization and social mobilization; it is imbued with a proposal for social transformation and, at the same time, for the construction of a fairer society; opens the possibility for the active participation of the common citizen as protagonist of the process (Peruzzo, 2007, p.03).

In this sense, the history of Rádio Comunitária – FM 106.3, located in the Palmares II Settlement, in Parauapebas, is placed in this theoretical and methodological perspective, whose praxis was essential to the achievement of the MST's objectives in the process of organizing and conquering the land. The perception that communication presupposes the encounter of consciences, of autonomous historical

individuals, of dialogue and sharing of social life, overcomes any possibility of limiting it only to means or messages (Freire, 1971). The development of communication as a space for interaction in the world of life (Habermas, 1984) stands as a tool for emancipation, building territories of collaboration, care and cooperation in the rural Amazon, often marked by the stigma of the coloniality¹ of power and knowledge, conflict and violence.

In Brazil, inequality in access to land has prevailed throughout history, a direct product of the excluding, authoritarian, patrimonial and patriarchal colonization process. Large tracts of land (large estates) were destined and/or expropriated, since the colonial period, by large owners of monocultures and farms, being a symbol of power. Slaves, former slaves or free men from subordinate classes had difficulties in owning the land. In times of agribusiness and the expansion of the agricultural frontier to the Amazon, the colonial and colonizing logic changed very little.

The MST emerged in this context of struggle for a fairer distribution of land, in the early 1980s, in the midst of a dictatorial regime and consolidated itself in Brazilian territory as one of the most important social movements in the country, characterized as a popular peasant movement that aims to the construction of the Agrarian Reform to serve millions of landless peasants. Its motto is: “occupy, produce and resist” and its organizational methodology is based on groundwork, which presupposes bringing together men and women who are in a situation of social, political, economic and cultural exclusion (Fernandes, 2000).

According to Peruzzo (2007):

Popular movements are manifestations and organizations constituted with the explicit objectives of promoting awareness, organization and action by segments of the subaltern classes in order to satisfy their interests and needs, such as those of improving the quality of living, through access to conditions of production and consumption of goods for collective and individual use; promote the educational and cultural development of the persons; contribute to the preservation or recovery of the environment; ensure the guarantee of being able to exercise the rights of political participation in society and so on. Ultimately, they intend to expand the achievement of citizenship rights, not only for individuals, but for the group of excluded segments of the population (Peruzzo, 2007, p. 02).

In this perspective, popular movements act in the social environment in order to enable the integration of excluded sectors of society, whether in the countryside or in the city. Organizations' strategies vary according to the field of action and the social area in which they operate. However, it is noteworthy that popular movements have as their perspective of action social justice, guaranteeing rights and changing the structures that produce misery and exclusion.

The process of organization, struggle and resistance of social individuals presupposes communication strategies. In the MST, communication is at the heart of its organization. Its understanding of communication is based on Freirean reflections based on dialogue and the autonomy of the interlocutors in the communication process. They criticize the mass media, which sometimes further subordination, and thus emphasize the liberating and transforming role of communication. In this sense, the inquiries of Paulo Freire (2006, p. 66-69) assume that “Communication is the co-participation of the Individuals in the act of knowing [...] it implies a reciprocity that cannot be broken [...] communication is dialogue insofar as it is not the transfer of knowledge, but a meeting of interlocutors who seek the significance of meanings”.

The MST defends alternative forms of community communication, linked to popular movements, such as the experiences of community radio stations spread across Brazil.

As pointed out by Paiva and Sodré (2006), there are around 20,000 community radio stations in the country – in Rio de Janeiro alone there are 280, none of which is authorized, as is the case with Palmares FM 106.3. According to the authors, this is to prevent competition with commercial radios, concentrated in most capitals and medium-sized cities in Brazil, from which community radio stations would take audiences for themselves.

¹ Coloniality is a different concept from Colonialism, although linked to it. Coloniality is one of the constitutive and specific elements of the world pattern of capitalist power. It is a category used by Anibal Quijano (2010).

As highlighted by Paiva and Sodré (2006), the experience of community communication² is linked to the concept of “generative community”, insofar as the ties of proximity and bonds characterize territories of resistance of groups and populations immersed in what can be called “community”. As a result, the authors point out that:

The generative community proposes to act in response to the social atomism and instrumental reason that defines a policy centered on the market and on the predominance of a managerial and bureaucratic State. It is, therefore, a reinterpretation of the conceptualization of the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, rescuing facets such as social bonding and territorial concern – which engender concern with cultural heritage. Also present in this proposal are aspects of sociability that seem to have lost their meaning in the new era, but which become the central focus of essayists, thinkers and researchers today - such as cooperation, solidarity, tolerance, fraternity, docility, friendship, cooperation, generosity and charity (Paiva; Sodré, 2006, p. 6).

The creation of Rádio Palmares and its 26-year history propose, in response to simplistic representations about the MST, a necessary attitude of non-violence to the conflict posed between the interests of most traditional media. Regarding the Radio's narrative, community members represent themselves as active and participative individuals in this sphere of diversity of ideologies, corroborating the permanent challenge of seeking to belong to their philosophies and cultural roots.

Jesus Martín-Barbero (2001) proposes an inflection in the analysis of the mass media, mainly in Latin America. Instead of a view towards understanding the means, the author suggests directing perception towards mediation. As a result, Martín-Barbero points out:

Communication is becoming a **strategic space** from which to think about the **blocks and contradictions** that dynamize these “crossroads societies” [Latin American societies], halfway between accelerated underdevelopment and compulsive modernization.

Thus, the axis of the debate must shift from the media to **mediations**, that is, to the articulations between communication practices and social movements, to different temporalities and to the plurality of cultural horizons (Martín-Barbero, 2001, p. 271, emphasis added).

It is important to highlight that this inflection proposed by Martín-Barbero is close to the theoretical perspective in line with cultural studies, whose exponents are important authors such as Raymond Williams, Edward Thompson, Stuart Hall. This conceptual matrix points to, as stressed by Barker (2008):

[...] cultural studies constitute a body of theory constructed by researchers who view the production of theoretical knowledge as a political practice. Here, knowledge is never neutral or a mere objective phenomenon, but it is a matter of positioning, that is, of the place from which each one speaks, to whom one speaks and with what objectives one speaks (Barker, 2008, p. 27).

Inserting and defending the theoretical perspectives of cultural studies, especially the ideas of Williams (2011)³ expressed in two studies: Cultural Materialism and Television: Technology and Cultural Form, Martín-Barbero (2001) problematized the media in Latin America from the links between hegemony, mass culture and popular culture. His perspective was to understand the media having as a starting point the countless possibilities of mediations in which the media participate, articulating significant experiences in the social world, such as communication practices in generative communities in rural and urban areas, linked to community radio stations.

² Paiva and Sodré (2006) designate community production as part of a political perspective, whether it is a movement with an orientation characterized by ecology, or an educational matrix, of building the memory of a given population, or cultural, in short, the imperative of producing a vehicle is part of a set of social demands, many of which are already in the process of being met. In this sense, it is conceivable that the vehicle, whatever its nature, is part of a community communication policy, even if this is not formally explained.

³ Williams' “Cultural Studies” were born as a profound act of intellectual engagement in fighting various forms of injustice and social inequalities. His analysis of culture is the search for the interrelationships between social practices, their repetitions, patterns and changes in history, that is, the attempt to understand the complex organization of human experiences, their structures of thought and feelings in various contexts (Miclievich-Ribeiro, 2016, p. 4).

Thus, in the same theoretical and conceptual way as Williams (2016), Martín-Barbero (2001) refutes the determinism of the technological environment contained in studies such as that of Marshall McLuhan (1964), since a diversity of real factors involved – such as “the distribution of power or capital, the social and physical heritage, the relationships of scale and size between groups – they set limits and exert pressure, but they do not fully control or predict the outcome of a complex activity within these limits” (Williams, 2016 p. 139).

Postcolonial studies converge with cultural and multicultural studies in a context of globalization, culture, identity (class/ethnicity/gender), migration and diaspora where these categories are fundamental to observing modern colonial logics (Ballestrin, 2013).

It is important to emphasize that the issues discussed by authors linked to social studies, whose approximation is evident in Martín-Barbero's studies of media and mediations, are similar to the ideas on dialog proposed by Freire, when he suggests a model of liberating and transforming communication, in which the individuals of communication play a leading role in the process of social transformation. As a result, as interpreted by Matos (2006), Martín-Barbero seeks to distance himself from the instrumental and mechanistic view of the media as exclusive drivers of ideologies that work in an absolute way on passive receptors, broadening the understanding of communicative processes beyond the analysis of vehicle as a technical means, focusing on communication as a data of social interactions, a space that holds the experiences of the individuals and the production of perceptions. As a result, as a representative of Latin American cultural studies, Martín-Barbero (2001) analyzes culture from the point of view of communication and supports the defense of its epistemological perspective in reception, a place where it is possible to look at the entire communication process.

As pointed out by Costa and Hermann Júnior (2002), the first free community radio stations linked to social movements in Latin America emerged in Bolivia in the early 1950s, which were trade union and revolutionary radios, linked to mine workers as required by the organizational base. In 1958, Cuban guerrillas carried out the first broadcast of Rádio Rebelde, conceived by Che Guevara, from the liberated territory of the Sierra Maestra. During the two consecutive years they broadcast every afternoon until the end of the fight against the Batista dictatorship.

However, in Brazil, free and community radio stations are not heirs of this Latin American tradition and are more linked to the heritage of French and Italian social movements.

Costa and Hermann Júnior state:

[...] The movements, which we are characterizing as heirs of 1968, have as their main feature the plurality, the diversity of directions, objectives and patterns of organization. In Italy, students, artists and university theorists are part of new radical lines of the labor movement, which break away from the belts of the union movement concentrated by the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) and the PCI (Italian Communist Party). In France, in Paris, for example, there are so many radios that start to mix on the dial, in a delirious cacophony: anarchist, Trotskyist, gay, anarcho-lesbian, environmentalist, orientalist radios, whatever you can imagine (Costa; Hermann Júnior, 2002, p. 100).

The peasant community radio of Palmares II carries at the heart of its history a legacy of the Latin American revolutionary tradition and expressions of French and Italian social movements, becoming a space for the construction of freedom and social transformation, as well as a movement with revolutionary expressions and which has played a historic role in building the distribution of land and for better living and health conditions for the excluded and subordinated peasant mass.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The process of occupation of the southeast of Pará was led by the civil-military government under the developmental logic, from the 1970s onwards and was consolidated with the implementation of the Programa Grande Carajás (PGC) which stimulated - among others - the arrival of more people in search for economic opportunities resulting in the demographic boom that occurred in 1985, with more than 500,000 people crammed together in agglomerations in Marabá and, later, in the

municipalities that were created, such as Eldorado dos Carajás, Curionópolis, Parauapebas and Canaã dos Carajás. This scenario produced land concentration, land grabbing, conflicts, violence and environmental injustice in the unequal occupation of the territory by various social actors – landless migrants, squatters, indigenous peoples, settlers, farmers, loggers, miners, among others (Naase, 2010; Verde, 2009; Motta, 2012).

The municipality of Parauapebas, along the PA-275 highway, began to be forged from the need to build infrastructure for the exploration of iron ore in Serra dos Carajás, which effectively began in 1982. As a result, the then Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD), currently known as Vale, built two housing hubs at the same time. A hub called the cidade-empresa [city-company], in Serra dos Carajás, which housed CVRD employees, mainly engineers and mining researchers, and a second hub, at the “foot of the mountain”, which housed the other workers who were supposed to build the railway Pará-Maranhão, with much inferior infrastructure. However, the second hub, on the banks of the aforementioned highway, in the then town of Rio Verde, which intended to allocate only five thousand people, quickly reached twenty thousand, driven by the decline in gold exploration in Serra Pelada and the possibility of employment and income in the mining project.

As a result, Parauapebas was created on May 10, 1988 by Law No. 5443, in a context of crisis and contradiction. Political and economic interests of the old oligarchy of Brazil nut groves in Marabá, articulated with the interests of the State and international capital, give legal materiality to the Rio Verde village or village of Parauapebas, vis-à-vis the disputes for land, marked by conflict and violence, unemployment and exclusion. This region, where Vale S/A and Parauapebas settled, was a territory inhabited by Xikrins do Cateté indigenous peoples, a subdivision of the Kaiapós, chestnut collectors and riparian inhabitants who made their living out of extracting forest products.

Currently, Parauapebas has its space distributed and marked by four fronts: a) mining area, under the command of Vale; b) environmental preservation area or Green area, divided between the Indigenous Land of Xikrins do Cateté and an Environmental Conservation area, called Cinturão Verde [Green Belt], managed and regulated by Vale; c) A mosaic of Conservation Units controlled by Vale and d) brown spot area under the use of livestock and agriculture, owned by farmers and rural workers in settlements regulated by INCRA (Bringel, 2015). This process of spatialization on the Amazon frontier is one of the evidences that different interests coexist in the same mesoregion and, therefore, it is a scenario of conflicts and violence under the aegis of the capitalist accumulation process.

From the 1990s onwards, with the presence of the MST in southeastern Pará, the struggle for land took on new political contours. Carrying out the groundwork and setting up the camp create an atmosphere of approximation and dialogue with the social individuals. The creation of groups such as Communication and Culture, Women, Production, Mobilization, Youth, Health, Organization, among others, corroborate a process of commitment, responsibility and training already in the process of accessing land. An interview with Uruguaio, one of the first young people to work on community radio station, when it still only operated with a loudspeaker inside the settlement, is categorical:

Here at the camp, life is very difficult. We have too many dreams and too little food. The water is not drinkable, the food is little. But we share everything. Nobody is without canvas and food. Solidarity and collaboration are the hallmarks of our camps. The people don't know each other at the beginning, but once the land is conquered, they go around calling themselves my partner, compatriot, brother, crony, comrade. The interaction is very strong. Communication between campers is essential. Nobody has a monopoly over the word. In the assembly everyone speaks out their opinions. We are very different from each other. But in the end, we understand each other and build things together (Uruguaio, 2020).

Another important element that is strengthened by the action of the MST is the political dimension of the struggle for Agrarian Reform. The networks of local, regional, state, national and international relations and articulations are expanded. In the midst of this process, the need for media action emerges as a tool for democratic dispute of public opinion and the dissemination of the Movement's ideas, as well as its importance, both for the countryside and for the city. Thus, it is clear that since the arising of the MST, communication has been a key part of the strategy for conquering land and expanding ties of solidarity and support networks.

It is from this praxis, in a territory in dispute for the interests of the capital, that the MST occupied the Reunidas Rio Branco farm in the region of the PA-275 highway, specifically in the municipality of Parauapebas, and after much struggle, conflicts, violence and murders, it constituted three settlements: Rio Branco, Palmares I or Palmares Sul and the Settlement Palmares II, object of analysis of this article.

It is important to highlight, as pointed out by Moreira and Pereira (2020), that the Rio Branco farm was owned by the Lunardelli family, coffee growers from Paraná and São Paulo. In the south of Pará it concentrated around 400,000 hectares. They owned, for example, the Companhia de Terras da Mata Geral (Santa Tereza Farm), with 201,528 hectares, in the municipality of Redenção; of the Farm of Companhia de Desenvolvimento do Sul do Pará S/A (CODESPAR), with 52,358.4 hectares, in the municipality of Santana do Araguaia and Administração Agrícola Ltda. (NICOBAN), of 143,847 hectares, in the municipality of Santana do Araguaia. And, from the Reunidas Rio Branco farm with 36,471 hectares.

Thus, to consolidate and organize the actors who dispute access to land for better living conditions, communication for the MST is essential to create and encourage bonds of unity and solidarity. As a result, the Rádio Comunitária⁴ arises in this context of mobilization and camp involving four thousand people, in Parauapebas, who move to INCRA in Marabá, to claim ownership of the land. Initially, as described by the Communication Coordination of the Association for the Production and Marketing of Rural Workers of the Palmares and Regional Settlement (APROCPAR), the Rádio Comunitária enabled the exchange of information and the organization of community life.

It was from the INCRA camp, in Marabá, that the coordination instituted a mass communication vehicle, consisting of an amplifier, a speaking tube, a microphone and an old tape player that, installed in a shack, passed on information about the daily routine of the camp: assemblies, meetings of family groups, sectors, carrying out public utility tasks in the camp.

During the permanence of the city's camp, in addition to playing music from the movement and the activities that guided the organization of community life, a program was created, which incorporates a time for information from the sectors and a religious program (Argentino, 2020).

Back in Parauapebas, Rádio Comunitária was structured within the occupation of the Reunidas Rio Branco farm, and continued to be a space for the dissemination of information and public debate on the contents related to the struggle and resistance and which is expressed in the mobilization to define the name of the settlement. The radio stimulated the debate, in the sense of presenting different proposals, for the choice of a name that would represent the history and struggle of the peasants. As it is a settlement made up of a majority of blacks, former miners, former migrant farmers from the Amazon frontier, coming essentially from Maranhão and Piauí, "Palmares" is getting closer to the expression that guarantees identification with that territory. APROCPAR reports and interviews with the Movement's Communication Coordinators indicate this expression:

During the process of resistance during the occupation, the radio will play an important role. It, through the 'voice' (which was on the end of a stick stuck in the center of the camp) unified the information passed on to the camp. There was already a structure responsible for playing the radio's programming, including the use of a typewriter to write some information. In this process is the process of choosing the name of the settlement, whose process came out on November 5, 1995: Settlement Palmares, named after the Resistance of Quilombo dos Palmares, which on that date was 300 years old (APROCPAR Report, Palmares II, 2019).

With the consolidation of the Settlement and the constitution of the agrovila, Rádio Comunitária expands its importance in the process of communication with Agrovila and the settlers who resided in neighboring areas far from the urban nucleus, in addition to the rural area of Contestado, Marabá and Curionópolis. In an interview, Argentino clarifies the asymmetries posed during the Radio's growth process and its role in the fight against global capital accumulation, represented by Vale's operations and mineral expropriation. Reports and interviews with MST leaders account for this process.

⁴ Even after 25 years of implementation, Rádio Palmares has still not been regulated by institutional and bureaucratic (political) difficulties, which has imposed difficulties in its operation, but not preventing it from acting.

During our village history, radio goes through several stages. It goes through a long period as an "speaking tube radio", which went on until 2000, until Rádio FM in 2001, already operating in its own building and with a more "professional" structure. Between ups and downs it resumes with greater power in 2007, now with a studio, with more modern equipment and also with a 24-hour uninterrupted programming. It will play a very important role in coordinating communication, information and propaganda actions during the Journey of Struggles against Mining in September 2007, which culminates with the first major occupation of the tracks of the Carajás Railroad, the main means of transport logistics for ore from the already privatized CVRD, which later adopted the name Companhia Vale. In 2009, it is interfered with by the Federal Police: equipment is confiscated and militants are prosecuted. The radio is closed. For a long time, it appears and disappears in the air, with short programming periods and no fixed location (Argentino, 2020).

As of 2015, the Rádio Comunitária Palmares II starts to re-establish itself, but only in 2016 it is installed on the premises of APROCPAR, which gives it legal support. It is now an instrument of communication and public utility, which has a communication structure that discusses general lines of programming and is coordinated by MST leaders, in permanent dialogue with the community.

The roundtables with settled workers, located in the neighboring areas of Limão, Agrovila and surroundings and Rio Novo, confirmed the assertion of the MST management that Rádio Palmares FM, 106.3, even considering the competition with other commercial radios in the region, continues to play the role of disseminating information and content of collective interest and strengthening the unity and solidarity ties in the settlement. In this vein, they express:

Rádio Palmares FM, 106.3 – is the association's main communication tool with rural workers, especially those who live outside the village, in rural parcels, where internet access is almost non-existent. Its power reaches all the lots of the Palmares II settlement, in addition to its rural neighborhood. It reaches the outskirts of the city of Parauapebas, Curionópolis and the rural area of Contestado area in the rural area of the municipality of Marabá. However, recently we are facing difficulties in terms of personnel to carry out the program (Rodas de conversas, Palmares II, 2020).

As stated by the settlers, the program is linked to the ways of life in the countryside and the reality of cultural hybridism that characterizes the families that make up the Palmares II settlement. The contents are related to the process of struggle and resistance of rural workers and the importance of the MST as a movement that organizes collective actions in rural areas. Through interviews and local and national news, it addresses agrarian reform, family farming projects and programs, the activities of Associations and Cooperatives and social issues in the Settlement, such as education, health, production and marketing. There is also national and state news about the peasant organization and the reality of Pará and Brazil with regard to political, economic, social and agrarian life. The songs are generally modão sertanejo style and songs that reflect the history and peasant struggle.

In recent contacts through social networks (WhatsApp) with the communication coordinators and leaders of the MST, we had the information that Rádio Camponesa Palmares is reporting on the Covid-19 pandemic, collaborating as an indispensable tool for the dissemination of information of public interest. Its programming offers content regarding public health and the care that the rural population must adopt to prevent the coronavirus, considering that Parauapebas⁵ is the municipality most affected by the pandemic in the southeast of Pará. In addition to this, there is a solidarity campaign carried out by the MST to assist the neediest families in the Settlement, especially the elderly and migrants who have recently arrived in Agrovila do and are unemployed.

Interviews with young people working on the radio show that this work carried out due to the advance of the Coronavirus pandemic in the Amazon rural environment, specifically in the Palmares II Settlement and surroundings, needs to be more constant, which, however, becomes difficult with the absence of qualified staff permanently residing in the area. This programming in the field of public health that is being carried out is only possible due to the presence of young people, children of settlers, who normally spend most of the year outside the settlement studying in technical schools and/or universities.

⁵ According to data from the Health Department of the Municipality of Parauapebas, there are 47,169 confirmed cases and 353 deaths. Collected from: <https://parauapebas.pa.gov.br/index.php/component/content/article.html?id=4767>. Access on: July 2, 2021, at 5:53 pm.

This perspective is confirmed in the statements collected during the roundtables and interviews that indicated that the continuation of the activities of Rádio Comunitária Palmares II depends on new investments in the qualification of the team, modernization and infrastructure. According to APROCPAR's Communication Coordination, it is still urgent to establish oneself on the web and connect with other communication platforms and social networks. "This requires qualification and multiplication of personnel (qualification, training, specific education, political education), management and planning in the short, medium and long term".

6. CONCLUSION

Analyzing the role of the peasantry in the construction of heritage of material, intangible and family, it is perceived as a peculiar element, the cultural capital marked in the strategies and accumulation of knowledge in the process of social and spatial mobility that seeks, among other goals, access to productive resources (land) for family reproduction, interculturality and the creation of alternatives, offered by private or official experiences of incorporating unproductive areas or poorly integrated into markets (Godoi *et. al.*, 2009).

Changes in living and health conditions through access to land in the Amazon rural environment cannot do without the processes of dialogic communication, through popular and alternative vehicles. The creation of new sociabilities, in a context of suffering and resistance, requires interactions and collaboration between individuals who work in the territory, cultural space and intersubjectivities.

Rádio FM 106.3 of Palmares II created and stimulated communication spaces based on the daily experiences of the individuals of agrarian reform. It had the task of bringing people and groups together in a context of struggle and resistance to guarantee social reproduction. From different places, with histories and life experiences marked by subordination, but also by collective action and utopia, the radio meant a link of cooperation between these people, being a reference in the articulation, mobilization and interaction of people. In an interview with the Cuban settler, this is how it describes the experience of Rádio Comunitária FM 106.3:

Our radio set was simple. But in the countryside, everyone has to have one. At first, the settlement's radio didn't tune. They said there was a lack of equipment. There was only one 'speaking tube' that worked either on the wooden pole or on the trees inside the settlement. At that time, we shared our recipes for home remedies and advised families on the use of water, hygiene and health concerns. People called us by name in the camp, most of whom didn't even know us. Through the radio we reached more people and those most in need came to us in the health sector. When the MST needed to gather group coordinators in assemblies or communicate information about the negotiation with INCRA or pressure from farmers and the police, it did so over the radio. I also remember the fashions that reminded us of our distant places. Then we tuned in and during the deployment of the settlement, the people were waiting for news from the radio. It was a fundamental part of our struggle and fulfilled its role. It brought a lot of people together with its messages. Today the radio is half stopped, running only music and poetry of the struggles and conquests of the land (Cubana, 2020).

In fact, Cubana's expression is placed in the context of the conceptual theoretical meaning of alternative and community communication that functions as an autonomous, critical and integrative space for the actions of social movements, in the countryside and in the city. Even though it is not a hegemonic force, in the face of the mass media, it assumes a significant symbolic power within the spaces of popular struggles, playing an essential role in the democratization of information, promoting content linked to the experiences of citizenship, gender, social justice, human rights, sustainability, agrarian reform, solidarity economy, among others.

Rádio Palmares FM, over 25 years of history, fulfilled this role as part of the MST's strategy in the process of occupation and resistance in the land. The information recorded in this article explains the difficulty in maintaining this communication tool. Among the challenges faced are the lack of trained personnel in the field of communication and their technical and infrastructure updating. However, such limits did not prevent the Palmares II settlement radio from marking the history of access to land, the suffering and joys that move simple people who, in the Amazon frontier, in the midst of human degradation, carry out the utopia of social reproduction and better living conditions.

The struggle for the radio's historical narrative, even if not legalized, was understood by the authors of this article as non-cooperation with media impositions regarding the representations of the MST by traditional vehicles. In this sense, the peasant communities that do not see themselves in these processes of stereotypes brought the reality of community/alternative radio as a resistance and dialogical communication platform for their strengthening. Therefore, the members of the radio resisted and resist in a non-violent way, breaking the complicity of the communication norms, through the organization of collective actions, such as the narratives and inclusion of the active individuals of the community.

It is important to highlight that the experience of the Rádio Comunitária Camponesa presents an alternative proposition to the “negative horizon that characterizes contemporary society, with the bankruptcy of 'project policy', the decentralization of power, the strong individualist and cosmopolitan tone” (Paiva; Sodré, 2006, p. 5). Therefore, it is from a generative political action, with an emphasis on practical actions of everyday life and locality, with national political articulations that the MST can enable new sociabilities and intersubjectivities, in a context of human degradation, effectively supporting changes in the standard of living in rural areas.

Thus, facing the neoliberal model that produced a minimal State, peasant communities in the Amazon see rural policies as incapable of meeting their own needs in the areas of health, education, housing, security, among others.

However, what has been questioned for the continuity of Rádio Palmares are also the new modalities of social media (among them, *Facebook* and *WhatsApp*) that take hold of and attract, mainly, younger people, who are less interested to continue living in the Settlement.

Added to this, the publicity that a job in mining at Vale represents an immediate change in the lives of young peasants.

The interviews showed that the public that listens to the Radio decreased over time, despite the coordination not having a survey on this theme. What is important to highlight is that, faced with these new challenges, APROCPAR has sought to establish a partnership with the Federal University of the South and Southeast of Pará (Unifesspa), to qualify new communicators, update the format and dynamics of programming, as well as the acquisition of equipment and software to connect the Radio to the Web. These are current challenges for an alternative and community radio station in a region marked by conflicts and business impositions.

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