Free, Pirate, Community – the representation of identities on FM radios in São Paulo/Brazil

EDUARDO VICENTE
Universidade de São Paulo
eduvicente@usp.br

Abstract:
This paper proposes to offer an up-to-date perspective of the FM radio broadcasting scenario in the city of São Paulo (Brazil), focusing on its commercial, educational, pirate and community radios. Special attention is given to pirate and community radios in an attempt to demonstrate the impasses encountered in developing a radio broadcasting system able to represent the city's ethnic, religious, geographic, political and culture diversity. The term "community radio" used herein refers to radio stations that have been authorized to broadcast within this modality based on legislation passed in 1998. The current situation of community radios in the city will be looked into and, because of its importance within this scenario, a more detailed description will be offered of the Heliopolis FM Radio Station (87.5 MHz), created in 1992 and which in 2008 became the first legal community radio in São Paulo.

Keywords: radio in São Paulo; Brazilian community radios; heliopolis radio; pirate radios in São Paulo.

The objective of this paper is to furnish an up-to-date overview of the radio broadcasting scenario in São Paulo (Brazil), with special attention given to the potential of community and pirate radios in expressing the city's cultural diversity. Keeping in mind that we consider "community" radio stations only those that have been granted legal authorization to operate, it should be noted that this is a considerably recent development as the first authorization was obtained only in 2008. Besides listing a few of the community radio stations in the city, we present a more in-depth study on Heliopolis FM 87.5, created in 1992, which is probably the most active to date. The authors would like to express their special thanks to researcher Gisele Sayeg Nunes Ferreira for her generous contribution to our work.

São Paulo is the biggest city in Brazil. The capital of the state of the same name, it is located in the Southeastern Region of the country and is home to an approximate population of 11 million inhabitants, and increasing to 19 million if we consider its larger metropolitan area (Greater São Paulo) comprised of 39 municipalities. Throughout its history, the city has been the destiny of a large number of foreign immigrants, making up the large Italian, Spanish, Japanese and Arabian communities, among others. The city has also seen the influx of a large contingent of domestic immigrants hailing, in their majority, from the Northeastern Region of Brazil, less developed than the Southern and Southeastern regions.

This present study focuses on the city's FM stations that operate between 87,5 MHz and 107,9 MHz. In Brazil, FM frequencies began to be commercially exploited during the second half of the 60s, mainly for broadcasting music.

The city has commercial, educative and community FM stations, besides a significant number of illegal radios, traditionally known as "pirate" radio stations.

We would initially like to offer a brief description of these terms.

Commercial Stations: In 1932 Brazil adopted a commercial radio model in which the frequencies belong to the State and are allocated in the form of concessions to private groups. The terms of these concessions, which may be renovated indefinitely, is 10 years for radio and 15 years for TV. The concessions are offered up in public tenders with the rights going to the one who offers the highest acquisition price. A concession in a centrally located region of São Paulo can cost up to a couple million dollars, which led to the concentration of broadcasting companies in the hands of large economic groups. Considering, as well, that in Brazil radio stations are not a very lucrative business[1], concessions are frequently resold or leased by their owners to large broadcasting networks or religious groups. We will go into more detail on São Paulo's commercial radio stations further on.

Educational Stations: A non-profit radio broadcasting station unable to transmit commercials. The concession of this type of station is traditionally allocated to non-profit organizations (that may or may not be educational) and should be used to broadcast educational and cultural programs. Only two radio stations in São Paulo can be considered as being educational: Radio USP, of the University of São Paulo (the largest public university in Brazil) and Radio Cultura, belonging to a foundation associated with the São Paulo State government. Radio USP transmits basically traditional programs revolving around music (mostly Brazilian) and news. It presents a few journalistic programs in connection with the university's scientific production and a few music programs revolving around specific musical traditions but offers little space for any of the students' broadcasting productions. At the present, the station has no experimental projects or radio-drama productions in its program schedule[2]. Radio Cultura in turn, transmits practically only classical music over its FM station, leaving news and Brazilian music to the Foundation's AM radio station.

Community Radio (RadCom): In Brazil, the term "community radio" (radcom) refers to a type of station created by law in 1998. Although it is an undeniable conquest towards the possibility of increasing the democratization of the air waves – a consequence of the "free radio movement" from the 80s and connected to country's re-democratization process (Nunes Ferreira, 2006: 99), one must recognize that legislation has imposed many limitations on the operation of community radio stations and major difficulties in obtaining a license to broadcast. According to Brazilian law, those entitled to work with Radcom (community radio) are non-profit community foundations and associations, as long as they are legally instituted and duly registered, with headquarters in the community in which they intend to provide their services, headed by native born or Brazilians who have been naturalized for over ten years. Authorizations granted are valid for a term of 3 years, with the possibility of renewal for the same term. The potency authorized for the community radios in which to transmit is extremely reduced: equal or inferior to 25 watts. The limit of coverage area is a mere 1 km radius. Community radios should divulge culture, social life interests and local events; provide news on community events and of public interest; promote educational activities and others to improve the overall living standards of the community. They may not, according to the law, transmit publicity[3] or be connected with political parties or

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[1] *According to data from 2008 from the Inter-Meios Project, radio transmission accounted for only 4.2% of the country's publicity expenditure that year, check* Publicity market grows 12.8% in 2008 at *http://www.direitoacomunicacao.org.br/content.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4777*
[2] It is worth mentioning that in Brazil there are no traditions of College Radios either, similar to that seen in the USA. Thusly, Brazilian university radios traditionally direct their program schedule to adult audiences from classes A and B.
[3] The sole possibility for transmitting propaganda over community radios is so-called "cultural support" that allows to merely mention the name of an announcer in connection to a specific program.

religious institutions. Community FM's must as well, according to the law, operate all on the same frequency which, in the case of São Paulo, is 87.5 MHz[4].

Illegal Radios: São Paulo probably possesses hundreds of radio stations not authorized by the government to function and are, therefore, illegal. Normally, and in an evidently negative manner, the term "pirate radio" is used to define them, although many of these illegal radio stations refer to themselves as being "community". The term "free radio" is presently little used in the country. The term originated in movements that took place in the 70s in Italy and France where many of the broadcasting companies began politically contesting the government (AMAYO, 1992, p. 78). In Brazil, the existence of stations that could be called "free" is today practically restricted within academic spheres, and especially to the activities of student groups from public universities. We have no knowledge, up to the moment, of any AM or FM radio station operating in São Paulo under this denomination – something that demonstrates the clear decline of a movement which had significant repercussions in the country during the 80s. A report on the scenario in that period can be had at MACHADO et al. (1986). The site http://www.radiolivre.org/node/640 carries information on a few of the free university and alternative radio stations still active in the country, besides debates on the theme. Another site, http://www.dissonante.org/site/index.php presents "radios and collectives that practice the principles of dissonant communications", but which transmit their programs mainly over the web.

We would like to now give a brief presentation on commercial, illegal and community radios in the city of São Paulo.

São Paulo's commercial radio stations

Considering the size of the city it is not possible to furnish an exact number of radio stations in operation in Greater São Paulo. Data from research groups tend to agree on a group of 36 FM broadcasting companies with the highest audience rates[5]. Most of them carry predominantly musical programs. One important characteristic of musical consumption in Brazil is that it is strongly based on a domestic repertoire[6]. Music radio stations traditionally divide audiences into three categories: adult-qualified, young and popular. The "adult-qualified" denomination refers to radio stations that target classes A and B and mostly transmit genres such as MPB[7], classic rock, instrumental music, more sophisticated pop music, classical music and jazz. Educational stations in São Paulo (USP and Cultura) are associated to this segment, as are diverse commercial radios in the city. At least two of these radio stations are specialized in specific musical genres: Nova Brasil which plays MPB and Kiss which plays exclusively classic rock. The other stations play a combination of the above mentioned musical genres. The "young" segment refers principally to national singers and bands part of the teen segment, as well as musical genres such as international pop and electronic music. São Paulo possesses at least six radio stations focused on this segment, some of which are considerably successful such as Band FM and Mix. The Disney FM radio has recently begun to operate in São Paulo as well, with a musical program targeting this teen segment.

But the most-listened to radio stations in the city are, without a doubt, those that play music classified as "popular", principally *sertaneja* or Brazilian country music, a musical genre characteristic of the State of São Paulo which has become that most consumed throughout the entire country. Some radios play exclusively sertaneja music. But most play Brazilian and international romantic music, international pop hits and hits from other popular

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[4] The minimum distance between RadCom radio stations is set by law at 4 km. For more information on Brazilian radio laws I recommend the Ministry of Communications at http://www.mc.gov.br.

[5] http://www.audiofive.com/blog/audiencia-das-emissoras-fm-na-cidade-de-sao-paulo/

[6] Data furnished by the IFPI (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry) historically points to a consumption rate of domestic music superior to 75% in Brazil.

[7] MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) is the most sophisticated genre of popular music in Brazil. It appeared in the 60s and is connected to traditions of Bossa Nova.

Brazilian music genres such as *axé* (from the state of Bahia). Some popular radio stations play still *techno brega* and *forró* (created respectively in the Northern and Northeastern regions of Brazil). The radio with the highest audience ratings in São Paulo (Tupi FM) plays exclusively sertaneja music. Worth mentioning in this segment as well is radio 105FM, specialized in Brazilian black music. The station's program is aimed mainly at the outskirts of São Paulo where the less-privileged portions of the populace reside, and plays mostly *pagode* and rap[8].

The city also has a few religious radio stations. Nossa Radio, Aleluia, Vida FM and Deus é Amor transmit a program comprised of gospel music – predominantly Brazilian – and religious teachings, with most of them being connected to Pentecostal protestant churches. Surprisingly, the city possesses no catholic FM radio station, despite the populace being predominantly catholic[9]. The city has one esoteric radio station as well, Mundial FM (http://radiomundial.com.br/).

In journalism, there are two radio stations transmitting in the traditional All News format (CBN and Band News) and a third in the All News & Sports format (Estadão ESPN). There is also a radio station dedicated exclusively to providing city traffic information (SulAmérica Trânsito).

There are a few general issues concerning FM radio stations in São Paulo that are worthy of mention. The most important is that of divulging music. Although no data exists as no research has been carried out on the subject, the custom of divulging a few chosen artists and musical genres of major repercussion is evident. The use of *jabaculê* – the Brazilian version of payola – is widely diffused and publicly admitted by the radio stations: it is no longer the result of informal negotiations between musical promoters and DJs and has turned into a divulgation contract between radio stations and the company that hires them (usually a recording company). This makes access to radio programs extremely difficult for independent artists.

And so, despite the existence of thousands of music groups and artists in the city, working with practically all the main genres of national and international music, apparently no commercial broadcasting company in the city provides any space for new names or independent artists.

Also worthy of mention is the major economic concentration of the radio stations in one sole network, that of Bandeirantes, controlling many of them. There is also a growing presence of customized radio stations in the city – as is the case of Oi, Mit, Fast and the already mentioned SulAmerica and Disney[10]. This tendency could denote a certain lack of the stations' financial autonomy who would be resorting to this type of partnership to stay in business.

Another characteristic that seems to be modifying the FM radio station scenario is the increasing approximation of their program schedule with that of the AM stations. This occurs more evidently in the coverage of soccer games and in sports' news programs. Once an exclusive activity of AM stations, these programs are already an integral part of the program schedules of various FM stations. Traditional news programs have also migrated to FM, both through the All News broadcasters as well as transmissions on both AM and FM of news traditionally produced by a network's AM bands. Although no research exists on this subject, it seems likely that the increasing difficulty faced by AM reception in a city like São Paulo, together with the arrival of other possibilities of musical consumption (internet, mobile phone, Mp3 players) can be the motive behind this phenomena.

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[8] Pagode is an offshoot of samba that became extremely popular in Brazil during the 90s. São Paulo has many artists working with this genre. In the same vein, the rap music heard over the radio is mostly Brazilian. It is worth mentioning that in the state of São Paulo rap has become the black music genre most representative of the urban outskirts (in Rio de Janeiro this function is fulfilled by funk). Contrary to rap, where social criticism predominates in the songs, pagode revolves more around romantic themes. 105FM also has programs dedicated to reggae, especially that produced in Brazil.

[9] But, the most popular radio program in the city and the entire country is probably "Moment of Faith" by Padre Marcelo Rossi. It is transmitted on AM by Globo Radio of São Paulo and by over 100 other affiliated stations throughout Brazil. Padre Marcelo is the most important name in the conservative catholic movement called "Charismatic Renovation", very active in Brazil.

[10] Oi FM is associated with a mobile phone company, SulAmérica with an insurance company, Mit to Japanese car manufacturer Mitsubishi and Fast is a partnership between a traditional FM radio station in the city with the Nestle corporation.

Pirate radios in São Paulo

No in-depth research exists concerning pirate radios in São Paulo and, considering the illegal nature of the activity, this type of information is not easily come by. But, there is surely a large number of them. According to the National Telecommunications Agency (Anatel), 1252 radios were shut down in the country only in 2008, with São Paulo accounting for 315 of them[11].

Most of the radios that have been shut down in the city are connected with protestant Pentecostal churches although a few reports of catholic radio stations facing the same fate are known as well. According to researcher Gisele Sayegg Nunes Ferreira, many of these churches find it easy to substitute the confiscated equipment and quickly take up activities again due to the collaboration of their religious communities. This could indicate that, in some cases, despite operating illegally, these stations may truly play a relevant role within their communities. The other cases which have appeared in the news apparently have to do with exclusively commercial stations that basically transmit music and publicity for local businessmen. Some of the cases refer to considerably sophisticated projects, as is the case of three stations shut down on the same day which apparently belonged to the same group. In one of them "a 2.5 thousand watt transmitter was coupled with a program computer and was operating inside a reinforced concrete bunker"[12].

Also worth mentioning is the absence of information on the shutting down of radios with a more political profile, confirming the tendency already pointed out in this text of the decline of more politically inclined discourses within this scenario (or, perhaps, of its transference to the web).

Evidently, many of the stations operating in districts on the outskirts of town and poorer communities have still been unable to regularize their activities and are occasionally part of the statistics of those stations shut down by the authorities. But, as we will see further on, various stations fitting this profile have been found among those that have obtained their licenses to operate as community radios.

Community radios in São Paulo

As we have seen, the first community radios in São Paulo were granted their operating licenses in 2008. Data from April 2011 furnished by Gisele Sayeg Nunes Ferreira reveals the existence of 15 community radios in the city of São Paulo operating legally, 10 others with provisional licenses and 9 in the middle of the approval process. We would like to now present a brief descriptive list of a few of these stations that help demonstrate both the diversity of their propositions as well as a few tendencies that predominate within the scenario. And then, we will present a more detailed report on the history and present-day profile of the Heliopolis Radio Station, the first community station in São Paulo to be granted its license.

Many of the community radios seem to be connected to some religious group (catholic or protestant). Community radio Agape FM 87.5, for example, inaugurated June 2011 belongs to the Imirim Community Cultural Association (North Side of São Paulo), operates in an annex of a catholic church and was founded by a Priest and the staff of the "communications pastorate", a local catholic group[13]. The "Message of Hope Association", in Bom Retiro (downtown São Paulo), develops social projects in different areas and is connected to a pastor from the "Assembleia de Deus" Pentecostal protestant church. The radio stations Ternura FM (http://www.radioternurafm.com.br/), from the "Ternura de Perus Community Cultural Association" and SoulVida FM (http://www.radiosoulvida.com/), from the "Princes Isabel Community Cultural Association" transmit an exclusively musical and religious program (Pentecostal protestant) and neither furnish the names of the community associations to which they belong on their web page.

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[11] http://www.noticiasgospel.com/policia-faz-cruzada-contra-radios-piratas-evangelicas/
[12] http://m.estadao.com.br/noticias/cidades,tres-radios-piratas-sao-fechadas-em-sp,418665.htm
[13] http://www.saopaulodefato.com.br/inauguracao-da-radio-agapefm-87-5-do-imirim/

Radio Cantareira FM 87.5, licensed in 2010, has been in existence since 1995 and belongs to the Cantareira Association, a NGO created that same year on the North Side of São Paulo. The Association seems to have connections with the more progressive sectors of the Catholic Church and subsidizes projects revolving around themes such as the environment, human rights and teaching basic literacy to youngsters and adults, among others[14].

On the other hand, Studio 100 FM 87.5 operating out of Pirituba, on the West Side of the city, licensed in 2011, was founded in 1996 by "a group of young friends in Pirituba who organized parties in local schools but decided they needed to expand their activities and increase the community's integration and participation". The station's objective is to "promote social activities, entertain and integrate the young people in the Pirituba community."[15]

Radio StarSul, still working under a provisional license, began in 1996 and has ties with an association that promotes social assistance projects such as "campaigns for providing the needy with warm clothes, beneficent shows, basic groceries, toys, candy and entertainment", in the Perus district, on the West Side of town[16].

In turn, Ideia FM 87.5 works under the auspices of the "Friends of Brooklin Cultural Association" and operates in one of the wealthier regions of the city. Its music program is focused on MPB and Rock. The station also transmits various sports and cinema programs and even one in both English and Portuguese[17].

Radio Nova Paraisópolis was licensed to operate in August 2010 and is connected with the Multidentities Forum that "congregates the neighborhood NGOs and was created in 1994"[18]. Radio Paraisópolis works out of the South Side of the city and is the second largest favela in São Paulo, smaller only than Heliopolis.

Finally, we have Radio Show FM 87.5, that belongs to Abraqua – Brazilian Radio Training and Qualification Association of Vila Monumento (Southeast Side of city). The Association is connected to Radioficina, a professional training school for radiocasters. The station also creates an "opportunity in which to place its students, future radiocasters, in real live broadcasting situations"[19].

A quick glance at these radio stations' program schedules will allow us to draw up a few conclusions on their profiles.

Music, for example, reigns absolute in the programming of all those stations that, in a general manner, follow the same tendencies of the commercial stations from the "popular" segment, transmitting mainly sertaneja music. But, it is also common to find those transmitting international music, especially American pop or black music. Besides these, a few stations transmit programs dedicated primarily to specific genres such as rap, MPB, rock, romantic music, etc. The protestant radios on the other hand play exclusively gospel music. Besides being an easy way to fill up the program schedule, playing music creates greater identification between the station and the community it is aimed at.

The strong presence of religion is another marking characteristic of the stations, as even some of them without any direct affiliation with religious groups have nothing against transmitting mass for the Catholic Church and/or protestant programs for local pastors. This seems to indicate that religion continues to be a strong source of support and intermediary between the community and radio stations in general.

Besides this, interviews with guest speakers or high-standing members of the community are also common, since they are news programs, like debates and surveys revolving around local issues. In stations operating in favelas, the transmission of messages to locals is a constant, as well as requests for favors extended by the needy or sick in the community (medicine, clothes, medical equipment for the physically impaired, etc.) It is

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[14] http://www.cantareira.org/.
[15] http://www.studio100.com.br/home/index.php?pg=a_radio&id=2.
[16] http://www.starsulfm.com.br/aradio.htm
[17] http://www.ideiafm.com.br/
[18] http://paraisopolis.org/
[19] www.jornaldocambuci.com.br/edicoes/ED_1223.pdf

worth pointing out that there are also NGOs specialized in producing radio programs on specific themes such as the environment, women's rights and health issues, domestic violence, among others, ready to be transmitted over community radio stations. But it still isn't clear, through the research done, if any of the radio stations mentioned here use this type of program (that may be downloaded over the Internet) or not.

A quick glance at the sites of some of the radio stations mentioned here is able to furnish more information on their specific profiles. In some cases, it is obvious that the station is connected much more to an individual than a group, be he/she a religious leader or the person heading an association that has been granted a broadcasting license. In others, the commercial character of the project is clear, with precarious sites offering advertising space while at the same time not even mentioning the community association that the station supposedly represents. But, on many of the sites what becomes clearly evident is the station's solid connection with sound social projects, as well as the long organizational process and struggle for recognition carried out by extremely needy communities lying on the outskirts of São Paulo. And we believe that the example provided by Radio Heliopolis, that we present below, illustrates this very well.

Radio Heliópolis

Sérgio Pinheiro da Silva (2010) provides us with a short history of the Heliopolis neighborhood and its radio station. The community began in the 70s, on the South Side of São Paulo, "as a housing project for one hundred families coming from the Vila Prudente region who... were suffering from the region's frequent floods" (SILVA, 2010: p. 22). Around this nucleus, other homeless families began constructing their shacks and forming what is known in Brazil as a favela. The large influx of migrants, coming mainly from the Northeastern region of Brazil, brought by the job opportunities in the rapidly growing city of São Paulo, led to the rapid expansion of the community as well, with some improvements being made as it grew. Thusly, in 2009, according to data furnished by the São Paulo State Housing Authority, Heliopolis had approximately 125,000 inhabitants residing in a little over 18,000 houses and occupying an area over 700,000 square meters belonging either to town hall or privately owned property (trespassed upon). Of this total, only 83% had regular water supply and 62% had access to a sewage system (Silva, 2010: 23). This makes it the largest favela in São Paulo and the second largest in Brazil and all of Latin America.

According to information found on the station's site[20], the Heliopolis radio began in May 1992 as the "Popular Radio of Heliopolis", transmitting its program over loudspeakers hung up on light posts in two points of the community. The radio was founded by UNAS – Union of Heliopolis Residents Nuclei, Associations and Affiliates and São João Climaco, a NGO born from within the Heliopolis Residents Association[21]. It operated only on Sunday, between 10:00 and 12:00 am, to provide news on "meeting activities, services and requests for help by the needy, as well as a music program" (Silva, 2010: 28). Because of its modus operandi it was known as "trumpet radio". It was only in August of 1997 that FM transmission began with equipment bought with the financial support of a German NGO. The radio station began operating at 102,3 MHz (Silva, 2010: 23). But soon commercial radio stations began complaining of interference and forced Heliopolis to change their transmission frequency various times. In 2003, as stated on their site, the station was awarded the "Public Spirit for Promotion of Citizenship Award" from the APCA – São Paulo Art Critics Association. "In recognition of Radio Heliopolis's struggle for the right in which to communicate". Even so, and since it did not posses any official authorization to operate, the radio was fined a couple times and, in 2004, prevented from transmitting over a certain period when their equipment was confiscated by police authorities. According to Silva (2010: 28), the mobilization of the

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[20] http://www.heliopolisfm.com.br/
[21] São João Clímaco is a neighboring district into which the Heliopolis favela has extended forming that which many call the Heliopolis/João Climaco Complex.

community, politicians, NGOs and a nearby university helped the station recuperate its equipment and start transmitting again.

In 2006, the station was once again shut down by Anatel (National Telecommunications Agency), but only for a short period, and then in October of that same year it was granted a provisional license under which to operate. Their definite license was granted in March 2008, making it the first official community radio in São Paulo. In June of the next year it was determined that it would change to the frequency it occupies still today, that of 87,5 MHz. The sluggishness of the whole licensing process as well as that of the Ministry of Communications in granting licenses helps illustrate the enormous difficulties encountered by community radio stations when trying to adapt to all the legal demands made upon them.

According to the station's site, "Radio Heliopolis has two studios: one for the production and recording of commercials, jingles, signature tunes, etc. and another in which to transmit their programs. All their computers, printers, microphones, amplifiers, sound tables and other equipment have been acquired through donations or purchased by the radio itself"[22].

The radiocasters are all local residents. They alternate in putting on two-hour shows from 6:00 am to midnight, Monday thru Saturday, and from 6:00 am to 11:00 pm on Sunday, with many of the shows being presented by two radiocasters. The radio thus has up to 12 different radiocasters on weekdays.

Music predominates in the station's program schedule and they have programs dedicated to specific genres such as rap, *forro, joven gurada, sertanejo,* black music (both Brazilian and North American) and pop and techno, as well as programs playing music from all genres as requested by listeners[23]. Religion is also included in the station's programming, as in November 2009 they began to retransmit a program by Father Reginaldo Manzotti.[24]

In his survey on the station's program schedule, Silva (2010) mentions, among others, the "Catraca Livre" (free turnstile) program, that gives "tips on free or low-cost cultural events, besides discussing theater, cinema and shows with listeners", as well as programs by doctors from the region's health center who elucidate doubts the local populace may have and, in the case of a specific program on AIDS, even carry out exams and distribute condoms at the station's facilities. Silva also emphasizes the other services they offer and the messages passed on to the community during their programs, besides mentioning that the radio station has already had specific shows in which to debate issues of common interest to the community, which are no longer part of their program schedule. In this aspect, although some of the participants of The Heliopolis Radio Project interviewed by Silva affirm that during the regular musical program schedule social problems may be discussed and debated by the radiocasters with the community, others lament the lack of a more in-depth commitment of the radiocasters with social issues and their tendency to reproduce the same program models used by commercial stations and question up to what point the radio fulfills its communitarian obligations (Silva, 2010: 38-43).

In relation to this last point, there is no doubt that the community radios could be more socially inclined, as there are even indications that some of them – as was mentioned before in this paper – are susceptible to being used as an instrument for personal, religious or even commercial gain. But we understand that these issues should not prevent the perception that, despite all the difficulties and sidetracking, community radios posses an extraordinary potential for local integration, self-expression, and the strengthening of identity bonds and self esteem of the populace living on the outskirts of São Paulo. And, as this paper also tries to demonstrate, this is even more true if we consider the ever increasingly limited profile of the city's educational and commercial radio stations.

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[22] http://www.heliopolisfm.com.br/
[23] The "Jovem Guarda' movement became popular in the 60s and is a romantic music genre based freely on North American and English rock music. Its main singer, Roberto Carlos, became the number one record seller in the country. Radio Heliopolis's program schedule is available on the station's site.
[24] http://www.padrereginaldomanzotti.org.br/index.php/noticias/radios/radios-irmas-novembro

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