



Student Online Video Activism and the Education Movement in Chile

PATRICIA PEÑA
RAÚL RODRÍGUEZ
CHIARA SÁEZ
University of Chile, Chile

In this article, we introduce and analyze two important cases of online video activism led by secondary and undergraduate students during the 2011 education movement in Chile. These video activism projects are analyzed using a methodology that combines interviews with several key informants and a review of their audiovisual production. Using a theoretical-conceptual approach to social appropriation of technologies and video activism, our research aims are to: (1) describe the experiences of online video activism by Chilean young people participating in the movement for a better public education and (2) characterize their appropriation of the audiovisual language within the technology and narrative of the Internet. We conclude that, in the Chilean context analyzed, online video activism takes place in two models according to the combination and use of different video formats.

Keywords: video activism, Internet, Chile, education, social movement

The Chilean education movement has had two main milestones since the return to democracy in 1989. The student movement of 2006 was led mainly by secondary students (most of them being the same students who participated in 2011 as undergraduate university students). At its most crucial moment, the 2006 movement mobilized 600,000 secondary students, becoming one of the largest student protests in Chilean history. The movement's principal demand was to repeal the education law established by Pinochet's dictatorship.

The 2011 movement brought together university and secondary students, and it is considered the biggest social movement since the return to democracy in 1989. Its main demand was to strengthen public education and to make public education in schools and universities free. This occurs in the wider context of the Chilean system, in which private universities have increasing privileges and impunity to profit from public education funding.

Patricia Peña: patipena@uchile.cl
Raúl Rodríguez: raul.rodriguez@u.uchile.cl
Chiara Sáez: chiara.saez.baeza@uchile.cl
Date submitted: 2014–10–28

Copyright © 2015 (Patricia Peña, Raúl Rodríguez, & Chiara Sáez). Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial No Derivatives (by-nc-nd). Available at <http://ijoc.org>.

Several authors have documented the importance of online technologies, such as SMS, e-mail, virtual communities, photo logs, and Web logs, during the so-called 2006 Penguin Revolution, in which secondary students used commercial platforms to generate counterinformation content. Millaleo (2011) argues that these actions constitute "one of the most important and memorable experiences of the successful use of cyberpolitics tools in Chile" (p. 94). Valderrama (2013) adds that the students "harnessed this knowledge and these freely available tools to shape the Internet as a stage from which they acted, shared, coordinated and created new forms of citizen participation and information flow" (p. 133).

In accordance with technological advances, the 2011 movement diversified and became more complex as a result of the "daily, useful and effective" (Avenidaño & Egaña, 2014, p. 4) use of social networks and applications associated with them: twitcam or other forms of online transmission; images; and audiovisual material using the mash-up format, where the Internet is not only a space for rational argument, but "must be understood as leisure, emotional expression and trolling" (Holzmann, 2012, p. 44). At the same time, traditional off-line activities, such as protests, and more recently flash mobs, were recorded and uploaded on the Internet.

However, to date, no documented research focuses specifically on the online video activist dimension of the movement, although examples of this type of activism did arise during the 2011 cycle of student mobilizations. Some of them are directly related to the student movement, and others were of a more comprehensive nature. In this investigation, we chose two of them: the project TV para Chile (TV for Chile) and the audiovisual material produced by the Asamblea Coordinadora de Estudiantes Secundarios (ACES, or Coordinating Assembly of Secondary Students).¹ We assume that one of the most important specificities from the social Web (or Web 2.0) is the audiovisual narrative and audiovisual content (which implies the process of editing, assembly, and quality of image and sound) as well as its technical support (conversion into light formats and use of servers) that make it more complex to develop and generally require a greater collective work.

TV para Chile was an Internet streaming TV channel spearheaded by journalism and cinema and television students from the University of Chile (who were joined by journalism students from other public universities) that aired for the first time in two television marathons on July 21 and August 30, 2011. They broadcasted a total of 30 hours or 1,800 consecutive minutes (alluding to the US\$1.8 billion needed to educate 300,000 students a year for free). Its second broadcast had more than 90,000 viewers at some point during its streaming, a record for this type of pioneering experiment. Between September 2011 and January 2012, the project continued to broadcast fortnightly presentations. Throughout 2012, the project presented five long-term transmissions, once every one or two months. However, since 2013, the project as such has not been reactivated. The project was conceived, as pointed out by the students themselves, as a critical media response by the university student sector against the coverage of the social movement by the media—particularly the mainstream press—and its emphasis on riots after the marches and other

¹ The Facebook page of TV para Chile is <https://es-la.facebook.com/TVparaChile>. The Facebook page of ACES is <https://www.facebook.com/asambleacoordinadora.estudiantessecundariostres>.

conflict situations rather than on the demands and proposals for change put forward by this mobilized social sector.

ACES was created in 2000 and cannot be defined as a coordinator of student unions, but rather as a group of organized students. It was concerned with constructing a grassroots movement emerging from public schools. Thus, autonomy and the horizontal approach are part of its ruling principles. Although it initially emerged from the middle- and upper-middle-class districts in the Metropolitan Region, over the years it has expanded to other districts, adopting a critical view toward the right and center-left governments that have ruled Chile in recent years. The use of commercial social media and social Web applications (such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube) are central to the organization's communication strategies.

Cyberactivism and Video Activism

The concept of cyberactivism is widely used when assessing the role of information and communication technologies in enhancing diverse forms of social activism and civil or citizen movements, enabling communications and coordinating actions, disseminating information (or counterinformation) to mass audiences, or as a part of specific strategies for marches and actions (Tascón & Quintana, 2012). This includes the use of information and communication technologies to support forms of traditional activism (social movements) as well as online convoking initiatives that are not necessarily preceded by an off-line social movement.

In the current Internet paradigm, called the social Web or Web 2.0, resources and services allow for the daily use of content management systems such as blogs or wikis; resources for generating audiovisual content such as YouTube, audio podcasts, and memes; and social digital networks such as Facebook or Twitter. In this context, "we are all potentially activists" (De Ugarte, 2006, p. 25).

Nevertheless, in the Latin American context, the extensive literature on cyberactivism contrasts with the nonsystematic academic approach to video activism, despite the large amounts of data about the latter. This lack of familiarity with the concept underestimates and even discredits this field, "as if it was an inferior area of scholarly study, not valuable enough to be analyzed" (Rodríguez, 2014, p. 9). Mateos and Rajas' (2014) research on the state of the art of this field defines video activism as

social practices that are communicative in nature used as resources for political intervention by outsiders of the dominant power structures" and that "can be focused on different tactical purposes, mainly to: counterinform, call to action, educate, articulate participation and build the collective identity. (p. 15)

In the European tradition of these studies, we can find more academic research that considers video activism after 2000 (hence, much more linked to the Internet than to cinema or television) by authors such as Askanius (2013); Doerr, Mattoni, and Teune (2013); and Maple (2014). But it is also necessary to consider Harding's (1997) pioneering contribution, *The Videoactivist Handbook*, quoting Vertov as one of the first cinematographic precedents of video activism.

In the Latin American tradition, Galán (2012) finds the roots of current video activism, "video activism 2.0," in the militant cinema of the 1960s and 1970s (Octavio Getino, Fernando Solanas, Santiago Álvarez, among others). And, finally, coming from the U.S. tradition, the Guerrilla Television collective must be taken into account: It used video and its dissemination via public-access channels during the 1970s to subvert the conventional sense of television (Boyle, 1995).

The social appropriation of technologies approach (Bar, Pisani, & Weber, 2007; Camacho, 2000) suggests that, beyond the purposes for which technologies are created, their social use *in practice* reveals other features and applications (*how information and communication technologies are used*) as well as their significance in relation to sense (*why and for what they are used*), which contribute both to social innovation processes and social transformation of communities. Martín-Barbero (2010) notes that, while the technological revolution widens social gaps, it "also mobilizes social imagination of communities, enhancing their survival skills and association, protest and democratic participation, defense of their sociopolitical and cultural rights, and activation of their expressive creativity" (p. 159).

Chilean Video Activism: From Analog to Digital Support

Some collective experiences of film authorship took place in Chile during Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government (1970–1973), when filmmakers offered their services to this political project (including films such as *The Battle of Chile* and *The Spiral*). Video activism dates back to the first years of the Pinochet dictatorship. In 1978, ICTUS TV was an independent producer that generated a national network to distribute in television format the work of a theater company that was critical of the period. The content was developed with its audience (social, religious, and student organizations) using working guides and surveys (Bresnahan, 2009). During the 1980s, projects such as Proceso, Teleanálisis, and El Canelo Video and TV followed suit. Of all these projects, Teleanálisis is recognized as the most important. Its operating model was to produce monthly news distributed by VHS videotapes to a network of subscribers, who contributed their own blank videotapes, on which each new episode was recorded. The project produced 46 chapters between 1984 and 1989 (Liñero, 2010). In the 1990s, the Red Nacional de Video Comunitario (National Network of Community Video) was created as the first community television channel: Señal 3 in La Victoria, a popular district on the periphery of Santiago.

Throughout the 1990s, video activism transformed into unlicensed community television channels, and about 15 remain today (Espinoza & Saez, 2012). Video activism reappeared later, with the spread of the Internet and the lower costs of equipment and distribution, using the possibilities to interact via multiple types of digital screens. In recent years, several video activism youth groups are linked to the student movement and exist beyond the Internet: Sinapsis (Synapse), Piño Comunicaciones (Pine Communications), and La Batalla de los Trabajadores (The Battle of the Workers), for instance (Rivadeneira & Saavedra, 2014).

Method, Units of Analysis, and Theoretical Perspectives

In this investigation, two online video activism projects were selected: TV para Chile (case A) and the production of audiovisual content by ACES (case B). Data were collected via in-depth interviews with

key actors in the process (secondary students participating in ACES and university students participating in the TV para Chile project) and via a descriptive analysis of a sample of videos and audiovisual content (online video activism) made by these groups of students and uploaded to YouTube or a broadcast platform on the Internet (streaming) during the 2011 student movement and the period after.

For the interviews, three people were considered key informants in each case. Among the university students, the three key informants were one participant without managerial responsibilities in TV para Chile (E1.A), one of the producers of the project (E2.A), and the manager of the Internet platform (E3.A). In the ACES project, the interviewees were three high school students: the spokesperson in 2011 (E1.B), the 2012–2013 spokesperson (E2.B), and the 2014 spokesperson (E3.B).

For the analysis, two theoretical perspectives were considered: that of Mateos and Rajas (2014) for the interviews and that of Askanius (2013) for the analysis of the videos. Both provide categories to characterize video activism practices online as well as the similarities and differences between the two Chilean projects.

For the purposes of this article, descriptions of the interviewees allows for understanding and identifying the profile of the activists working in the communications areas of these high school and university student organizations and to understand some differences in their approaches in the use of online video activism. We can also compare two generations of digital natives—the high school students, ages 16 to 18, and the generation of university students, ages 19 to 22. The theoretical perspective proposed by Mateos and Rajas (2014) emphasizes the idea that video activism is “a communicative practice, which may have different tactical purposes: to counterinform, to educate, to call to action, to organize participation and to build a collective identity” (p. 15–16).

To analyze the video content, a sample was taken. The details of the sample of videos are available in the Appendix. Table 1 lists the sampled videos from the TV para Chile project, and Table 2 lists the videos made by the ACES high school students. The charts describe each video in terms of: (1) its technical characteristics, (2) the narrative proposal/genre and format, and (3) the content and message.

For the analysis, we use the categories and types offered by Askanius (2013, pp. 5–10):

1. Mobilization videos: short videos released before a march or a live or scheduled event, sometimes also known as “protest trailers,” where there is a call made to join a march or to participate in expanding its dissemination within a personal network.
2. Testimonial videos: videos documenting injustice in conditions or social situations, police brutality, or human rights violations; they have the characteristic of being “instantaneous-caught-by-the-camera,” are often recorded on mobile phones and are uploaded to the Internet without much editing; they convey a strong sense of “being there.”
3. Documentation videos: videos that document marches, speeches, community meetings, direct actions, and political events; a self-documentation strategy, for self-communication, and reflects the

role of the video to create a collective identity, a sense of belonging, community, and sustained commitment.

4. Political mash-up videos: videos that epitomize hybridity and intermediality and are based on preexisting material in a remix process that operates on different levels of abstraction. This broad category includes videos merging multiple source materials that are assembled to build a political argument.

Analysis of Interviews With Students About Online Video Activism

Mateos and Rajas (2014) put forward eight characteristics of the practices carried out by video activists that we seek to identify in the interviews. These are: part of a social process; critique and transformation; documentation of reality; connection with concrete struggles; construction of alternative representation; discursive radicalism; genres; and different formats, militant commitment.

Part of a Social Process

Video activism is a social practice, part of a social process, understood as an action that intervenes in a context where conflicting forces and political models collide. In our research, both cases are communicative experiences that are part of a broader social process—that is, the wave of Chile's student movement beginning in 2011.

TV para Chile emerged from the need of the students of journalism and cinema and television at the most important public university in the country inside the movement. As the students explain during the interviews, it was during the first assemblies that they felt the urgency to raise an incipient media actor from the University of Chile. There was a type of prequel during an activity by the university's art students: For 24 hours, teachers and students presented musical pieces that were streamed. The idea came from two students during a cinema and journalism assembly in the midst of the mobilization.

The idea of an alliance between old and new social actors concerned with rejecting the neoliberal model and its inequalities was taking shape:

There were those who had for a long time been fighting against individualism and the reign of money in order to build a fairer society. In this context, the TV para Chile project fulfilled a role: We want to accompany the social processes, and the perspective we want to imprint on our content is key. (E3.A)

The first communications commission was formed within ACES in 2012. Although the students did not have a clear idea of how to go about so-called press or media management, they were clear on how their relationship with the press and mainstream Chilean media would have to position them in the public's eye:

The secondary students discussed how to be visible in the traditional Chilean media. The tools we had were the actions to move the forces and masses of our comrades during occupations, marches, and mobilizations. We did not have access to mainstream media. (E1.B)

This idea was reinforced by another interviewee, who pointed out:

We started from scratch in the communications area. We weren't experts in anything. We started to rely on some anonymous journalists and others working in mainstream media. . . . It was all about correcting our mistakes and moving forward. (E2.B)

According to two of the spokespersons from ACES, the communicational dimension of the secondary students' fight was a process of self-reflection and permanent self-criticism about communications. They both explained that the actions and communications practices were the biggest learning points during those years, when the demands shifted from "almost union-like" (for example, the demand for free transportation passes for students during the so-called Penguin Revolution of 2006) to a social movement with more political goals. Both agreed that the weaknesses of the communications learning process and the strategic appropriation of digital media and social networks were the main challenges for the Chilean secondary students' movement. The students point out that, in the beginning, they did what they could with what was at hand: making handmade brochures and flyers or, if they were lucky, using a basic computer image program (such as Paint). Funding to provide these materials came from precarious actions readily available to students: money gathered in raffles or from selling hot dogs or simply begging for money in the street.

Critique and Transformation

Video activism is considering a proposal of critical questioning, especially about the transformation of the status quo, aiming to transform the audience, mobilizing, engaging, and raising public awareness. In both cases examined here, the practice of digital activism moved the students to visualizing a strong critical discourse and a demand for transformation that goes beyond public education toward the transformation of the neoliberal for-profit model in Chilean society. Therefore, disseminating messages to a wider audience becomes necessary to call attention to one's society and raise awareness about the legitimacy of the demand for a nonprofit education system for the country.

In the TV para Chile project, the audience is crucial for providing shape and sense to the project. As one of the students explained:

The Internet was chosen (and not, for example, intercepting an over-the-air television signal) because of the concrete opportunities for work and creation it offers us and because of an editorial decision, we want to appeal to the Internet audience, also taking into consideration the high rates of time our audience spends in leisure activities online. (E1.A)

There is also a strategic use of digital social networks to distribute the content in a horizontal spirit that is open to dialogue and that prevents its being perceived as spam by the audience. There is always an attempt to develop interaction and to break the barrier between author and public:

We believe that the number of people or tools of interaction there are between the newsmakers and those who watch directly impacts on the type of communication that is produced. This idea is new but also hard to reach. (E2.A)

Among the three former ACES spokespersons, it was understood that the transformation of the audience occurred mainly due to the clarity of the discourse and its ability to appeal to people via an effective message. This message had to be more credible and reliable than the one created by mainstream media:

We knew that our message had to target people, but people listen to what the TV and other media say. We understood all the shit the media threw at us, but we knew how to respond to that and make people trust us. . . . Soon we realized what journalism is, and we learned how to position our discourse. (E2.B)

The main goal for ACES was to keep its audience informed about its actions when shaping its communications strategy. It was understood that there would be more social support for ACES's demands as long as its actions were explained in an effective and interactive manner and using a different language:

We made an assessment of mobilized schools and informed them via Facebook (computer graphics, videos explaining community control, explaining ACES's proposals, etc.), because that would be the easiest way for people to understand. Since we were producing more interactive material, including posters and pamphlets, we streamlined the language to be more effective. If it weren't for our audience, ACES wouldn't be alive. (E1.B)

Documenting Reality

This characteristic refers to video activism as a documentation of the society, as a way of connecting with reality, to understand and expose the living conditions of the world (not only as a documentary-informative piece). According to our interviewees, TV para Chile was conceived as tool to represent Chilean reality from the "downstairs" perspective (a bottom-up approach). It was a television proposal made to fit the students' lives, with medial convergence and starring normal people talking about their experiences and needs using television. The idea was to write the story for those who do not have a place in conventional media, those who like to be involved in how their own lives are narrated.

In ACES, the documentation had more of a guerrilla or testimonial logic, where the urgency to inform what is going on became more important than the narrative built around this representation of reality. The students were transmitting school occupations via twitcams.

Connecting With Concrete Struggle

Video activism has a strong link to concrete struggles, and it is an instrument that is committed with political stands and political transformations for which it fights or advocates. The social struggle TV para Chile first linked to was the 2011 student movement. According to those interviewed, the idea arose during a general assembly of the Institute of Communication and Image (ICEI, home of the Journalism School and Film and Television School at the University of Chile) to build a space that would allow them, as communications students, to show another view of the conflict, which at that moment was obviously not just about higher education. Other social problems with similar origins were made visible along the way.

That is why TV para Chile—that by that time had acquired its name—opens itself to other big issues, such as the economy, labor, gender and neighborhood inequality and not only opens itself to conflicts but to new ways of artistic and cultural expression that portray the world that arises from the social movement in Chile. (E3.A)

Regarding the specificity of video activism from the ACES high school students, one of the interviewees explained that it was related to that precise moment in time:

It emerged in 2011 as a response to the need to communicate the conflict, but when school occupations ended and there were no more big mobilizations, video production stopped, except for the 2012 municipal elections. That is, the digital discourse rises from circumstance. (E1.B)

Construction of Alternative Representations

Video activism represents an alternative to mainstream media in several dimensions: in the narrative, the subjects, the sources for funding the distribution and exhibition, and the organization of the production itself.

Regarding video activism as an alternative to mainstream media, there is a common starting point among respondents from TV para Chile related to the project objective: that it sought to show the students' movement from a perspective that differed from conventional TV:

The idea comes from disinformation and the editorial line adopted by mainstream media to inform about the student demonstrations in 2011. (E2.A)

Another aspect is to participate in what they call the dispute over the view that our society gave the mobilization that the students had begun . . . a world where student demands were not demands made by a particular group toward power but a set of common ideas and shared by the majority of society. (E3.A)

To show the student movement from a different perspective than conventional TV, a specific aesthetic was built: Hosts (for the TV programs) were selected whose physical appearance did not conform to standards established by advertising; a stage was used that did not look hypermodern, ordinary people were interviewed, center stage was given to expressing opinions, and ample time was given to analysis and debate.

At the same time, there is an explicit commitment to mass communication: The activists refused to marginalize and did not talk to people who were already convinced about the situation. They were not content with being seen by the same interested people, but wanted to reach beyond the already mobilized public. The purpose was to harness the potential of mass media:

Our aim is not to be alternative, but be mass media and to use the freedom given by the Internet to reach the masses in the construction of the social imaginary. (E2.A)

Among the secondary students, there was a constant critique—even from the political left—of the ways in which the alternative is built culturally and in terms of communications. For these students, it was not contradictory to build an alternative discourse using social media and the Internet (Facebook, Twitter) and calling at the same time on mainstream media. More precisely, they did not run away from the discursive dispute with mainstream media:

There is a sense of dogmatism and resistance among the left about working with mainstream media, or to argue with the press because it is bourgeois. We believe it is essential to work with the media and online social networks and other platforms, because they are all up for grabs, to instill the messages and the contents we needed. (E2.B)

Discursive Radicalism

This concept refers to the idea that video activism operates in a dominant discursive environment that constitutes “a constant and reliable source of symbolic frictions” (Mateos & Rajas, 2014, p. 46). This characteristic is present in TV para Chile, given the criminal aspect that was attached to the protests by mainstream media during the movement and its demonstrations:

Initially we went to the streets driven by the debts affecting higher education students and their families. Broadcast television took the focus off the central problem and put it on derivatives. What was covered most was the damage to public or private property. (E1.A)

From this critical assessment of how traditional media reported the marches, TV para Chile was conceived by the students as a medium that had to express the values associated with the student movement in the street, in contrast to the way it was being imposed by traditional media, politicians, and officials.

The discursive radicalism in the case of ACES is central to its broader communications strategy, which emerged from trial and error:

We realized the need to control our discourse in mainstream media. In practice we see how an interview or a press conference goes, and then we see the headlines (TV news only shows that students massive marches ends with violence in the streets) . . . “they fucked us” [*sic*]. After seeing these mistakes, we realized we could not go on this way. We had to have a method or strategy, something that would allow us to better position ourselves. (E3.B)

Genres and Different Formats

In video activism, any genre and any format is valid to build a story. TV para Chile adopted more conventional television genres and formats, but gave them another meaning, with slight differences between the first and subsequent transmissions, always seeking to conquer the public on the Internet:

For the marathon broadcasts, the scheduling was inspired by the usual segmentation on TV: 21:00 for a newscast, 22:00 was prime time, later a late-night show, fiction at dawn, early morning a morning show, in the afternoon an entertainment show, and so on. However, when we changed to a biweekly schedule, we preferred a nightly broadcast system, adapted to the Internet use of our target audience. Transmissions are divided to three or four days a week, with three or four programs of different content. (E3.A)

During the transmission of the debate of the candidates running for president of the University of Chile Student Federation (disputed by Camilla Vallejo and Gabriel Boric, who were both elected to Chile’s House of Representatives in March 2014), an alliance was made with a media partner: the online e-journal *El Mostrador*, an independent online medium highly recognized by the public.

Within these traditional genres and formats, alternative and radical content was also incorporated. According to the students we interviewed, they organized different blocks for interviews, discussion, conversation—talk shows, packaged material on tax reform, technical education, debt, unemployment and labor issues, freedom of expression and the right to communication, homosexuality and university policy. They made space to air satirical programs as well. The educational conflict was reflected in programs such as *Paro TV*, which was performed by journalism students at the University of Santiago, and *Shanta TV*, which was made by first-year undergraduate film and journalism students at ICEI. These programs reported the marches, parodying the press coverage of traditional television channels. The ultimate goal of the programming schedule was to generate a content model that portrayed Chile as a country that each day begins to open its eyes and that demanded students’ rights.

Perhaps this is the point where the most differences are observed between the two examples. To the ACES spokespersons, the online video activism and digital activism that developed during the periods of mobilization were essential, especially for the scope they provided: It allowed them to go international.

The high schools students' video activism was in various formats, ranging from a direct twitcam transmission of high school occupations and subsequent evictions to microvideos made by mobile phone cameras and audiovisual recordings with no editing or postproduction. They also produced in various genres, such as news, testimonials, interviews, and music videos. Video uploads have not been gathered in a single YouTube or Vimeo channel or other platform by ACES, because the organization has not created its own online channel until now. The videos on the Internet (see the selection for video analysis in Table 1 in the Appendix) can be found in various YouTube accounts or on the channels of individuals or groups.

However, ACES's online activism incorporates different media, which in turn can be seen as part of a single strategy that includes the relationship with mainstream media and street action. The spokespersons consider the work with mainstream media and social media (such as blogs, Facebook pages, Twitter, and, of course, YouTube) as part of the same goal: the dissemination of their own content and messages.

All this lies within what might be called trench-style digital activism (*activismo de trincheras*), defined by the urgency of the transmission of a message with the available resources rather than a reflection about what genre, narrative, or format to choose from. The students remarked that, on YouTube, they could immediately upload statements or press conferences and the videos from marches, which was easier than creating an expensive website and does not require special skills to maintain and develop:

That's why it is so important that we communicate via the Facebook page and the Twitter account @difusion_ACES, because it is also a way to keep in touch with the regions and the work that assemblies in regions are doing in schools and high schools today. We realized that it works when you call to participate in marches and demonstrations using Facebook events, because people come. But we have not abandoned street actions and the door-to-door work. I think that dissemination moved from the street to the computer. (E2.B)

Militant Commitment

Finally, the video activism reflects involvement and awareness with the society and reality, where there are declarations of principles, definitions, goals, and personal involvement.

The militant commitment of the members of the TV para Chile project is evident in the seriousness and discipline with which the project was adopted. The students' work follows a complex organizational chart, which is adjusted as needed to increase the engagement surrounding the project. All program teams have their own production team working at the central level of the organization, and they have been gradually closing the gap between the team's programs and the transversal team, with the aim of increasing the identity, closeness, and empowerment within the project.

At the same time, the project advances in the use of the assembly as a form of organization and participation. The students we interviewed remarked that there was a general assembly for TV para Chile where all members participate and discuss general guidelines, directions, and programming. This assembly approves and reviews projects that are streamed and chooses transmission dates and/or special events. This system has a coordinating team for the different TV para Chile work groups—general production, technical production, funding, programming schedule, and an editorial committee that coordinates the technical and content teams of each program. Each program has a team to produce and deliver content.

There is an understanding of the magnitude of the project and the need for active commitment to maintain it over time. One of the students explained:

Given the amount of work the project entails, there is great collaboration between each program produced, and efforts are made to exchange experiences, teachings, opinions. Certainly the magnitude of the project is very complex; to just keep it as it is requires great effort. (E3.A)

ACES's online video activism and digital activism are developed by the communications committee, which is responsible for media strategy and use of social networks and online platforms. Students upload videos to YouTube spontaneously, from marches and police repression to high school occupations and evictions, without any control or general coordination of what is being uploaded. Thus, ACES's digital video activism is part of the militant commitment to the organization itself, as a dimension of the secondary student movement, which has its specificities within the university student movement. Being an umbrella organization for high school students only (ages 14 to 17) and a leadership that is composed of 16- and 17-year-old students, there is a natural and constant generational change of leadership among the high school students, because being in the last two years of secondary education means a change in participants and spokespersons.

This constant turnover in leadership adds to the challenge of consolidating or establishing strategies for long-term goals. However, it is also true that many post-2011 leaders have gone on to university and are thinking of studying communications, or are already enrolled in journalism and audiovisual communications programs.

Analysis of the Videos

When analyzing the audiovisual productions by TV para Chile, there seems to be an implicit editorial policy that seeks to safeguard and promote a university outlook to mobilize citizens to break the information bias and to generate critique, supervision, and interpretive journalism, where the audience is part of the process and not just a passive receptor. The types of format or television genres chosen for much of the material demonstrate that there is no difference between mainstream television codes and formats that the public already knows: There are news broadcasts, talk shows and entertainment, and political analysis programs along with viral videos made by groups or individuals. These last elements are innovative and even deconstructive of the logic of mainstream television, which allows us to find some

features of the political mash-up videos indicated by Askanius. It is about using the usual television codes against itself in the demand for nonprofit public education.

In TV para Chile, there was a tendency to use an audiovisual narrative very close to the political mash-up category. There were several talk shows—such as *El Viral* (Viral), *Se Nos fue de las Manos* (It Got Away From Us) and *Cualquiera: El Estelar de Cualquiera* (Whomever: The Show Starring Whomever)—produced to be transmitted live, via streaming, with a host, commentators, political analysis, live music, humor, and guests such as student leaders, politicians, celebrities, and artists. There are many instances of interaction with the audience by using Twitter and hashtags during the program. There is also critique and the remix of political speeches of current authorities, such as speeches by former President Piñera, ministers of education, and members of parliament, with videos of the marches, demonstrations, and the occupation of educational establishments.

But the categories of documentation, testimonial and, the mash-ups are also in much of the content produced in 2011 by two audiovisual video activist groups: (1) Shanta TV is the name of an online (mainly youtube) program and the name of the group that made it, an that was composed by film and television students at the University of Chile that uses a live reporting style, including parodies of media coverage of TV newscasts, especially during student marches in Santiago.² (2) Colectivo Fauna (The Fauna Collective), organized by design and architecture students at the University of Chile, uses video clips and artistic audiovisual performances to “visibilize” and “viralize” messages and content about the demands of Chilean students, and to issue calls to participate in marches and mobilizations.³

The ACES videos listed in Table 2 generally may be considered testimonial-documentation video records. The first one, about one of the marches in May 2011, contains the original ambient street sound with the students and their proclamations, including police repression against the students. The second video listed can be classified as a mobilization video. It is a series of student testimonials of their demands and personal opinions prior to the march of August 2011 (known as the “umbrellas march”). The third video is a simple record, without narration and with only original sound, of the occupation of a public services building by ACES students in September 2012 during the municipal elections campaign, as part of their “Yo no presto el voto” (I do not lend my vote) campaign. The fourth video listed is a more complex production and more representative of the mobilization category, because it speaks of the demand for a new education system and supports the students and graduates of the journalism school of the University of Chile during the Education Forum.

These characteristics raise questions about how strategic (or not) is the use of audiovisual language in what the student activists want to communicate. First, in the selected videos, the testimonial format dominates, showing the reality of the demonstrations, marches, and what happens in them. There are only few cases in which content is generated to explain the reasons behind the groups’ demands and

² The Shanta TV YouTube channel can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/shantateve>.

³ The Colectivo Fauna YouTube channel is at <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCMHzCxt204V5KrJhP-goJXw>; Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Colectivo-FAUNA/246116302071902>; and Tumblr, <http://colectivofauna.tumblr.com/>.

why they have mobilized—opening up a space to present, participate, and exchange views in a closer relationship with the discursive dispute behind the movement.

Second, the forms of appropriation of new technologies by the secondary students is more of a response to the urgency of the mobilizations and not an audiovisual narrative strategy in itself, although it is a process that goes from less to more in terms of management and the understanding of all the dimensions and possibilities that the audiovisual language affords.

Conclusion

The experiences analyzed in this article have allowed us to address the relationship between young people and online video activism in the specific context of social mobilization for a better public education between 2011 and 2013 in Chile. We have discovered that the use of applications and resources of Web 2.0 through the use of video recording by young activists led to new ways of understanding and conceiving their online video practices.

The youths we interviewed were 15 to 22 years of age; they are students and creators of audiovisual content for the Internet in the context of an education reform movement. Their activism involved the appropriation of digital audiovisual material in specific social and interpersonal circumstances for the deployment and expression of a collective identity as mobilized students.

Our conclusion is that there are different forms of online video activism. In the Chilean context analyzed, online video activism manifests itself through two models of practices showing differences in their social appropriation according to their combination and use of different video formats. TV para Chile used a more structured model that adopted elements from the mainstream TV model and a remix/mash-up format within a university experimental project. ACES's approach was to use a less structured model with formats that emphasize witnessing and documentation video, characteristic of the younger students mobilized in those years.

Both cases correspond to two very different models of video activism. And they do not always share the characteristics or types offered by authors such as Mateos and Rajas (2014) for video activist practices or Askanius' (2013) classification of online formats of video activism or video activism 2.0.

TV para Chile is a more complex project, because it is an Internet TV project, which requires a great amount of preproduction work. For these student activists, the audiovisual language is key. It is more specialized and more diverse in its television formats. It is a more complex project also in organizational terms, where the relationship with digital social networks is auxiliary and not central. Additionally, for its production process, the audiovisual input by the video activist collectives Shanta TV, Colectivo Fauna, and other groups, as well as the students who participated, is fundamental.

In contrast, ACES's video activism is part of the organization's broader communications strategy, which includes a relationship with mainstream media and with new media, where online video activism is part of a broader practice of cyberactivism. These students produce their own audiovisual content,

including content generated by secondary students who support the organization but are not formally part of it. Therefore, the use of audiovisual material is situational: The logic of emergency and immediacy is more important and therefore less scheduled. The images are used especially during critical moments, such as police repression in high school occupations and marches. The creators of these videos are generally anonymous; they are not part of a media project or a website. Production is less centralized and more reticular. This has direct implications for the complexity and diversity of the group's messages. There is continuity between the online audiovisual tools and other digital communication forms (digital social networks, mainly).

However, the two groups also share certain similarities. First, in both cases, *learning by doing* and the dynamic of trial and error has enabled them to understand the workings and the logic of mass media, recognizing community media and alternative media as other broadcasting platforms. Also, there is thought about how crucial it is to develop their own messages and their own media. In both cases, we found no critical thought about the use of commercial digital social networks (Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube) to broadcast their content. These networks are taken for granted, without further thought on issues such as online surveillance and intellectual property rights.

In relation to the tradition of video activism in Chile, both projects are innovative: TV para Chile for being an Internet TV project made by university students (there are other Internet TV projects produced by communications university students, but none with this activist component) and ACES because for the time young people are creating activist audiovisual content in an organized manner, produced around a broad social movement: the Chilean public education movement.

Finally, although the main objective of this article was not to analyze specifically the place of these experiences within the tradition of Chilean video activism, both cases follow a path where neither the militant cinema from the Allende era nor the video activism from the Pinochet dictatorship are recognized as an influence. If there is a source of inspiration, it is, above all, the mass culture and its referents in the youth environment rather than the discourse or images from previous experiences of political video activism in the country. This latter finding presents the possibility to continue research in the field.

References

- Askanius, T. (2013, November). Online video activism and political mash-up genres. *Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies*, 4, 1–20.
- Avendaño, C., & Egaña, A. M. (2014). *Proceedings of the 12th Latin American Congress of Researchers in Communication, August 6–8: Movimiento estudiantil: Institucionalizados e institucionalizantes desde la comunicación* [Student movement: Institutionalized and institutionalizing from communication]. Lima, Peru: PUCP.
- Bar, F., Pisani, F., & Weber, M. (2007, April). *Mobile technology appropriation in a distant mirror: Baroque infiltration, creolization and cannibalism*. Paper prepared for discussion at Seminario sobre

- Desarrollo Económico, Desarrollo Social y Comunicaciones Móviles en América Latina [Seminar on Economic Development, Social Development and Mobile Communications in Latin America], Buenos Aires, Argentina. Convened by Fundación Telefónica. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.184.5809&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Boyle, D. (1995). Guerrilla television. In P. d'Agostino & D. Tafler (Eds.), *Transmission: Toward a post-television culture* (pp. 151–163). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Bresnahan, R. (2009). Reclaiming the public sphere in Chile under dictatorship and neoliberal democracy. In L. Stein, D. Kidd, & C. Rodríguez (Eds.), *Making our media: Global initiatives toward a democratic public sphere: Vol. 2. National and global movements for democratic communication* (pp. 271–292). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Camacho, K. (2000), *Internet, ¿una herramienta para el cambio social? Elementos para una discusión necesaria. Evaluación del impacto social de la Internet en Centroamérica: el caso de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil* [Internet, a tool for social change? Necessary elements for discussion. Social impact assessment of the Internet in Central America: The case of civil society organizations]. San José, Costa Rica: Cooperativa Sulá Batsú/IDRC. Retrieved from http://sulabatsu.com/wp-content/uploads/2010-internet_herramienta_cambio_social.pdf
- De Ugarte, D. (2006). *El poder de las redes* [The power of networks]. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones El Cobre.
- Doerr, N., Mattoni, A., & Teune, S. (2013). Toward a visual analysis of social movements, conflict, and political mobilization. In N. Doerr, A. Mattoni, & S. Teune (Eds.), *Advances in the visual analysis of social movements: Vol. 35. Research in social movements, conflicts and change* (pp. xi–xxvi). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Espinoza, D., & Sáez, C. (2012). *Televisoras comunitarias chilenas ante el desafío de la TV digital* [Chilean community television and the challenge of digital TV] (Working paper). Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de Televisión [National Television Council].
- Galán, M. (2012). Cine militante y videoactivismo: los discursos audiovisuales de los movimientos sociales [Militant cinema and video activism: Audiovisual discourses of social movements]. *Revista Internacional de Comunicación Audiovisual, Publicidad y Estudios Culturales*, 10, 1091–1102.
- Harding, T. (1997). *The videoactivist handbook*. London, UK: Pluto Press.
- Holzmann, J. F. (2012). *Los memes y caricaturas del movimiento estudiantil chileno: Un análisis del discurso emic a la red estudiantil Tumblr entre 2011 y 2012* [Memes and caricatures of the Chilean student movement: A discourse analysis from emic discourse to the student network Tumblr between 2011 and 2012] (Thesis). Diego Portales University, Santiago, Chile.

- Liñero, G. (2010). *Apuntes para una historia del video en Chile* [Notes for a history of video in Chile]. Santiago, Chile: Ocho Libros.
- Martin-Barbero, J. (2010). Convergencia digital y diversidad cultural [Digital convergence and cultural diversity]. In D. Moraes (Ed.), *Mutaciones de lo visible: comunicación y procesos culturales en la era digital* [Mutations of the visible: Communication and cultural process in the digital age] (pp. 137–165). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Paidós.
- Mateos, C., & Rajas, M. (2014). Videoactivismo: conceptos y rasgos [Video activism: Concepts and features]. In C. Mateos et al., *Videoactivismo: Acción política, cámara en mano* [Video activism: Political action, camera in hand] (pp. 15–56). La Laguna (Tenerife), Spain: Latina.
- Maple, J. R. (2014). Beyond "riot porn": Protest video and the production of unruly subjects. *Ethnos Journal of Anthropology*, 79(4), 496–524. doi:10.1080/00141844.2013.778309
- Millaleo, S. (2011). La ciberpolítica de los movimientos sociales en Chile [The cyberpolitics of social movements in Chile]. *Anales*, Seventh Series, 2, 87–104.
- Rivadeneira, N., & Saavedra, S. (2014). *Audiovisuales desde y para los movimientos sociales (2010–2014)* [Audiovisuals from and for social movements (2010–2014)]. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen, Universidad de Chile.
- Rodríguez, G. (2014). Videoactivismo: ¿pero esto qué es? [Videoactivism: But what is this?]. In C. Mateos et al., *Videoactivismo: Acción política, cámara en mano* [Video activism: Political action, camera in hand] (pp. 9–10). La Laguna (Tenerife), Spain: Latina.
- Tascón, M., & Quintana, Y. (2012). *Ciberactivismo: las nuevas revoluciones de las multitudes conectadas* [Cyberactivism: The new revolutions of the connected mobs]. Madrid, Spain: Libros de la Catarata.
- Valderrama, L. (2013). Juventud, ciudadanía y tecnologías de información y comunicación: el movimiento estudiantil chileno [Youth, citizenship and information and communication technologies: The Chilean student movement]. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Infancia y Juventud*, 11(1), 123–135. doi:10.11600/1692715x.1117010812

Appendix

Table 1. Selection of Videos from the TV para Chile Project Schedule (Streaming), 2011–2013.

Title of video, date aired, and URL	Technical characteristics	Content/messages	Format
<i>Cualquiera: el estelar de cualquiera</i> (Whomever: The Show Starring Whomever) October 17, 2011 http://youtu.be/Flo1QM25g24	Duration: 35:13 Visits: 38 Upload by tvparachile	Entertainment TV program using the late-night show code, introduces reflection about social conflicts during the period	Mash-up
<i>El último sorbo</i> (The Last Sip) October 18, 2011 http://youtu.be/oBUz8venWtg?list=PL43BF1C05AF646B72	Duration: 22:23 Visits: 84 Upload by tvparachile	Conversation/talk show with segments of humor, interviews, and live music	Mash-up
<i>Se nos fue de las manos</i> (It Got Away From Us) October 17, 2011 http://youtu.be/mqFVK9sejeM?list=UUOGP_-2NrHFLYjfclmU_Tlw	Duration: 14:57 Visits: 435 Upload by tvparachile	Late-night show, with interviews of television personalities to speak about social conflicts, and mainly about the education movement	Mash-up
<i>Noticiero TV para Chile</i> (TV para Chile News) November 25, 2011 http://youtu.be/jZkmPuWCRIk	Duration: 0:29 Visits: 136 Upload by Valentina Barahona	Newscast, informative	Documentary
<i>Colectivo Fauna</i> (The Fauna)	Duration: 3:40 Visits: 14,339	Video of a student collective from the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism,	Documentary mash-up

Collective) June 23, 2011 https://youtu.be/Td3zE28mmpY	Upload by Colectivo Fauna	University of Chile. In this episode, as a creative response to the lack of dialogue from the government, they propose "Las Décimas de la Educación" and more than 15 undergraduate students appear reciting them.	
<i>Shanta TV</i> August 7, 2011 https://youtu.be/7oj3vIrlqJ5g?list=UUIGPTpdOtEa6SE8bt3I9fFg	Duration: 11:45 Visits: 10,765 Upload by Shanta TV	TV news show parody that criticizes mainstream television newscasts. This episode was about the student march of August 4, 2011.	Documentary mash-up
<i>El viral</i> (Viral) June 5, 2012 https://youtu.be/m4_7Hzf7N2E?list=UOOGP_-2NrHFLYjfcImU_Tlw	Duration: 26:42 Visits: 135 Upload by tvparachile	Entertainment program on culture, Internet, video games, and so on.	Mash-up
<i>Así no se puede</i> (So It Cannot Be) May 2, 2012 https://youtu.be/OYDJrURk8fU	Duration: 36:12 Visits: 93 Upload by tvparachile	Report TV program that combines news with a critical perspective, produced by students of the Journalism and Film and Television Faculty from the University of Chile and University of Santiago. This episode was about police violence during social protests.	Documentary
<i>Vuela alto educación</i> (Education: Fly High) July 7, 2013 https://youtu.be/Eeri7eaCIZo	Duration: 3:25 Visits: 69 Upload by tvparachile	Talk show on current news and particularly about the student movement	Informative mash-up

Source. Own elaboration based on interviews and viewing on YouTube on November 30, 2014.

Table 2. Selection of Videos from the Secondary Students Coordinating Assembly (ACES), 2011–2013.

Title of video, date aired, and URL	Technical characteristics	Content/messages	Format
<i>Marcha estudiantes secundarios ACES</i> (ACES Secondary Students March) May 26, 2011 https://youtu.be/nD-w7G85psk	Duration: 7:51 Visits: 5,669 Upload by Patcis Pattcis	Record of the massive march organized by ACES (marching, singing, and the police response)	Witness
<i>#yoparoel23</i> (#Istopthe23) August 20, 2012 https://youtu.be/InCPQ9-p4bA?list=PLk8g-qJcdYu4x8kbbh-UsI8Q29GS9L57T	Duration: 1:22 Visits: 1,091 Upload by Ignacio	Call to secondary students from different schools (public and private) to march on August 23, 2012	Mobilization Testimony Call to march
<i>ACES se toma Servel, BRUTAL represión policial</i> (ACES Occupies the Electoral Service Building, Brutal Police Repression) September 28, 2012 https://youtu.be/UF2t2AyYeZ0	Duration: 10:03 Visits: 2,216 Upload by Luben atassanov	Record of the occupation of the Electoral Service Building and the violent response from Chilean police (Carabineros de Chile)	Witness- documentation
<i>Propuesta para la educación que queremos</i> (Proposal for the Education We Want) October 24, 2012 https://youtu.be/LXS36Wp8KF4	Duration: 1:49 Visits: 3,544 Upload by Foro Educación de Calidad para Todos	Video about the political proposal about a new education system and its funding mechanism	Informative- mobilization

Source. Own elaboration based on interviews and viewing on YouTube on October 5, 2014.