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Communication in Latin American Contexts

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The set of four articles in this review reminds us that the field of "communication research" is a newcomer to university tradition. The first study program under the name "communication" in a university setting is said to have been that inaugurated by Wilbur Schramm at the University of Illinois in September, 1948 (Rogers, 1994). Since that time there has been an exponential growth of such programs in almost every country around the globe. Latin America is no exception. In these four articles we find the authors providing some sense of the growth and depth of research in communication in this region. As in the U.S., study of communication in Latin America has advanced as the practice and use of technologies have transformed societies over the last 50 or 60 years. Today, communication has become a central activity and concern for the world and has helped usher in the phenomenon of globalization itself.

As Octavio Isalas and Amaia Arribas argue in the first article, Latin America followed the trend for establishing communication as a field of theory and research in universities in 1959 with the establishing of university programs of communication in Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina. Following a paradigm from the outstanding Brazilian researcher, Marques de Melo, the authors suggest that in the first period of a decade or more Latin American was influenced by models from the U.S., but that by the 1970s they had defined heir own approach that reflected the reality of their societies better. The point that they make is that from early on in their development, communication programs began to collaborate with other Latin American universities and that that collaboration resulted in not only national associations of researchers but in 1978 and 1981 in the founding of two international regional based associations, ALAIC and FELAFACS. These have greatly strengthened the growing national programs and encouraged an interchange that makes the sharing of research across borders more common and beneficial for the region.

Jerónimo León Rivera Betancur from Colombia and Sergio Godoy from Chile illustrate both national and common concerns for their colleagues in other countries. Rivera has provided one of the first serious efforts to draw together the history of film in his country, arguing that this effort is important in any country wishing to understand the place of this medium in telling the story of its society. His efforts are a beginning, and a useful beginning, of what should grow into deeper study. It is also a study that can be shared across borders. Godoy, on the other hand, looks ahead in Chile at the introduction of digital television for its open broadcasting system, a task that faces a number of countries in the region. His analysis of the consequences for society and for regulation in Chile will stand as a model for others. He argues that the proposed legislation for the five year transition to digital is not comprehensive enough and will demand a process of both research and debate over what consequences digital television could have for Chile, and by analogy for other countries who are facing a similar transition.

Maria Antonieta Rebeil Coralla and colleagues from Anahuac University in Mexico present a short report on a national survey completed in 2009. The import of the report again has implication for other Latin American countries and, indeed, for other countries around he world: rapid growth in communication programs but without proper oversight for quality control. Of the more than 1,000 communication studies programs they found, less than 10% had been approved by educational authorities, suggesting that quality more than quantity should be the criterion. A suggestion that all of us might be thinking about.

—Emile McAnany
Editor

Reference

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A Brief History of the Latin American Academy of Communication[1]

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This essay in no way attempts to completely analyze the main objects of study or even the uniqueness or relevance of the theoretical and methodological imagination that we have designated as the "Latin American academy of communication." Instead this essay responds to a far more modest concern—to describe specific episodes of relevance to our troubled historiography of the Latin American academy of communication, understanding that it definitely can not be understood as an essence but as a story.

Beyond the description of certain events, it is essential to understand that the history of Latin American programs of communication results from the actions and commitments of some groups which, over the years, have become the powers inside the Latin American programs of communication and from the unquestionable "charisma" of certain leaders. It could not be otherwise. The Latin American programs of communication simply reflect and to some extent reproduce the historical inevitability of Latin America. In the deep history of our troubled region, national chiefs and leaders have taken on key roles and appealed to constitutional goals. This situation has hindered the healthy development of our institutions. Something similar has happened within the Latin American academy of communication. In the vast majority of associations, councils, and federations, which should specifically promote the study and research of communication, the democratic and institutional life still presents a major unresolved subject. In these days, however, the hegemony which a remarkable historical generation of scholars and researchers of communication has sustained over three decades has gradually vanished. These main leaders are Jesús Martín-Barbero (for the Latin American Federation of Faculties of Social Communication: FELAFACS), and José Marques de Melo (for the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers: ALAIC).

As residents of the periphery, our narrative and interpretation differ from the vaunted heroic assumption about who recounts and describes the script and names the protagonists of the story. Our position towards Latin American programs of communications is also critical, and the critique, as rightly pointed out by the Mexican Octavio Paz—the smartest of the 20th century—"consist[s] as much or more as in the knowledge to free us. Criticism displays a possibility of freedom and it is an invitation to action" (Paz, 1970, p. 12). The maturity of Latin American communication programs depends on the strength of their institutions, not the charisma of their leaders or the intricate interests of some of the powers that actually have managed to subordinate the interests of the academy to their particular interests. Perhaps future generations of scholars and researchers of communication are able to act with greater generosity, noting the actual benefit of the Latin American programs of communication, apart from the interest groups.

1. Background: The Latin American academy of communication before CIESPAL

José Marques de Melo (2007), a leading Brazilian communication researcher argues that since the late 19th century we find evidence of Latin American studies on certain phenomena of communication. María Cristina Gobbi (2006), a researcher at the Methodist University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, where Marques de Melo works, said that in the 1930s the economic and political problems arising from the First World War, compounded by such phenomena as the development of the industrialization process, fascism, national socialism, and abrupt urbanization, among other things, significantly extended the objects of study of the social sciences. Such an excited context, of course, favored the development of journalism, advertising, and propaganda, encouraging further implementation of the first studies on U.S. public opinion, which soon

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[1]To Edgar Jaramillo. With sincere gratitude and appreciation.

after began to be applied in Latin America. (In 1930 George Gallup published a summary of his doctoral thesis on public opinion in *Journalism Quarterly*; in the 1940s the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics—IBOPE—began.) The 1930s also saw the first offerings of degrees in journalism in some Latin American universities. In 1934, the Universidad Nacional de La Plata (UNLP) and the Graduate School of Journalism in Buenos Aires—connected with the Institute for Writing [Instituto Grafotécnico]—in Argentina, offered their first bachelor's degrees in journalism in the region. Later, journalism schools were opened in Brazil (1935), Cuba (1942), and Mexico (1949)—in Mexico's Federal District, at the School of Journalism Carlos Septien Garcia.

According to Marques de Melo (2007), in the 1950s the development of radio, the beginnings of television, and the diversification of advertising stimulated some research regarding the impact of those media in certain countries in the region. These include

> the research that the Brazilians Salvyano Cavalcante de Paiva and Alex Vianny undertook on the cinema and the work that Saint-Clair Lopes made on broadcasting in Brazil, and the publication in Argentina by Mouchet and Rafaelli about the artistic rights of collective media. But there were continuing studies on the analytical tradition of propaganda, such as by the Brazilian Genival Rabelo and the Chilean Alfonso Silva Délano, in the same way that Mexico's Salvador Borrego, the Bolivian Gustavo Adolfo Otero, the Venezuelan Julio Febres Cordero, and Brazilians Luis Beltrán or José Leao would advance on the interpretation of peculiar phenomena in the transmission of news and the communication of the press. (2007, p. 342)

Gobbi, Marques de Melo's student, considers these studies irrelevant:

> The available literature on communication in Latin America in the late 1950s was practically negligible. It was often translated work or results of local research. The work was based mainly on American functionalism, the investigation of communication based on the Chicago School and on information science of the Paris School. (2006, p. 62)

In the late 1950s two events of particular relevance in the gestation of the "Latin American community of communication" (as Marques de Melo put it) occurred. First, in 1957 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) undertook the study, "Current research on media" ["Recherches actuelles sur les moyens d'information"], which generated great interest in the study of media in the region. Second, on October 9, 1959, again urged on by UNESCO, the Central University of Ecuador and the Ecuadorian government kicked off the activities of the International Center for Studies in Communication for Latin America (CIESPAL) located in Quito, Ecuador. (Also on the initiative of UNESCO, a center similar to CIESPAL began operations in Strasbourg, France in 1959.)

2. The formation of the Latin American community for communication study

Marques de Melo (2004) argues that the Latin American community of communication "can be viewed through three periods labeled in accordance with the language of the Cold War: a) the battle for hegemony; b) the battle for survival; c) the battle for reconstruction" (p. 13). In our brief historical review, the starting point is the chronology proposed by Marques de Melo. However, we will make reference to certain events that we believe will be particularly relevant in understanding the development of the Latin American community of communication scholars.

A. The battle for hegemony: The early years

The first period reported by Marques de Melo began with the creation of CIESPAL and continued until the founding of the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers (ALAIC) in November, 1978 at the Central University of Venezuela in Caracas. Marques de Melo (2007) recognizes the important role CIESPAL played in the teaching of communication research in Latin America: "before the International Center for Studies in Communication for Latin America (CIESPAL), communication research in Latin American countries consisted of episodic activities, occasionally" (p. 311). CIESPAL, says Marques de Melo, deserves the credit for forming the first generation of effective communication researchers interested in analyzing communicative phenomena in the region:

> The germinating seeds were planted in the fertile soil of CIESPAL in Quito, which aspired to the condition of a dominant core. Consolidated during the '70s, the international center that initially worked on the campus of the Central University of Ecuador stimulated the professional organization

of former international students in their courses, creating a flow of diffusion of ideas through *Chasqui* magazine (first phase). (2004, p.13)

In the mid 1970s, CIESPAL began to project itself as a hotbed of the thought of Latin American communication, just as the leading researcher, Ecuadorian journalist Edgar Jaramillo points out, who until March 2009 served as president of CIESPAL:

> In the mid-70s, CIESPAL began to manifest itself as a seedbed of its own communication thinking—"with a significant counterpoint to both the sociology of American mass communications and to European critical sociology, to the point that it replaced on its own initiative the term Communication for that of Journalism"— and its goals expanded to include not only journalists but also all the media and all areas where communication is done. (Jaramillo, 2004, ¶6)

An act of unquestionable importance that Marques de Melo failed to mention in his chronology took place in Mexico City in 1960. That year the Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA), which belongs to the Society of Jesus, began offering a degree in information science. (It is difficult establish with full assurance that the Universidad Iberoamericana began offering the first Bachelor of Science in Communication in Latin America, as the University of Zulia, located in Venezuela, is said to have offered the BA in Communication Sciences since 1959.) In this regard Prieto (2008) says:

> The course was established at the Universidad Iberoamericana by a Jesuit of Sayula, José Sánchez Villaseñor. The original name followed the intention of the founder, although he was forced to change it because for the officials of the Secretariat of Public Education the title "communication science" referred to engineering issues. This circumstance caused the degree to be named as "Science and Technology of Information." (p. 9)

Most schools and universities that immediately began to impart a degree in the science of communication over the years adopted a model imposed by the Universidad Iberoamericana, to which researchers such as Felipe López Veneroni have agreed to designate as a "multipurpose model" because it intended to transcend the relative autonomy of independent professions associated with the "science of communication," such as advertising, public relations, journalism, photography,

etc., subordinating them to the perspective of a science degree in communication. According to José Sánchez Villaseñor, cited by Prieto, the curriculum of the "Bachelor of Science in Communication," responded to the purpose of "forming a true professional, capable of combining an organic core of humanistic knowledge and a harmonious set of techniques that allow the judicious and effective public exercise of this knowledge, in which they are intertwined, hierarchically, in science and technology, practice and theory" (Prieto, 2008, p. 9).

According to the prominent Mexican researcher Claudia Benassini, the 1960s serves as a kind of hinge between the analogue and the digital, between modernity and postmodernity, and between global and local. During this time only a small number of countries in the region had civilians at the head of government. To prevent the replication of the Cuban example, the U.S. government decided to support military dictatorships in the region. Faced with this adverse scenario, one can easily understand the behavior of the emerging Latin American community of communication research, which decided to adopt the "Dependency Theory" as the basis of Latin American thought on communication, showing also a particular interest in scientific materialism or Marxism.

In the 1970s, various academics and communication researchers in Latin America theorized the "science of communication" from the perspective of scientific materialism. A group of academics and communication researchers affirmed the thesis of the French Marxist Louis Althusser (1981)—on the role of the ideological state apparatus in advanced capitalist formation—as authentic dogmas of faith. According to such radical interpretations, the media serve the bourgeoisie to ensure the effective expanded reproduction of the dominant ideology, contributing as well to ensure the expanded reproduction of qualifying a diversified workforce. In the most advanced capitalist formations, the media have collectively achieved the status of a hegemonic ideological apparatus, displacing family background and efforts in school to ensure the expanded reproduction of the dominant ideology and the expanded reproduction of the workforce (Esteinou, 1979)

In Chile, the Socialist government of Salvador Allende (1970-1973) encouraged the development of a stream of intellectuals, a "Latin Europe" inspired by Althusser, whose leader, according to Marques de Melo (2007), was Armand Mattelart. Members of this group included Héctor Schmucler, Hugo Assmann, Michèle Mattelart, Mabel Piccini, and Ariel Dorfman.

The most emblematic book of that trend, *Para leer al Pato Donald. Comunicación de masa y colonialismo* [*How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*], by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart (1971), largely summarized the arguments made by Althusser's followers against the United States and "mass culture." "To be expelled from the Club Disneyland" come these lines:

> Those responsible for the book will be defined as obscene and immoral (while the Walt Disney World is pure), as complicated and confused in sophistication and refinement (while Walt is sincere, open, fair), members of an embarrassed elite (while Disney is the most popular of all), as political agitators (while Disney World is innocent and it harmoniously gathers together all around that have nothing to do with partisan interests), as calculating and bitter (whereas Walt D. is spontaneous and emotional, and makes you laugh). (Dorfman and Mattelart. 1972, p. 15)

Besides the Althusserian Marxism and the Frankfurt tradition—which is recognized as the direct heir of the tradition of political economy of communication spread throughout the region—the Christian-Marxist analysis of Paulo Freire (Brazil) sought to lay the groundwork of an effectively and original Latin American Marxist thought, attentive to the realities and contradictions of the region.

In the 1970s, a number of communication academics and researchers incurred criticism for objectionable excesses. Raúl Fuentes Navarro (1992), a prominent Mexican scholar, talks about it, referring to some passages from the thesis of Daniel Carlos Gutierrez Rohan:

> Within the scientific practice of communication study, research is accepted when it works for the general system, adapting to the rational objectives already set when they fulfill the role of reproducing society and concealing in the relations of production within the capitalist system. . . . Only in cases where scientific practice produces theoretical constructs that can be used by marketing, election campaigns, the changing of attitudes (just to mention three examples) is when they are given a scientific validity. . . . So, when communication study no longer conceals the conflicts and contradictions produced in capitalism and addresses them as they really are (examining their causes, from their origins to their results and effects), communication study

will exceed the ideological implications that it has. (p. 92)

In these revolutionary days, the study of public relations, organizational communication, advertising, marketing, information technology research, and many other subjects that today can be considered as perfectly indispensable in any curriculum for all undergraduates in communication sciences, were then systematically disqualified by several academics and researchers of communication in Latin America because they were considered lower-ranking subjects in theoretical reflection and contemporary critical communications.

In some universities it even got to a point of labeling public relations and organizational communication as "functional concerns," a situation that automatically transformed them to irrelevant subjects in the training process of truly "critical" communications specialists. In such revolutionary days "theorization" prevailed—a term proposed by Daniel Prieto Castillo to designate intellectual work, fundamentally ideological. In this respect, the prominent Mexican scholar Enrique Sánchez Ruiz (1994) says:

> Certain dogmas and certain absolute truths were taken which prevented a particular investigation. In the '60s and '70s, many Latin American researchers forgot to treat with rigor their theories, methodologies, and research techniques. Therefore they elaborated a very polished discourse, sometimes with factual backing, but it was still a discourse. (p. 35)

According to Marques de Melo, the first stage in the development of Latin American academic communication—the battle for hegemony—ended with the founding of the ALAIC. Marques de Melo (2004) states that only since 1972 can we locate the first initiatives to create an organization capable of integrating the majority of communication researchers in Latin America. In November, 1978, during a meeting at the premises of the Institute of Communications Research (ININCO) in Caracas, Venezuela (part of the Central University of Venezuela), the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers (ALAIC) was created. Marques de Melo (2004) states that the foundation of the ALAIC

> was aided by four national academic associations in operation: ABEPEC (Brazil), AVIC (Venezuela), AVIC (Colombia), and CONEICC (Mexico). It also added two professional associations: FELAP (based in Venezuela) and ILET

(Mexico). UNESCO also participated in the foundation. The researcher Mario Kaplun joined personally. . . . In total, 10 men of the founding assembly participated (Alberto Ancizar, Venezuela; Eleazar Diaz Rangel, Venezuela; Enrique Oteiza, Venezuela; Fernando Reyes Matta, Chile; Josep Rota, Mexico; Luis Anibal Gomez, Venezuela; Luis Gonzaga Motta, Brazil; Mario Kaplún, Uruguay; Oswaldo Capriles, Venezuela; Rafael Roncagliolo, Peru) and two women (Patricia Anzola, Colombia and Elizabeth Safar, Venezuela). (p. 15)

In his valuable chronology, Marques de Melo omits a fact that we consider of particular relevance. In 1976 Universidad Iberoamericana began offering the first graduate program in communication sciences in Latin America. Again other universities, first in Mexico and then throughout Latin America, opened their respective graduate programs in communication, replicating the curriculum of the Masters in Communication from the Universidad Iberoamericana.

B. "The battle for survival": The adolescence stage

In the second stage of the chronology proposed by Marques de Melo—"the battle for survival" (what we term "the difficult adolescent stage of the Latin American communication research and study—which covers the period from 1979 to 1988, the main character is the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers (ALAIC). During this period, five scholars chaired the ALAIC: Luis Aníbal Gómez (Venezuela), Jesús Martín-Barbero (Spain-Colombia), Oswaldo Capriles and Alejandro Alfonzo (both Venezuela), and Patricia Anzola (Colombia). According to Marques de Melo (2004) this period manifested great instability for the ALAIC:

> The obstacles faced by the vanguard of ALAIC to implement the decisions taken in Caracas were difficult to overcome. . . . The Directors of ALAIC held three meetings, Lima, Quito, and Mexico in conjunction with international meetings sponsored by various organizations to which some of its members were invited. . . . The ALAIC functioned less as a professional body and more as a service-providing agency, specifying professional opportunities for its partners. (pp. 15-16)

Martín-Barbero, the most outstanding disciple of Manuel Martin Serrano (the founder of the first depart-

ment of communication theory in Spanish universities and the holder of the chair of communication in the Department of Sociology in the School of Information Science of Complutense University in Madrid and the father of the theory of social mediation) served first as vice president of the ALAIC. However, when Anibal Gomez resigned the presidency, Martín-Barbero took office. Frankly, the communication academics and researcher members in ALAIC seemed unaware of or indifferent to the change. Therefore, under the chairmanship of Martín-Barbero and within the framework of the Second ALAIC General Assembly (July-August 1980), the group decided to amend the statutes to find a role for national associations "The statutes were altered to emphasize the national associations of researchers, with the exception for some personal memberships" (Marques de Melo, 2004, p. 16). In 1982, with Patricia Anzola (Colombia) the president of the ALAIC and Elizabeth Fox the vice president of the association, ALAIC received funding from the International Development Research Center, an organization supported by the Canadian parliament, in order to publish six volumes and to set up a new account for the ALAIC finances which had recorded losses.

In his valuable chronology, Marques de Melo fails to mention that in 1980 UNESCO published the report of the International Commission chaired by Sean MacBride, *Many Voices, One World* [*Un solo mundo, voces múltiples*]. The report—now considered almost reverently by many academics and communication researchers in Latin America—responded to the need of diagnosing the main problems of information and communication in order to outline the need for a new information order. With respect to the relevance of the report, Raúl Fuentes Navarro (2005) says, "In placing that famous text in the framework for moving towards a more *new and just world order in information and communication*, the McBride Commission explained to the world the necessity of democratizing communication, recognizing the important role of participation as a right of all people in determining the organization and fate of social life" (p. 12).

Another important event in the development of the Latin American communication academy missed by Marques de Melo occurred with the creation of the Latin American Federation of Faculties of Social Communication (FELAFACS) in October, 1981. This took place in Melgar del Castillo, Colombia, thanks to the initiative of a group of academics and researchers in communication, most of whose colleges were affili-

ated with the Society of Jesus, such as the Iberoamericana University, the University of Lima, and the Javeriana [la Universidad Iberoamericana, la Universidad de Lima, la Universidad Javeriana], among others. On the foundation of FELAFACS, Teresa Quiroz (2006), its current president, noted:

> The first meeting of scholars from six Latin American countries at the University of Lima in 1979 led to the idea of founding a federation that grouped the faculties and schools of communication in Latin America, without any distinction for their leadership or character (public, private, secular, or religious). An organizing committee, also at the University of Lima with the assistance of two countries, called a second meeting. That took place in October, 1981, in the city of Melgar in Colombia, and there FELAFACS was founded and Joaquin Sanchez, S.J., of the Pontifical Javeriana University became its first president, with Walter Neira as its Executive Secretary, who has served until today. (¶ 1)

On the foundation of the FELAFACS, the federation's website records the following information:

> In March, 1979, in Lima, the deans and professors from 27 Schools of Social Communication, mainly from the Andean countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela) and some universities in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico met. It was thus possible to make the **First Latin American Meeting of Faculties of Social Communication**, where a group of prominent scholars exchanged experiences for the first time and looked for ways of dialogue and common action. However, the mechanisms that could facilitate what was already felt necessary—integration and horizontal cooperation— were not yet clear. (FELAFACS, n.d., ¶ 1)

To avoid the financial deficit, which since its foundation had weighed on ALAIC, FELAFACS obtained from its beginning the generous support of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany, an organization interested in promoting the development of Christian Democracy in the region. Through the Program of Media and Democracy of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, with a base in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Frank Priess (the Foundation representative) decided to provide financial support for FELAFACS, which during its early years affiliated with more than 150 colleges or schools of communication in 16 countries. Shortly after, "Entities in five

countries in Latin America in addition to the 21 countries represented in our federation, in addition to Spain, the United States, and Canada become affiliated" (Quiroz, 2006, ¶ 2).

During the 1980s, which some scholars have designated as "the lost decade for Latin America," while the ALAIC literally faced a *battle for survival*, FELAFACS grew to over 300 affiliated schools and colleges of communication. In 1987 UNESCO recognized FELAFACS as an international organization, with headquarters in Lima, Peru; the Peruvian government recognized it as an "International Technical Cooperation Agency." In 2010 FELAFACS will move its headquarters to Cali, Colombia. FELAFACS has made significant contributions to the study of communication in the region, with the publication of *Diálogos de la Comunicación*, an on-line journal, *Cuadernos Diálogos*.

C. "The battle of reconstruction"

The period designated by Marques de Melo as "the battle of reconstruction" begins with the founding of the ALAIC in Brazil in 1989 and continues until today. During this period, the Latin American academy of communication became a kind of disputed franchise.

ALAIC

In 1988, as part of the Biennial Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) held in Barcelona, Spain, leading Latin American researchers Rafael Roncagliolo, Luis Peirano, Jesús Martín-Barbero, Anamaria Fadul, Fatima Fernandez, and Joaquin Sanchez took the initiative to convene an open meeting to discuss the future of the ALAIC, ending a recognition of the need for a revamping. The group assigned that responsibility to Brazil, through INTERCOM (the entity representing the academic community devoted to the study of communication in Brazil), which designated José Marques de Melo as the ideal person to do so. The involvement of communication researchers, mainly from Brazilian and Mexican associations, played a key role in the resurrection of the ALAIC, as Marques de Melo (1992) recognizes:

> The proposal was well received by participants in the 11th Brazilian Congress of Communication Researchers (meeting in the city of Vicosa, MG, in September, 1988), mainly thanks to Professor Margarida Kunsch, president of Intercom, which basically ensured the private

support of the committee in charge of restructuring ALAIC. . . . In December, 1988 representatives of leading Brazilian and Mexican institutions operating in the area of communication (INTERCOM; ABECOM, UCBC, AMIC, CONEICC) and the regional body OCIC/AL met in the town of Embu Guacu, to sign a document convening the Assembly of Reconstituting ALAIC. Margarida Kunsch (INTERCOM), Enrique Sánchez (AMIC), Antonio Carlos de Jesús (ABECOM), Luis Núñez (CONEICC), Francisco de Assis Fernández (UCBC), and José Tavares Barros (OCIC-AL) signed this document. (1992, p. 97)

The Board of Reconstruction of ALAIC met in 1989 in Florianopolis, Brazil, at the Annual Congress of INTERCOM. José Marques de Melo assumed the presidency of ALAIC from 1989 to 1992. Between 1979 and 2009, 11 scholars and researchers have served as presidents of the ALAIC: Luis Aníbal Gómez (Venezuela), 1979-1980; Jesús Martín-Barbero (Colombia), 1981-1982; Oswaldo Capriles and Alejandro Alfonzo (Venezuela), 1982-1984, Patricia Anzola (Colombia), 1984-1989; José Marques de Melo (Brazil), 1989-1992; Enrique Sanchez Ruiz (México), 1992-1995, Luis Peirano (Perú), 1995-1998; Margarida Krohling Kunsch (Brazil), 1998- 2005; Erick Torrico (Bolivia), 2005-2008, and Cesar Bolano (Brazil), 2009-2012.

Since 1992, ALAIC has organized nine academic conferences and five workshops:

1992	I Congress	Sao Paulo, Brazil
1994	II Congress	Guadalajara, México
1996	III Congress	Caracas, Venezuela
1998	IV Congress	Recife, Brazil
2000	V Congress	Santiago de Chile, Chile
2002	VI Congress	Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia
2004	VII Congress	La Plata, Argentina
2006	VIII Congress	Sao Leopoldo, Brazil
2008	IX Congress	Monterrey, Mexico
1999	Seminar I	Cochabamba, Bolivia
2001	Seminar II	La Plata, Argentina
2003	Seminar III	Sao Paulo, Brazil
2005	Seminar IV	La Paz, Bolivia
2007	Seminar V	Caracas, Venezuela

Through 22 thematic groups, ALAIC promotes communication research in Latin America: Communication, Technology and Development; Communication and City; Communication and Media Policy; Political Economy of Communications; Reception Studies; Journalism Studies; Ethics and Communication Law; Popular Communication; Communication and Education; Communication and Health; Speech and Communication; Organizational Communication and Public Relations; Advertising Communication; History of Communication; Media and Citizens Community; Soap Operas and Drama; Theory and Methodologies of Communication Research; Internet and the Information Society; Intercultural Communication; Communication and Socio-Cultural Studies; Media, Children and Adolescents; and Communication for Social Change. The large number of research groups in ALAIC show marked differences in the degree of commitment and participation. In recent ALAIC Congresses, organizers have found it necessary to invite alternate coordinators due to absence of the group leaders. In most cases, many note the lack of resources to meet the costs of attending the congress. Presently, the organization has discounted the possibility of conducting a virtual congress. Additionally, despite the large number of professional fields that the new digital media have opened, ALAIC has rejected the possibility of opening new research groups over the last six years.

Since July 2004, ALAIC has published an international scientific journal, *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias da Comunicación*. So far eight issues have appeared. In the editorial of the first issue, Margarida Krohling Kunsch (2004), the editor of the journal, set out the objectives of the publication:

With a monthly periodical and international scope, this publication aims primarily to promote the diffusion, democratization, and strengthening of the Latin American Communication School of Thought. We also propose to extend the dialogue with the worldwide academic community and to contribute to the integral development of society on the continent. (p. 8)

The 30th anniversary of ALAIC took place during the group's ninth congress, attended by over 1,000 participants in Monterrey, Mexico. To mark the anniversary, Maria Cristina Gobbi, a leading Brazilian researcher, published the book *A batalla pela hegemonia comunicacional na América Latina. 30 anos da ALAIC* (2008), which offers a detailed account of the relevant contri-

bution of ALAIC to the development of Latin American communication study.

Some academics and researchers involved in the ALAIC have assumed the role of "contenders" in an imaginary "war" for hegemony of communication in Latin America. Gobbi's book (2008) deals with the "soldiers" of Latin American communication study, willing to fight against "others." Some questions immediately arise for us: "Who can claim interest in the communicational hegemony in Latin America and why?" and "Against whom do they compete for information hegemony in Latin America?"

The identity of Latin American communication research inevitably defines boundaries, separating, dividing, and segregating those considered "out" with respect to some insiders—a particularly delicate situation when you realize that the "importation of knowledge" is considered a contrary practice to the spirit of academic work in the region. Such a sectarian vision denies the universality of knowledge. But this affirmation in no way questions the affirmation of the singularity of Latin America communication research. What is questionable is the political project that makes the teaching and research of communication in the region a tight explanatory system in which the chief authors taught are the leaders of the same Latin American academy of communication.

The caudillo—a tragic figure in the imagination of Latin American political development—is by no means exhausted in the sphere of politics. Within our institutions, including those involved in academics and research, one may find the presence of certain chiefs and leaders, as well as clientelistic practices which allow them to maintain their influence and, worse, to validate and extend this phenomenon of dominance.

Despite efforts made by ALAIC to promote the development of a Latin American community of communication teaching and research, the number of communication scholars and researchers that regularly participate effectively in its activities is very low. Several Latin American researchers have objected to the incipient internal democracy of ALAIC. Even in the recent elections conducted at the Fifth Seminar of ALAIC in Caracas, Venezuela (2009)—which should have occurred in 2008 at the Ninth Congress—only 150 members voted (the majority via the Internet) and for a single ticket. Unfortunately, ALAIC postponed a crucial self-criticism. Now, the potential for generational change is minimal. Caudillism prevented the transition to an indispensable stage of institutional maturity. It is essential to move from a "battle for reconstruction" towards building a genuinely democratic and institutional life.

FELAFACS

The sustained growth achieved by FELAFACS during the 1980s largely resulted from the work done by some of its founding members, those performing teaching, administrative, and research duties in schools and faculties of communication in some of the leading universities of the Society of Jesus in Latin America, like the Universidad Iberoamericana, the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente (ITESO), both in Mexico, the Universidad Javeriana (Colombia), and the University of Lima. (Peru).

Over the years, the founders of FELAFACS, who also participated in the founding of some national associations, also influenced these, just as had previously occurred with at least three of the nine national associations of communication in schools and universities affiliated with FELAFACS: the National Council for Teaching and Research in Communication Sciences (CONEICC) in Mexico, the Colombian Association of Faculties of Social Communication (AFACOM), and the Peruvian Association of Schools of Social Communication (APFACOM). (The remaining national associations affiliated with FELAFACS are the Argentine Association of Schools of Social Communication (AFAC), the Brazilian Association of Schools of Social Communication (ABECOM), the Dominican Association of Departments and Schools of Social Communication (Adecom), the Panamanian Association of Higher Education in Social Communication (ASPECOM), the Puerto Rican Association of Academic Programs for Social Communication (APPACS), and the Venezuelan Council for Teaching and Research.) The influence of those associated with the Jesuit schools helped to promote a Jesuit priest—Joaquín Sánchez from Colombia—as president of FELAFACS from 1990 to 1993.

In 1992, the seventh meeting of FELAFACS had the theme of "Communication, Identity, and Latin American Integration." In the days prior to the meeting, CONEICC also met, with both meetings organized by Luis Núñez Gornés, the director of the Universidad Iberoamericana (Mexico), who, based on his planning work and with the strong support of the "founders" of FELAFACS, easily won the presidency of the federation, assuming its duties in 1994. During his term (1994-2003) Núñez faced two crisis that rocked FELAFACS: first, the distancing of outstanding

Brazilian researchers, such as José Marques de Melo, Margarida Krohling, and Mary Inmacolata; and second, the reduction of funding by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The withdrawal of the Brazilians occurred during the planning of the October, 2000 meeting in Sao Paulo. Currently only one Brazilian university—the Methodist University of Sao Paolo, Brazil—remains affiliated with FELAFACS. The results from that difficult meeting influenced the directors of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, who decided to gradually reduce the grant awarded to FELAFACS. Dr. Karla Spon became program director of the Media and Democracy in Latin America program replacing Frank Priess, who took a senior post in the office of the Foundation in Mexico. FELAFACS represented only one of Spon's priorities, who allocated considerable resources to the Program for Media and Democracy in Latin America, a network of expert consultants in American propaganda.

In adverse conditions Teresa Quiroz, Peru's most outstanding researcher who works at the University of Lima, became the president of FELAFACS. Quiroz implemented a plan to meet the demands of new times. FELAFACS, not exactly accustomed to austerity with the generous contributions of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, had to adjust. It moved the journal *Diálogos de la Comunicación* to the Internet and relocated the facilities of FELAFACS to the University of Lima. FELAFACS has organized 13 Latin American meetings, most recently in October, 2009 at the University of Havana in Cuba, where Alvaro Rojas, dean of the Faculty of Social Communication at the Universidad Autonoma de Occidente, Colombia, became chairman of FELAFACS for 2010- 2013.

Other Agencies

In the mid 1980s, José Manuel de Pablos, a well known Spanish professor in the Faculty of Information Sciences at the Universidad de La Laguna, located in Tenerife and the editor of *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* (http://www.ull.es/publicaciones/latina) coordinated a group of faculty from Spain who taught the first doctoral programs in communication for students from Latin America, mainly from Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina. In 1996 on the initiative of a group of Latin American doctoral students at the University of La Laguna and from the recommendation of the first *Jornadas Canarias-América* two projects emerged: the *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* and the second *Jornadas*

Canarias-América (in Cartagena de Indias). In 1997 the First Biennial meeting Iberoamericana de Comunicación occurred in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, with the theme, The public media on the threshold of the 21st century. Subsequent biennial meetings took place at the University of La Laguna, Spain (1999); Universidad de Las Americas, Mexico (2001); El Salvador (2003); Tecnológico de Monterrey, Mexico (2005); University of Rosario, Argentina (2007); and Universidad Autonoma de Chihuahua, Mexico (2009).

On the initiative of some graduates of the doctoral program at the University of La Laguna, as part of the fifth Biennial (2005), the Iberoamericana Academic Network of Communication was created which will offer doctoral programs in communication with some of the major Latin American universities.

ASICOM

Carlos Fernandez Colado, Mexico's leading communications expert and former rector of the University of Celaya (Mexico), is president and chief sponsor of the Iberoamericana Communication Association [Asociación Iberoamericana de Comunicación] (ASICOM). The Association collaborates in the Masters in Communication and New Technologies with the University of Oviedo in Spain and has recently concluded an agreement with the university and the Mexican newspaper *El Universal* to offer a Masters in Cyberjournalism (http://www.asicom.info/index.html).

CIAC

In 2009, at the Ninth Latin American Congress of Communication (IBERCOM), Latin American representatives of various agencies dedicated to communication research and teaching founded the Iberoamerican Confederation of Associations of Communication Science [Confederación Iberoamericana de Asociaciones Científicas de Comunicación], CIAC. Various associations participated at the founding assembly of this new entity: the Iberoamericana Communication Association [Asociación Iberoamericana de Comunicación] (ASSIBERCOM), ALAIC, FELAFACS, and the Lusófona Federation of Communication Sciences [Federación Lusófona de Ciencias de la Comunicación] (LUSOCOM). In addition, representatives of other communication associations participated, including the Argentina Federation of Communication (FADECCOS), the Bolivian Association of Communication Researchers (ABOIC), the Brazilian Federation of Scientific and Academic Associations of

Communication (SOCICOM), the Spanish Association of Communication Researchers (AE-IC), the Mexican Association of Communication Researchers (AMIC), and the Portuguese Association of Communication Sciences (SOPCOM).

José Marques de Melo was named president of this new partnership, which began with full support of the presidents of the various Latin American organizations such as Erick Torrico (ALAIC). The headquarters of CIAC will be located in Sao Paulo, which will also host the "First World Conference of Latin American Communication Research" and the "First Iberoamericana Forum for Graduate Communication Study," activities planned for the 2010-2011.

Publications

From the mid-1980s, FELAFACS sponsored a network of Iberoamericana journals, which brings together some of the major Latin American print publications specializing in communication issues, such as *Oficios Terrestres, Intersecciones/Comunicación, Nexos de la Cultura Bahiense, Temas y Problemas de la Comunicación* (Argentina); *Punto Cero, Aportes de la Comunicación y la Cultura* (Bolivia); *Comunicação e Sociedade, Comunicação e Educação, Biblioteconomia e Comunicação, Pensamiento Comunicacional Latino-americano, INTERCOM—Revista Brasileña de Comunicação, Comunicación UPB* (Brazil); *Signo y Pensamiento, Ojo de Buey* (Colombia); *Arandu, Chasqui* (Ecuador); *Comunicar: Revista de Educación en Medios de Comunicación, Analisi, Comunicación y Sociedad* (Spain), *Convergencia, Comunicación y Sociedad, Revista Mexicana de Comunicación, Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas, Tecnología y Comunicación Educativas, Versión, Estudios de Comunicación y Política* (México); *Diálogos de la Comunicación, Contratexto* (Perú); *Comunicación: Estudios Venezolanos de Comunicación, Revista Predios, Revista de Literatura Hispanoamericana, Anuario ININCO* (Venezuela); and *Inmediaciones de la Comunicación* (Uruguay). Most of these magazines have disappeared and some, such as *Diálogos*, are now only published online.

The first web magazine in Iberoamerica dedicated to communication is *Razón y Palabra*, which a team from the Tecnologico de Monterrey Campus Estado de Mexico has published on the Internet (www.razonypalabra.org.mx). The second web magazine is *Latina*, by José Manuel de Pablos at the Universidad de La Laguna in Tenerife (http://www.ull.es/publicaciones/latina/).

3. Conclusion: A strange paradox

Several Latin American communication scholars and researchers have aspired to extend their political-administrative career at the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR). At the organization's 40th anniversary meeting (in Oaxaca, Mexico), the meeting's planner, Carmen Gomez Mont, a leading Mexican researcher and then Director of the School of Communication at the Universidad Iberoamericana, sought a leading position in the IAMCR. Notwithstanding the planning work and the substantial budget for the Congress, Gomez Mont failed to secure election to the managers of the IAMCR, composed mainly of U.S. and European scholars and researchers. The Brazilian researcher César Bolano, current president of ALAIC, served as treasurer of the IAMCR in recent years, but without access to accounts and funds of that organization. The most recent conference at the IAMCR (Mexico, 2009), aimed to position certain Latin American leaders—those identified with the "political economy of communication" study—in the group of decision-makers who will determine the future direction of the IAMCR. Regardless of the interests of those particular researchers, one should ask what benefit will the promotion of those academics and researchers from Latin America within IAMCR have for the larger Latin American academy of communication.

Today the emerging Latin American academy of communication is undergoing a profound transition to the digital present. The uncertain outlook has definitely caused great confusion in the older generations of scholars and researchers of communication, who fear that they have lost the authority to diversify and multiply the sources of knowledge. The crisis definitely will not be solved by creating new associations with the same people and leaders, replicating the same patterns. The crisis can be solved if and only if the Latin American academy of communication undertakes an indispensable self-criticism. That is, without a doubt, the first step.

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Research on Colombian Cinema

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1. A Look Back: A Brief Account of Audiovisual Production in Colombia

An investigation into Colombian cinema bears a strong resemblance to the cinema production of that country. Both are marked by a general unfamiliarity with what preceded them; both are incipient but more important than the general public estimates; and both lose their impact when fragmented or not communicated to others.

National cinema has always been subject to the ebb and flow of cultural politics of a state that goes from little support for the film industry to not supporting it at all, and back again to providing some help. The promotion of the industry has not been enough, even though we must recognize that in the last years this situation has improved a little thanks to Law 814 in 2003 (the "Cinema Law"), which for the first time regulates and promotes cinema activity in the country.

The public and Colombian cinema have undergone a relationship marked by encounters and disagreements, mutual convenience and the ongoing complaints of audiences facing the combination of cinema reality and violence that appears in Colombian cinema. This has led to the public's inability to connect with the stories that the national cinema presents.

In the first half of the 20th century, Colombian cinema took inspiration from Colombian literature. This gave it characteristics similar to that literature: bucolic, local, romantic, with high doses of nostalgia for the countryside (especially in the transition from rural to urban areas, which began in the fifties with a massive migration to the cities). These characteristics clearly appear in works of literature such as *María* by Jorge Isaacs; in 1922 this became the first movie in Colombian cinema (Máximo Calvo, director). In these early years, other movies that claim the "campesino" style include *Alma Provinciana* (Félix Rodríguez, 1925), *Allá en el trapiche* (Roberto Saa, 1943), and *Flores del valle* (Máximo Calvo, 1941). Unfortunately for the history of Colombian cinema, many of the early movies were lost or have deteriorated in family or personal archives, and today none of these copies are conserved due to the lack of state policies on archives and document conservation, policies that took form only in 1986.

Between the first years and the 1940s, Colombian cinema dedicated itself to designing an idealized image of the country through a nostalgic cinema featuring rural values, traditional customs, and folklore. Between 1922 (the year of the first production) and 1940, Colombian cinema released 13 movies featuring these themes alone. From the 1950s only five productions remain, none of them representative of the national film history; only in 1965 did the first milestone in national film making occur, with the exhibition of the movie *El Rio de las tumbas* (Julio Luzardo, 1965), a political film of good technical quality and storytelling. This movie preceded another big production *Pasado el meridiano* (José María Arzuaga, 1967), which according to many critics, marked a pivotal point for the history of Colombian cinema.

In the 1960s and 1970s the influence of international movements such as Italian Neo-realism, the French New Wave, and the Brazilian Cinema Novo became evident in Colombian cinema. A committed and activist film movement, with Marxist political influence and a greater tendency to documentary, introduced a new group of young filmmakers educated abroad. They brought to the big screen "complaint stories," inspired by internal conflicts and social inequalities.

The 1980s manifested the need in Colombia to build a national film industry, even over the objections of a wide range of critics and aesthetic concerns. Some good movies had to share space with a variety of films of the so-called "popular cinema," which sought to reach the public with light products, ranging from the purely entertaining to the grotesque. Its main purpose was to build up a Colombian film tradition that a mass audience would enjoy, through a simple narrative technique with low technical costs—a cheap film that would achieve good results. Some Mexican movies of great commercial impact in Latin America such as *Sor Tequila*, *Capulina*, and *La India María* compounded this phenomenon by highly influencing the Colombian industry. The Mexican industry's success generated similar stories in Argentina and Brazil (*pornochanchada*). The big dif-

ference for Colombian cinema against other Latin American output was a very tentative initiative to include sexual ingredients in a conservative society.

In the 1990s the number of films produced in a year decreased considerably. This was in part due to the closure of FOCINE (the state enterprise dedicated to the promotion of the film industry in Colombia). However, this low production coincided with the production of some of the best movies in the history of the country such as *La estrategia del caracol* (Sergio Cabrera, 1993), *La gente de la Universal* (Felipe Aljure, 1993) and *Confesión a Laura* (Jaime Osorio, 1990). (One should not seek a causal link between these events.) Since the launch of the new law regarding cinema, the film industry in Colombia has experienced a boom characterized by the production of more than 10 movies a year, with more public assistance to movie theaters and an increase of film premieres on television. This latter increase arises from the support that private TV channels give to Colombian films. RCN, for example, created a division called RCN Film dedicated to investing in the executive production of films. This has benefitted the film industry in terms of marketing and promotion, though it has not proven as beneficial to film narrative, which has been affected by an aesthetic of television drama. However, this rate of production, speaking in terms of the industry, is still fairly paltry compared with other countries in the region such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina. Ticket sales are completely inadequate since, for example, Colombia's highest-grossing films in history barely reached a little more than a million viewers and since 1996 (the year of launch of the industry) only 19 films reached the minimum audience of 200,000. A look at 2006, which is the most successful year so far for Colombian films, shows that the national cinema box office reported 2,807,000 viewers out of a total of more than 20 million total cinema viewers, or only 13.8% (according to data to 2007 from the Fundación Proimágenes en Movimiento, which administers the cinema law). In the same period we find more dramatic cases, such as in 1997 and 1999, where the box office for local films did not constitute 1% of the total cinema admissions, a situation similar to the consistent figures before 1990, although there is not much hard data about this issue.

Recent years have generated much optimism and, certainly, the film industry in Colombia is growing little by little; yet we must be realistic in affirming that we have only changed the diapers to enter a period of early childhood in Colombian film.

2. The Study of Colombian Cinema

It is important to clarify, first of all, that the information presented below does not constitute a "state of the research" done in Colombia and other countries on Colombian film, but rather a description of some of works published on this issue, intersected, obviously, by government policies of research encouragement and support. This provision could serve as input for a study of these things, which not only identify which and how many studies have occurred but also report the results and the methods used to address the study objectives, as well as the main topics studied. Such a report would help to avoid the repetition of similar works, which often take no account of their direct antecedents.

There has been little research on film in Colombia, in fact less than what academics might think, though, in recent years, interesting initiatives to compile what has been achieved in this way have emerged. It is frustrating to discover almost a commonplace in research projects that "in Colombia nothing has been done in audiovisual research." (Personally, when I serve in juries in competitions at the local or national level for assessment of undergraduate and master's theses, I note that the citations used usually refer to international authors, some Latin American, but only a couple of Colombian authors. The research projects undertaken in Colombia rarely appear as background for future national research on similar topics.) The responsibility for this lack of knowledge about what has been achieved in research does not rest solely on the researchers, but also on the (increasing) efforts in classifying the material in Colombia—the results of investigations which could find publication in books and articles.

In recent years, however, there have been some good and important initiatives to promote audiovisual research and raise awareness about what has been done. We should acknowledge the work that entities such as the Ministry of Culture and the Mayor of Bogotá have done. Similarly, we have inventories of the the work of institutions like the Muséo Nacional de Colombia and the Bogotá District Cinematheque, as well as the presentation of the 12th Annual Ernesto Restrepo Tirado History Lecture, which in 2008 had the theme "versions, subversions, and representations of Colombian cinema: Recent investigations." Similarly, we find the important database of "Colciencias" (Departamento Administrativo Colombiano para el Fomento de la Ciencia y la Tecnología) which lets you view the titles of research in all fields of knowledge in the country. For

this review, we conducted a thorough search of the research on Colombian film in areas of communications and the arts. The database does have a major drawback: it only mentions the names of the projects, without any possibility of knowing the contents and results of these studies. Magazines like *Extrabismos* and *Kinetoscopio* have also carried out reviews of research into film in Colombia. All of them were taken as the basis of the information in this text.

One of the major difficulties in a review such as this arises with the thin line between film criticism and history, since many of the most important books on the subject of national cinema and its history do not rest on research but on criticism or film appreciation, which slightly reduces the scientific impact. In addition to addressing the major international theoretical issues which deal with related subjects of film studies and the visual image, one could say that the vast majority of film studies in Colombia are based on two emblematic authors who have addressed the issue of film history in Colombia: Hernando Martinez Salcedo Pardo and Hernando Silva. The vast majority of the works probed have as a reference the works of these important authors, whose work was essentially between the 1970s and the late 1990s in examining the different periods of Colombian cinema and understanding a little better whether we can speak of a Colombian film style in the strict sense of the word.

In 1978 Hernando Martinez Pardo published *Historia del Cine Colombiano*, which first compiled the main Colombian milestones and has become an indispensable book for those who wish to draw different historiographies of national cinema. That noted, we cannot ignore the major French film critic Georges Sadoul (1973) who briefly referred to Colombian film. The work of Martinez Pardo is the most important historical record of hits in national filmography. It constitutes an important analysis of the development and evolution of cinema in Colombia, so much so that more than 30 years later a work that updates or supplements the tracking and analysis that Martinez did has not yet appeared.

Meanwhile, in the early 1980s, Hernando Salcedo Silva (1981) offered an interesting collection and analysis of the Colombian silent cinema period, tracing it from the first signs of cinema in the country (two years after the invention of the cinema), through the first feature films in the 1920s, reaching the late 1940s. His work combines anecdotes about the film activity in the country with an interesting approach to a periodization of cinema in Colombia. In this last category its ranking of the critical periods in Colombia and their relationships to newspaper reports, film appreciation, literary criticism, and scholarship stand out. The film chronicles of Hernando Valencia Goelkel (1974), one of the most important film critics of the country, provides a benchmark that appears frequently in later studies. It provides not only the chronicles but also important documentation about the cinema of the period in which it was written, taking into account the important career of its author, who began this task in the early 1950s.

The work of these authors is very important, but unfortunately many theoretical investigations on the subject of Colombian cinema do not go beyond these references, and it is clear that each new project does not know much about its direct antecedents, which has led to repeatedly addressing the same issues regardless of the findings of similar initiatives. This situation has generated a great ignorance of what is researched at various institutions as well as a general feeling that nothing has been done on film research in Colombia.

Apart from the books mentioned before, we must consider other less widely used texts such as Valverde (1978), with its important testimonial collection of some of the most important figures of the Colombian film, and Laurens (1988), which makes some important contributions from the historiography of the period but mainly from criticism. Several compilations of texts of important Colombian critics have appeared, such as the three volumes of Alvarez (1988, 1992, 1998), which include chapters collecting some of his work published in the newspaper *El Colombian*, on the issue of Colombian cinema. Other important compilation books are Ramos (1982) and Osorio (2005). Both works collect articles already published by their authors; in the second case it is very important to acknowledge the author's intention to take an historical approach to the selection of certain articles so that it is not just a compilation text. The compilation of major articles by Caicedo (1999), a novelist and film critic of the caleño film, deserves a special mention as well. He has become a cult author, who throughout the 1970s directed the magazine *Ojo al cine* and whose work of film criticism was picked up by friends and filmmakers Luis Ospina and Sandro Romero. From a thematic point of view, one can find books such as Sanchez (1987) on film violence, which does not constitute an analysis of the topic, but provides an important resource for research by presenting the transcripts of the original scripts of four of the most important Colombian films

on the subject. Despite its nascent state, we must recognize that what has appeared contributes much more than what people have usually estimated. We should also recognize a great evolution between the first academic papers, which are very akin to the critics where data alternates with opinions, and the later ongoing investigations, with their greater scientific rigor and more appropriate methodologies for the study of national film culture, drawing on disciplines as diverse as history, sociology, literature, linguistics, and communication, among others.

According to the Colombian historian and critic Oswaldo Osorio, it could be said that "what has been written about the film in the country does not even correspond, as it would be logical, to the slow and episodic dynamics of film production, but its process has been even more sluggish" (2008a, p. 6).

3. Research Interests

Clearly, however, a renewed interest in research related to national cinema has now emerged, fueled by growing interest in film production in Colombia and by the rise of Colombian professionals studying for their Masters and Doctorates in this field at (mostly foreign) universities. According to Pedro Adrián Zuluaga "If in the '60s the practice of cinema in Colombia was hit by the return of directors formed outside their country, something will happen, or is already happening in the field of audiovisual studies" (Osorio, 2008a, p. 4). Reviewing the titles of the studies that we have inventoried in the aforementioned collections, we find a large interest in the topics of (a) periods of Colombian film, (b) the relationship between film and industry in Colombia, (c) the work of auteurs, (d) the documentary, and (e) film criticism and film societies.

A. Periods of Colombian cinema

Perhaps the most studied period in the history of Colombian cinema is the pioneer one. Scholars from disciplines such as history, communication, and sociology have taken this approach, which obviously constitutes a crossing of interesting paradigms, seen often in interdisciplinary studies. In addition to the texts by Laurens (1988), Valencia (1974), Salcedo (1981), and Ramos (1982), we see other initiatives that study particular periods. As noted, the first pioneers of cinema receive the most attention, without a doubt. This subject interests Edda Pilar Duque (1988, 1992). In these texts, Duque explores the beginnings of Colombian cinema with reference to the activities of film direc-

tors, as well as to the efforts of early exhibitors, highlighting among others the figure of Camilo Correo, the founder of the oldest cinema chain that still exists in Colombia, Procinal.

Along the same line we find some texts that aim to go beyond the storage of important archival material to propose more careful analysis; cultural or educational institutions (national or regional) primarily sponsor these studies. In this regard we have work by González and Nieto (1987) examining 50 years of "talkies" from the Acevedo archive; by Nieto and Rojas (1992) on the Olympia film group and the Di Domenico family, a work funded by the Colombian Film Heritage Foundation; by Atehortúa (1999) on the larger cultural impact of early film experience; by López (2008) examining the mixed background of the culture of "Manizales," a work sponsored by the institute for Culture and Tourism of Bogota; and by Cadavid (2006) on the visual memory of Colombia in film, released by the University of Antioquia press.

On the period of the "surcharge law" [basically, the 1970s, named for a 1972 law that affected film company organization and production policies — ed.], a number of books analyze the audiovisual products made under the policies of FOCINE: an edited volume by Cinemateca Distrital (1982) specifically on the effects of the law and Restrepo (1989) on the short- and medium-length films of the period. On the cinema of the 1980s one finds fewer research studies; among them it is interesting to point out the autobiography of Gustavo Nieto Roa, *Una vida de película* (1997). The book provides an inside look at a kind of autobiography often overlooked in the country, with a focus on commercial and popular cinema, whose main representative is the author of the book and whose accomplishments are so important that we speak of *nietorroismo* to refer to the Colombian comic film directed to the general public. Of the approaches to this issue, perhaps the most important as an input for researchers in the field is the collection assembled by the Fundación Patrimonio Fílmico Colombiano (2005), *Largometrajes colombianos en cine y video 1915-2004*, an important compilation that includes not only references to documentary and fiction films in the history of Colombia but also synopses, some data concerning production, and brief critical comments on some of the films. Here we see a beginning of work from the universities by research groups.

B. The relationship between cinema and industry in Colombia

This subject is also outlined in some texts. Some books refer to the subject of legislation on cinema. Besides the brochures and information on the law of cinema, Suárez (1988) specifically discusses Colombian legislation on cinema; more economic detail appears in the studies published in Convenio Andrés Bello/Ministerio de Cultura/ Proimágenes en Movimiento (2003). Rey (2003) examines cultural policies and trends in cinema in *Evocar la vida: Contextos y variaciones en el cine latinoamericano reciente*, a piece based on a conference given at the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston in September, 2003.

Despite the absence of many books on the subject, this topic appears over and over in the calls for research conducted on the subject of film and in thesis programs in communication and economics. Along these lines, Acosta (2008, p. 34) found 13 papers related to this issue in the country. Along with the projects related to the history of Colombian cinema (19 projects) such research addresses the more common interests in Colombia, many of them having a very strong presence of conflict issues, violence, and cinema. This interest appears more strongly in studies from the U.S. academy where we can find over a dozen papers on the topic of violence in Colombian and Latin American cinema. The studies made by American universities show very important details about Colombian film from an outside perspective; these include the work of Suarez (2005, 2008a, 2008b), Caro (2006, 2008), Kantaris (2007, 2008) and Lopez (2000, 2003).

C. The work of auteurs

When it comes to the work of auteurs, the films of Victor Gaviria, with their neo-realistic character and quasi-documentary nature, strongly related to contemporary urban violence in the country, receive a great deal of interest. The historical, social, and stylistic relevance has captured the attention of researchers; therefore, we can find interviews and analysis of his films in Ruffinelli (2002) which, according to the critic Oswaldo Osorio "is the most complete treatment that has been done on the Antioquian director, addressing his visual universe, literary themes, and methods from several perspectives: Criticism, analysis, interviews, and testimony of its employees" (Osorio, 2008b). His work has a powerful attraction to researchers from U.S. universities who have discussed the issue of Colombian cinema—for a list, see Suárez (2008b).

This is why we can find studies of his work published in Venezuela (Dunno Gottberg, 2003), as well as two interviews made with Gaviria (2002; Driver & Jennings Tweddell, 2008). In addition there are studies such as the doctoral thesis by Jácome (2006) and the analytical work on the issue of the "disposable human condition" made by Jáuregui and Suárez (2002) starting from the analysis of the characters in three Colombian films, where issues such as the objectification of the individual and the loss of their human dignity in the term "disposable" is explored. Wilson (2007) explores Gaviria's film, *Rodrigo D No Futuro* and offers a comparison between the film *Umberto D* by the Italian neorealistic director Vittorio De Sica and the film by Víctor Gaviria.

On the cinema of violence in Colombia, as well as touching the work of Gaviria, Kantaris (2008) published an article on urban cinema and violence in Colombia, and Quintero (2007) investigates Gaviria's work in his doctoral thesis at Wayne State University. Other auteurs who have received academic attention relate more to the subject of the documentary, which I will mention in the next section.

D. The documentary

The theme of the documentary is particularly important for Colombia, since these films are particularly important in the 1970s, starting from the interest of the filmmakers to denounce the country's social problems and to make an important contribution to community support. The documentary of the 1970s is characterized, as already mentioned, by the political tendencies of the left and the almost militant position in support of the communities affected by social problems in Colombia.

It is important to note that, unlike film, documentary production is not centralized in Colombia. The most important schools of documentary filmmakers in Colombia have emerged in Cali in the 1970s and Medellín in the 1980s Important initiatives have also emerged with projects from the Colombian Caribbean coast, and of course, from Bogotá. The development of the documentary in recent years has also been strengthened by the appearance of film schools like the National University in Bogotá and the impetus given by the school of documentary filmmakers from Cali that has grown under the School of Social Communication at the Universidad del Valle.

Gender has also received support from regional and national television, and in this regard we find projects of documentary series such as *Yuruparí* (promoted

by Audiovisual, the state capital firm in the 1980s), *Rostros y rastros* of the Universidad del Valle de Cali and *Muchachos a lo bien* of the Regional Corporation and the Social Foundation in Medellin. These projects, among others, have not only had a major impact on the momentum of the documentary, but also in recording the history and stories of the country and its regions.

In the order of ideas, research on documentary has also gained great significance and has received greater interest in research projects in the country. Among the works we find books such as Gutiérrez and Aguilera's (2002) study of the Colombian documentary and more than a dozen graduate theses related to the topic. It should be noted that from the research groups registered in "Colciencias" several projects relate to the theme of the documentary, although the number is probably bigger than what has been reported.

E. Film criticism and film societies

Critics and film clubs in Colombia have not been limited to their everyday work and, given the great importance of both movements in the country, have published some work on their craft, and the significance and limitations of what they do in a country like Colombia with its major problems of cultural policy and management. The memories of film critics' meetings in Pereira appear in Ossa (1999); short stories and essays by film clubs promoted by the National Association of "Cineclubes," in Colmenares (2003); works on and about journalistic film criticism, in Posada (1996) and Restrepo (1997).

4. Academic Research

To the panorama above we can add projects funded by the universities of the country. These appear marginalized by many of the compilations due to their low profile and little impact, resulting in a limited number of books and articles available for search. Colciencias, the main government agency responsible for the promotion of research in Colombia has a database to register production research groups called GroupLac. GroupLac assembles lists of researchers, projects, products, and research groups by areas of knowledge and universities. If the registration of titles of research appears in the database, though, it will only mention that they have been made or were made, but without further references to these studies we can only assume that the files will be on the shelves of universities with limited access. To this situation we must add the fact that Colciencias Colombia lists very little in regards to the promotion of

research from the social sciences or from the arts, because it channels its support primarily towards technological innovation, towards experimentation in the hard sciences, and towards the neuralgic problems of the country where they have identified strategic interests. Communication is obviously absent in the big picture and film is only a little less so.

A review of the GroupLac database, without doing an exhaustive check of the existence of the published results of the studies, shows projects related to Colombian film from the faculties of arts, communication, and social sciences. To search for what was investigated in the film area, we conducted a search of the research groups that relate to communication, sociology, history, and visual arts, finding a total of 445 research groups. In communication 95 groups appear in Colciencias, of which only 26 are recognized and grouped by Colciencias in categories A, B, and C, according to their level of expertise and intellectual production. Of the 95 groups, only five have some level of output related to the subject of the study of film from some perspective, although more than 10 declare film in their statements as their object of study.

The research group on Colombian communication, culture, and citizenship of the National University of Colombia reports a research line in film history in the 1970s and two projects related to the theme of film, but curiously none of them in relation to the 1970s. The products are an article published in the journal *Signo y Pensamiento* (Acosta, 1999) and a book published by Goliardos (Mora, 1999).

The Javeriana University of Bogotá has a group working on communication, media, and culture; it has a line of investigation in culture and media narrative and one which produced studies on narration in Colombian film from 1950-2000 (Alba & Ceballos, 2002) and two articles by Arias: "Cine y vida cotidiana en la Bogotá de los años veinte" (2007a) and "Glauber Rocha: una estética (polítca) del cine" (2007b). The group also presented a paper on nationalistic discourse in recent Colombian cinema at the Twelfth Annual Lecture of History Ernesto Restrepo Tirado in 2008. Similarly, we find listed the doctoral thesis of Maritza Ceballos of the Autonomous University of Barcelona *Puesta en escena de las pasiones en el cine. Tesis de doctorado; 1998 – 2005,"* [Staging the Passions at the Movies, 1998-2005]. Published in TDX (Theses and Dissertations Online) in 2006, it forms the basis for two articles Ceballos, 2006a, 2006b).

At the University of La Sabana we find listed the Media Research Center, which declares a line of

research that focuses on mass culture and cultural industries with a study project called "Narratives of the conflict set up in Colombian cinema" developed by Sandra Ruiz Moreno and Jerónimo Rivera Betancur between 2007 and 2009. The publications of the group include articles on armed conflict and Colombian cinema (Ruiz, Escallón, Niño, Romero, & Rueda, 2007), characters in Colombian films (Rivera, 2007a), the history of Colombian cinema (Rivera, 2007b), and cinema as entertainment (Rivera, 2008).

In the city of Medellín the research group IMAGO has developed two projects related to film. In the first, Jerónimo Rivera, Uriel Sánchez, and Jhon Jaime Osorio have conducted research on the consumption habits and preferences of the students of the first semester of communication in relation to the cinema and the contribution of the former to their skills prior to their college entrance. The second project, undertaken by Ernesto Correa and Jerónimo Rivera. was about the characters, the actions and the scenarios of the Colombian film between 1990 and 2005. Among the projects listed appear papers for the meetings of the Latin American Federation of Faculties of Communication (Felafacs, Bogotá, 2006), the Film Festival "Feria de las Flores de Medellín," the VII Conference on Research at the University of Medellín, and the 10th anniversary of the Faculty of Communication of the Catholic University de San Antonio in Murcia, Spain in 2007. We also find articles on the film consumption patterns of students (Rivera, Osorio, & Sanchez, 2006a), images and sound (Rivera, Sanchez, & Osorio, 2006), villains in Colombian movies from 1990 to 2005 (Lopera, 2007), the fragmented continuity between cinema fact and fiction (Correa, 2002), anecdotal cinema (Velez, 2007), and the fictional treatment of local events (López, 2005). From the same center comes a book on film narrative (Correa, Rivera, Caminos, & Ruiz, 2008). It was published under the imprint of the University of Medellín with the participation of research groups in Colombia, Argentina, and Spain and came about as a result of the VIII Conference on Research at the University of Medellín.

Also at the University of Medellín, the Communication and Identity group conducted a research project related to the topic of cinema: the representation of identities of Medellin in a documentary about the city between 1994 and 2005. Derived from this project and other works of the group, C. López (2008) wrote about identity and industry in Colombian film, based on university practices, while A. López (2008) reports on the documentary as a text in representing the city, a chapter of the book resulting from the journeys of investigations of the University of Medellin.

The communication research center at the University of Manizales has presented three film projects: "Tropología del Cine. Metáfora, metonimia, alegoría y símbolo en el cine de autor" [Film Tropology. Metaphor, metonymy, allegory and symbol in the arthouse] (2008) and "Trabajo de analisis poético y retórico de tropos al interior del cine de autor contemporáneo" [The work of poetic analysis and rhetorical tropes within the contemporary auteur cinema] and "Mitos y arquetipos en el cine contemporáneo occidental" [Myths and archetypes in contemporary Western cinema] (2007). The center has also published features on the productions written by Carlos Fernando Alvarado for the newspaper, *Pagina*, which from their titles could be criticism or movie reviews rather than research texts.

Out of all the research groups from history departments, we found one that relates history to visual sources from the National University of Colombia in Medellin. This group presents a tutorial on Italian neorealism and a project planned to create a basis for consultation of audiovisual materials and theoretical literature on image, film, and video to structure a line of research in history and film. However, we do not know in what state the project is, which was dated for 2006. It is worth noting that, although there are groups with topics that could be studied by way of film such as identity and cultural memory, we did not find any projects listed from studies related to film and history.

Finally, I have the feeling there is a large undercount in the area of the arts. Out of 145 groups registered in Colciencias, only 16 groups appear recognized and updated. Some names of the groups suggest an interest in cinema and audiovisual research, but one cannot know the details of their academic approaches. At the same time, we must recognize that the format established by Colciencias favors scientific research and many research groups in the area of film mix academic research with artistic work. This explains why they probably will not appear in light of the measurement rubric applied to them. In this regard, researchers in this area have complained in several academic scenarios where Colciencias has previously made its presence. However, we must recognize the existence of some projects that come from the area of arts. First, the research group, "Reflections on the production of audiovisual material" at the Manuela Beltran

University of Bogota presents three research projects on audiovisual production which has products related to the theme of film. These include the "Painted scenarios of expressionist cinema" by Ricardo Guerra in the seminar, "Let there be light: a journey through the history of cinematography photography" (2008) and "the use of film and audiovisual as a source for historical research" by Juana Rubio in the Audiovisual Festival of "El Cerro de Guadalupe" (2008). There are also some degree projects related to the topic of cinema. Some groups with names and lines of research that are very interesting appear yet they do not provide any information on projects. This is the case of the groups "Documentary Colombia" and "Kinos, perpetual motion"" of the National University. This last one only mentions the completion of a study in 2006 on film technology. This situation also occurs with the research group "History of the Colombian film" of the University "Nueva Colombia," which has no information recorded. The research group "Estudios de la imagen de la Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano de Bogotá" presents research in Colombia, 2007–2008, which has no related information that has been published.

We know that beyond the borders of Colombia, some research dedicated to the theme of Colombian cinema exists. Yet there also exists a great ignorance in the country about it, indicated by the small number of references to this work—only some texts from master's and doctoral study on literature or Latin American studies from universities in the U.S. and Europe.

5. Professional Associations of Researchers

If research in the field of audiovisual communication, and particularly in the field of cinema, is emerging, much more has the intention of researchers to validate similar studies or share knowledge with colleagues and peers from other universities. Here, then, we must highlight the efforts (most of them isolated) of some groups of researchers who have tried to build a scientific community around the topic of communication research.

First, we must mention Redicom, an association of communication researchers convened from the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. Its main objective is to strengthen the academic field of communication through research, development, and management; through the production and circulation of knowledge in communication and culture; and through the ongoing exchange of research projects and output of different researchers and groups, including the exchange and circulation of publications, the creation of discussion forums on policy issues of communication and culture, the realization of joint research projects, and the promotion of events and possible academic programs.

In the Iberoamerican area, the Iberoamericana Audiovisual Narrative Research Network (INAV) has, since 2005, promoted research and academic exchange among media professionals of Latin America with a common interest in the study of visual narratives. Among its main objectives, it looks to increase the presence of the study of audiovisual narratives in the meetings of communication faculty and researchers in Latin America, promoting the development of research in Latin American countries and generating common methodologies through discussion of research methodologies in visual narratives. The network has 79 research members from Spain, the USA, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

6. Conclusion

Much remains to be done but the road traveled has already begun. It is clear, however, that the efforts have not been few but have been widely dispersed. The first task should be, in the spirit of this article, the classification and categorization of research made in Colombia on the various aspects related to films from different sectors involved in the issue: state agencies and academic and independent researchers. Such a review should, of course, set aside the projects implemented in other countries (mainly in the United States) for researchers interested in the Colombian and Latin American cinema.

Anyway, we must recognize that this picture is probably just an illusion because we know the titles of research projects, papers, and books but we do not have much information on their content. Similarly, it is very possible that there are many other projects not included here since they are only known in the institution that sponsored them. So, after joining forces, the researchers in the field should agree on certain lines of investigation that permit them to develop this field of study and exercise pressure for the support and promotion of policies to fund research, which from the state are still very insufficient.

In conclusion, let me emphasize the words of Pedro Adrián Zuluaga, Colombia's leading film critic "This wave of scholars is the call to produce new knowledge about a cinema like Colombia's that has

always been there, like a dragon waiting to be awakened" (Zuluaga, qtd. in Osorio, 2008a, p. 4).

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Regulatory Implications of the Adoption
of Digital Television in Chile

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Introduction

The present study offers an assessment of the regulatory implications of the adoption in Chile of digital terrestrial television (DTTV, i.e., open digital television), particularly following the November, 2008 submission in Congress of the draft presidential reform law to regulate all television (No. 18,838) and after the adoption of the Japanese ISDB standard in September, 2009 in line with Brazil, Argentina, and Peru. This study applies to this vision of the entire television system, including its public policy, economic, industrial, technological, and social dimensions. In addition I will give priority to the public's perspective as to how digitization may enable them to access (or not) more and better television, at a reasonable cost, with more and better content developed locally.

This work has three parts. The first outlines the context of television in Chile, in terms of its social relevance and the changes in the business and production models due to digitization. The second part presents three models of analysis that help manage the regulatory discussion: liberalism/restrictions (Curran & Seaton, 1997), public service television, and parameters of quality television for the various social actors and analytic levels. Each of these applies to the present as well as the historical reality of the legal frameworks of Chilean TV. This section also refers to the British system of DTTV—Freeview—whose success has much to do with a consistent and updated regulatory framework, one of which targets the common good. The third part analyzes and assesses, based on the models and detailed background in the previous sections, the legal reform project of the government to allow DTTV.

1. The Context

A. The importance of television

Along with the radio in 2008, almost 100% of Chilean households receive broadcast televison (TVA in its Spanish acronym, referring to terrestrial broadcasting, not to be confused with satellite distribution), compared with only 90% of Chileans with mobile telephones. In contrast, an estimated 48% of people access the Internet (one of the highest rates in Latin America) and 30% of households receive pay TV. At the rate of an average of about three hours of viewing per capita per day, TVA provides the foundation of the notions of "reality" in the minds of the average Chilean. This occurs not only through news programs, but in the models and stereotypes in the genres of entertainment, as well as the advertising messages that finance the entire package. Because of its massiveness and immediacy (which makes it very effective), TVA has attracted more advertising for decades: according to the Chilean Association of Advertising Agencies (ACHAP), in 2008, it captured half of the advertising pie ($933 million), one of the highest ratios in history.

TVA is "open" because of the characteristics of its transmission medium, the electromagnetic spectrum. First, the spectrum as a natural resource is freely available. The sender needs only an antenna to transmit and, before digital technology, could not charge people who had receivers; they, in turn, are accustomed to receiving television content for free. Thus, broadcasters had to find finance by third parties: advertisers, governments, or sponsors. Second, the spectrum is finite: there is no room for an unlimited number of broadcasters, unlike what happens with other media, like print. Third, when not regulated, the use of the spectrum leads broadcasters to interfere with each other (McQuail, 1998; Wood, 1992).

For all these reasons, the received wisdom holds that the electromagnetic spectrum serves as a national asset for public use, franchised by specific criteria to individuals or organizations selected by some mechanism, hopefully (but not always) unbiased. Countries often require certain compensations to the concessionaire in return for this privilege, which vary from country to country (McQuail, 1998). In Chile, among other things, television broadcasters must allow a segment of electoral advertising at election time and ban obscene or violent contents, subject to penalties by the National Television Council (CNTV).

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B. Digitization

TV receivers in Chile cannot capture both analog and digital signals, unless they add an adapter to convert from one format to another. But digital video already exists in the forms of DVDs, pay TV (which requires a decoder or set top box), and the Internet. TVA channels require a legal change to transmit with new digital technology, since the public needs to change their receivers or get a decoder. And contemporary societies assume that universal free access to TV has become an acquired right, something that applied to neither the Internet nor cable.

But apart from the change in the reception equipment, the digital formats amend the premises on which the industry built the conventional TV model. Digitization encodes images, sounds, and text using the protocols of computers, thus not only allowing one to mix previously separate media (like news, music, TV, or movies) but also telecommunications, because wireless and cable networks can transmit any kind of binary data. This process of technological convergence lies at the heart of the switch from analog to digital, which correlates today to mergers and acquisitions.

This means, first, that analog TVA no longer provides the only type of television. Digital protocols allow recourse to a wide range of delivery mechanisms and /or combine them. Thus, there are TV direct-to-home satellite systems (DirecTV and Sky, for example), cable systems (VTR, Zap, Telefónica), conventional terrestrial broadcasting (TVA or open television), and broadband Internet. In some respects, they complement each other; in others, they replace network television. To distinguish it from the "other" digitized television, we speak of digital terrestrial television (DTTV), which is open digital TV, transmitted using antennas located on planet Earth (as opposed to transmission by satellite mounted antennas floating in space). The distinction between DTTV and other television matters because they involve different viewing experiences for the public and also various operational and business models, although they often share the same screen at home.

C. The television business model: Deep change

The business model of the TVA and its regulatory framework is old. It is actually very similar to AM broadcasting in the 1930s to the 1950s, with relatively few licensees (four nationwide, three in the regional capital, Santiago). In general, channels developed most of the content they broadcast, the programming arranged in a grid, the spectrum distributed through a grant relation-

ship based on a general audience, and advertising established to raise finance. The amount and type of audience attracted, as measured by a survey (electronic, in this case: the people meter) by a separate company, Time/Ibope, serves as the basis for advertising allocation. The need to attract mass audiences encourages operators to imitate each other, with the consequent loss of program diversity and sense of few alternatives from the audience (Ishikawa, 1996; Godoy, 2000).

TVA filled seven channels (2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13) in the VHF band, with each license given to a different operator since the existing law prevents the control of more than one channel per operator. This variety of operators (one state, three universities, and three private, although one university licensee ceded operations to a business, controlled by the newly elected president, Sebastián Piñera) ensures reasonable levels of editorial quality and diversity, considering the limited possibilities of a middle-income small country like Chile (Godoy, 2006, 2000, 1999). The law has prevented the concentration of ownership that exists in other countries and media sectors; it also requires stations to compete fiercely with each other for a share in the advertising pie, with ratings based per minute (this prevented the development of analog UHF channels during the 1990s—there was almost no interest for licensing analog television in the UHF band available since 1990 because of difficulties in financing it: each license requires the operator to compete and sell advertising in isolation without being able to merge channel operations, Godoy, 1999).

Along with this traditional set-up, pay-TV also operates in Chile, funded largely by direct charge to the user (and also marginally by advertising sales). As in many countries, a single large company dominates pay TV (VTR concentrated 71% of subscribers in 2007); the company provides subscribers with dozens of channels, both general and specialized, with different payment options depending on level of service for each of them (basic signals, Premium, and pay per view). The VTR subscription revenues, totaling some $360 million in 2007 (equivalent to almost 80% of the revenues of all broadcast channels together) have the added bonus that subscriptions are more stable than advertising sales.

Like Telefónica, VTR (Chile's subsidiary of Globalcom) gets additional revenue through links to Internet telephony and broadband, and will add mobile phone service during 2010. This triple pack of telephony, Internet, and television is the core business of these

companies, and the relationship of television income with respect to telephony and the Internet is about one to ten. And while pay TV still has a theoretical ceiling of 65% to 70% of Chilean homes that have not yet signed, broadcast or network television has nowhere to grow: There are no new homes to gain, and a couple of decades ago the advertising pie reached the GDP ratio observed in developed countries (Godoy 2000; Tironi & Sunckel, 1993).

At the same time, despite the trend towards mergers and acquisitions, the television value chain is becoming more complex and fragmented (Godoy 2007, 2006; Aris & Bughin, 2005). The typical Chilean broadcast channel creates and packages content (programming) and distribution systems but is not involved in providing hardware (which now includes television sets, phones, PCs, notebooks, iPods, and other devices). Although there are specific examples of soap operas and program formats exported or licensed to third parties (some companies in Mexican, Brazilian, and Venezuelan television), the main Chilean channels normally produced programming solely for their own use. Only recent years have seen consistent efforts to break that trend with new reality shows, soap operas, and drama series. But today telecommunications and the Internet let you jump from one to another of these links: YouTube, for example, does not require a programmer/distributor like TVN, HBO, or Cinemax for the videos to reach the public. Moreover, these tools also enable new dynamics within each step, building on the dynamics of Web 2.0 (that is, an Internet with active users exchanging material, not just as a repository of documents, BCG, 2008).

In the field of professional television, this environment allows more flexible models of production, such as "360 degree production," in which content can be exploited through different and complementary windows, such as cinemas, DVDs, premium signals, general cable, and network TV. It also draws on the support of technologies such as cell phones and the Internet to abstracts or lighter versions of the programs, polls, promotions, synopses, discussion areas, and the like. At all stages the producer can more actively integrate the audience through interactive features, which digitization facilitates and also allows the capture of direct payments from the public (Aris & Bughin, 2005).

Thus, the convergent scenario increases competition but also creates new opportunities. Even though their business model seems outdated in several respects, the TVA operators have the most expertise in creating content for mass appeal in Chile. And by act or omission, the regulatory framework defined for DTTV affects that.

2. Evaluation Parameters

This section discusses policy and analytic models that help to frame the legal reforms under discussion. The first model, adapted from Curran and Seaton (1997), characterizes the broadcasting system according to the degree of liberality or restriction on the two main areas that comprise regulatory action. The second model follows the principle of public service television, a concept showing European influence in Chile, which justifies television regulation for the common good. The third model spells out the parameters of quality television, according to the different players and levels, in order to visualize the different legitimate interests, which it must reconcile to achieve or regulate a television system.

A. The Curran and Seaton Model: The liberal-restrictive axis

The model of Curran and Seaton (1997) provides two essential regulatory axes that are usually regulated in all or most media systems: the content and the economic/corporate interests (that is, the conditions for media companies' operations and finances). Both axes range from a restrictive to a liberal pole, defining four quadrants according to the scenario combining more or less regulatory restrictions on one or other axis. In Chile, the system is mainly regulated by the National Television Council Law No. 18,838 (which regulates television), the Law on National Television in Chile (TVN) No. 19,132, and the General Telecommunications Law No. 18,168. The regulatory bodies consist of the National Television Council (CNTV), an autonomous and collegial constitutional body dedicated to monitoring content and promoting quality programs, and the Undersecretariat of Telecommunications (SUBTEL), a technical body devoted to managing the broadcast spectrum.

In their critique of the British media system during the Thatcher period, Curran and Seaton showed a strong contradiction between economic liberalism and editorial restrictions, a scenario similar to Chile's after the military coup of 1973. The freedom to develop a modern and dynamic British media industry also produced a strong concentration of ownership that impoverished the diversity of editorial views and ideological systems, whatever the increase in channels and media.

In parallel, the Conservative government restricted information on labor along political lines (Curran & Seaton, 1997).

Following this model, the evolution of the regulatory framework of Chilean television from its origins to the present day moves from the restrictive to the liberal quantrants (see Godoy, 2007). Decree Law No. 7039 of 1958 was liberal on both dimensions: as with radio, TV would be a private business without special control of content. But that never happened. Only three university channels were authorized, and they were forbidden to sell political advertising. As in radio, the President of the Republic granted concessions at his discretion after a technical report by the then Department of Electrical Services. Although for different reasons, neither Jorge Alessandri (independent right, 1958-1964) nor Eduardo Frei (centrist Democrat, 1964-1970) wanted to allow private television: Alessandri hated television, while Frei tried to monopolize the glory of a modern television network and focused on creating the public TVN (Hurtado, 2007, 1989).

The subsequent Law No. 17,377 of 1970 imposed restrictions on both dimensions, under the paternalistic principle "to educate, inform, and entertain" first declared in 1923 by the BBC. Like Decree No. 7089 of 1958 and Law No. 18,838 of 1989 (still in force), the law was passed at the last minute by the outgoing government seeking to hinder its successor (in this case, the socialist Salvador Allende). That law also created the TVN public network (which de facto began the year before) and the content regulator, the CNTV.

The military coup of 1973 involved heavy restrictions on content, but the neoliberal economic model imposed by Augusto Pinochet deregulated economic aspects, specifically businesses such as advertising sales (an increase that offset losses from reduced state subsidies to televison, first established in 1970). From this period dates a couple of interesting instruments: the mandatory "cultural strip" (whereby the channels decided what to show and the state did not spend one peso) and the CNTV competitive fund for quality programs. The problem with this novel mechanism was that it had very little money: it exceeded one million dollars only in 2005. (During the 1980s, a British parliamentary committee, the Peacock Committee, seriously considered replacing the BBC by a similar mechanism, Godoy, 2000).

The military regime promised private television in the Constitution of 1980, but took nine years to accomplish that: the respective law (No. 18,838)

emerged the year after the opposition victory in the presidential referendum of 1988, when there was no further point in the political control of the media. To this was added the surprise sale of the frequencies for channels 4 and 9 (controlled by the state network TVN) to business supporters of the outgoing government (Acuña, Gutiérrez, & Puentes, 2007). However, the entire economic system had been converted to the neoliberal paradigm during the previous decade, which involved the modernization and privatization of the media system and its financing through advertising (Tironi & Sunckel, 1993).

After the restoration of democracy, the government amended Law No. 18,838 only in 1992; it remains in force, persisting in controlling content through the control of the CNTV, which is more loosely applied to pay TV. This is just one example of the obsolescence of the regulatory framework.

The emphasis on controlling content through this law is embodied in Article 1, which defines a "proper functioning" of television in terms of a vague code to deliver desirable content. Unable to formulate these desirable norms, in practice the CNTV sanctions undesirable content defined in a separate Regulation (primarily pornography, excessive violence, and involving minors in acts opposed to good morals, Acuña, Gutiérrez, & Puentes, 2007). In contrast, groups did reach consensus on the usefulness of the CNTV competitive fund for quality programming (Donoso, 2008; Godoy, 2005, 2007, Sierra, 2006).

This manifests the contradiction of such an arrangement: a more liberal economic system coupled with a more controlled content, where an elite controller (like the BBC in 1923) assumes that it knows better than the public what it can see. Although corporate issues are less regulated than in the past, TVA licensees face several hindrances in contrast to radio broadcasters: remarkably, they cannot operate more than one channel per service area. And it is difficult to lease or transfer the license to third parties. That does not happen in radio, where the broadcasters do not suffer these restrictions, nor are they supervised by CNTV.

B. The model of public service television

The second model, public service television, has had considerable influence in the Chilean system. Although open to debate, its principles (even though not expressly mentioned) have emerged in various aspects of regulatory design. This section examines the concept and its relevance in the Chilean context, and its

role in articulating strong public policy objectives for the change to digital television.

The notion of public service TV in Chile. In short, this concept of European origin (and in force in countries such as Japan, Canada, Australia, Israel, India, and throughout Southeast Asia and the European Union) means a system of television oriented to the common good, to the quality of life of the population (including entertainment), and to democratic coexistence, in contrast to sole control by the market and/or an authoritarian political power. This system offers the widest variety of programs on national channels freely available to all (Godoy 2007, 2000). While Chileans often assume that public television comes only from the public TVN network (following the old cliché of "educate, inform, and entertain"), in practice there are a number of institutions that have public service aims:

• The channels are national in scope, with free access to all the inhabitants of the country; they offer a reasonable range of different program types (not all but several of which contribute to the democratic functioning and improved quality of life of the public) ;

• There is editorial and corporate diversity among the operators (universities, both private and autonomous public);

• All operators must observe certain positive principles of programming, outlined under the term "correct operation" in Article 1 of Law No. 18,838;

• All television operators are subject to the control of a regulator, the CNTV;

• The CNTV operates a competitive fund for quality programs (which reached a record high $7.9 million in 2009), open to any producer who has an agreement with any broadcaster with an affiliation with TVA;

• Only televison falls subject to these special arrangements.

Although we might expect the TVA to move to the liberal/liberal quadrant defined by the axes of analysis of Curran & Seaton, the experience of countries like Britain suggests that the concept of public service TV typically moves to an increasingly fragmented, commercialized, and convergent scenario. As with public works concessions in Chile (which have multiplied exponentially the construction of roads, airports, and similar works), it is important not to lose sight of the overall goals of the common good and to have the common sense to accomplish them, taking advantage of market logic, the new citizen media (with the emerging Web 2.0), and the different actors involved. The scenario also implies flexibility to adapt or exclude institutions that will become obsolete. For example, the British system merged all of the *broadcasting* and *telecommunications* regulatory bodies, which before operated separately. The result is a converged regulator, the Office of Communications (Ofcom), which restated the notion of public service television around complying with a series of overarching purposes rather than maintaining a set of institutions. In this regard, and based on relevant international experiences (see Brown & Picard, 2005; Iosifidis, Steemer, & Wheeler, 2005, Ofcom, 2005), the change to digital should tend towards two main objectives in Chile, formulated from the perspective of the user/citizen (Godoy, 2007):

• **More and better television for Chileans**: in technical terms, this means access to all applications of digital technology at a reasonable cost and without discrimination: more channels, a sharper image, mobile reception, interactive applications. Regarding programming contents, this means ensuring a system that guarantees universal free access to the widest possible diversity of content, ideological and editorial opinion, different geographical realities beyond Santiago, and ensuring the supply of relevant, reliable contributions to democracy, peaceful coexistence, and a national or local identity, as appropriate.

• **More and better local content production**: the plan recognizes that the digital era requires a lot of content production to fill the different platforms and emerging distribution channels and, as audiences prefer the local, the plan should meet that demand with national talent. It involves a mode of production of exportable content; content that is adaptable, flexible, and open to co-production with partners around the world; content that is innovative and original; content that appeals to and challenges the public; content that rescues national and local identity; and content that generates employment and local expertise in the industry.

C. Parameters of quality television

Even if one rejects the idea that television should be governed by principles of public service, the third model of analysis helps to clarify the interests that must be reconciled. This model allows one to compare standards of quality television as social actors and levels of analysis; it adapts the work of authors such as McQuail (1998), Ishikawa (1996), and Rosengren, Carlsson, and

	Legislators	Broadcasters	Business: Journalists, Producers	The Public
System	"Public interest," based on ideologies, embodied in laws	Survival of the business, editorial freedom, effective messages	Professional standards, ethics, technical standards	Uses and gratifications at both intellectual and affective levels; sense of belonging, citizen media, representation of everyday problems
Media	Operations, conditions of operation, expected roles of the media.	Freedom to act, stability of operations, protection of broadcast sector	media pluralism, working environment free from pressure, employment, working conditions	Access to various value-based content, child protection, reinforcement of identity, access to citizen media.
Programming	Protection of vulnerable groups, prohibition of harmful content			Sense of belonging

Table 1. Matrix of parameters and levels of media preference
Based on McQuail (1998) and Rosengren, Carlsson, & Tagerud (1996)

Tagerud (1996) to the Chilean reality (in Godoy, 2000). Table 1 shows the model as a matrix that groups society as four major social actors, each with its own interests and performance standards applied in three overlapping levels: the complete television system, that of a specific medium (from TVA channels to pay TV operators), and individual efforts (for example, of program critics).

The **legislative actor** (which may be a politician or analyst) normally acts on behalf of the public interest to define its own ideology, and seeks to legislate in this sense: on the right, to deregulate the system to let the market operate at its maximum (see Sierra, 2006, LyD, 2009); on the traditional left, to act in solidarity with the disadvantaged groups and promote a more active role for the state (see Donoso, 2008). The latest proposals from the ideology of social solidarity stress strengthening the "third sector" of citizen media as a counterweight to the exaggerated roles of the market and the state in contemporary systems (Saez, 2008a, 2008b). McQuail (1998) and Rosengren, Carlsson, and Tagerud (1996) synthesized these views with different "theories of the press" (authoritarian, free press, social responsibility, communist, social development, participatory democracy), while Peña (2007) offers an interesting analysis of ideological contradictions present in the Chilean system. The contradictions noted by Peña appear in two implicit concepts of democracy (one as a

mere aggregate of individual opinions, the other as a collective and mutually reinforcing social bond) contested between an elitist view (reflected in the "proper functioning" language of the Law No. 18,838) and a view which defines television as a mass medium financed by popular preferences. The contradictions also appear among paradoxical opinions of the Constitutional Court, which on the one hand, require broadcasters to issue information and electoral information and, on the other, recognize that the law, among other things, allows them to refuse to publish news or information because of editorial freedom (Peña, 2007). In either case, the system requires a healthy democratic and institutional system, one transparent and with little corruption.

At the level of the *system*, the legislature defines the intended function of television, who should operate it, under what conditions, how to finance it, and how to protect vulnerable groups such as minors or ethnic minorities. For regulatory discussion that interests us we will stay at the system level, but keep in mind that this "actor model" also encompasses broadcasters and /or content specific to current standards and obligations (implicit or explicit) at the level of the *media* and the *programming*.

The rationale of the **broadcaster** corresponds to that of the owner of the media. Large or small, or non-

profit, ad supported or state funded, conservative or liberal, its purpose is the survival of the organization and the maintenance of maximum freedom to do what it pleases and to make the message or content effective (either to make money, maximize social influence, attract audiences, reinforce the brand, or persuade the public). In contrast, the rationale of the **media professional** depends on ethical and proper technical standards. For example, journalistic ethics requires the publication of an important story even if it means offending the sponsors, which is why many prestigious media outlets "shield" reporters from the business management. In the case of producers or filmmakers, their interest in innovative and creative programs often collides with the fear of management about new content whose appeal has not been proven and can scare off advertisers.

The **public**, meanwhile, differs from the other three actors. First, several authors recognize people's right to access a wide variety of programs as a basic criterion of performance of a media system (Ishikawa, 1996). Exposure to certain content is explained by the uses and gratifications that the public makes of them, whether emotional or intellectual in nature. Often contradictory, these very human motivations can differ from program preferences shown in ratings measurements (see CNTV, 2008a). Besides the typical features of entertainment and information passively consumed, the public also appreciates the sense of belonging to a group, and the opportunity to be heard and to complain about everyday problems (which is usually very well addressed by participatory radio programs—see Winocur, 2002). The possibilities offered by digital technology in terms of increased channel availability, flexibility of use (for example, mobile reception, delayed or skipped commercials), and interactive features become particularly appealing, provided they come at a reasonable cost and are easy to use (Brown & Picard, 2005; CNTV 2008b; Godoy, 2005; Goodwin, 2005a, 2005b; Iosifidis, Steemer, & Wheeler, 2005).

In short, an adequate regulatory framework should balance the interests of these stakeholders in the best possible way to maximize the collective welfare.

3. Evaluation of the Pending Broadcast Legislation

A. Context of the proposal

After several postponements, at the end of 2008 the government of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) sent two proposals to Congress: one to amend Law No. 18,838 dealing with National Television Council, and the other to amend Law No. 19,132 regarding TVN. Despite the technological changes involved, the proposals did not touch the General Telecommunications Law No. 18,168 or attempt to integrate the various regulatory agencies.

This article deals only with the draft amendment to Law No. 18,838 of CNTV, because it focuses on the change to digital. But before going on, we need to include three additional facts. First, the proposal was sent to the Chamber of Deputies, a more diverse body and thus more difficult to coordinate than the Senate, which means that the process can take years. Second, the CNTV protested at not having been consulted (though its chairman is appointed by the President of the Republic) and at ignoring content and other relevant subjects as criteria for assigning the new digital concessions (CNTV, 2009). Third, until this reform takes place, there will be no DTTV although the Executive did decide to adopt the Japanese ISDB technical standard.

B. The amendment of Law No. 18,838 to allow the introduction of digital terrestrial television

The proposal focuses on four aspects, of which the first is the most important: new licenses for DTTV. The others are secondary: public campaigns, some adjustments to the role of the CNTV, and the transition to digital broadcasting.

On new licenses for DTTV: The first innovation is to define licenses for "intermediate services" in addition to traditional television or "free reception" (Art. 15º and 31º). The former allows transmission; the other is tantamount to a license to create content (that is, the owner of a license to broadcast "free reception" cannot distribute programming to the public if it has not also received a grant for intermediate services for itself). This allows licensees to distribute signals generated by third parties, something that today is not allowed on television or radio. Although not mentioned in the draft law, the provision allows SUBTEL to offer new digital licenses that would add a total of 30 channels in the UHF band (Godoy, 2007).

TVA's current licensees will automatically gain the two types of grants to continue digital broadcasts of their current contents. In order to prevent concentration of ownership, these operators are prevented from accumulating more than one grant of intermediate services, but additional ones can be obtained for free reception. (The ISDB standard allows the broadcaster to provide

a signal to mobile telephony and two high definition channels or eight standard definition channels.)

A second innovation is to establish national, regional, local, and community licenses (Art. 15º), as in Spain and other countries. The last two do not require intermediate service licenses, which lowers the cost of maintaining transmission and antenna systems. (The community license has the same coverage as the local one—less than 50% of a region—with the difference that private nonprofit organizations, incorporated in Chile and engaged in civic and social objectives, are eligible). The proposal states that at least 40% of licenses must be regional, local, and community.

With regard to the conditions to obtain and maintain the licenses, Art. 31º sets a 20 year renewable term. Articles. 23º and 31º provide only technical criteria to govern these. Whoever offers the best conditions of transmission and efficiency of spectrum use, determined by SUBTEL (the CNTV simply sends along the background of the applicants), gets the award. As in current law, there are no requirements concerning the programming contents offered. This is unlike what happens in radio, where two competing projects with similar technical merits and equal financing go in a sealed envelope to the SUBTEL to settle.

Public campaigns and some changes in the role of the CNTV: Art. 12º provides free broadcast campaigns for the public good or public interest by TVA in order to "protect the population and promote respect and the rights of persons" (Art. 12m), and provides that any one campaign may take no more than five weeks a year and not more than 90 seconds for each transmission. The General Secretariat of Government decides on these campaigns, subject to the approval of the CNTV (who could disapprove). Television licensees may determine the form and content of the spot representing the campaign, but the CNTV should verify compliance with the plan.

Additionally, the CNTV receives new powers to limit the proportion of advertising that is broadcast during productions financed by the development fund for programs of high quality (Arts. 12 and 12 bis). As in the draft amendments to the TVN Act, it also set norms to which licensees can be held accountable for their management once a year before the Senate (and, as with TVN, it is unclear what happens if the Senate rejects the statement submitted).

Transition to digital broadcasting (art. 1 transient): Establishes a minimum period of five years so that, from the entry into force of the law, each licensee must cover at least 85% of the population within its service area; 100% of coverage should be completed within a maximum of eight years. The legislature assumes that these goals should be met even if viewers are not interested in obtaining digital receivers.

C. Major criticism of the proposal

From a liberal economic perspective, the Libertad y Desarrollo (LyD) think tank indicates that the text exceeds the title as the amended substantive aspects of the licensing scheme were not justified by the simple technological change (LyD, 2009). In particular, LyD criticizes the fact that operators cannot concentrate only on a grant of intermediate services, and believes that this restricts their ability to compete (in this case correctly) and further believes that there is no risk of concentration of ownership in television given the increased availability of channels (in this case, incorrectly, as suggested by the national and international experience in various media).

LyD also states that the term of 20 years for licenses is inconsistent with the 30 years set out in the General Law of Telecommunications for telecommunications intermediate services and the 25 years for broadcast licenses (ibid.). The figure is also inconsistent with Law No. 19,131 amending Law No. 18,838 in 1992, which established indefinite licenses for television channels available prior to that date, and 25 years for new ones (Sierra, 2006).

Although LyD rejects indefinite licensing, arguing that holders must apply to renew their licenses in the interests of their proprietary rights, it does not dare to recommend the final privatization of the spectrum as Sierra has done (in Godoy, 2005) although it insists on talking about *concessions* (*licenses*), which by definition are finite and renewable, as has the CNTV (2009). From an opposite ideological position, Donoso (2008) highlights that New Zealand has a 20 year limit on licenses; Italy and England, 12; Spain and France, 10, and the USA and Australia, eight and five. For the Chilean case, the author suggests a 15-year concession to the applicant and a preferential right to renew its license.

If the issue of time promises to be controversial, the criterion for allocating the grants could be even more difficult especially given the ideologized Spanish experience, where the governments of Aznar (Popular Party, right) and Zapatero (Socialist) favored their respective supporters (Bustamante, 2008). While LyD and current TVA licensees prefer only technical criteria, this has been strongly criticized by the CNTV

(2009) who, like Donoso (2008), feels it is essential to consider the content offered by the licensees (free, but responsibly) as a discriminatory factor. The CNTV also claims that, ultimately, SUBTEL should settle things and not the Board, an independent public body with constitutional status (in contrast, SUBTEL is a technical-administrative body subordinate to a ministry).

Another area of disagreement has to do with the support that is given to the "third sector" on television. While LyD regrets positive discrimination in favor of local and community licensees, such as reserving 40% of licenses or receiving favor in the competitive funds, those from the opposite position (Saez, 2008a, 2008b, and Donoso, 2008) argue that this ensures public access to grants of TVA, assuming that their community-based and nonprofit nature provides real independence from the state and private commercial media that now dominate the system unchecked. Government public interest campaigns that the project proposes would replace the media producers and, for different reasons, LyD also rejects these campaigns (LyD, 2009).

4. Conclusion

After examining the contemporary significance of television in Chile, the changes in its business model as a result of digital convergence, and the theoretical models applied to the current system, we conclude that the legal reform proposed by the government seems well intentioned, but poorly designed: the amendment laws were drafted and passed in an outdated context that ignored the potential offered by digitization and the understanding that televison today goes far beyond network television. The reform preserves the inconsistencies of liberalism and overlooks the restrictions shown by the Curran and Seaton model. Nor does it take into account an updated view of the common good oriented system: rather it restricts the concept of the public service television of TVN, as if the other players could ignore the experiences of public works concessions or the Freeview system. (The draft amendment to the state network TVN also assumes that it remains in force for all eternity, while even the BBC's mandate is reviewed every 10 years.)

Despite an interest to meet major objectives for the benefit of the public, including more and better television for Chileans, the projects sent to Congress suggests excessive care not to disturb the main actors historically involved in the system. The law does open a new space for community, local, and regional media, but this occurs with only minor changes to CNTV,

SUBTEL, TVN, and the industry supporting TVA without acknowledging that the environment is changing radically. Pay television is a key player (and a monopoly) in the equation, but is not considered. Nor did the new law consider attempts to integrate other public initiatives that promote different digital technologies from other ministries, such as Digital Strategy, the Innovation Council, and the Plan Enlaces.

The change to digital television equals the change inaugurated by the railroad or the automobile. People still travel from Santiago to Valparaiso in a mechanized vehicle faster than they did in a wagon, but trains and cars are very different. Similarly, people will continue to watch news, soap operas, movies, trade shows, and so on through a screen called "television." But digital technology allows far more versatility than that offered by "Television," which until recently was synonymous only with broadcast television. The bills sent to Congress are similar to those to amend the law of railways: the rail monopoly (EFE) perhaps might work better than before, but that does not stop cars, trucks, and buses standing in for the train.

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Communication Education in Mexico: Overall Trends

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A. Introduction

The teaching of communication in Mexico has taken surprising directions in recent years. Both a proliferation of different approaches to schools of communication and a decline in the quality of their programs has accompanied growth in the programs. We see this in the most recent statistics generated by the Research Center for Applied Communication (CICA) in its study, "Regional Map of Communication Education in Latin America," a study sponsored by the Latin American Federation Faculties of Social Communication (FELAFACS) and UNESCO. As an overview of communication education, we present the highlights of the report along with some thoughts about the direction that the teaching of communication in Mexico has taken.

The first question that comes to mind when one examines the outlook for teaching communication in Mexico is this: What is the universe of communication programs in Mexico composed of?

The world of education and training in communication in Mexico and elsewhere includes everything related to communication taking place in educational institutions. Furthermore, it involves training activities and instruction outside formal education that occurs in consulting firms or producers of integrated communication for organizations (advertising, public relations, and organizational communication).

The data reported here refer only to those activities that occur within educational establishments or in courses that occur as a part of school programs. All other training activities in communication (courses, seminars, or training) do not appear her but will be published in future investigations.

B. Communication programs in schools and universities in Mexico

Throughout almost 50 years of formal teaching of communication in the country (taking as reference the founding of the first degree in Communication Sciences in 1960), communication programs have grown in number. They have taken different names according to their approaches, with an emphasis or pre-specialization set according to their needs. This study identified 1,006 communication programs, with different names related to the discipline. These fall into four categories: Communication, Marketing, Design, and Journalism, with several subgroups:

- Communication includes communication study itself as well as communication joined with other disciplines related to broader social issues such as culture, education, social communication, and so on (75%).
- Marketing includes the areas of corporate or organizational communication, often marketing and advertising, organizational communication, marketing and public relations, corporate communication, image building, among others (19%).
- Design incorporates degrees such as audiovisual design, multimedia, digital imaging, and others (2%).
- Journalism includes itself, as well as related areas such as journalism and public image, journalism and public opinion, etc. (4%).

The vast majority (75%) of programs name themselves in a manner explicitly related to communication itself. Sometimes these appear with the name of anoth-

er discipline that often deals with broader social referents such as the mass media, social groups, cultural studies, education, among others. Another 19% employ names more directly related to businesses or organizations. This portion manifests a concern for the proper functioning of organizations and businesses in the country; with a fifth of the programs, this indicates a growing interest in organizatinonal communication.

One can conclude that Mexico remains at the beginning of training in digital design, with only 2% of communication programs using that term. However, many of the other, general communication programs most likely include specific materials designed to train young people in interactivity and digitization, whose importance continually increases in society. Finally, the category of journalism has only 4% of the total. The journalistic tradition in Mexico dates from 1949, when the "Carlos Septien Garcia" School of Journalism began as the first school of journalism in the country. However, the discipline of journalism as an exclusive area of concentration has not grown; communication as a discipline has taken the lead, at least in quantitative terms. It has incorporated teaching journalism among other areas of study.

C. The universe of communication programs in Mexico

This report presents statistics from a database developed by 33 researchers who collected data on 1,006 programs of communication, journalism, public relations, marketing and/or audio-visual design. In previous studies, the National Association of Universities and Institutions of Higher Education [la Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior] identified 349 undergraduate programs with a total of 72,663 students (2005). More recently, in 2007, that number rose to 462 undergraduate programs and a total number of 72,224 students. The 2009 figure shows another drop in the total number of students. (See Table 1 for programs by state and region.)

The current database information produced by the Research Center for Applied Communication (CICA) shows that the distribution of communication studies programs is concentrated in three regions: nearly 20% in the Federal District, 13% in the State of Mexico, and 10% in Baja California Norte. Other significant percentages, approaching 5%, appear in the states of Coahuila, Puebla, and Veracruz, followed by 3% in Hidalgo, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon, and Queretaro (Table 1). The states mentioned above have a number of important programs; their concentration presents a

Federal entity	Number of programs	Percent of total
Aguascalientes	9	.89
Baja California Norte	97	9.64
Baja California Sur	10	0.99
Campeche	14	1.39
Chiapas	14	1.39
Chihuahua	6	0.59
Coahuila	56	5.56
Colima	2	.19
Distrito Federal	199	19.78
Durango	18	1.78
Estado de México	127	12.62
Guanajuato	50	4.97
Guerrero	11	1.09
Hidalgo	33	3.28
Jalisco	19	1.88
Michoacán	31	3.08
Morelos	20	1.98
Nayarit	11	1.09
Nuevo León	31	3.08
Oaxaca	9	0.89
Puebla	45	4.47
Querétaro	28	2.78
Quintana Roo	14	1.39
San Luis Potosí	14	1.39
Sinaloa	8	0.80
Sonora	29	2.88
Tabasco	6	0.60
Tamaulipas	25	2.48
Tlaxcala	8	0.80
Veracruz	48	4.77
Yucatán	8	0.80
Zacatecas	6	0.59

Table 1. Communication programs by location.

West Central	
Northwest	
Northeast	
Southeast Gulf	
Valle de Mexico	

problem of competition among the different institutions in their states. Information centers that provide the discipline of information or a related field compound that problem. We should also mention that the maximum number of programs in a given region is 199

(the Federal District), while the minimum, two programs, occurs in Colima.

As for the regions, we established five divisions for the country. Clearly, the Valley of Mexico region contains most of the programs, with 379 (almost 38%). Next comes the Southeast Gulf Region, 177 (almost 18%), followed by the West Central Region, 170 (almost 17%). The Northwest region contains 162 (16%), followed by the Northeast Region with the fewest programs, 118 (not quite 12%).

West Central Region

The West Central Region has nine states with almost one third of the programs in communication in the state of Guanajuato. Michoacan and Queretaro come next, followed by the state of Colima, which as already noted has the fewest number of communication programs.

Northwest Region

The five states of the Northwest Region (Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango, Baja California Norte, and Baja California Sur) present an area of high contrast in terms of communication programs. On one hand, we find Sinaloa with only eight programs and, on the other, we see Baja California Norte with 97 programs, the third highest in the country. Thus, more than half of the 162 programs in the region are concentrated in Baja California Norte. This state has the highest population of its group, 2,844,469 inhabitants. It is also the most urbanized with 93% of the people living in urban centers. Employment is mainly in trade, restaurants, and hotels; they produce a larger proportion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) than the other four states in the same region (3.6%). These factors, coupled with the closeness that they have to the United States, may explain the phenomenon of the explosion of communication schools in the state.

Northeast Region in Mexico

Of the four states in the Northeast Region, Coahuila has 56 of the 118 communication programs in the region. Of the four states Nuevo Leon is the most densely populated, while Coahuila is the least populated. As for economic activity the maquila provides the most important industry in Coahuila; in Nuevo León social, community, and personal services dominate. Nuevo Leon contributes the largest share to national GDP with 7.5%, while the others (Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, and Coahuila) contribute less than half of that (3.3%).

Southeast Gulf Region

The Southeast Region includes 10 Gulf states and has a total of 177 communication programs, of which over half are found only in two states: Veracruz with 48 and Puebla with 45. The most important components from a quantitative point of view, then, are these two states. Veracruz has many programs due to its high population (though more than 40% of its population live in rural areas). The dominant economic activities are the communal, the social, and personal; here the population figures possibly indicate people's desire for social mobility through education. Hence the proliferation of educational services.

Puebla also has a high percentage of rural population (almost 30%) with a relatively high level of non Spanish-speaking rural dwellers (12%). The labor market has a very different composition from Veracruz, making it prominent in manufacturing. The high population density in both states explains the need for having many educational institutions.

In contrast, the state of Oaxaca has an average population but with an indigenous population of 35%, with 5% non Spanish speakers. The low demand for educational opportunities can be explained by the fact that 35% of the population is rural. The also may explain the fact that this state has fewer communication programs.

Region Valle de Mexico

The region *Valle de Mexico* poses sharp contrasts with the Federal District and the State of Mexico having 326 out of the 379 communication programs in the area. This Region is highly centralized, with a large concentration of educational activities, which is also reflected in its economy, politics, culture, and other areas of national development.

The Federal District contains nearly nine million people (8.4% of the total population) virtually all urban dwellers. It also has the highest index of formal education in the nation with an average of 10.2 years of education (indicating upper secondary education). Community, social, and personal services give the District a 21.8% share of National GDP. This explains why they can afford the large number of 199 schools or programs in the territory.

On the other hand, the State of Mexico has a population of over 14 million people, and 13.6% of all communication programs in the country. Although much of the population lives in urban areas, still 13% live outside the urban areas. Their average level of schooling is 8.7 years of formal education (almost fin-

ishing high school) and 3% speaking indigenous languages. The main industry is manufacturing, specifically the manufacture of metal products, machinery, and equipment. It contributes 9.7% to the national GDP. These conditions, plus the proximity to the national center of Mexico City, make the state of Mexico a state that can support many communication schools or programs.

Communication Programs in Urban Areas

More than half of the communication programs identified in the survey are located in the capital cities of the states. The rest appear in cities of second and third importance. There are virtually no communication programs in rural areas. This urban concentration of programs points to the fact that training in communication, or any of its related disciplines, appears as a need arising from the concentration of populations and an increase in the professional activities that have to do with industrialization and services.

Universities/schools with communication programs

The system of universities or schools in which communication programs operate in Mexico is predominantly private. Out of 1,006 programs, 802 (80%) belong to the private sector, leaving only 204 in public universities. Communication education therefore arises mainly from private initiatives and, in quantitative terms, has achieved an exponential growth unmatched in other Latin American countries. Many of these initiatives have been established and developed outside the framework of educational laws and regulations and quality control by government agencies and academic accreditations. Proof of this is that the Accreditation Council of Communication (CONAC) has accredited only 16 programs in communication nationwide and that CONEICC lists only 74 school members of communication.

Indeed the figures we refer to throughout this essay reveal the level of quality that some communication programs have in Mexico. The proliferation of units or campuses with the designation *communication* and its affiliated programs in the country as well as the fact that they do not have any certification by the Ministry of Education are matters of high priority for the country.

D. Conclusion

This study of Mexico found 1,006 communication programs taught in the context of formal educational institutions. There are a variety of designations that apply to teaching the discipline of communication, including categories related to:

- Communication itself coupled with social issues such as culture, media collectives, or communication and education;
- Business or organizational communication that relate to disciplines such as marketing, public relations, advertising, and corporate communications;
- Design that has to do with digital audiovisual design, computerized moving images, the creation of video games, among others; and
- Journalism, the study of public communication, public opinion itself, and so on.

The regionalization of programs in Mexico indicates considerable concentration in some cities, with almost 40% of programs in the Valley of Mexico with an additional concentration in Baja California Norte, which has grown very significantly, setting it apart from the rest of country with 97 communication programs. One possible explanation for this may be the closeness of this state to the United States of America, as well as its population and the kind of economic activities carried out in addition to its high urban concentration.

The evidence for the presence of communication programs in urban areas points to the fact that they arise in the midst of population centers and from economic activities associated with industrialization and the provision of services of all kinds.

Finally, we should highlight the fact that 80% of these programs appear as private sector initiatives. While many of these are clear examples of success stories and offer high quality education, these constitute very few of the total. The vast majority of the programs have developed outside of legal and institutional frameworks, licensing and supervision by the Ministry of Public Education (SEP), and its quality control, both in their curricula and in their faculties, guidelines, managers, systems assessment, and certification. This marks the whole sprawl of an industry that best resembles a business formed to obtain easy profits, rather than strengthening education and training in communication for the country.

Researchers participating in this study

Below are the names and institutions that participated in this effort: Dr. José Eduardo Borunda Escobedo of the Universidad Autonoma de Chihuahua Ciudad Juarez Campus; Dr. Casas Pérez Maria de la Luz of the Instituto Tecnologico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey Campus Cuernavaca; Mtra. Ivone Castro Cota at the University of the West, Unit Los Mochis; Dr. Chong Lee White at the

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Book Reviews

Cavelty, Myriam, Victor Mauer, and **Sai Felica Krishna-Hensel** (Eds.). *Power and Security in the Information Age: Investigating the Role of the State in Cyberspace*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2007. Pp. xiv, 167. ISBN: 978-0-7546-7088-9 (hbk.) $29.99 (online: $26.99 at www.ashgatepublishing.com).

In five central chapters, introduced by a lucid and far-reaching preface and a dense and ambiguous "conclusion," this co-edited, co-authored volume published in December 2007 raises the specter and the difficulty of analyzing the threats and risks in cyberspace to the relationship of the Internet with the notion of the cyberstate, particularly its ability to control information about its citizens, infiltrate enemy systems, monitor protections, and reach across borders to learn about new information. The role of countries in both overseeing and cultivating the range of information systems—financial, civil, governmental, and military—are, to understate the matter, of sufficient complexity that the best minds of the generation must address them. Despite the difficulties of a multiple edited, multiple authored text, involving professors from Switzerland, the U.S., and Ireland, this book advances the argument in important ways. It is best suited for a reference library, graduate students in political science and international relations, and less so for the undergraduate communication classroom.

In her preface, Auburn University Professor Sai Felicia Krishna-Hensel outlines the main challenges facing governments and policy professionals: (1) the Internet is being used in criminal modes; and (2) controlling criminality undermines the "freedoms" that informed the development of the web. The simultaneous tension between the free flow of information and the potential for terrorism is more than any one country can control or pretend to oversee, and as a result the need for cooperation among governments has never been greater, if mainly for their collective defense.

As chapters 1-3 outline, the debates and implications for public policy are interconnected, ideologically and technically, and challenging. While standardiza-tion of security initiatives is a given "good," integration of national, regional, and international security standards is a new imperative. Yet this is a complex and complicated business, both at the technical level, as the authors point out, and at the level of defense, especially as it pertains to terrorism, as the fourth to sixth chapters of the book detail. In a post 9-11 world, scrubbing defense secrets, and legislation such as the Patriot Act and the UN Security Resolution 1373 were designed to protect against terrorist threats. As the global culture of information exchange develops, a growing culture of cybersecurity in advanced countries cannot overlook the challenges that are simultaneously growing in the developing economies of the world as well.

The volume concludes that the central security policy today is to protect society from "asymmetrical" threats that arise from the information revolution. Security requirements are increased not only by the inseparability of basic civil systems such as transportation from the military; by the globalization processes that result from the opening up of the marketplace to liberal, democratic forces; and by the free exchange of news, information, opinion, private, and public data. All of these at once stimulate cross border exchanges and cross national infrastructures, but the widespread access to telecommunications networks exacerbates the need for security requirements globally. So where does that leave the State, the Nation accustomed to dominating the news, ideologically? It must position each state in a newly aggressive posture, at once defensive, self-protective, and pointedly into surveillance. New forms of warfare, as the authors point out, have emerged from the strategic minds that transcend the marketplace, commerce, information flow, and news. The complexity of the infrastructure and concentration of information thrusts the Nation State into a role of unprecedented importance. The question, it would seem, is for the democratic order to temper the urge to self-protect with the allure of collaborative, shared risk that might diminish the threats to any one international actor. At the same time, and from the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, precision militarism, based on precise information about the enemy, is the new world order that needs to be addressed by liberal democracies dedicated to the freedom of ideas, news, information exchange, science, and public opinion in the global mediated public square. It would seem that one or the other tide must prevail, but the irony and the interest of this book is to suggest that both might

co-exist: one system on the surface and readily accessible; the other hidden, surreptitious, and equally available.

The volume includes a reference list and an index.

—Claire Badaracco
Marquette University

Malesevic, Sinisa. *The Sociology of Ethnicity*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd. 2004. Pp. 200. ISBN 978-0-7619-4041-8 (hbk.) $106.00; 978-0-7619-4042-5 (pb.) $53.95.

Formulating a definition for the term "ethnicity" has vexed scholars across disciplines, resulting in a conceptual potpourri reeking of ideological factionalism. For example, a somewhat facile stance—bordering on the facetious—dismisses ethnicity as a social construct invented by anthropologists to ensure they find what they seek. One of the more radical definitions rejects classifying people along primordial racial lines in favor of viewing ethnicity as an "informal political organization." Thus, London stockbrokers constitute an "ethnic group" because they collectively strive for material spoils—and, for good measure, they also tend to marry into their own class. So thought Abner Cohen, whose much lauded anthropological field studies likened stockbrokers to Hausa traders—in cattle and kola nuts—in Nigeria because both groups derived their identity from commerce rather than from racial or tribal origins.

Cohen's theories are among the more salient surveyed by Sinisa Malesevic in *The Sociology of Ethnicity*, an attempt to systematize and critique the thicket of ideas grown dense around *ethnicity*—a term coined in 1953 by the sociologist David Riesman, best known for his treatise on conformity, *The Lonely Crowd*. Malesevic manages his task through selectivity, limiting his analyses to the eight research paradigms he deems the most influential. These he labels Neo-Marxism, Functionalism, Symbolic Interactionism, Sociobiology, Rational Choice Theory, Elite Theory, Neo-Weberianism, and Anti-foundationalism. This classification scheme structures the book. A chapter is devoted to each paradigm, which Malesevic unfolds by summarizing the seminal writings of like-minded thinkers. Malesevic does more than simply broker ideas, however. He critiques, adjudicates, and defends. Take Malesevic's defense of sociobiology, a favorite target of those "socially conscious" critics who fear implications that ethnic superiority is genetically determined:

Although sociobiological arguments have been occasionally used [as proof of racial inferiority] this type of criticism [of sociobiology] is not only analytically weak but is often very counterproductive. First, any systematic theoretical attempt to explain the motives of human behavior is open to misinterpretation, simplification, political manipulation, and general misuse. If we hold Darwin responsible for racism and sexism, we can, with equal vigor, hold Thomas Aquinas responsible for the Spanish Inquisition, Rousseau for the Jacobin Reign of Terror . . . . [It is] pointless to condemn or prevent academic inquiry on the grounds of its potential misuse. (pp. 86-87)

This is a good sample of the quality of the author's thinking and the fair-mindedness of his commentary.

Malesevic's chapter on Elite Theory—which features Cohen's work—is notable on two counts: (1) its pertinence to the present-day global crisis created by unregulated Wall Street machinations; and (2) its showing the difficulty of attempting to place certain thinkers in paradigmatic boxes; the ideas subsumed under Elite Theory—as in other chapters—are multidisciplinary. This is apparent in the adage "ethnicity is politics," which describes Elite Theory's foundational position (p. 111). States Cohen:

Ethnicity in modern society is the outcome of intensive interaction between different culture groups and not the result of a tendency to separatism. It is the result of intensive struggle between groups over new strategic positions of power within the structure of the new state places of employment, taxation, funds for development, education, political positions, and so on. (p. 116)

The writers classed as Elite Theorists discount nominal differences among political and social systems. Regardless of the appellation—democracy, monarchy, socialism—a minority always dominates the majority. Just as in pre-modern times, social order is shaped by an oligarchy's incessant attempt to impose its will upon the masses. Although technology and other factors have precipitated increased mass political participation, "in reality social structures remain resolutely hierarchical, and change is little more than a camouflage for the elite's tighter grip on political power" (p. 112). Essentially, power is acquired and held through a blend of symbol manipulation and brute force. Malesevic traces the roots of this stance to Machiavelli. By placing symbol manipulation at the

center of political and economic life, Elite Theory steers social analysis into the realm of psychology or the investigation of the "irrational."

A chief proponent of the irrational nature of social action was Vilfredo Pareto, the Italian thinker who formulated the "80-20 principle." The principle states that 80% of any given outcome derives from 20% of the possible causes. (Pareto had noticed that 20% of the Italian population owned 80% of the nation's land.) In explaining how the few manage to dominate the many, Pareto revived Machiavelli's metaphoric dictum that holding power requires the combined characteristics of the lion and the fox: The lion possesses determination and frightening brute strength, but is susceptible to the cleverly laid traps that the fox evades through natural cunning. Applied to the human domain, fox-like cunning represents the manipulation of symbols: slippery persuasive stratagems whose successful deployment plays upon the irrationality of human behavior. Pareto termed the "non-logical" motives that govern human beings "residuas." These "are deeply rooted sentiments and impulses" that "are the paramount and stable source of individual action" (p. 112). However, to maintain enough social order to enable societies to function, these irrational impulses or residuas must be given a rational veneer. This involves "encoding and formulating" residuas as "reasoned and rational." Thus residuas are transformed into intellectual constructs called "derivations," which are rational justifications

> for deeply irrational motives. Official elite claims, such that they struggle "to safeguard democracy," "to protect the Islamic way of life" or "to preserve socialism," amount to nothing more than justification of the personal or group drive to hold or acquire power. In this process more successful elites are able, through the use of supple derivations, to intensify mass residuas. The popular support of leaders is reflected in a ruler's ability to meet mass sentiments. (p. 112-13)

In agitating mass sentiment, the notion of ethnicity is a useful tool. The familiar ploy, as Malesevic explains it, involves dressing up particular interests as essential to universal well-being. This ruse becomes evident during power struggles between political elites who use ethnic rituals and symbols to mobilize the masses. "The emotional appeals to potent symbols such as the common ethnic ancestry or ethnic hero worship is the most expedient device for elites in achieving their ends" (p. 117). In *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, Paul

Brass shows the flammability of cultural markers such as the Urdu language, sacred cows, and Shari'a law. These markers were manipulated by competing Hindu and Muslim elites. These factions, however, used only the most expedient symbols—rather than those central to each religion—subtly distorting their meanings. For example, the inversion of the statement "'Hindus revere the cow' into 'those who revere the cow are Hindus' illustrates an elite's power to transform the existing cultural markers into forceful political symbols for ethno-mobilization" (p. 119).

The weakest chapter in *The Sociology of Ethnicity* is Malesevic's concluding attempt to examine the 1994 Rwandan genocide through the lens of each of the eight paradigms. This exercise feels forced and lends itself to unwitting reification. For example, "The neo-Marxist explanation would focus on the colonial strategy of *divide and rule* pursued by both German and Belgian colonizers" (p. 160). This explanation, of course, is entirely Malesevic's hypothetical extrapolation, which he imputes to an imaginary and monolithic tribe called the neo-Marxists. Hence the reification.

Stumble though he might, Malesevic is always compelling. He evenhandedly fulfills his stated purpose of surveying the leading theories on ethnicity. In doing so, Malesevic introduces the reader to a vast range of first-rate thinkers. Implicitly, *The Sociology of Ethnicity* also demonstrates the artificiality of attempting to grasp the complexities of the social world through academic divisions.

The book includes references (pp. 185-194), a name index (pp. 195-196), and a subject index (pp. 197-200).
—Tony Osborne
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Schiller, Dan, *How to Think about Information*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. Pp. 288. ISBN13: 978-0-252-03132-8 (hbk.) $35.00; 978-0-252-07755-5 (pb.) $25.00.

It is a tribute to the power of this book's insights that when reading it you find yourself reverting to your dog-eared copies of other important books: *Empire and Communications* by Harold Innis; *Communication as Culture* by James W. Carey; and *The Political Economy of Media* by Robert W. McChesney. And to works by Herb Schiller, this author's father.

However, Dan Schiller, located like several of the above scholars at the University of Illinois, has a paper trail of his own to be proud of. His previous works

include *Digital Capitalism: Networking the Global Market System*; *Theorizing Communication: A Historical Reckoning*; *Telematics and Government*; and *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism*.

So we embark on this culture and information technology journey guided by previous scholarship in the United States and abroad; Raymond William and Stuart Hall appear regularly in Schiller's writings. We are asked here to reflect on "how to think about information"—is it a *resource* for individual and global development or a product, a *commodity* to enrich corporate profits? Much of the book deals with examining commodification:

> [I]t is helpful to focus not on the commodity in itself but rather on the commodification process. An uneven but ongoing process of commodification is foundational to capitalist development; its historical generalization throughout the informational sphere constitutes a landmark of the contemporary political economy. (p. 21)

The Preface notes that "in this work, 'information' operates as a kind of shorthand to include the converging fields of culture, media, and telecommunications."

Chapter 1 is a slightly revised version of Schiller's essay in *The Political Economy of Information*, (edited by Vincent Mosco and Janet Wasko, 1988). Here he frames contemporary thinking about information in the context of political economy. "We suggest that the Information commodity has become the prime site of contemporary expansion—such as it is—within and for the world market system" (pp. 16-17).

Schiller examines the overlaps and differences between information and culture in Chapter 2. He emphasizes that "often supported by telecommunications infrastructures, Information has become an increasingly significant factor of production across all economic sectors, including agriculture and manufacturing as well as high-tech services" (p. 24). Moving beyond Daniel Bell and the postindustrial theorists, the author notes that "information-commodity theorists begin with capitalism . . ." where "a commodity is a resource that is produced for the market by wage labor." He calls upon Ithiel de Sola Pool, Raymond Williams, and Stuart Hall to enrich his analysis of the relations of cultural and informational production.

Chapter 3 tracks the expansion of information and communication technologies (ICTs).

During the 1980s and especially the 1990s, the largest and fastest reorganization of productive assets in world business history took place, loosely synchronized to make-over what had been a (typically inadequate) public service into a corporate-commercial function. (p. 41)

Schiller concludes, "The digital divide is, most profoundly about the distribution of social power to make policy for the production and distribution of Information resources. Unless the power is broadly shared, democracy itself is threatened" (p. 57).

Chapter 4 gives an informative and useful overview of U.S. telecommunication system development by business users, much of it for their own internal use. Colorful terms begin to appear such as "informationalized capitalism," "broadbandits," "cybernetic capitalism," and "Republic of information." Chapter 5 gives stark data about the telecommunications meltdown in 2001 and 2002, providing "a grim lesson in information-age economics." (It would be interesting to compare these data with the reality of the global financial crisis almost a decade later.)

In Chapter 6 Schiller explores the commodification of the culture industry—books, music, films, blockbusters, star personalities, mass publicity, wide distribution, and market tie-ins, for example. The battle is detailed between U.S. "cultural imperialism" and global struggles for diversity. Again, it would be interesting to have this story updated, especially in the light of a new President and administration and Federal Communication Commission in Washington.

Chapters 7 and 8 provide useful details about the impact of advertising and mobile telephone technology—with data that reach up to about 2005. Both fields have changed since those years, but the figures here are both informative and dramatic.

The final chapter of this valuable book focuses on "China, Information and the World Economy." With China v. Google headlines greeting us today, it's helpful to review recent data on China's reintegration into global capitalism, with emphasis on the ICT sector.

Many of these chapters are updated reprints of Schiller's work previously published elsewhere. However, it is valuable to have all these topics linked and integrated into this volume. Sixty pages of notes and an index add to its value.

—Frances Forde Plude
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