



NEW DIRECTIONS IN LATINO AMERICAN CULTURES

From Telenovelas to Netflix: Transnational, Transverse Television in Latin America

Joseph Straubhaar
Melissa Santillana
Vanesa de Macedo Higgins Joyce
Luiz Guilherme Duarte

palgrave
macmillan

New Directions in Latino American Cultures

Series Editors

Licia Fiol-Matta

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

New York University

New York, NY, USA

José Quiroga

Emory University

Atlanta, GA, USA

The series will publish book-length studies, essay collections, and readers on sexualities and power, queer studies and class, feminisms and race, post-coloniality and nationalism, music, media, and literature. Traditional, transcultural, theoretically savvy, and politically sharp, this series will set the stage for new directions in the changing field. We will accept well-conceived, coherent book proposals, essay collections, and readers.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14745>

Joseph Straubhaar • Melissa Santillana
Vanessa de Macedo Higgins Joyce
Luiz Guilherme Duarte

From Telenovelas to
Netflix: Transnational,
Transverse Television
in Latin America

palgrave
macmillan

Joseph Straubhaar
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX, USA

Vanessa de Macedo Higgins Joyce
Texas State University–San Marcos
San Marcos, TX, USA

Melissa Santillana
Department of Radio-Television-Film
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX, USA

Luiz Guilherme Duarte
University of Central Florida
Orlando, FL, USA

New Directions in Latino American Cultures

ISBN 978-3-030-77469-1

ISBN 978-3-030-77470-7 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-77470-7>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would first and foremost like to thank and acknowledge Kantar Media and particularly Jimena Urquijo for giving us access to their TGI Latina surveys from 2004 to 2014. That has provided us a truly unique opportunity to pair theoretical concerns that several of us have been working on for years with a remarkable base of data about audience preferences in major metropolitan areas of eight Latin American countries. We were fortunate that such a survey was so comprehensive that most of our major concerns and issues were covered in it, such as whether respondents preferred television and film from their nation, the region, the U.S., or Europe; attitudes such as cosmopolitanism and also extremely detailed demographic data that permitted us to examine issues of cultural and linguistic capital, for example. We have intended this book to be theoretically oriented and informed, first and foremost, but to have the opportunity to put many of our theoretical ideas to an empirical test was also greatly appreciated.

We would like to also strongly and heartily thank several former graduate students who worked on the original report from which the TGI Latina data was extracted. Jeremiah Spence finished his doctorate at University of Texas, examining this same data, and is an affiliated researcher at UT. Vinicio Sinta, who finished his doctorate at University of Texas, is now teaching at Texas A&M San Antonio. Adolfo Mora, who finished his

doctorate at University of Texas, is now teaching at Schreiner College near San Antonio. Victor García Perdomo, who finished his doctorate at University of Texas, is now Director of the MA Program at Universidad de La Sabana, Colombia. We would also like to thank Deborah Castro Marino, now at the University of Rotterdam, who worked on several articles that came out of this data and which are cited in this book.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
	<i>Industries and Genres</i>	1
	<i>Identities and Audiences</i>	3
	<i>Ongoing Appeal of U.S. Programming in Latin America</i>	4
	<i>Technologies that Increased the Flow of U.S. and Other Foreign Programming into Latin America</i>	5
	<i>The Streaming Television Revolution</i>	6
	<i>Theorizing the Audiences for Foreign Television</i>	7
	<i>Outline of the Rest of the Book</i>	8
	<i>References</i>	9
2	The Growth of Latin American Television	13
	<i>Introduction</i>	13
	<i>Latin America: A Birthplace of International Communication Theories</i>	17
	<i>Television Eras in Latin America</i>	19
	<i>Putting Latin America in the Context of the Other World</i>	
	<i>Regions and Countries</i>	22
	<i>A Region of Broadcast Exporters and Importers</i>	23
	<i>Brazil</i>	23
	<i>Mexico</i>	25
	<i>Argentina</i>	26
	<i>Colombia</i>	27
	<i>Venezuela</i>	28

<i>Chile</i>	30
<i>Peru</i>	31
<i>Ecuador</i>	32
<i>Audience Television Preferences Sample and Methods</i>	33
<i>The Impact of Streaming Television</i>	38
<i>References</i>	40
3 Why Latin American Audiences Stay Loyal to National Broadcast Television	49
<i>A History of National Preferences</i>	50
<i>Dependency on U.S. in Television</i>	51
<i>Cultural Imperialism</i>	52
<i>National Production</i>	53
<i>Telenovelas</i>	53
<i>The Introduction of Dramatic Series in Latin America</i>	58
<i>Cultural Proximity</i>	59
<i>Primary, Local or National, Cultural Proximity</i>	61
<i>Secondary, Regional (Geo-Cultural), or Cultural-Linguistic Cultural Proximity</i>	62
<i>Ongoing Competition with Imported U.S. Television Programs and Channels</i>	63
<i>Capitals, Class, Viewing Options, and Viewing Choices</i>	64
<i>Methodology</i>	65
<i>Measurements</i>	66
<i>Data Analysis</i>	67
<i>Limitations</i>	67
<i>The Context of Multichannel Viewing Growth</i>	67
<i>Preferences for National and Regional Television Programs</i>	68
<i>General Preferences for National Programming and Channels</i>	68
<i>Genre Preferences and Domestic Bias</i>	71
<i>News</i>	72
<i>Telenovelas</i>	72
<i>Regional Programming Preferences</i>	74
<i>National Program Preferences and SES</i>	75
<i>Analysis/Conclusion</i>	76
<i>References</i>	79

4	The Persistence of the Popularity of US Television	87
	<i>Structural Factors Favoring the Commercial System of US Television</i>	88
	<i>Cultural Imperialism and the Deeper Structural Factors Favoring the Popularity of US Television</i>	90
	<i>The Persistence of US TV Programs on Broadcast Channels</i>	93
	<i>The Structural Context for Latin American Elite Audiences</i>	94
	<i>Impact of Transnational Pay-TV on the Increased Availability of US TV</i>	96
	<i>Why Audiences Began to Choose Foreign TV More Often</i>	97
	<i>The Growing Appeal in Latin America of the Big Wave of US Programs on Pay-TV</i>	98
	<i>Changes in Latin American Audiences for US Television</i>	99
	<i>Cultural, Economic, and Linguistic Capitals and Viewing Preferences</i>	103
	<i>Cultural Capital</i>	104
	<i>Economic Capital</i>	107
	<i>Linguistic Capital</i>	111
	<i>Age</i>	115
	<i>Conclusion: Predicting Foreign Television Preferences</i>	116
	<i>References</i>	118
5	Changing Class Formations and Changing Television Viewing: The New Middle Class, Television and Pay Television in Eight Latin American Countries 2004–2020	123
	<i>Social Class and Television in Latin America</i>	124
	<i>Elite Desires for Diversity on TV</i>	127
	<i>Beyond the Elite Audience on Pay-TV</i>	128
	<i>The Growth of the Middle Class in Latin America</i>	130
	<i>The Role of the Lower-Middle Class</i>	133
	<i>Breaking Down Class with Bourdieu's Capitals to Predict Multichannel Growth</i>	134
	<i>Methodology</i>	136
	<i>Findings: Income and Multichannel Penetration</i>	137
	<i>Findings: Education and Multichannel Penetration</i>	142
	<i>Education, Income, and Reasons for Getting Multichannel Television</i>	146

	<i>The Bust Years: 2014–2019</i>	150
	<i>Analysis and Conclusion</i>	154
	<i>References</i>	155
6	Streaming Television, Netflix, and Transverse Transnationalism	159
	<i>Introduction</i>	159
	<i>Eras of Television and Streaming</i>	160
	<i>Transversality</i>	161
	<i>Reasons Why Streaming Is Increasingly Global</i>	162
	<i>A Multiplicity of Models for Streaming</i>	165
	<i>YouTube</i>	166
	<i>Netflix</i>	167
	<i>Disney+, HBO, Amazon Prime</i>	170
	<i>Broad Range of Streaming Competitors in Latin America</i>	171
	<i>Toward a Systematic Classification of the New Online Video Players</i>	173
	<i>Media Imperialism</i>	177
	<i>Platform Imperialism</i>	178
	<i>Streaming Services as Global and Cosmopolitan</i>	179
	<i>Transverse Flows and Streaming Companies</i>	180
	<i>Taste Clusters Across Borders and Algorithmic Globalization</i>	182
	<i>Problems of Access to Streaming</i>	183
	<i>Netflix Strategy in Latin America</i>	184
	<i>Netflix and Quality Television</i>	187
	<i>Multilingualism on Netflix</i>	189
	<i>Netflix Production in Latin America</i>	190
	<i>Conclusion</i>	193
	<i>References</i>	195
7	Netflix, Distinction, and Cosmopolitanism Among Latin American Middle Class and Elite Audiences	203
	<i>Distinction</i>	204
	<i>Cosmopolitanism</i>	207
	<i>Cosmopolitanism and Globalization</i>	208
	<i>Cosmopolitanism and Bourdieu</i>	209
	<i>Multiple Mobilities</i>	211
	<i>Cultural Omnivores</i>	212

<i>Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism</i>	213
<i>Peripheral Cosmopolitanism</i>	214
<i>Cosmopolitans and Omnivores in Latin America</i>	215
<i>Cosmopolitanism and Globalized Media Preferences</i>	219
<i>Cosmopolitanism as Branding for Netflix and Others</i>	220
<i>Cosmopolitanism and Audience Preferences for U.S. and European Television and Film</i>	221
<i>Conclusion</i>	229
<i>References</i>	232
8 Conclusion	237
<i>National Preferences</i>	237
<i>Continuing Attraction and Power of Imported Programs and U.S. Culture</i>	240
<i>The Impact of New Television Technologies</i>	241
<i>Increase in Lower-Middle Class Increases Pay-TV Use</i>	242
<i>Economic and Cultural Capital and the Appeal of Foreign TV</i>	243
<i>Television Over the Internet, Streaming Television</i>	245
<i>Latin American Cosmopolitan Audiences</i>	248
<i>References</i>	251
Index	255

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 2.1	Multichannel penetration by country in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela, 2003–2014. (Source: TGI Latina)	35
Fig. 2.2	Cable, satellite, and non-multichannel households in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela, 2004–2014. (Source: TGI Latina)	36
Fig. 2.3	Percentage of population using the internet in Latin America 2000–2020	39
Fig. 2.4	Mobile data traffic in exabytes per month. (Source: https://www.statista.com/statistics/292859/north-america-mobile-data-traffic/#statisticContainer)	40
Fig. 3.1	Latin American TV viewing interests (interested and very interested) by origin in 2004, 2014. (Source: TGI Latina)	69
Fig. 3.2	Overall programming origin preferences, eight country average 2004–2014. (Source: TGI Latina)	70
Fig. 3.3	Changing program preferences in Venezuela. (Source: TGI Latina)	71
Fig. 3.4	Genres x national origin preferences. All countries. (Source: TGI Latina)	72
Fig. 3.5	Trends in preference for regional Latin American programming. (Source: TGI Latina)	73
Fig. 3.6	Latin American regional viewing interest x SES. All countries. (Source: TGI Latina)	75
Fig. 4.1	Programming preferences in Latin America by origin of programs, 2004–2014	100

Fig. 4.2	Interest in programs and films from the USA by country: 2004, 2007, 2008, and 2013	101
Fig. 4.3	Interest in programs and films from Europe by country: 2004, 2007, 2008, and 2013	102
Fig. 4.4	Interest in programs and films from USA by cultural capital 2004–2014	105
Fig. 4.5	Interest in programs and films from Europe by cultural capital 2004–2014	106
Fig. 4.6	Interest in programs and films from U.S. by economic capital 2004–2014	109
Fig. 4.7	Interest in programs and films from Europe by economic capital 2004–2014	110
Fig. 4.8	Interest in foreign programs and films by linguistic capital 2004–2014	113
Fig. 4.9	Interest in U.S. programs and films by linguistic capital by countries 2004. (Source: TGI Latina)	114
Fig. 4.10	Interest in U.S. programs and films by age: 2004–2014	117
Fig. 5.1	Percentage-specific countries have of the total members of the upper-middle class (next 20%) in the eight country sample	131
Fig. 5.2	Higher education for different social levels in Latin America	132
Fig. 5.3	Percentage-specific countries have of the total members of the lower-middle class (next 30%) in the country sample	133
Fig. 5.4	Multichannel penetration in Latin America 2004–2014	138
Fig. 5.5	Multichannel penetration by Latin American countries 2004–2014	139
Fig. 5.6	Multichannel penetration by income level: Combined Latin America	140
Fig. 5.7	Multichannel penetration Next 30% (income level) by country	141
Fig. 5.8	Multichannel penetration Bottom 40% (income level) by country	142
Fig. 5.9	Multichannel penetration Top 10% (income level) by country	143
Fig. 5.10	Multichannel penetration by education achievement: Combined Latin America	143
Fig. 5.11	Multichannel penetration by education achievement (TERTIARY ONLY) by country	144
Fig. 5.12	Multichannel penetration by education achievement (SECONDARY ONLY) by country	145
Fig. 5.13	Reasons for multichannel for all Latin American countries (Total responses)	148
Fig. 5.14	Reasons for multichannel adoption by educational achievement (combined Latin American countries)	149
Fig. 5.15	Reasons for multichannel adoption by income (combined Latin American countries)	151

Fig. 6.1	OTT players with the most users	172
Fig. 7.1	Interest in TV programs from different origins among cosmopolitans in various Latin American countries	223
Fig. 7.2	Interest in TV programs from different origins among non-cosmopolitans in various Latin American countries	224
Fig. 7.3	Origin of program and film preference and cosmopolitan attitudes	225
Fig. 7.4	Cosmopolitans vs. Non-Cosmopolitans and origin of program and film preferences	226
Fig. 7.5	Origin of program and film of preference and access to different streaming platforms	227
Fig. 7.6	Access to streaming platforms and level of economic status	228

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	An overview of trends across times and spaces in Latin American TV	20
Table 5.1	Pew income distribution 2001 vs. 2011	126
Table 5.2	Latin America GDP declines in the second half of last decade (annual variation in %)	134
Table 5.3	Comparison of SES and education on pay-TV penetration rate increases	145
Table 6.1	OTT players with the most users in Latin America-2019	174



CHAPTER 1

Introduction

INDUSTRIES AND GENRES

This book is about television in Latin America. Its national and regional industries create most television programming there within the genres that have developed over time in the region to please its audiences. Those programs hold their attention for the advertising that pays for most of the television systems in the region. However, quite a bit of the programming has always come from the U.S., and to a lesser degree, Europe, and elsewhere. With the technologies of cable, satellite and now streaming, that inflow of foreign programming has increased hugely. While many in the audience still prefer national programs, an increasing number among the upper-middle and middle classes, particularly the young, are turning to the new foreign outlets, like Netflix, Amazon, and Disney. This book examines both dynamics in the audience and various theoretical understandings for them. It also examines the dynamics among the television industries as both global and national actors create a variety of programs and channels (broadcast, pay-TV, and streaming) to appeal to different parts of the audience.

There are interesting questions about the political and economic contexts of the Latin American television industries. They grew up under a great deal of influence by national governments (Sinclair and Straubhaar

(2013), by both national and foreign advertisers (Mattos, 1984), and by fundamentally U.S. models of how to create programming for an advertising-oriented industry (Fox, 1975; Straubhaar, 1984), such as the now-famous case of how Colgate-Palmolive got Cuban producers to adapt the U.S. soap opera into what became the Latin American telenovela (Rivero, 2009). In terms of political economy, many researchers see this development of commercial Latin American television under U.S. influence as part of a worldwide push to spread consumer capitalism, both institutionally and through programs and advertisements that drew audiences into a role as consumers rather than as citizens (Dorfman & Mattelart, 1975; Garcia Canclini, 2001). In a larger theoretical sense, these developments have been seen as the dependency of Latin America on U.S. models and resources (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979; Dagnino, 1973), as well as part of larger structures of cultural imperialism (Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1979; Schiller, 1969). All of these forces shape the examination we make of Latin American television industries in Chap. 2.

As research on Latin American television progressed into the 1980s, however, one of the things that stood out was how, despite their origins in dependency and imperialism, the industries in the larger countries, particularly Brazil and Mexico, were beginning to produce a great deal of nationally focused programming: melodrama, variety, comedy, music, sports, and news (Straubhaar, 1984; Antola & Rogers, 1984). This contrasted with the original predictions of cultural and media imperialism theories that there would be a one-way flow of television from the U.S. and a few other countries into the rest of the world (Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1979), based in part on earlier empirical studies that showed a substantially one-way flow in the early 1970s (Nordenstreng & Varis, 1974). Culturally, that was thought to lead to a cultural threat to national identities, even cultural homogenization or synchronization (Beltran, 1978; Hamelink, 1983).

The fact that Brazil and Mexico began to produce most of their own programming, and even export it to other countries in the region (Antola & Rogers, 1984; Sinclair, 1998; Straubhaar, 1981), created important case studies in the global debate on television production and flow. Along with evidence from Egypt, Hong Kong, India, Japan, and elsewhere (Sinclair et al., 1996), there was growing evidence that a number of countries were breaking out of the limited television production aspect of dependency and unbalanced flow of television. Chapter 2 of this book examines the tensions between the ongoing forces of dependency,

imperialism, and national governments' push to produce more, in a form of import-substitution industrialization of television (Straubhaar, 1981), and the region's major television producers. It also examines the forces of genre development that came into greater scrutiny as researchers more interested in cultural studies began to look at the growth of distinctive genres, particularly telenovelas (Martin-Barbero, 1987; Mazziotti, 1993) and variety shows, referred to in Brazil as *shows de auditório* (Miceli, 1972; Sodre, 1972).

IDENTITIES AND AUDIENCES

The force that created a space in which both television industries and genres could grow was the interest and preferences of Latin American audiences, although media industries, genres, and audiences tend to grow together (Holt & Perren, 2011; Jenkins & Deuze, 2008). It began to become clear even in the mid-1960s that Latin American audiences preferred nationally produced television genres, telenovelas, variety shows, comedy, music, news, and sports. For example, TV Globo launched a station in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1965, in partnership with Time-Life Corporation, which recommended the Hollywood common wisdom of programming a lot of imported shows from the U.S. (Wallach, 2011). That programming approach put them in fourth place out of four stations in ratings, which only improved when Globo's management changed and emphasized local production with news, music, variety, and telenovelas (Wallach, 2011).

Anderson argued that national identities developed in nineteenth-century Latin America and elsewhere as imagined communities based on the interaction of several forces: national government measures such as schools, maps, holidays, museums; the development of newspapers and key works of nationally based fiction in national languages; and what he called print capitalism—media industries that provided the basis for extending both government ideas and commercial media content into the population. Radio and then television extended that development much further by reaching people who could not read or who lived beyond the reach of print media (Porto, 2012), creating a new form of electronic capitalism (Appadurai, 1996).

Political leaders like Getúlio Vargas in Brazil used music, soccer, and news on national radio to articulate broader national identities that brought in working classes, rural populations, and racial groups previously

excluded by emphasizing music that came from Afro-Brazilian traditions (Vianna, 1999). The military revolution of 1964 expanded television coverage to ensure that all Brazilians got a Portuguese language national signal and counted on commercial television to expand the consumer economy (Straubhaar, 1981; Wallach, 2011). Similarly, in Mexico *La hora nacional*, a one-hour weekly radio program debuted in 1937, worked as a project of musical nationalism, focusing on showcasing Mexican art music that incorporated popular musical themes. This program that continues to this day was one of the first efforts to use radio to build national cultural and political unity (Hayes, 2006). Telenovela development in Brazil after 1968 refocused the genre on national themes and issues, similar to what happened in Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela in the 1960s–1970s (Sinclair & Straubhaar, 2013). As Chap. 3 shows, the nationally oriented content proved very popular. Those countries too small or poor to produce telenovelas increasingly imported them from regional producers like Brazil and Mexico (Roncagliolo, 1995).

ONGOING APPEAL OF U.S. PROGRAMMING IN LATIN AMERICA

Although national programming increasingly filled up most of the most popular hours of broadcast on the main television networks of Latin America, smaller stations continued to carry quite a bit of imported U.S. programming. It was cheap, priced well below what it cost to produce an equivalent program in Latin America (Fox, 1975; Hoskins & Mirus, 1988), and it was popular with enough of the audience to deliver a profit (Read, 1976; Straubhaar, 1981). Chapter 4 explores how while national programming was the most popular in terms of audience preference, as reflected in surveys by the main regional survey and ratings group (Kantar Media's TGI survey), U.S. television programs and films were a close second, in terms of overall preferences, much higher than either regional Latin American or European programming.

The background to this relative popularity of U.S. programs can be seen in the high levels of exposure that Latin American audiences have had to U.S. films, music, cartoons, comics, and other media since the initial explosion of Hollywood exports in the 1920–1930s (Guback & Varis, 1986; Schnitman, 1984). Hollywood dominated the Latin American market, although Mexican films of their golden age in the 1940s were also

fairly popular across the region (Berg, 2015; Ricalde & Irwin, 2013). Other national cinemas struggled (Schnitman, 1984) or were thwarted by the big American studios, so cinema audiences had a long process of cultivation in which film was essentially North American. Since the same Hollywood companies created much of the television programming exported in the 1950s–1970s, the U.S. had an export advantage in television as well, reflected in the 1974 UNESCO study (Nordenstreng & Varis, 1974).

To dig beneath the surface of why U.S. programs remained popular, if not as popular as national programs, Chap. 4 breaks down the audience by social class, education, income, language ability, and other major audience characteristics. In line with the predictions of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1986), we found that more elite audiences and upper-middle classes tended to prefer imported programs, which were seen in context, as more sophisticated or at least as more distinct from popular tastes, since the middle class on down to the working poor still preferred national programs. The results are based on the Kantar TGI surveys of preferences from 2004 to 2014. This audience analysis fits with long-standing predictions by both dependency theory (Dagnino, 1973; Dos Santos, 1978) and cultural imperialism theory (Beltran, 1978; Schiller, 1969) that Latin Americans and other elites tended to be drawn away from national culture toward the cultures of colonial and post-colonial powers. Chapter 4 also explores that historical process and the literature on it.

TECHNOLOGIES THAT INCREASED THE FLOW OF U.S. AND OTHER FOREIGN PROGRAMMING INTO LATIN AMERICA

Several generations of technology have helped television and film programming from the U.S. and elsewhere penetrate further into Latin America. The main broadcast networks that spread the farthest into rural and small-town Latin America were usually the flagships that carried the most national programming, such as TV Globo and Televisa (Sinclair & Straubhaar, 2013). However, increasing availability of satellite channels at lower cost enabled smaller networks, like SBT and Record in Brazil, which carried more U.S. programming, to gain national distribution, too. The big leaps forward in massive penetration of U.S. and European

programming in Latin America came with first, satellite and cable distribution of pay-TV foreign channels, and now, since 2011, new U.S.-based streaming services, starting with Netflix in 2011, then Amazon Prime, and accelerating recently as Disney+, HBO Max, and other services announced international expansion since 2019.

Although some expected satellite and cable-based international television to penetrate quickly and deeply into Latin America (Mattelart & Schmucler, 1985), it languished outside of Argentina and Colombia, where government takeovers or regulation kept national commercial television networks less developed. Elsewhere, the preference for national content on national networks kept the take-up of pay-TV low (Reis, 1999) until after 2000, when three things began to change. Economic growth since the 1990s in many countries allowed more people to move up into the middle and upper-middle classes (Ferreira et al., 2012), which gave them more purchasing power, making the acquisition of new forms of television more affordable. Education reforms and subsidies to families that allowed children to attend school—rather than working—gave many people more education, hence more cultural capital, which we argue began to change their tastes. Third, more national broadcasters began to create their own satellite or cable-based pay-TV channels with attractive national content, such as national films, national telenovela revivals, national equivalents of documentary-based channels like Discovery, and 24-hour news. Unlike the 1980s–1990s, the expansion of pay-TV in the largest Latin American nations increased access also to new national content, not just U.S. and European. Chapter 5 goes in-depth on the growth of the Latin American lower-middle class and middle class, as well as the subsequent growth of subscriptions to pay-TV, which brought in a great deal more of U.S.-based channels such as CNN, HBO, MTV, Discovery, and so on.

THE STREAMING TELEVISION REVOLUTION

While pay-TV began to lose some subscribers after economic recessions in several countries like Brazil after 2013, streaming has grown steadily since Netflix entered the Latin American market in 2011. Streaming is turning out to be quite diverse, with national, regional, and outside players, but the most high-profile, highly used services are the U.S. streaming platforms, such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, Disney+, and so on. The new U.S. streaming television companies seem to represent two new threats to

Latin American television. First is a renewed wave of unbalanced flow or media imperialism (Boyd-Barrett, 1977) from the U.S. to the region, in the form of catalogs on Netflix that are very disproportionately U.S. in origin (Penner & Straubhaar, 2020) or almost completely North American in the case of Disney. Second is a new form of platform imperialism (Jin, 2017), in which some platforms like Netflix begin to have more diverse contents from various global producing nations, including Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, but strategy-making, financial decisions to green-light programs, and programming decisions, as well as the greatest part of the financial benefit rest with the U.S.-based corporations (Birkinbine et al., 2016).

Chapter 6 creates a typology for the different kinds of streaming platforms in Latin America, within several overall categories, including their focus and location, and looks at their relative impact via their subscription or use numbers. It shows that the U.S. platforms, such as Netflix, Amazon, and YouTube, do dominate the audience numbers. However, a large number of national platforms, such as Globoplay in Brazil and niche services aimed at different kinds of films and programs across Latin America, are growing and may offer some competition.

THEORIZING THE AUDIENCES FOR FOREIGN TELEVISION

One of the main trends observed in this book is that audiences for U.S., European, and other television from beyond the region are growing in Latin America, even though many parts of the audience remain remarkably loyal to local genres produced by national and regional industries. Still, to have audience momentum in numbers away from national and regional production is notable and significant. Fortunately, the TGI audience preference data we had been using allows us to examine some of the theoretical trends in empirical terms in Chap. 7.

The dominant theorization emerged early as the exception to cultural proximity theory (Straubhaar, 1981), built on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (1984, 1986). He predicted that social elites and upper-middle classes trying to become elite would prefer cultural products that were identified as markers of elite status. In television and film, those had been seen as products from the U.S. and Europe, back as far as cultural dependency theory (Dagnino, 1973). Using the TGI data, there is in fact a strong association between cultural capital (education), economic capital (income), and linguistic capital (languages spoken or learned) and a

preference for U.S. and, to a lesser degree, European film, and television. However, there was also a strong association with an alternative idea, that audiences would not so much seek distinction by preferring traditionally elite (imported) culture, but instead consume all kinds of culture, becoming cultural omnivores (Peterson, 1992). That wasn't true of people marked solely by higher cultural capital, but it was true of people who held all four of a set of attitudes that fits descriptions from the literature (Beck, 2002; Corpus Ong, 2009) for people who were more cosmopolitan, which from its roots implies an attitude focused less on the local or national and more on being a citizen of the world (Hannerz, 1997). The indicators for such a group include interest in other cultures, interest in watching news from abroad, interest in foreign travel, and interest in foreign food. We thus outline three related cultural theories that were associated with preferring U.S. and European television: a desire for elite cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1984), cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002), and cultural omnivorousness (Peterson, 1992).

OUTLINE OF THE REST OF THE BOOK

By providing a summary of some of the main theoretical issues and some of the historical antecedents of the broadcast, pay-TV, and streaming situations in the eight Latin American countries covered by the TGI Latina surveys, the second chapter provides the grounds for the analyses of television industries and audience behavior encompassed in the rest of the volume. Chapter 3 provides an analysis of audience programming preferences for programs, channels, and films of national and regional origin. That reviews the concept of cultural proximity, which predicts greater preference for national and regional programs, looks at the socio-economic status breakdown of who prefers these programs, and also looks at a breakdown by genres.

Chapter 4 looks at the ongoing second preference among many Latin American audiences, particularly in the major metropolitan areas for which we have data, for U.S. or European programming. We find that this is linked to the degree to which respondents have greater cultural capital (education), economic capital (income), or linguistic capital (English language ability for US or European programming, Spanish for Brazilians, etc.), building on the theoretical insights of Pierre Bourdieu (1984).

Chapter 5 looks at the recent growth of the Latin American middle and lower-middle socioeconomic classes or strata (Ferreira et al., 2012) as a

prime driver of multichannel TV, a service formerly considered as a luxury item. The somewhat different aspects of the social class represented by economic capital versus cultural capital are contrasted, with cultural capital seeming more important for obtaining multichannel access, as well as for the desire for more kinds of channels and more channels beyond the national television available to them. Chapter 6 looks at the growth of streaming television in Latin America. It focuses substantially on Netflix as the global subscription video on demand (SVOD) company that first focused on Latin America in 2011, but also compares other global actors such as Prime Video (SVOD), iTunes (transactional downloads and VOD), and YouTube (advertising-supported VOD). Netflix's strategy of creating programs around the world, including Latin America, and then promoting those series to global audiences, including those in the U.S., is theorized and analyzed in terms of transversality. Other actors, such as regional telecoms Telmex (Mexico) and Telefónica (Spain), major television broadcasters like TV Globo and Televisa, and local/regional independents and niche or genre-specific streaming operations have all entered the Latin American streaming television market, numbering in the hundreds, although far fewer get significant attention from audiences.

Chapter 7 examines the underlying attitudinal and behavioral traits linked to cultural preferences for foreign or international television content, particularly among those in the upper-middle and upper classes, in terms of possible pulls and drives. One is a drive for cultural and social distinction as outlined by Bourdieu (1984). Another is cultural openness or omnivorousness (Peterson, 1992) or cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002; Igarashi & Saito, 2014), in which audiences are drawn to a wider range of media and not just those typically thought of as either popular or elite. We use TGI data to examine those motives for preferences for television from national, regional, U.S., or European sources.

REFERENCES

- Antola, L., & Rogers, E. M. (1984). Television flows in Latin America. *Communication Research*, 11(2), 183–202.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(1–2), 17–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327640201900101>

- Beltran, L. R. (1978). TV etchings in the minds of Latin Americans: Conservatism, materialism and conformism. *Gazette*, 24(1), 61–65.
- Berg, C. R. (2015). *The classical Mexican cinema: The poetics of the exceptional Golden age films*. University of Texas Press.
- Birkinbine, B., Gómez, R., & Wasko, J. (2016). *Global media giants*. Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. London, Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). “The Forms of Capital.” Pp. 241–58 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson. New York: Greenwood.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (1977). Media imperialism: Towards an international framework for the analysis of media systems. In J. E. A. Curran (Ed.), *Mass communication and society*. Arnold.
- Cardoso, F. H., & Faletto, E. (1979). *Dependency and development in Latin America*. University of California Press.
- Corpus Ong, J. (2009). The cosmopolitan continuum: Locating cosmopolitanism in media and cultural studies. *Media Culture Society*, 31(3), 449–466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443709102716>
- Dagnino, E. (1973). Cultural and ideological dependence: Building a theoretical framework. In F. Bonilla & R. Girling (Eds.), *Structures of dependency*. Stanford University Press.
- Dorfman, A., & Mattelart, A. (1975). *How to read Donald duck: Imperialist ideology in the Disney comic*. International General.
- Dos Santos, T. (1978). *Imperialismo y dependencia*. DF Ediciones Era.
- Ferreira, F. H. G., Messina, J., Rigolini, J., López-Calva, L.-F., Lugo, M. A., & Vakis, R. (2012). *Economic mobility and the rise of the Latin American middle class*. World Bank Group.
- Fox, E. (1975). Multinational television. *Journal of Communication*, 25(2), 122–127.
- Garcia Canclini, N. (2001). *Consumers and citizens: Globalization and multicultural conflicts* (T. A. W. A. I. B. G. Yudice, Trans.). University of Minnesota Press.
- Guback, T., & Varis, T. (1986). *Transnational communication and cultural industries*. UNESCO Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 92. UNESCO, Paris.
- Hamelink, C. J. (1983). Cultural autonomy threatened. In *Cultural autonomy in global communications* (pp. 1–25). Longman.
- Hannerz, U. (1997). Notes on the global Ecumene. In A. Srenberny-Mohammadi, D. Winseck, J. McKenna, & O. Boyd-Barrett (Eds.), *Media in global context: A reader*. Arnold/Hodder Headline Group.
- Hayes, J. (2006). National Imaginings on the Air: Radio in Mexico, 1920–1950. In *The Eagle and the Virgin* (pp. 243–258). Duke University Press.

- Holt, J., & Perren, A. (2011). *Media industries: History, theory, and method*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Hoskins, C., & Mirus, R. (1988). Reasons for the US dominance of the international trade in television Programmes. In N. J. Smelser (Ed.), *Handbook of sociology*. SAGE.
- Igarashi, H., & Saito, H. (2014). Cosmopolitanism as cultural capital: Exploring the intersection of globalization, education and stratification. *Cultural Sociology*, 8(3), 222–239.
- Jenkins, H., & Deuze, M. (2008). *Convergence culture*. Sage Publications, UK.
- Jin, D. Y. (2017). Global digital culture| digital platform as a double-edged sword: How to interpret cultural flows in the platform era. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 3880–3898.
- Martin-Barbero, J. (1987). *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*. G. Gili.
- Mattelart, A., & Schmucler, H. (1985). *Communication and information technologies: Freedom of choice for Latin America?* (D. Bruxton, Trans.). Ablex.
- Mattos, S. (1984). Advertising and government influences on Brazilian television. *Communication Research*, 11(2), 203–220.
- Mazziotti, N. (1993). Acercamientos a las telenovelas latinoamericanas. In A. Fadul (Ed.), *Serial fiction in TV: The Latin American telenovelas* (p. 251). Robert M. Videira.
- Miceli, S. (1972). *A Noite da Madrinha*. Editora Perspectiva.
- Nordenstreng, K., & Schiller, H. I. (1979). *National sovereignty and international communications*. Ablex Publishing Corp.
- Nordenstreng, K., & Varis, T. (1974). *Television traffic—A one-way street*. UNESCO.
- Penner, T. A., & Straubhaar, J. (2020). Títulos originais e licenciados com exclusividade no catálogo brasileiro da Netflix. *Matrizes*, 14(1), 125–149. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1982-8160>
- Peterson, R. A. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics*, 21(4), 243–258.
- Porto, M. (2012). *Media power and democratization in Brazil: TV Globo and the dilemmas of political accountability*. Routledge.
- Read, W. H. (1976). *America's mass media merchants*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Reis, R. (1999). What prevents cable TV from taking off in Brazil? *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 43(3), 399–415.
- Ricalde, M., & Irwin, R. M. (2013). *Global Mexican cinema: Its Golden age*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Rivero, Y. M. (2009). Havana as a 1940s–1950s Latin American media capital. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 26(3), 275–293.

- Roncagliolo, R. (1995). Trade integration and communication networks in Latin America. *Canadian Journal of Communications*, 20(3), 335–342.
- Schiller, H. I. (1969). *Mass communication and American empire*. Beacon.
- Schnitman, J. A. (1984). *Film industries in Latin America—Dependency and development*. Ablex.
- Sinclair, J. (1998). *Latin American television: A global view*. Oxford:Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J., & Straubhaar, J. (2013). *Television industries in Latin America*. BFI/Palgrave.
- Sinclair, J. S., Jacka, E., & Cunningham, S. (1996). Peripheral vision. In J. Sinclair, E. Jacka, & S. Cunningham (Eds.), *New patterns in global television* (pp. 1–15). Oxford University Press.
- Sodre, M. (1972). *A comunicacao do grotesco*. Editora Vozes.
- Straubhaar, J. D. (1981). *The transformation of cultural dependency: The decline of American influence on the Brazilian television industry* (Ph.D.). Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.
- Straubhaar, J. (1984). The decline of American influence on Brazilian television. *Communication Research*, 11(2), 221–240.
- Vianna, H. (1999). *The mystery of samba*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Wallach, J. (2011). *Meu capítulo na TV Globo*. Editora Topbooks.