REVISTA
COMUNICACIÓN Y MEDIOS

Monografico Especial:
IMAGINARIO CATASTRÓFICO: DISCURSO MEDIÁTICO Y VISUALIDAD

Nº36

Todos los artículos son revisados por un mínimo de dos académicos o investigadores de su Comité Editorial o del Referato, quienes, preferentemente, poseen doctorados. Para asegurar evaluaciones neutras y sin sesgos de ningún tipo con los autores del artículo, la Revista Comunicación y Medios cerciora un arbitraje a través del sistema "doble ciego". Durante el proceso de revisión la identidad, tanto de autores y evaluadores, se mantiene oculta. Los factores que se tienen en cuenta en la revisión son la pertinencia, la solidez, la importancia, la originalidad, la legibilidad y el lenguaje del artículo. Los revisores evalúan el contenido intelectual de los manuscritos, sin importar la raza, el género, la orientación sexual, creencias religiosas, origen étnico, la nacionalidad, o la filosofía política de los autores.

ÍNDICE Nº36

ARTÍCULOS

MONOGRAFICO: "IMAGINARIO CATASTRÓFICO: DISCURSO MEDIÁTICO Y VISUALIDAD"

Editorial N°36

In this new phase, the journal Comunicación y Medios, edited by the Instituto de Co-municación e Imagen of the Universidad de Chile, has achieved inclusion in different directories, databases, and repositories. This publication is currently available on Latindex, Dialnet, Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Citas Latinoamericanas en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (CLASE), Matriz de Información para el Análisis de Revistas (MIAR), Google Scholar, Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico (REDIB), European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ErihPlus) and Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) of Clarivate Analytics (ISI).

At Comunicación y Medios we continue to work towards consolidating the international presence of the journal by inviting and publishing international authors, translating articles and reviews into English, publishing special issues, constant improvement in design and making copies available in both formats: digital and print.

We invite you to continue reading and sharing: www.comunicacionymedios.uchile.cl

Javier Mateos-Pérez
Editor-in-Chief

Special Issue Editorial "Catastrophic Imaginary"

Invited authors
Nancy Berthier, Paris-Sorbonne University, France
Carlos Belmonte Grey, University of Evry Val-d'Essonne, France / University of Guadalajara, Mexico

This special issue, titled "Catastrophic Imaginary: Hispano-American media discourse and visual arts in the 20th - 21st Centuries", of the journal Comunicación y Medios, edited by the Universidad de Chile, is the result of a series of reflections that began in the heart of the Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias sobre los Mundos Ibéricos Contemporáneos (CRIMIC), in the Visual Arts division of Sorbonne University. The articles published came, partly, from a meeting of researchers of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico (UNAM), Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana (UAM) of Mexico and Sorbonne in March 2016 at the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of UNAM; another portion of the articles are proposals submitted in response to an open call issued by the journal's editorial board.

The notion of catastrophe was the basic premise of the reflections. The central theme of this special issue is an extension of the studies published previously in the book edited by Julie Amiot and Nancy Berthier, Frente a la catástrofe. Temáticas y estéticas en el cine español e iberoamericanos contemporáneo (Paris, Editions hispaniques, 2017). The media discourse is saturated with catastrophes, almost always related to nature (tsunamis and earthquakes, among others). In Catholic tradition, catastrophes are related to God's punishment, allowing us to confer meaning to something that happens beyond our prediction and control. But over time, the notion has taken on different meanings, until the anthropological catastrophes – the large genocides of the 20th century– have taken it from its natural origin and cast it into the realm of human action and responsibility. According to François Hartog, the current "historicity regimen", founded on the "presentism", generates the perception of a future that "is no longer perceived as a promise but rather a threat –by way of catastrophes, of a time of catastrophes in which we are the ones who cause

them" (Régimes d'historicité, ed. 2012). Contemporaneity and catastrophe-ism may be closely related: by definition, a catastrophe is a large-scale dramatic and deadly event that occurs suddenly, causing moments of discontinuity in the flow of time. However, the collective dimension of the catastrophe focuses on the individual dimension of those that had to experience it to survive before taking on the condition of witnesses, so desired by audiovisual media. Therefore, how to do we describe the indescribable? How do we share with others a reality that is radically unique? How do we portray the unportrayable? In a few societies of "risk and uncertainty" that are, for François Walter, the characteristic of that which is contemporary since 1918, according to how it focuses in a perspective of cultural history of catastrophes and risks, "Western society has dramatized with images the first and with texts the second" (Catastrophes une histoire culturelle [XVIe-XXIe siècle], 2008). In other words, the image seems to go hand in hand with catastrophe.

This special issue proposed to explore the ways to create the catastrophic imaginary in the visual arts and the media discourses of the 20th and 21st centuries. Reflections on catastrophes were based on three main factors: (1) political events that brought about death and violation of human rights (coup d'états and/or genocides), (2) the phenomenon of immigration, drug trafficking and marginalization in states promoting necropolitics, and (3) the catastrophic imaginary regarding natural disasters.

Therefore the articles of this issue analyze:

- Violence caused by migration, drug trafficking and political power: Julie Amiot-Guillouet's article "Desde La Ville qui tue les femmes to the city of the dead: the web documentary as a tool for investigating the catastrophe in Ciudad Juarez" uses the web documentary genre to create a map of the city and its crime like a puzzle that you can put together in various ways; Gabrielle Pannetier-Leboeuf in "Victims of necropower? The construction of the feminine body in Mexican cinema on drug trafficking" proposes ways to analyze male power in the genre on drug trafficking and certain narrative strategies that, without being successful, aim at the existence of an agency in female characters; Veronique Pugibet in "Mexican Ci-

nema and migration: the lost steps in the gilded cage of Quemada-Díez" focuses on the hybridity of the resources of the movie and on the violence of Central American and Mexican migration towards the United States.

-Daily phenomena treated as modern-day social catastrophes and integrators of imaginaries: Andoni Iturbe Tolosa in "Catastrophe imaginary under the yoke of television discourse in REC" aims at analyzing the discourse and the device of the Spanish horror series REC.

-Natural catastrophes registered in visual discourses: Javier Ramirez-Miranda with "Approaching the real in Everardo González's cinema" is based on the Cuates de Australia to show the rigors of the summer in northern Mexico and the resistance of the population thanks to diffuse traditions; Marion Gautreau in "The Portrait of the ruined city as the construction of a photojournalistic view: Elsa Medina travels through Mexico City" proposes to follow the chronicle of the 1985 earthquake in Mexico City and observe how imaginary elements are incorporated that will reach the press.

-The issue concludes with the review by Geoffroy Huard "Alberto Berzosa (2014), Homoheresy on film: Subversive gay cinema in Spain in the 70s and 80s" where the minorities are used as elements that make up the notion of contemporary social catastrophes.

We hope that these documents contribute to the analysis of the visual imaginaries and the contemporary historicity in the Iberian-American world.

From La Ville qui tue les femmes to The city of the dead: the web documentary as a tool for investigating the catastrophe in Ciudad Juarez

Desde La Ville qui tue les femmes a La ciudad de las muertas: el web documentary como herramienta de indagación de la catastrophe en Ciudad Juarez

Julie Amiot-Guillouet
Paris-Sorbonne University (Paris IV), Paris, France
julie.amiot-guillouet@paris-sorbonne.com

Abstract

This article analyses how a new audio-visual format, the webdocumentary, deals with a problem related to drug trafficking in Mexico (disappearances and murders of women in Ciudad Juarez), in order to map the city and its criminality much alike a puzzle that can be freely interlocked. The idea is to provide meaning to a series of events considered from the perspective of catastrophe: tremendous, and lacking of significance. Based on traditional sources, the webdocumentary deals with unpublished material provided by a journalistic fieldwork that also gave birth to a book and a documentary. It is a triple investigation and revelation of a hidden reality whose violence spreads in the whole society. The troubling atmosphere of the webdocumentary appears to be an appropriate tool to report on this phenomenon.

Keywords

Webdocumentary; Ciudad Juárez; Catastrophe; Memory.

Resumen

Este artículo analiza como un género audiovisual nuevo, el webdocumental, trata un tema relacionado con el narcotráfico en México (las desapariciones y los asesinatos de mujeres en Ciudad Juárez), para elaborar una cartografía de la ciudad y de su criminalidad a la manera de un rompecabezas que se puede armar libremente. Se trata de conferir sentido a una serie de acontecimientos considerados desde la perspectiva de la catástrofe: descomunal, carente de sentido. Basado en fuentes tradicionales, el webdocumental baraja un material inédito sacado de un trabajo de campo periodístico que también dio lugar a un libro y un documental. Se trata de una triple indagación y revelación de una realidad encubierta cuya violencia se difunde en la sociedad. La estética inquietante del webdocumental aparece como una herramienta muy apropiada par dar cuenta de este fenómeno.

Palabras clave

Webdocumental; Ciudad Juárez; Catástrofe; Memoria.

1. Introduction

In 2005, Alexandre Brachet, from Upian Productions, met journalist Jean-Christophe Rampal who proposed presenting in an audiovisual document the fieldwork done with Marc Fernandez on the "missing women of Juarez" in Mexico, and whose results were published in a book titled La Ville qui tue les femmes (Fernandez & Rampal, 2005). Thus, the journalistic investigation by Rampal and Fernandez would have a publication in three formats, in the form of a book, a 54-minute made for TV documentary, and a web documentary La Cité des mortes[1]. The association of these works seems particularly appropriate to portray the phenomenon of the "missing women of Juarez", considered a catastrophe in Mexican society, and therefore significantly difficult to consider and communicate. As stated by Christian Godin in his definition: "this catastrophe seems to be a closed event, but almost never hits all at once. It stumbles about killing and destroying over time" (2009). In the case of the disappeared women, this statement rings true, given that Jean-Christophe Rampal multiplies the focuses to show a series of events apparently difficult to relate and due to this reason uses the notion of catastrophe, to which man always strives to give meaning:

> To the multiple calamities, societies try above all to make sense of. The scientific explanation, the use of religion, aesthetic sublimation, the different types of fiction and graphic staging are cultural means for managing catastrophe or anticipating its risk (Walter, 2008).

In this perspective, this work proposes to investigate the way a new (at the time) audiovisual genre, the web documentary, can document a topic Jean-Christophe Rampal seeks to explain related to Mexico's problem of drug trafficking (the murders and the disappearances of women in Ciudad Juarez), to create a city crime map similar to a puzzle whose pieces you can join in different ways.The goal is to give an idea of the scope of the phenomenon, highlighting its massive and omnipresent character that also relates it with the idea of a catastrophe, due to its extraordinary size, according to Christian Godin:

> The catastrophe can be defined as an event of maximum tragic intensity accompanied or followed by multiple destructions. It represents a massive death threat for human existence. It is monstrous event of absolute risk and accident. It is not just a particularly powerful accident; its magnitude surpasses the category of accidental (2009).

To show the "magnitude" of a catastrophe that in the case of Juarez takes the form of the continuous appearance of cadavers and pieces of cadavers, the web documentary relies on traditional sources (press and books) cited that are supported by the methodology of the journalistic inquiry used by the book and the documentary movie. At the same time, it constitutes a way of prolonging the investigative work that is at its origin. Its interactive dimension converts it into a new editorial object, of which I will study both its form and content: it is about a way of revealing a reality, that of drug trafficking underlying the phenomenon of the "missing women", and the manner in which its presence spreads through Mexican society to cause a disturbing reality that the web documentary aesthetic proves particularly appropriate to recreate.

2. The web documentary: a genre to reveal

A web documentary is not a traditional documentary that benefits from online promotion. It is not an audiovisual piece, but a website that can house very heterogeneous formats and materials. The issue at hand is knowing if it is a new genre in creating audiovisual material: if the profoundly hybrid form of the web documentary is undoubtedly original, it still has many factors in common with the traditional audiovisual documentary. The first thing to note is that it does not have a precise definition, due to the high generic plasticity of the

"documentary" category (Moine, 2002). Guy Gauthier, in his synthesis on documentary film, titles his introductory chapter "a poorly-identified film device"(2011). This difficulty to define the documentary translates into a tendency to substitute the notion of "regimen" to that of the genre: the main difference between a documentary and fiction lies in the interpretive pact that they require, given that in the first case revolves around the audience's belief in the veracity of what they are being shown. At the same time, referring to a documentary requires a reflection on the modes of representation, given that, according to the introduction by Stella Bruzzi in her recent essay on the "new documentary", she emphasizes the fact that you can "analyze the documentary like a continuous negotiation between real events and their representation" (Bruzzi, 2000). The documentary regimen implies asking one's self not about what is being shown, but also how it is given shape including via that which is not being shown, that voluntarily remains off camera. To consider the proposals of Diego Zavala-Scherer who relies on the respective theory work of Bill Nichols:

> […] more than focusing directly on registering the catastrophe (which would be closer to the idea of the event), what is interesting is the catastrophe as a limit of the representation, as an element off camera, like the off camera in documentary pieces. The event seen in the social and historic context in which it occurs. This way, more than the real evidence of register what is important here is the catastrophe […] as the idea or driving image of the representation. Thus we are in the territory of how cultures, filmmakers, societies and nations represent the catastrophe and represent their fears in the face of loss (Zavala-Scherer, 2017).

It involves considering the implications of the desire to want to document certain reality and analyze the type of material selected and the way it is organized in the audiovisual discourse created. All these definition problems also apply to the web documentary that seems to define itself more as a format than as an audiovisual genre with an aesthetic or a specific

content, as shown by the attempts to clarify it on behalf of industry professionals as well as academics. For example, in a masters degree in journalism research project, Isabelle Lassalle follows the multiple factors that configure the notion of a web documentary compared to a documentary: nonlinear story, interactive navigation, structure organized based on different possible and attainable content (Lassalle, 2012). If the question of format (Internet) is fundamental because it allows for interactivity to be the center of the experience of the web documentary, at the same time it justifies the absence of a formal precise definition: each creator is free to use diversified resources, as long as the only criteria making it belong to the field of the web documentary is that of the nonlinearity of the proposed story. This device lies in the association of a hybrid and diverse content with nonlinear narratives that address realities and practices that are also diversified. In her research work, Isabelle Lassalle insists in the importance of the appropriateness between the content and the form of the web documentary, emphasizing that:

> In the cases studied, the arborescence of the definition has not been made a priori, but rather a posteriori, at the time when the authors begin to organize the material that they have. Therefore, it is not about an abstract construction but rather a formation closely related to the content (2012).

This description of the method of creating the web documentary applied perfectly to Jean-Christophe Rampal's project. In addition, you may remember that the web documentary belongs to the realm of *trans-media*, which lies in the permeability between different formats: the use of the prefix "trans" suggests the idea that the device of the the web documentary allows for passage from one format to another, which implies that each one of these format proposes its own resources allowing each one of the features of the device to complement the rest.

To understand the reasons that brought Jean-Christophe Rampal to choose the web

documentary method, one must remember the way in which his fieldwork in Ciudad Juarez allowed him to reveal a very complex reality, and establish a connection between two apparently non-related problems. Yet he manages to show that they are in fact closely related: one being the murdering of women, and two being drug trafficking. When Jean-Christophe Rampal travels to Ciudad Juarez to investigate the murders of women, the phenomenon has been going on for 10 years and appears regularly on the front page in Mexican and international news media. In 2003, Amnesty International publishes a document titled *Intolerable Killings. 10 Years of Abductions and Murders of Women in Ciudad Juarez and Chihuahua*[2], that proposes a balance of this series of events that converted it in Mexico to a national issue, caused by the helplessness and negligence of Mexican authorities that are denounced. The magnitude and the length of time that the killings and abductions took place – that link it with the notion of catastrophe – in the Ciudad Juarez and its surroundings is such that the phenomenon comes to be referred to as a "femicide", or "the misogynist killing of women by men. This is how it is related to the patriarchal social system in which women seem to be predisposed to being killed, whether for being women, or for not being the right kind of women" (Fernandez & Rampal, 2005: 39). This idea that women are the object of death sentences and systematic executions lies in the number of deaths (370, of which 170 present evidence of sexual violence according to the Amnesty International report), the long period of time in which these murders were perpetrated, the manner in which the bodies are found more or less viciously mutilated in the city's public spaces, or parts of their bodies, as well as the fact that the victims are chosen from the population's lowest social classes, which as a consequence receive a very mediocre response from the authorities in resolving cases.

Considering it from the perspective of a catastrophe, the phenomenon of the killings of Juarez work as a symptom of the problems in Mexican society, a visible and violent translation of problems that stem from four correlated and interrelated factors, given that the catastrophe: "has the appearance of a incommensurability between the effect (enormous, literally), and the cause often times impossible to detect, or in any case unpredictable, here lies the challenge that it represents for thought" (Godin, 2009). In the case of the events of Juarez, the amount and the difficulty of pinpoint its causes are also at the origin of the deployment of a long and difficult fieldwork effort by journalists to try and bring this combination of causes to light.

First, the phenomenon, due to its geographic anchoring in the border city of Ciudad Juarez seems clearly related to the characteristics of the labor market that has developed there during the second half of the 20th century with the mass arrival of assembly factories that attract deprived migrant populations towards the border areas and bring a strong increase in female employment. From this perspective as well, what happens in Ciudad Juarez can be related with catastrophe, from the angle of criticism of the modern capitalist society for example that Jean-Pierre Dupuy proposes upon writing:

> When the evil served the good, it became justifiable. When the evil is devoid of sense, it becomes intolerable. The debilitation of the sacrificial justification schemes now refers to the senselessness of the evil that accompanies economic growth (Dupuy, 2002).

Second, the very idea of femicide refers to a misogyny that spreads like a cancer in Mexican culture according to the analysis of Octavio Paz (2015). However, from the perspective of the focuses emerging from ethnology and contemporary feminism, this essentialist vision of male violence against women can be corrected to give it a much more social aspect anchored in the imaginary internalized by both sexes from a culture and a language practice that supposedly translate the position of power – or of submission – that their roles give them. Take for example, in his essay

dedicated to the way that both sexes stand regarding rape, Sharon Marcus suggests, "rape is structured like a language" and is "a closed interaction that takes place from a language and can be understood in terms of conventional masculinity and femininity" (Marcus, 2002). In Mexico, misogynist violence can be related to a conception of the inequality between men and women that is found in many cultures, but that takes place with a special force, given that it occurs in an area in which it is reinforced by a form of exploitation that adds to this gender violence and economic violence that legitimizes it. That's how ethnologist Melissa M. Wright saw it at the end of a field study of female workers employed by the factories of Ciudad Juarez that implement a model in which "the woman becomes a type of industrial waste, which causes her to be eliminated and substituted" (Wright, 2006)[3].

Third, killings of women in Ciudad Juarez show evidence of the corruption that corrodes the city, the region of Chihuahua and, further yet, the entire country. This translates into the lack of reaction by the authorities, and awakens reasonable suspicions of collusion between police and murderers. The Amnesty International report mentioned emphasizes it:

> The authorities' response during the last ten years has been to treat the different crimes like common violence in the private sector, not recognizing the existence of a persistent pattern of violence against women that has deeper roots based in discrimination. The policy of lack of information and access to files has been constant […]. Irregularities also include test tampering and even alleged use of torture to obtain information or confessions of guilt[4].

Finally, the murders of women in Ciudad Juarez show evidence of the presence of drug trafficking which is the final piece of the macabre puzzle put together by Jean-Christophe Rampal in his survey. It is characterized as the part of the iceberg that's underwater given its underground operation that corrodes the society as a whole, and manifests in the case of Jua-

rez not only in the number and the period of time in which the murders continued to occur, but also by the morbid staging of the victims' bodies. What it shows is the generalized and banal spread of violence that allows any type of criminal to hide behind it, in the utmost impunity. The fact that the femicide takes place in an area that is under the control of drug cartels suggests that drug trafficking spreads a violence throughout society in which the exposure of women's bodies often times raped and mutilated is its most manifest expression.

The following is dedicated to showing why the web documentary form seemed appropriate to its authors to reveal this reality, all the while focusing on, as we suggested at the beginning of our reflection, on both the visual content and sound design of the device as the way to organize it that leads to a questioning of the notion of representation.

3. Three formats at the service of the expression of the catastrophe

It is this framework of the complex reality that takes place in the confines of Mexico's social, cultural, political reality as well as their identity that Rampal strives to reveal and describe throughout his survey, using different formats to propose different approaches to the problem and its revelation. It is necessary to briefly summarize them in order to see the features they share, but especially their specificities, before analyzing more in detail the place they hold in the web documentary and the innovative role in the device.

The first publishing of the investigation results was done in book format, taking the form of a traditional long-term journalistic inquiry (seen for example in the systematic citing of the sources as well as their preservation, that guaranties their authenticity, and allows for their later use in the web documentary, like in the case of the pictures and recordings), which allows for bringing light progressively to the

problem of femicides in Juarez, and the role that drug trafficking performs in this context. The back cover mentions the web documentary, which highlights the different formats being complementary of each other. The city's geography is at once recognized as an essential element, with the presence of a map on the first page. At first, the book offers a description of the bodies found and admits the extreme difficulty in finding the killers. At the end, there is a chapter on drug trafficking that appears like the point of arrival of a revelation built on the foundation of fieldwork. Thus, the book begins with the most evident levels of the manifestations of violence: Chapters 1 to 4 are respectively titled "Easy Prey", "License to Dill" (first the effects are described before delving into the cases of violence), "False Guilty Parties and Manipulation" and "Women Hunters" (to show the difficulty in identifying the perpetrators of the crimes). Later it moves on to the most complex clarifications of the context in which the crimes occur: Chapters 5 and 6 are respectively titled "The Border Mafia" and "A Political Issue", and show evidence of the mafia networks related to drug trafficking and the corruption of political parties and police. Later it focuses on the problem from the point of view of the women who suffer from it and/or fight against it: Chapters 7 and 8 are respectively titled "A Women's Fight" and "The City of Dead Women". The last chapter, asked as a question ("Epilogue: Who benefits from these crimes?"), shows the way this climate of generalized violence benefits primarily the fear campaign implemented by the drug traffickers to maintain control of the border area where they transport the drugs. The order of the book provides a dynamic of continuous revealing to show how drug trafficking goes affecting the society as a whole, and leaving signs, manifesting its presence that need interpreting.

The documentary movie is defined by Rampal as a "documentary of reality". The generic characterization of the movie as "documentary" does not seem to relate with its aesthetic dimension (creative documentary), but with the duration of its making, which is revealing about the magnitude of the work that the investigation represented. The structure of the movie differs greatly from that of the book from which it is adapted due to a number of concessions the authors of the fieldwork had to make in terms of the requirements of TV narrative, which also comes from a difference in tone between the book's authors on one side, and the movie director (who intervenes so that he is coauthor of this version of the investigation) on the other. These differences are manifested in registers of expression of the book and movie. The descriptions in the book are written with a voluntarily descriptive tone that is very effective in awakening the conscience of the reader in light of the harshness of that being told from the first lines of the prologue:

> The large redbrick building stands next to the highway in the southern part of the city. It's on the other side of the street that crosses through the industrial sector, the Thomson Televisions assembly plant. Not far from there is the city police station. Several white SUVS, all the same model, line the parking lot. In front of them, a large sign with gold lettering reads: Semefo, Forensic Medical Service. It's the Ciudad Juarez morgue. Here the bodies of women murdered in this city have come and gone and continue coming since 1993. These women have been given the name "the dead women of Juarez" by the city inhabitants. At the entrance, before the employee of a private security company, a family waits to identify a body found a few hours ago at the edge of the desert that dominates the region.

This extract shows the importance of the urban topography and introduces factors whose role will be shown during the investigation (the social context, the role of the authorities, etc.). The description, very detailed, works to create a scenario of marginality, in a desolate, dehumanizing theater in which the events to be described take place. The tone of the description is fundamental because it contributes to the awakening of consciences via the transformation of the catastrophic events in a discourse capable of transmitting them:

A catastrophe cannot separate from the discourses that tell it, that interpret it and in this way participate in its construction. These discourses are related with the la experience of trauma and tragedy. These are created based on feelings (fear, anguish, desperation, anger, a sense of injustice, etc.) that necessarily accompany any catastrophic rupture in time (Guenard & Simay, 2011).

In the book, an entire series of emotions filter through this initial description that give the reader a very distressing and disturbing image of the place where the story begins, a forensic institution that seems to rise up in the middle a silent desert from which we will learn the role of burying the dead which it carries out.

On the contrary, the movie begins (and ends) in a sequence in which we see a violent altercation between families of victims and the governor of the region of Chihuahua, in which the voiceover says that he came to put on his "show": the viewer finds himself directly submerged in the conflictive reality of Ciudad Juarez, in which the very tense relationships between authorities and the population are a key element. The point of view of the director is seen immediately via the description of the governor's speech (a "show", an act on stage, in which he carries out a social role in front of people who can only show him the authenticity of their pain). This same difference in the treatment of the material of the investigation can be observed for example in the episode of the highly-publicized arrest of a bus driver who is clearly designated in the movie as the "scape goat", which the book manages to express in a more detailed manner.

The web documentary, on one hand, allows for presenting material collected from the initial fieldwork. Such is the case, for example, of the photographs, visual tools used to write the descriptions found in the book. Rampal does not rely on those that were used as descriptions in the book, which confirms the idea of the three formats complementing one another. This project also is the means to an

effort regarding the need to find sources of income for independent journalists: the idea is to arrive at a higher return on investment due to the fact the results of the fieldwork can be presented via multiple channels capable of generating recipes for success (book sales, movie financing and purchase by TV channels and video on demand transactions, etc.).

However, the web documentary itself does not bring in direct income (access is free, there are no ads on the site), but rather its traffic gives visibility to the other formats. Rampal believes that visits to the web documentary that occurred over time (the site remains up today), played an important role in book sales.

4. *La Cité des mortes*: an ethical and aesthetic project in the face of catastrophe

According to the words of the web documentary producer Alexandre Brachet, one thing it has in common with the traditional documentary is the desire to reveal certain aspects of reality, to awaken consciences, and it is successful thanks to the particular emotion that this device creates:

> Is the internet user in general willing to look at and click on content created by/for and with the internet that transmit emotions close to those that cinema or documentaries do? I was once convinced that the Internet could communicate emotions. I am still convinced today. From my point of view as producer, Lacitedesmortes.net is the most representative program of this mix of content/emotion. It's important to me that the Internet also has programs that reflect the world we live in. It's important to me that this new form of web documentary give internet users what the documentary gives TV viewers: an informed view of the world, and a questioning of facts that allow us to better understand the problems around us[5].

This project presentation emphasizes the emotional experience. Given the complexity of the situation in Juarez, there is another interest of the *transmedia* device that is its capacity to create complementary views of said reality, precisely because it, similar to a catastrophe, is largely unrepresentable:

> Gunther Anders and Hannah Arendt reflect on this concept: now man is not capable of representing what he does. This is an unprecedented evil, monstrous, that was embodied by Eichmann. What we can do now is much more than what we can represent; between our capability of creation and our capability of representation a large gap has opened, that grows by the day; our capability to create has no limits, while our capability to represent is limited (Godin, 2009).

The presence of this series of documents on the internet should play the conscience-awakening role on Internet users who are supposedly not necessarily habitual readers of long, tedious journalistic investigations like *La Ville qui tue les femmes* (the book has 281 pages). Based on this perspective, the web documentary applies a strategy that is both aesthetic and ethical, whose goal is to show "what the world is really like" to an audience that is without a doubt more accustomed to other cultural universes, and in particular that of the video game. Thus, the aesthetic of the site is related with the willingness to reach a large audience via its feelings and emotions, and also its reflection and participation in the creation of the feeling. The importance of the notion of cartography should be highlighted, which of course is related with the topic (the bodies that appear in different parts of the city, the geographic locating of the drug traffickers in the urban space), but also (and especially) the way it leads to understanding: navigation on an internet site, built based on a arborescence that allows the user to go from one space to another, and also move around within each space. The authors' guidance does not completely disappear, since the user can have the impression of having

his vey own viewing and navigation experience of the site, the data and the possible tours between them are necessarily limited, and the home page suggests that the visitor begin by reading the introduction that explains the nature of the project before diving into a more independent form of exploration. However, thanks to the interaction of the elements present, the web documentary architecture seems particularly appropriate for the investigative journalism, as is reminded in the introduction of the site's home page: "The origin of this project was the willingness of the authors and of the web professionals to create a new editorial form that would give another dimension to the book". This same page has a link to the introduction that summarizes the main point of the topic (the effect of drug trafficking on crime and in particular the femicides in Juarez), and indicates the different parts of the site: a map (that has active links to items like "map", "video", "photo", and "radio"), references to the book, to the documentary shown on Canal +, and to the blog that should reinforce the interactivity between the site and the visitors.

Five sectors are available for exploration on the site, introduced by the emergence of a photograph of an anonymous woman on a black background, with background music that creates a disturbing feeling: "Radio Juarez: those who dare to speak" lets you hear the recordings made at during the fieldwork, interpreted into French. This guarantee of source authenticity creates a support that the book cannot due to its format while at the same time broadcasting the voices as if from beyond the grave that create the strong emotional dimension of the device. Six audio recordings give testimony about the murders and the implication of the police, with a small sign that mentions the source's name and profession: a lawyer, an investigator, the director of La Casa Amiga that helps female victims of gender violence, a criminologist and a victim's father. The combination gives an impression of cacophony and of fragmentation that the user must overcome, navigating the screen

via the scanning device of the radio that gives him access to different recordings. The way in which documents are structured does not appear making it difficult to recreate a coherent flow, and materializes the challenge to consider all the elements of a complicated case whose driving force (drug trafficking) is not apparent at first. Thus, the "curious" user can feel the extreme complexity of this reality that he can perceive immediately.

The site also offers "an interactive map: to understand the city and its crime", with different layers that allow you to locate the different people involved in the case. The "map of bodies found" is particularly shocking since it appears as colored dots, each one representing a different cadaver, and each color is associated with the modus operandi of the murders. When all of the categories are activated at the same time, the completely cover the central urban space, giving an impressive idea of the magnitude of the phenomenon. Another heading presents "identification cards: all the characters of flesh and blood", making up 15 files on the "people related to the cases", whose characteristics make up a diverse group, from the president of Mexico, Vicente Fox to the victim Marilú Andrade, and including associate activists as well as representatives of the authorities. The part "Images of the city of the dead women" offers photographs that allow you to see the main sites in which the case took place: "Ciudad Juarez", "Jail", "cotton fields", "police", "el centrino", "morgue" and "searches in the desert".

Finally, the part "The TV of the disappeared women: never forget" shows "Anapra Neighborhood" that shows scenes of daily life in this low-middle class neighborhood affected by the disappearances; "the buses of globalization", that highlight the importance of this means of transportation that the women use to get to their jobs at the factories, and whose drivers were repeatedly named among the alleged perpetrators of the crimes; "in search of a missing woman", that shows view of the desert that also appears in the documentary,

this desert whose immensity emerges from the enormous battle that the families must fight in search of answers to their burning questions; and finally "remember", where there are photographs of the victims in the prime of their lives who were torn from their families, with images of crosses and for others candles that represent their deaths.

This device shows the variety and the fragmentation of the materials that the web documentary contains, which implies an effort on the part of the user to link all these apparently loose ends, yet the combination of which manages to transmit a vision that is very much based on material objects (images and sounds) about the complexity of the case. Thus, the issue of representation by way of feelings is fully based on the experience proposed. This work constitutes an effort to humanize this reality against the violent representations produced by the drug trafficker, emphasizing the fact that behind these numbers there are real people and families whose memory can be preserved on the web: Didn't Regis Debray say that "amnesia is amnesty" (2011)? In the case of the femicides of Juarez, the choice of the web documentary option seems justified as an effort to prevent victims from being forgotten, which would be the last act of violence that could happen to them. And at the same time, the material chosen (voices and photographs of victims while alive) eludes voluntarily to the obscene, morbid exhibition of the bodies that the drug trafficker imposes daily and whose objective is to reduce viewers to a scared silence in the face of the "incompressible" that can only be "seen" (Pavón & Albarrán, 2012): thus, the material shown by the web documentary works to make one feel, but whose final objective is to make one think, giving meaning to a catastrophe and putting violence at distance.

5. Conclusion

In the blog *La Cité de mortes*, Alexandre Brachet justifies the structure of the site and the

joining of the different documents that are to be shown in the following terms:

> The radio, beyond the graphic metaphor it represents, is a search for staging of audio content. With the video, we have strived to make sure that everything seems transparent for the user in order to ensure maximum emotion, above all of the homage. The video is not framed, there is no plug-in, there is no download. For the pictures, the idea of proposing a slideshow with music that is similar to a photo report seemed to us to reinforce the documentary dimension, especially with the idea to present each scene from three different angles. Finally, there is the map. Made with images taken from Google Earth, this map is without a doubt the most promising program for the future. The cartography connected with the interactivity makes for really interesting perspectives[6].

It is an aesthetic which has been well presented whose objective is to submerge the visitor into a very coherent atmosphere with the progressive revelation of the content: a disturbing environment that constantly reminds you of the aesthetic of certain police crime stories, such as the case itself. The site was the object of an important artistic work in which Jean-Christophe Rampal participated. The visitor is only partially-guided, and navigation seems rather random as the visitor goes uncovering content in each part that he is not exposed to before. This allows for recreating the meanderings of a phenomenon that is difficult to learn beyond what is seen at first glance, which is common in catastrophes: the staging device and the configuration of the web documentary in this sense are a good reflection of what the book provides in its structure and in its progressive construction of one's understanding of the case.

The aesthetic options are clearly addressed by the journalist and producer that consider the media and objectives are confused, given that the goal is to awaken people's consciences. So states Alexandre Brachet:

After having spent 20 minutes on lacitedesmortes.net, were you able to get a clear idea? Doubtful. Maybe in this uncertainty is where the nature of the case hides. Maybe the book is an indispensable resource. However… The site's main goal may be to seek a conscientiousness. For us, the value of the program has a lot to do with our willingness to show the public this terrible drama. Plus, when the majority of television programs are heavily guided and formatted, we like the idea the program's use leads to curiosity, to the personal search.

Therefore, the combination of genres and formats, inherent to the form of *La Cité des mortes*, proposes a series of problems from the ethical point of view: to what point can you seek empathy from the user before falling into a certain voyeurism? Is it acceptable to use an aesthetic that is similar to that of a video game in order to document a case like that of the missing women of Juarez? In this case, such problems seem resolved via the selection and design of materials that, as we have seen, make an effort to restore the dignity of victims of violence in Juarez, show them alive in the geography of the city and in one's memory in order to contrast the efforts of the drug traffickers to convert them into passive objects of their violence. In other words, it is to make this truly catastrophic reality something intelligible and not just terrifying.

Notes

1. Found on March 8th, 2017, desde http:// www. lacitedesmortes.net/

2. Found on March 9th, 2017, de https://www.amnesty.org/es/documents/AMR41/027/2003/es/

3. My translation.

4. https://www.amnesty.org/es/documents/AMR41/027/2003/es/

5. Found on March 10th, 2017 on http://lacitedesmortes.net/blog/index. php?2005/10/04/19-webdocumentaire. My translation.

6. http://www.lacitedesmortes.net/

Bibliographic References

Debray, R. (2011). Du Bon Usage des catastrophes. París: Gallimard.

Dupuy, J.P. (2002). Pour un catastrophisme éclairé. Quand l'impossible est certain. París: Seuil.

Fernandez, M. & Rampal, J. (2005). La Ville qui tue les femmes. París: Hachette Littératures.

Gauthier, G. (2011). Le Documentaire, un autre cinéma. París : Armand Colin.

Godin, C. (2009). Ouvertures à un concept: la catastrophe. Le portique, 22, 2-10.

Guenard, F. & Simay, P. (2011). Du risque à la catastrophe. À propos d'un nouveau para-digme. Recuperado el 9 de marzo de 2017: http://www.laviedesidees.fr/Du-risque-a-la-catastrophe.html

Lassalle, I. (2012). The web documentary as a new audiovisual genre. Master's Thesis. CELSA/Universidad París-Sorbona, París, Francia.

Marcus, S. (2002). «Fighting bodies, fighting words». En Mui, C. L. & Murphy, J. S. Gender Struggle. Practical approaches to Contemporary Feminism. New York : Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Moine, R. (2002). Les Genres du cinéma. París: Nathan.

Paz, O. (2015 [1950]). The labyrinth of loneliness. Madrid: Cátedra.

Walter, F. (2008). Catastrophes. Une histoire culturelle, XVIe-XXIe siècle (p. 25). París: Seuil.

Pavón-Cuéllar, D. & Albarrán-Díaz, L. (2012). "Narcomesages and cadavers: the drug trafficking discourse and its violent corporal literality". In Gárate-Martínez, I., Mari-nas-Herreras, J. M. & Orozco-Guzmán, M. (coord.), Shuddering of the real: psychoanalytical essays about body and violence. Mexico D.F.: Kanankil.

Zavala-Scherer, D. (2017). « The event as catastrophe and beginning of the representation». In Amiot-Guillouet, J. and Berthier, N. Facing the catastrophe. Themes and aesthetics in contemporary Spanish and Ibero-American film. París : Editions Hispaniques.

Wright, M. M. (2006) Disposable Women and other Myths of Global Capitalism. New York/ Routledge.

About the Author:

Julie Amiot-Guillouet is head professor at the Department of Spanish Philology at the Universidad Paris-Sorbonne as of 2007. Member of the CRIMIC Laboratory. Since 2016 she has been a member of the Institut Universitaire de France where she is working on a research project regarding European institutional aid and Latin American cinema. In 2017, she defended a habilitation thesis with an unprecedented work titled El momento argentino del Fondo Sur (2003-2009), production and reception of an alternative cinema.

How to Cite:

Mexican cinema and migration: the lost steps in The Golden Dream of Quemada-Díez

Cine mexicano y migración: los pasos perdidos en La Jaula del oro de Quemada-Díez (2013)

Veronique Pugibet
Paris-Sarbonne University, (Paris IV), Francia
v.pugibet@orange.fr

Abstract

The cinema that cultivates violence has adopted nowadays new forms, getting to dreadful extremes as can be seen in Mexican cinema. Quemada-Díez in his mix film genre *La jaula de oro*, offers a specific representation of a multifaceted violence, based on real migrants' cases confronted to disasters of social and collective order with individual consequences, as the porosity of borderlines, criminal bands, betrayals, kidnappings, rapes. Victims of an initial symbolic violence (Bourdieu), they risk their own life to obtain what the State doesn't provide them. We have analyzed how step by step the long initiatory odyssey of some four young migrants from Guatemala and Mexico towards the North, their "American Dream", their golden dream, turns into a genuine nightmare because of so much violence.

Keywords

Latin teenagers' migration; violence; Mexican cinema; *La Jaula de oro*; initiatory travel.

Resumen

El cine que cultiva la violencia ha adoptado hoy día nuevas formas, llegando a unos extremos atroces cómo se puede observar en el cine mexicano. Quemada-Díez en su película de género híbrido *La jaula de oro*, ofrece una representación peculiar de una violencia polifacética basándose en múltiples casos reales de migrantes confrontados a catástrofes de orden social y colectivo con repercusiones individuales, sea la porosidad de las fronteras, bandas criminales, traiciones, secuestros, violaciones. Víctimas de una violencia simbólica inicial (Bourdieu) arriesgan su vida para conseguir lo que el Estado no les proporciona. Hemos analizado como etapa tras etapa la larga odisea iniciática de unos cuatro jóvenes migrantes guatemaltecos y mexicanos hacia el Norte, su "American Dream", su sueño dorado, se convierte en una auténtica pesadilla por tanta violencia.

Palabras clave

Migración de adolescentes latinoamericanos; violencia; cine mexicano; *La Jaula de oro*; viaje iniciático.

1.Introduction

Although cinema that has always cultivated violence (*westerns*, film noir, boxing etc.) has always been around, in his thematic study on film, Sánchez-Noriega states that:

> in the treatment of violence in classic cinema genre there are enough ellipses so that the audience does not feel literally nauseated. It is a violence of contained expression, including when the discourse of the filmmaker in regards to the causes or consequences is radical, or when there is no explosion of violence, but rather it is an underlying threat throughout the entire story (2004:560).

Thus Mexican cinema (in both ranchera comedies as well as revolution cinema or melodramatic cinema, or wresting cinema) has repeatedly shown fights, shoot-outs etc. the refer to more than anything archetypes familiar to the audience. The spectacular dimension of the violence was nothing more than a stage in a process known beforehand: revenge, code of honor, the forces of good vs. the forces of evil (like in wrestling cinema, for instance).

Flores-Farfan (2013) considers that in ancient Greece:

> violence is shown in order to condemn it, to achieve empathy between the spectator and the character providing a moral that rejects violence that impedes actions leading towards peace and the consolidation of a communal life (107).

But states that:

> [i]f nowadays we have lost the capability to be moved in the face of a limitless number of cadavers shown to us without any modesty on TV screens it is because we have become accustomed to its constant appearance. We have taken them from the stories they inhabited and we have objectified them to such a point that no empathy is possible (110).

In fact, Mexican cinema in the last years has be repeatedly portrayed as a country repressed by an economic and political crisis that has brought about an apocalyptic violence in different sectors of society[1]. From this crisis parallel powers have emerged that rule by use of terror and organized crime. In addition, the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights says that:

> the country is experiencing its worst crisis of violence since the Mexican Revolution. Although Mexico does not officially recognize it as an armed conflict, there have been over 22,000 abductions recorded, more than 70,000 unlawful executions, over 160,000 displaced within Mexico by the violence and thousands of cases of torture […] (CMDPH, 2014).

Even cinema has created a new genre that shows these criminal groups: narco-*thrillers* or narco movies that portray extremely cruel, dead-end situations[2]. The majority of these movies offer disturbing images in which various transgression occur and to which we grow accustomed to as stated by Flores-Farfan. Other recent movies have treated violence contemplating the mechanisms that operate between the victim and his executioner (Pugibet: 2016)[3], as well as the manifestations of violence that affect private, intimate sphere. Finally, migration cinema also reflects the socio-economic crisis that takes thousands of people from their countries. It addresses a phenomenon that stretches from its motivation to the issue of integration or non-integration, passing through a long journey in order to reach the dream country. This film genre, like fiction[4], docufiction[5] and documentaries[6], have been around for decades yet have become more relevant lately: "the migratory phenomenon reclaims the attention of the government and society and has a major effect in cultural and artistic production" (Mora Ordóñez, 2012). Saavedra-Luna says:

> In cinema, the story of violence on the US-Mexico border goes practically telling the story of history itself. Said region has different dimensions that go beyond the geographic

space, in the history of both countries has had to do with issues of identity, culture and sovereignty, but also with illegal migration, arms trafficking, drug trafficking, people trafficking, among others (Saavedra-Luna, 2016: 286).

And mentions the particular case of the La jaula de oro, object of this article, given that it allows for reflection:

> about what the border implies for Central American migrants and for Mexicans. Today it can be said that it goes beyond the Río Bravo and is practically the entire Mexican territory. The violence is no longer only perpetrated by gangs, but now is generated by the state and has affected the country's daily life (Saavedra-Luna, 2016: 289).

In fact, in his study "Violence is Politics", Morales considers that violence "goes with the power of destruction that imposes on the power of construction, that of creating and designing other worlds" (2013: 174). Thus "the dominated", victims of symbolic violence, (Bourdieu: 1970 y 1980) do not achieve their initial dreams due to determined circumstances and are forced to emigrate to carry them out in foreign territory, under the threat however of other types of violence, like that of organized crime.

The title of this work clearly alludes to the work of Carpentier *Los pasos perdidos* (1953) that tells the story of an odyssey from barbarity to civilization, between primitive times and industrial times, wild nature or domesticated, in which the main characters go about facing tests, challenges in a long initiatory trip. It seems to us the perfect reflection of the adventures of the main characters in *The Golden Dream*. The initial group of characters goes decreasing in members due to multifaceted violence.

2. The Framework of *The Golden Dream*

First it is appropriate to question the film genre of the movie, then approach social context, to the situation experienced by the children that migrate from Central America and Mexico and finally, present the risks that arise on this long journey. Based on this initial approach, we will analyze the different manifestations of omnipresent violence throughout the film to see to what degree the director reflects appropriately or not, the current situation of the migrants and with what objective.

2.1. *La jaula de oro:* a hybrid genre

Films by Quemada-Díez tend to take up the cause of the most vulnerable (adolescents, marginalized people…) denouncing the exploitation of which they are victims. Such is the case of *La jaula de oro*, a fictional story that tells of the dangerous journey of four adolescents from Guatemala (for three of them) to the north in search of a better life. The film is the result of six years of work collecting 1200 synthesized accounts in this cinematographic tale, a type of collective testimony. You could justly consider it a work of docu-fiction, a mix of documentary with fiction knowing that the limit between fiction (traditionally associated with the imaginary and the subjectivity) and documentary (more characterized by a certain objective approach to reality) is drawn ever more finely and with more crossover. Thus, various aspects lead us to classify it not only as a fictional genre but also in the documentary genre. In regards to fiction, it responds to the very criteria of the traditional film genre cited by Freitas-Gutfreind:

> the specificity of film as artistic manifestation comes from its subjective capacity to show a reality (…) this type of reflection on film thus manifests the negations of a mechanical reproduction of reality in favor of a reproduction that is of the imaginary type. (2006).

Yet in this film, nor the main characters[7], nor those that travel on trains (real migrants), nor the North American meat processing factory employees are professional comedians. Cornu reminds us that Quemada-Díez like Ken Loach, with whom he learned his trade, did

not give a script to his actors, but went explaining to them day by day the scenes so they would feel them more than act them (Cornu, 2015: 9). Nevertheless, the movie has the characteristics of fiction since it is based on a preliminary script, pillar of the film narration. Plus, the director, inspired in the previously observed reality, proposed "his" interpretation of it via the interpretation of the protagonists he went guiding.

Finally, the linear structure depicts step by step the phases of the trip like in a documentary. The film portrays an authentic, natural scenery: the landfills where the waste pickers of Guatemala City work, the factory in the United States. In this *cinéma vérité* shoulder mounted camera filming is often used which is suitable for the emergence of situations, providing for shots with long focuses in order to follow the characters. Plus, the Super 16 format reminds us of classic documentaries and reinforces the truthful aspect and reality.

Lastly, if the director of the work fulfills a fundamental role in his film creation, the spectator is also active. Morin distinguishes a double subjectivity, that of film maker-artist in terms of his representation of the world, reflected on screen and that which the audience establishes in its mediation with the reality shown, depending on its knowledge, its sensitivity (Morin, 1956). Therefore, beyond the informative dimension of the film image, Barthes distinguishes a double aspect in the symbolic perspective, one that is intentional on behalf of the creator, which he calls the obvious sense. In terms of the other, he considers it out of one's intellect, stubborn and elusive at the same time and is what he calls the obtuse sense (Barthes, 1982). This last sense refers to the sensitive world and to the field of the emotion. Thus the spectator is not passive, he receives and intertwines these elements giving them a personal meaning and subjectivity.

Likewise, the movie belongs to another genre: *the road movie*. The three initial characters travel through Guatemala, Mexico, starting in Chiapas where a young man from there,

Chauk, joins them until the reach Los Angeles. They take many types of transportation (a small boat on the Suchiate River, a bus, the train –key feature of the film-) and above all never stop walking, following the train tracks so as not to get lost. In general "they're on the tracks". They cross all types of landscapes, thus we see amazing pictures of bridges with a train in the distance. They live out unexpected adventures, are met with dangerous obstacles that they must overcome to survive and reach the end, just like the characters of the stories analyzed by Propp (1928).

2.2. The case of the child migrants

Mexico is the country Central American migrants must go through to get to the United States. If in the 80s and 90s, the NNA, which stands for "adolescent boys and girls" in Spanish, migrated accompanied by adults or stayed in their native land, in the last decades there has been an increasing number of children migrating unaccompanied. According to an OIM, UNI-CEF, UNHCR and OIT-IPEC inter-agency study:

> he surveys carried out in the shelters of Mexico and Central America, point of transition for migrants on their way to the USA indicate that, among those recently arrived, 40% are adolescents between 14 and 17 years old (OIM, UNICEF, UNHCR and OIT-IPEC, 2013).

Over 140,000 Central American NNA enter the USA each year, but there are no very reliable statistics. For this reason, we will adhere to those NNA sent back by authorities:

> Over 67,000 children under 17 years old were detained by border patrol between October 2013 and June 2014, coming from Honduras (18,244), Guatemala (17,057), El Salvador (16,404) and Mexico (15,634). This number represents an all-time high in detention of unaccompanied minors in the United States, considering that between 2009 and 2013 the annual average was 23,000 and that between 2009 and 2011 the

detainment rate of non-accompanied Central Americans per year didn't reach 4,000 (Rivera: 2015).

The slight decrease in non-accompanied NNA migrants traveling to the USA in 2015 is due to the heavier participation of Mexico in returning these people. In 2014, 18,003 Central American NNA had already been returned by Mexican authorities[8]. In 2015, 11,667 Mexican children were returned by the United States[9].

Among these NNA, as indicated by the report by United Nations Children's Fund (2014), the young girls are obviously more vulnerable than the men given that they are more susceptible of being raped or suffering different types of violence. They run the risk of being incorporated into the networks of sex slavery that operate in different parts of the country. While they work on crossing to the other side, they have work illegally or even prostitute themselves.The NNA that were deported often end up in southern Mexico, where they survive doing odd jobs, are known as "the kangaroos"[10]. They often suffer extortion on behalf of police and city officials.

Since the border with the US really begins in Chiapas.

2.3. The dangers that arise

The trip exposes migrants to risks that involve violence. Film has also taken up itself to show in its own way the dangers faced by children on their journey. In *Sin nombre*, Cary Fukunaga (2010) shows *Maras* (Mara Salvatrucha and Barrio 18) who rob migrants. Another danger on the train *The Beast*, or *Train of Death*, which is indispensable to arrive to the north. In his documentary, *La línea infinita*, Juan Manuel Sepúlveda (2007) shows for example not only the case of the children deported and those who are abandoned, but also those who are left along the way, mutilated forever by the train. Other dangers that have been reported include abandonment by "coyotes" in the desert, like death by hunger

or dehydration during the journey. There is also another terrible violence:

> In the case of missing persons, you have to mention mass kidnapping and murder of Central and South American migrants by organized crime gangs that have taken over the migratory routes to the north (Carton de Grammont, 2015).

These gangs also extort and commit rape.

La jaula de oro highlights this multifaceted violence using a connecting thread, the train: or being filmed in travelling on top of a train car, showing varied, majestic landscapes or even the train pulling away showing what the migrants go leaving behind, rhythmic sequences, through tunnels. When the train comes, you can hear its extraordinary force amplified by the sound design and when you see it from the front in the middle of the shot it's threatening. If the camera is focused on the train you don't notice the speed, but if it focuses on the boys via a subjective camera and some close ups, you can tell how fast it is going, justifying the constant fear and danger.

3. Plural violence in *La Jaula de oro*

¿However, in what way does Quemada-Díez represent the violence previously mentioned? In 1 hour and 48 minutes, the director manages to include a large part of the situations and the dangers brought up earlier, and also other manifestations of violence emerge like we will see, but, what is he after?

3.1. Initial Violence

Symbolic violence is exercised on victims via their conditions of life, their incapacity to escape their social medium and to live a dignified present as well as the impossibility to build a viable future. This initial point justifies the motive to search for a better life somewhere else.

This is how the movie begins with three parallel situations that are apparently unconnected. Juan lives in Guatemala Zone 3, a true lost city made of make-shift houses (like his). He walks decidedly past the alleys, running into military guards, in the midst of background noise that includes sirens blasting (foretelling of his future trip –the sirens of the border police-). In terms of Sara (pl. 6 to 23), she enters a bathroom in rustic conditions whose door reads "LADIES". She cuts her hair in front of the mirror, signifying a giving up of an exterior trait of femininity, then she binds her breasts with a bandage to hide them. It is a form of self-violence against the identity of women. Later she takes a birth control pill thus anticipating a pregnancy in case of rape. She is very aware of the dangers that lie in wait for her as a woman. Finally, she leaves with a hat on, metamorphosing into a "man" and determined to take the journey. There is no turning back. Samuel, a waste picker, lives from the trash of the city. He picks them up outside in an immense landfill, vulture territory. The three finally begin their journey, and are caught up with in Mexico by Chauk, a boy from Chiapas, of which no one will know anything about because he doesn't speak Spanish. Around the city, you see police –presenting the various authorities whom they will come into contact with -, a long fixed shot of a wall reveals photos of "missing persons". Did they disappear on the road? How? At the hands of the police? By the drug traffickers? Without a doubt, it is a clear warning for both the audience as well as the three children.

3.2. Verbal and physical violence on behalf of authorities in Mexico

They fall victim to their first robbery in Mexico by Mexican authorities. They are caught by a group of Mexican police (00:23:50): who take their few possessions from them, "what nice boots!" (when a good pair of shoes is indispensable so the migrant can walk)."Take off your boots!" (twice). They also take Chauk's shoes and they search everybody, their belongings. They insult them violently "I don't give a shit! ¡Get on the wall!" (…) "¡Hurry up,

idiot!" They humiliate them (another form of psychological violence): "Did you want to get rich in the USA? You're not getting there!" They attack them physically and hit Juan. In the end they handcuff Chauk after the tries to grab a policeman's gun "Your fucking mother, punk!" in the end they take in everyone. In this way the director denounces the corruption of Mexican authorities. They appear behind bars (the symbol of a cage, but not gold at all) and later accompanied by a few police who search them again very forcefully before finally putting them on a train.

Thus they are sent back to their starting point, Guatemala, traveling back over the border. However, they are convinced to continue their trip, but Samuel, after experiencing such violence, gives up and gives Sara a premonitory piece of advice: "You should come back with me". The camera then follows Samuel in the foreground, using a shoulder-mounted shot, until he disappears forever. They are the first lost steps given that they lose contact with him forever. The first main character leaves the initial group. Has he been the wisest, the most reasonable? The viewer foresees that maybe the others will leave as the journey goes on.

They suffer another act of violence by Mexican authorities when some soldiers stop the train (reminiscent of the westerns movie genre) and chase with clubs passengers that try to escape. The instability of the shoulder-mounted camera, taking shaking, nervous shots, gives a great verisimilitude and realism to the scene. Quemada-Díez filmed this sequence using two cameras, thus creating the sensation of a wartime report. This procedure puts the spectator in the shoes of the migrants being chased, emphasizing the merciless violence they suffer and the fear they feel. The shoulder-mounted camera always running accentuates the movement, the tension, and the agitation, together with yelling "Move!"; the soldiers end up beating those who don't manage to escape. Meanwhile, a countryside peasant opens his door to the three main characters and hides them in a show of solidarity.

3.3. The violence exercised by the criminal gangs

It manifests at different moments throughout the long journey, transforming it into a real hell. The following robbery (36 shots) also reminds the audience of *westerns* and their traditional train attacks or procedure. It alternates between close-ups and medium shots to be as close as possible to the action, being able to reflect the horror and the fear of the passengers attacked. A gang robs the train and kidnaps Sara and the women, beating the boys mercilessly in the end.

The train stops suddenly at a curve in the middle of the countryside. The sequence begins with a verbal assault dominated by vulgar language. A gang strips the migrants of their belongings. The "boss", film caricature of a pimp, fat, with a flowered shirt goes methodically taking women out from the group of migrants. Meanwhile, his helpers go distributing them into trucks. Thus the audience sees a scene that could be part of the eye witness account of any news program (belonging then to the journalistic genre), but since it is fiction, the climax is when one of them sees Sara (fictional character), and exclaims "This one's a girl!"; is just what the main character feared, as well as the viewer, creating empathy. After briskly revealing her bandage, the aggressor caresses her and says "this one is a virgin". Just as the other terrified main characters, the audience is witness, via Sara, to gender violence. The two boys react spontaneously and physically, but in vain and she is taken away in the boss' truck, leaving a sensation of a horrible future for her. They disappear quickly into the countryside, while a divided shot shows the two boys, beaten and thrown to the ground. The last two shots show the faces of the other passengers helpless in the face of what has happened, meanwhile there is an echo of the screams of Sara. It is the dramatic end of the journey for Sara, who disappears forever given, as Juan later says: "we don't even know where they took her". After being robbed and experiencing gender violence that portrays the mechanism that operates between perpe-

trator (violent, armed, and organized) and victim (helpless, unarmed, and scared), the initial group is reduced to 2.

In another sequence of 8mn 40, that seems very long since that essential to film narration is developed in a closed space that favors the emergence of tensions[11]. They have been arrested together with other passengers, victims of a trick: the false promise of a job. Juan discovers the scam just like the viewer does via a subjective camera. A gang once more robs them of the few things they have, threatens them and demands from them the telephone number of a relative in the USA in order to extort money from them "If you cooperate, you'll live". Vitamin, the "boss", discovers that Juan is from Guatemala Zone 3 just as he is and sets him free. In vain, Juan asks him to release Chauk. Then, a medium long shot of a spooky town, reveals Juan walking between some train tracks (space of hope since it leads to the north, of reflection, encounters, exchanges, but also of death). After a time of meditation, he turns and heads back, his back to the camera and in a closer shot accompanied by a shoulder-mounted camera, towards Vitamina's hangout. Juan starts the negotiation to save Chauk offering him money, but unexpectedly Vitamina pushes him by the neck; the extra close up shots of the scene emphasize his strength and the violence of the act. He puts him in a room where there are more people, assaulting him verbally and physically. Later, there is a crescendo of violence as he hits him, he tears his shirt; puts both boys on their knees and starts a confrontation between Juan and Chauk via the alternation of close ups, provoking once more, empathy on behalf of the spectator. Vitamina comes into the shot of both and threatens them with a pistol pressuring Juan: "This is what's going to happen, one is going to go and you're going to decide who". In this face off, the close up shots of the exchange of looks reveal the fear. The climax is when Vitamina says: "Very well, that's the way it will be" pointing his pistol against Juan's temple "One, two, three" and pretends to shoot, causing laughs from his gang, meanwhile, you can

see the terror on the boys' faces. Finally, Vitamina bends down to their height and says: "What balls you have, you're a little man". The threatening aggressors say their goodbyes saying "Let's get out of here before I change my mind". Victims of another perfectly organized criminal gang, Juan and Chauk face every type of violence especially psychological violence. Although the kidnapping of the travelers and their distribution throughout Central American countries of origin (referring to the previously mentioned statistics), reminds one of the documentary type genre with testimony value, the pressuring and victimization of the two main characters whose odyssey the viewer has followed form part of the fiction, making for greater empathy.

Likewise, once they are across the US-Mexico border, the "coyote" abandons them in the middle of the desert. They are victims once again of trickery and violence, since they can't defend themselves. Alone they must face this inhospitable place they can't control. Quemada-Díez clearly denounces another abuse, abandonment by "coyotes" who charge them as well as use other migrants as "mules".

In the middle of patches of high grass the color of gold in the foreground, we see them walking in a medium shot, hidden by the vegetation, always thanks to a shoulder-mounted camera and a general medium long shot, accompanied by some background noise made by birds, steps etc. Despite the aesthetic of the shots, there is a certain tension since everything seems "perfect" and therefore hard to believe given the situation. Suddenly you hear an unexpected gunshot ring out and then Chauk falls down dead. The lack of warning (it seems like its the hunting of animal), reinforces the violence of his death. During this, in shot reverse shot there is a militiaman that once again fires four times, the gunshots dominate the sound design. Juan takes of running and disappears; the general medium long shot with the trail in the middle of the landscape alludes to the symbolic immensity of the distance left to travel, and now along. Chauk fell soberly to the bullets of a militiaman that the director assimilates to a criminal. Ano-

ther main character has fallen on the road. The victims, all minors, are abused by adults without shame or ethics. The progressive focusing on the ever fewer number of main characters including the absence of extras in this last tragic scene, emphasizes the unfair fight and fragility returning-the easiest pretty of criminals.

3.4. La violence Juan exercised on Chauk

From the beginning Juan rejects the boy from Chiapas. This attitude is manifested for example via his negation to share food in a town where surely the wall in the background represents Calavera Catrina with long black hair, nude with lace stockings, mounted on an enormous fish that evokes possibly a dragon but also a train, the Beast. It could be interpreted as a foreshadowing of death.

He constantly insults him: "fucking baby", to which Chauk would respond to him in Tzotzil. The director does not offer subtitles in order to give the spectator the same experience as the adolescents and show that despite not speaking the same language, there is still communication. «I don't want anything to do with that Indian", he tells Sara. At the refuge, after the prayer before dinner, Chauk calls him "brother", to which Juan says "damn kid, you don't know Spanish, do you?" This strong, constant racism by the white boy reflects the attitude of Guatemalan society towards its Indian population. Symbolic violence is produced and expressed by a victim of the system towards a more vulnerable person.

Plus, Juan doesn't object to hitting him and Sara will have to intervene to separate them: "Damn it, I'm tired of you", grabbing him violently, brining Sara to say: "the three of us are going, so get over it". They go but Juan once again throw Chauk to the ground and hits him hard. For this, Sara threatens: "I'm going alone" … "Either you both come on neither".

How can we explain this violence except for perfectly well assimilated racism by Juan? Both are in love with Sara and are jealous of

one another. The movie is also a initiatory, romantic journey, in which they leave childhood behind. Thus, for example, in Mexico, Chauk smiles as he watches Sara naked in the shower. When she chooses Juan one night during a party, Chauk disappears, feeling hurt.

However, the two boys change their treatment of one another towards the end, in such a way that the camera now films them together when before it always filmed the separately. Juan ends up understanding words in Tzotzil that Sara had learned from Chauk, like the key work "snow", his personal dream (represented on different occasions) which marks a change in tempo in the movie with a very soft shot. This stage symbolizes a possible communication that goes beyond languages. It's the director's desire to film the encounter of two worlds, two languages, two cultures, friendship and love. Sara is going to progressively initiate conversation with the mysterious Chauk while Juan rejects him. When Juan takes a picture out of Chauk's hand, Sara and Samuel defend him "would you like it if they did that to you?" However, Chauk will help Juan after Sara's kidnapping. In the end, Juan will return to Vitamina to offer himself in return for Chauk.

3.5. The violence of the natural setting

Hunger (the adolescents have to steal and kill a chicken), thirst, nature, and heat make up a natural violence that they have to overcome. They will have to face new dangers in order to be able to cross the final frontier, the wall that separates the two countries. The image of the division filmed in two shot insists on the separation of the two worlds (north and south), first vertically and then horizontally, substituted by an opposition between desert field and city (on the Mexico side). The omnipresence of a threatening helicopter, due to its constant sound, alternates with the image of the two boys hidden in some tunnels. The director accentuates the tension by way of the police car siren, the flashing lights while in shot revere shot the hidden group "smells" and "feels"

these dangers via the sounds that add to the accentuation of fear.

At night, illuminated by an enormous floodlight, the boys run out quickly following the "coyote", (the noise of the helicopter continues to remind of the danger). The shoulder-mounted camera advances with the group, observing interruptions: "get down, get down"; they advance, threatened by the noise, the light at times, including a police motorcycle on a difficult and dangerous road. Finally, the open the gate to another tunnel and wait again, in fact, the same scene on the Mexican side is repeated, where fear dominates the wait. However, Juan shares his dream with Chauk, although he doesn't understand him:

> I feel like there is a zoo in my stomach, like I have a bunch of animals running up and down my entire body from the excitement that we are going to get to the other side. I feel like everything we will see there is going to be like that … Everything is going to be ok and we're going to get where we want to go.

Chauk also starts to talk. Or could it be to conjure up the fear in this scary and dark place?

3.6. Final symbolic violence

Although the get to the other side, Juan describes the other side of the American dream, the Golden Cage. Inside a meat processing plant under green neon lights, some men work, their movements are mechanical. They wear white uniforms, head caps, reinforcing the idea of an aseptic, dehumanizing space. The sound design emphasizes the background noise (the cutting of the meat, the belts, the waste that is thrown out...). The melancholic violoncello accentuates the tragedy of the situation. The workers are Hispanic, showing that the American dream is really a sad reality. Several shots of the meat alternate with these workers repeating the same movements. In reverse field in the background, Juan, alone and dressed just like them, is standing between two enormous pieces of uncut meat. In fact,

thanks to a subjective shot we discover the mechanical work via his point of view. Finally the space is empty, and Juan begins to collect the waste, bending down under a metallic light. The two shot over these remains that are pretty disgusting reveals the following paradox: Was this his dream? His work finally reminds him of Samuel who lived among the trash in in Guatemala City and preferred to give up on his trip, on the American dream. Was all the suffering and loss worth it? In the end it comes down to being alone, working in a dehumanizing factory where no one talks to anybody, where they have become automated machines, anonymous victims of symbolic violence.

4. Conclusion

> We coincide with Saavedra-Luna when he says that La jaula de oro "goes beyond the stories make reference to the border, the violence and migration. It shows a "war zone" or a "collapsed state"" (Saavedra-Luna: 291).

They go disappearing one after another, the four adolescents unprotected and abandoned by the Mexican, American, and Central American authorities. In the end only Juan reaches the country of his dreams. The successive disappearance of the characters constitutes an essential element of the story's structure. Juan is no longer the same, there is no turning back for him, clearly referencing the initiatory genre announced via the reference to the title of the Carpentier novel. Likewise, this initiatory *road movie* also features multiple forewarnings that emerge throughout the trip, via for example the voice-over of Solalinde's father, that will later echo in the darkness of a tunnel, "Brothers, nobody is better than anybody else. We come from nothing, we return to nothing." The name of the movie (title of the song by the same name by los Tigres del Norte) evokes trickery, since the director wants to demystify the American dream. The film has an obvious didactic function. It is a warning against an unrealistic fantasy. The best illustration of this is the final scene in the factory,

given that it is totally opposite of this oneiric vision.

The amount of multifaceted violence may seem unbelievable or stereotyped, in addition to the intensity of the drama suffered by these young people in only one trip. But thanks to the imaginary of the director and the audience, the fictional dramatic tension is actually believable. This pseudo documentary vision is based on real events. Maybe this collection can be explained by the fact that Mexican migration cinema has taken on a sentimental and tragic tone, that García and Pietrich call victimization films. Nevertheless, we observe a

> gradual abandonment of the melodrama that has saturated public opinion and also restricts the type of audience. To achieve it we see two tendencies: the first consists of advancing towards comedy and the second in accentuating a pseudo-documentary tendency that implies decreasing (at least apparently) the fictionality and have a character that is ever more intimate and personal to the migratory story that is being told." […] The second tendency to revert the dramaticism has consisted of operating a disfocalization: migration has become a context, a scenario. The punctum (Barthes, 1980) is not constructed by the relationships (friendly, loving, family…) that are established between the characters. Their psychological and/or existential dilemmas tell more than the political or economic pressures that no longer appear their only motivations for migration. The migratory situation (many times the interior error) serves as context so that different individuals come face to face. The camera is interested in the recognition process of the alterity, in the itinerary that goes from the confrontation to the comprehension of another (García & Petrich, 2012).

Undoubtedly the director of La jaula de oro has known how to avoid sentimentalism and the melodrama given that, although the narration is based on a few adolescents that are certainly victim of all types of misfortunes and violence, the combination of the intima-

cy between the adolescents and the initiatory trip towards the alterity (via love, friendship, mutual understanding and interculturalness) allows counteract this risk, giving it intensity and credibility.

On the hand, facing the current situation, it's necessary to note that civil society has become organized[12]. In our film, whole families throw oranges to the travelers showing their solidarity similar to las Patronas. Such is the case of the refuges often directed by priests. In Arriaga, Alejandro Solalinde (playing himself in the film) distributes food and offers lodging at his shelter. Also the actor, and in this case producer, Gael García Bernal in collaboration with Amnesty International has filmed a report "Los Invisibles" (four short films) for show the motivations of the migrants and inform the population in general of this issue, the treatment and violence suffered.

Notes

1. See: The bastards, Escalante (2008), Batalla en el cielo, Reygadas (2005), Heli, Escalante (2013).

2. See: El infierno, Estrada (2010), Miss Bala, Naranjo (2011) or including the series directed by Oscar López CEO of Loz Brotherz Productions.

3. See Daniel y Ana (2009) and Después de Lucía (2012), Michel Franco.

4. Dramas like Espaldas mojadas, Galindo (1953), ¡Alambrista!, Young (1978), 7 soles, Ultreras (2008); melodramas like El viaje de Teo, Doehner (2008) o comedies like Un día sin mexicanos, Arau (2004).

5. For example, Norteado Perezcano (2010).

6. Like Los que se quedan, Rulfo (2008).

7. Oficial price A Certain Talent at Cannes (2013).

8. Source: Migratory Police Unit, SEGOB, based on information registered in migratory stations, central and local offices of INM.

9. Source: Ibidem.

10. Sellers of candy, cigarettes, care caretakers and girls that do housework and charge low wages and without access to social security.

11. Made up of four scenes: the initial encounter on the train -1mn41-, followed by the encounter with Vitamina himself – 3mn17-, the moment they let Juan go -1mn21- and finally Juan's return to Vitamina's house -3mn 08-.

12. See the case of Las patronas like in Llévate mis amores, (Arturo González Villaseñor, 2014).

Bibliographic References

Barthes, R. (1982): *L'obvie et l'obtus*, Paris : Le Seuil.

Carton de Grammont, N. (2016). The violence on scene: Body, drug trafficking and public space in contemporary Mexico. Recuperado el 26 de marzo de 2016 desde http://alhim.revues.org/5295

Clot, P. & Aguilar Pérez, H. (2012). A look at cinematographic representations of border areas in Mexico. Recuperado el 26 de marzo de 2016 desde http://alhim.revues.org/4223

Mexican Commission for Defense and Promotion of Human Rights, (2014). Recuperado el 28 de marzo de 2016 desde http://cmdpdh.org/2014/12/mexico-vive-la-peor-crisis-de-violencia-desde-la-revolucion-22-mil-desapa-riciones-forzadas-miles-de-casos-de-tortura-mas-de-70-mil-ejecuciones-extraju-diciales-y-mas-de-160-mil-desplazados-forzados/ .

Cornu, S. (2015). *Rêves d'or, Diego Quemada-Díez:* Paris: Lycéens et apprentis au cinéma, CNC.

Flores-Farfán, L. (2013). *The violence in ancient Greece, In stories about violence, approa-*

ches from philosophy, literature, and film (coord.) Casas A. & Flores Farfán L., (pp. 99-111), México: UNAM.

Freitas-Gutfreind, C. (2006). L'imaginaire cinématographique : une représentation culturelle. *Sociétés*, 94, 111-119. doi: 10.3917/soc.094.0111.

García, P. & Petrich, P. (2012). Current Latin American migration in Mexican and Argentinean cinema, Recuperado el 27 de marzo de 2016 desde http://alhim.revues.org/4267

Mora-Ordóñez, E. (2012). Film narratives on Mexican migratory journey: Symbolic language and social reality, Recuperado el 28 de marzo de 2016 desde http:// alhim.revues.org/4206

Morales, C. (2013). Violenc is politics, *In In stories about violence, approaches from philosophy, literature, and film*, (coord.) Casas A. y Flores Farfán L., (pp. 169-183) México: UNAM.

Morin, E. (1956). *Le cinema ou l'homme imaginaire*. Essai d'anthropologie, Paris : Les Editions de Minuit.

Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM), Regional Office, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), office for Costa Rica and the Internation Labor Organization (ILO) office for Central America, Haiti, Panama and Dominican Republic, UNHCR ACNUR The UN Agency for Refugees, Migran *adolescent boys and girls – Central America and Mexico*, San Jose, (2013). Recuperado el 28 de marzo de 2016 desde http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/ download.do?type=document&id=25755

Propp, V. (1928, ed.1973). *Morphologie du conte*, Paris : Seuil.

Pugibet, V. (2016). Les violences diffuses dans Daniel y Ana et Después de Lucía de M. Franco. En Image et violence, Les Cahiers du Grimh n°9, Actas del Congreso In-ternacional del GRIMH, (pp. 397-406), Lyon : Université Lyon 2.

Quemada-Díez, D. (Director) (2013). *La jaula de oro*, [DVD]. SND.

Rivera, L. (2015). Ahora el problema es nuestro. Recuperado el 29 de marzo de 2016 desde http://revistafal.com/ahora-el-problema-es-nuestro/ .

Saavedra-Luna, I. (2016). Images of violence on the border of Mexico by way of contemporary cinema. En *Image et violence*, Les Cahiers du Grimh n°9, Actas del Congreso Internacional del GRIMH, (pp. 285-293), Lyon: Université Lyon 2.

Sánchez-Noriega, L. (2004). *Cinema Thematic Dictionary.* Madrid: Cátedra. Migratory Police Unit, SEGOB, with database registered in migration stations, main and local offices of the INM. Recuperado el 29 de marzo de 2016 desde http://www.politicamigratoria.gob.mx/es_mx/SEGOB/Bo-letines_Estadisticos.

United Nations Children's Fund. (2014). *Migration and Youth, Challenges and Opportunities*, GMG Publication on Migration and Youth. Recuperado el 24 de marzo de 2016 desde http://www.globalmigrationgroup.org/migrationandyouth.

About the Author:

Véronique Pugibet is maître de conférences at the Paris-Sorbonne University. She is member of the Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaires sur les Mondes Ibériques Contemporains (CRIMIC EA 2561, composante Arts visuels), of the GRIMH (Grupo de Investigación sobre la Imagen en el Mundo Hispánico) and of the SHF (Société des Hispanistes Français).

How to Cite:

Approaching the real in Everardo Gonzalez's cinema

Aproximaciones a lo real en el cine de Everardo González

Javier Ramírez-Miranda
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Ciudad de México, México
jramirez@enesmorelia.unam.mx

Abstract

Cuates de Australia is the chronicle of a catastrophe. It is the name of a ranch in the north of Mexico, where the families of the place cyclically face the rigor of the summer and only resist by a diffuse tradition, whose roots are lost in time. The natural disaster causes others: poverty, disease and migration. Every year they gather their things and leave the village waiting for the rains to return. While recording the conditions of life, Everardo Gonzalez chronicles an anticipated but inevitable catastrophe. It uses a contemplative and static style that testifies to misfortune and resignation. This work analyzes the discursive mechanisms of the film to put into context the conditions of life of this community, and to propose a political vision of the subject. Likewise, it raises the analysis of the complete body of the work by the filmmaker, from which this movie can be considered as a synthesis of his rhetorical searches.

Keywords

Documentary; migration; catastrophe; contemplative cinema; drought.

Resumen

Cuates de Australia es la crónica de una catástrofe. Es el nombre de un ejido en el norte de México, donde las familias del lugar enfrentan cíclicamente el rigor del estío y sólo resisten por una tradición difusa, cuyas raíces se pierden en el tiempo. El desastre natural acarrea otros: la pobreza, la enfermedad y la migración. Cada año reúnen sus cosas y dejan el pueblo esperan-do las lluvias para volver. Al registrar las condiciones de vida, Everardo González hace la crónica de una catástrofe anticipada pero ineludible. Se vale de un estilo contemplativo y estático que atestigua la desgracia y la resignación. Esta cinta sintetiza mucho del trabajo de su director, por ello, este artículo analiza los mecanismos discursivos de la película, para poner en cuadro las condiciones de vida de esta comunidad, y para proponer una visión política del asunto, pero plantea el análisis del cuerpo completo de la labor del cineasta del que este filme se puede considerar como un resumen de sus búsquedas retóricas.

Palabras clave

Documental; migración; catástrofe; cine con-templativo; sequía.

1. Introduction

The drama of human sciences is that we must consider human beings as things. And this is not true: the human is "the other", and the other is never a thing.
Jean Rouch

Cuates de Australia (2013), is a ranch in the mountains of the State of Coahuila, in northern Mexico, inhabited by families that, cyclically face a foreseen catastrophe: when the summer season hits with full force, the inhabits survive there thanks only to a diffuse tradition, whose roots are lost in time. The natural disaster causes others: poverty, marginalization, recurring disease and finally migration, which is the only constant for this population. Once the water runs out, they gather their belongings and abandon the town for months, waiting for the rains to return. Thus, the community is left on its own, a destination that lives with an absolute resignation: "God sends the rains, only he knows why he hasn't sent them to us…", are the words of a woman in the movie who doesn't understand, but accepts the circumstances.

When registering the conditions of life of this population, Everardo González[1] chronicles a catastrophe that is paradoxically inevitable, despite being predictable and reoccurring, due to its natural origin. As its etymologic roots suggest, the catastrophe has to do with that which returns, that turns on itself and, this way, makes a movement of conversion and has an outcome that ends in death. The drought in the population is an event for the community that suffers it. It is brutal but it is not sudden; and, although that is one of its relevant aspects, the one that most interests the filmmaker is that of the social distress that it brings. So says Sociologist Lowell Carr: not every storm, earthquake or flood is a catastrophe; catastrophes are defined by their work (1932: 211). In this case, by its results.

For his filmic exploration the director relies on a photographic style that is contemplative, static and its apparent "nothing's happening" is testament to the tragedy and resignation. This work analyzes the discourse mechanisms used in the film, to define the particularities that characterize the life of the community and, therefore, propose a political vision of the issue.

At the beginning of *Cuates de Australia*, the series of sounds heard remind one of nighttime in the countryside: crickets and other insects are the only sign of life present for the audience who can only see a dark screen. Together with the sound of footsteps, the light of a lamp goes opening small spaces to one's view; thus indicating whoever is holding the lamp is moving, possibly to show us something. This movement of a view that opens as it moves is, largely, what makes Everardo Gonzalez cinema special. But that is just the beginning, and over such images the opening credits roll. As the film progresses, the attitude of the men reveals them as nighttime hunters, that fire their guns and continue their way towards the prey. The body of a deer constitutes the background over which the title of the film appears. This beginning is also a manner to express that which the film wants to speak about: the relation between what is shown, a place that is revealed to us as marginal, and a particular connection with life and death.

Cuates de Australia is the fourth feature film by the filmmaker that has explored different approaches to the real via the documentary that, before a format, establishes a central attitude on the principle of the register and

in a relation essentially different to the reality that the fiction proposes. The documentary is expressed via the construction of a discourse and uses different forms of approach: from the distance that creates the memory, from the place of the testimony as device and, finally, from the participative collaboration of the documented subject. This distance between the rhetoric and the real is shown as a big problem, so it is no accident that it is central in the debates on cinematic theory, at least from the postwar (Bazin, 1990: 23-32)[2].

The position of filmmaker Everardo Gonzalez in the films he directs is clear, and in each one of them it is shown using different formulas. It is the creation of a documentary via dialogue, as a construction where the filmmaker can go giving up ground to the subject that is filmed. At some time in every one of his films, the filmmaker's voice interrupts the discourse with a question reminding the audience that there is someone behind the camera, that we are in the presence of something created, and never the empiric reality.

From him first feature film, La canción del pulque, the filmmaker's works show ability of testimonial approach. In them, the director observes something that happens, he registers it and creates a discourse based on making the audience see something that, until then, was hidden from view. However, starting with Los ladrones viejos and especially in El cielo abierto, he is no longer the witness, but rather el que recoge el testimonio. The memory of a distant past is the basis of these films. Therefore, the use of archive material is key.

In Cuates de Australia there is a return to testimonio but with an essential difference: the director atestigua and builds the discourse, but the inhabitants of that place contribute more than a testimony. There is an intense collaboration between the filmed subject and the filmmaker, that is explained by a process of compenetración between both. It is not that this integration did not occur in his previous films, it's that in Cuates de Australia, the movie is made possible by it. In his work, the documentary filmmaker goes approaching his characters, which the film permits; but the way this approach is done occurs in different ways, and thus, different documentary forms.

2. The testimonial register

According to Antonio Weinrichter, "the essence of the documentary is *being there*, the register in real time of a situation in reality", to directly capture, serve as witness (Weinrichter, 2004: 77). It's important to remember that the difference between fiction and nonfiction is not only based on its intrinsic textual properties, but also in its extrinsic context. But the connection between intrinsic and extrinsic is built using a link between the documentary filmmaker, the spectator, and the discourse where the real emerges as the center. Carl Plantinga cites Wolterstorr and his theory of possible worlds, where he reminds us that in narration, we are asked to consider a certain state of things as an imaginative fiction, and therefore, "adopt the fictional stance in regards to a state of things doesn't not mean saying that the state of things is true. It's not about asking if its real, it's not asking it to be real, it's not desiring it to be real. It is simply inviting us to consider said state of things" (Plantinga, 2014: 39). On the contrary, nonfiction movies are those that affirm that the state of things they present occurs in the real world. The nonfiction affirms a belief in thatcertain objects, entities, states of things, events and situations really occur or exist in the real world as presented.

Trevor Poncha says that "a filmmaker shows that something happens when he tries to give the viewer particular perceptions, impressions, beliefs, or certain types of knowledge as a result of seeing a film or filmed sequences" (Plantinga, 2014: 47). But what is particular about the use of these strategies in nonfiction is that all are used to make statements about the real world, and the filmmakers take an assertive stance towards what they present beyond the rhetoric used. *La canción del pul-*

que (2003) is a movie based on this principle: the filmmaker takes his place, has presence, and his camera captures, although the film is not an automatic re-telling of this register. For the director, the filming of a documentary is barely the beginning of a series of decisions that start with the choice of a topic or story: "personally I am attracted to stories that present a series of ports of entry and the possibility to build and interpret reality using cinematographic tools. People susceptible to contradiction and transformations" (González, 2012: 102).

From this point of view, a movie like La canción del pulque submerges you in a particular environment that inevitably tends to evoke a time in the past, a remote place in time that, nevertheless, emerges like present day. The pulque bar, the scene of action, is like a scene from the past, a meeting place for "retired bullfighters, boxers…". So says "Cantarrecio", one of the regulars at this place and who the camera always follows.

In this space, Everardo finds the possibility of multiple "ports of entry". It is the intersection of many stories, the place where the drunks speak their mind, remember, and spend time together. There is an old man who tells with a barely audible voice "there used to be over 60 pulque bars in the city…" a statement that seems to refer to a time long ago when in the city there were many bars selling pulque (an alcohol from the Mexican highlands), but also a place far away. The movie refers in this way to Mexico City having countless pulque establishments, a site of great consumption, despite the drink being produced in areas far from the metropolis. In fact, the truth that the director proposes has to do, in the first place, with a construction that starts with a close but distant register. This tension is constantly at play, between the present day, although decadent, and a series of distances that open in time and space.

The title of the film is not gratuitous. The songs that appear throughout the film seek a sound-track to organize the film space. If in classic organization, the image organizes the discourse and the soundtrack serves to evoke an environment and a past, in this film these two are switched. While the music organizes, the image evokes. And this that works in La canción del pulque is repeated forcefully in the rest of his filmography.

3. The memory

Using a different outline and supports, Los ladrones viejos (2007) is a film based on a memory in which the testimonies tell the story of a past that is not only remembered, but upon doing so, is reconstructed. The characters re-create the the past, but they do it differently given that they give new meaning to it when remembering some events while they forget others and by joining together what is left, the story changes. Because narrating is organizing, and they, while they narrate the world, they organize it in a way that it only seems to exist in their memory.

There is a starting point based on that which Weinrichter calls "trusting the witness". In other words, a format whose verisimilitude comes exactly from a person who witnessed the event, who replaces the "being there" with the memory and the testimony of who "was there" (Weinrichter, 2004: 43). Everardo Gonzalez says that, in its origin, the film was not designed to be a series of testimonies. Yet, upon finding that all these interviews were with characters who were in prison, "I had to change at once and base the narration on those testimonies. Otherwise the movie would be permanently making reference to the prison stories, and what interested me were the years the robbers were free, the time of their misadventures" (González, 2012: 97). As a result, the formal decisions of the documentary production are conditioned by the thematic content, and reproducing the testimony implies then a commitment to a desire to say that only in specific ways is the use of the image set: to the testimony of a remote past an image is added that reminds of that

place in time, so as to put it in the center of the narration overlapping the present of that description.

But the filmmaker is not just a mere witness. As filmmaker, he takes the strands of remembrance, the memories and the reconstructions in order to formulate a discourse and transmit certain ideas. Thus, the film reveals a society in transformation. Plus, throughout the work it is clear how the ways to committing the profession of robbery have taken on new characteristics and connotations over time. In their memories, these robbers defended the nobility of their profession, the violence spared and the corruption to which they, before becoming part of it, were victim. Therefore, they brag about having committed serious crimes without using weapons or other forms of direct aggression. The contrast between the gratuitous and uncontrolled violence of "today's criminals" is easy to see.

This gives way to a reflection on the system of administration and serving of justice, which, like the robbers themselves say, only wants guilty parties, never justice. Therefore, they emerge as victims of the machine of Mexico's government, which brings them to identify their actions with those of Robin Hood, who stole from the rich to give to the poor.

In *Los ladrones viejos* the hero is Efraín Alcaraz Montes de Oca, the *Carrizos*, whose figure generates identification and even a liking from the spectator. However, the filmic structure is built around the antagonist, *Dracula*, which in many ways depends on absence. First, because he does not appear, except for in a few photos. Nor does his argument appear, which should counteract the point of view of *Carrizos*. Finally, he refuses to give his testimony, leaving it to be interpreted by the filmmaker and, above all, the audience, who will judge based on the proposed discourse.

However, there is a particular use of the archive images: the evocation of a past era and, with it, presenting the audience with the environment of a special place. In other words,

they're a way to travel through time, classic function of the cinematographic device. Plus, by using the materials of news broadcasts of previous decades, the film aims to remember the work of other filmmakers, and thus is included in the homage. The music works in the same way, but adds a sentiment of nostalgia. Thus, the song Y *volveré* by the band Los Ángeles Negros, reoccurring as *leit motiv*, speaks of a better past that possibly one day will come again, "maybe tomorrow the sun will shine". It is the lost glory of the old criminals who refuse to lose it all, even though they only preserve it in their memory.

This constant tension between the past and present, made possible by the memory and the archive, has one last purpose: cause the audience to reflect. Despite the issue of justice being the film's central theme, there is not a once-and-for-all explanation for crime. There is, however, a series of reversals based on the proximity of the audience to the old, decadent, abandoned criminals that confess before the camera. Faces that, close to the end, go opening the film to multiple explications.

Nevertheless, there is one last gesture: the image of a news clip from the 70s, where a woman reporter interviews a small child that is crying, because an officer has taken from him the shoeshine box with which he earns money. To the question "What are you going to do now? the child answers simply "I'll just have to see…". Here it is no longer about justice that wants guilty parties, but rather the justice device that makes people criminals.

4. The use of the archive and cinema as a result

In the history of cinema there is an important production, especially documentary, that uses stock material, product of a register done in conditions and with intentions different from those that new material presents. Behind this reuse is search for verisimilitude,

an argumental effort by way of images that evoke the real presence, the true register. Although you could say that that recorded in on tape happened, it doesn't mean that is all that happened (given that it is only a part of if) nor can you confirm or deny its veracity. Even less so when the mediation between that filmed and that shown is greater due to search of what we can call the *effect of reality.*

According to Georges Didi-Huberman (2013), an image is a cut made in the visible world that "burns" when making contact with the reality from which it comes, upon being drawn from and, therefore, saved from being forgotten. Even when it is only about a remnant of what it once was, its main reason for existing is serve as memory, survive, "despite everything" and in different ways. "But, to know it, to feel it, you have to be brave, you have to approach the fire and blow softly for the embers below to fire up once more, their brightness, their danger. As if, from the gray image, a voice will come: «Can't you see I'm burning?»" (Didi-Huberman, 2013: 36). If that is the questioning of the visual standpoint product of a recent register of the real, "What will ask that film which they have decided to overlap with one that is previously manipulated?

If in *Los ladrones viejos* the use of archive images had the intention of evocation, in *El cielo abierto* (2011), it would allow it to not only carry it out, but go one step further; given that, by playing with these images, a process is reconstructed that interweaves the historical events, the personal and filmic development by way of the recurrence of the testimony.

El cielo abierto shows a predilection to portray social actors in process of transformation. This film, before the portrayal of the spiritual leader, is the collection of testimonies of man and women that, when they show the ins and outs of their relationship with the cardinal, are seen immersed in a more personal change, in a political action. It is the same process in which the prelate is included. As we have seen, the cinema of Everardo Gonzalez likes

to show what doesn't want to be seen, this film in particular makes a theme out of this situation. *El cielo abierto* is based on the way in which a community "makes visible" their problems and in which way they affect and are affected by the political scene of a country in convulsion.

It's true that the memory has a central theme, but the stock material is questioned and used in a new way and the filmmaker tries to "ignite" these images also, in a tension between the constructed image and its origin in reality from which it is taken. In this case, the problem of the documentary filmmaker is focused on how to maintain this balance between giving verisimilitude to the discourse and to the argument that it tries to support while taking advantage of materials that were register of other intentions. In other words, in what way can you conserve the essence of the documentary, the "being there", when the visual argument is testimony of a different past?

The director has structured his film as a *requiem* mass for Monsignor Arnulfo Romero. He seeks to reproduce a ritual of sacrifice, but while he narrates it, he stops and describes the process of awareness that the leader himself experienced in his contact with the people. He experienced a transformation that is truly noteworthy; given that, upon witnessing the real life conditions of his flock, he distanced himself from the stances of the Catholic hierarchy and chose the people instead. Said path can be compared to the process of transformation of many people that gave testimony, and in the end, with the effort of the cinema by having political content: shows to make it known.

The discourse of the Theology of the Liberation (that, for a portion of the rural population in El Salvador of the 80s, becomes a more tangible form of spirituality than the very paradise offered) was a way for the archbishop to have a better approach to that part of the population who were the country's poorest. A parallelism can be established between this form of discourse and that of the film, which has a manifest intention

to create a "simple film". For Everardo Gonzalez cinema is a result: "my work is not necessarily directed to cinema savvy people. It's the life I lead. From this I eat breakfast, lunch, and dinner and keep myself awake at night. It has become a way of life; my movies are only a consequence" (Ramirez, 2011: 25).

5. Participative Collaboration

The distance that the filmmaker establishes before the audience has to do with something else: that which is addressed between the director and the film's characters during filming. In *Cuates de Australia* there is a great closeness that is evident in the various moments of intimacy that the film shows. On the contrary, the first takes of the ranch are distant. The camera merely observes at a distance, in a series of establishing shots, he shows the audience the place they will visit throughout the documentary. But very soon he contrasts two images: that of the horses mating and the testimony of a child about his nightmares, whose voice is overlapped with the image of the animals.

In the following scene, a couple sees their unborn son's development via an ultrasound, while the sound let's you hear the "canto cardenche", a song of pain that returns at key moments during the film. It is no coincidence that its name reminds one of the "cardo", a plant with sharp thorns. Strategies of this type allow the documentary filmmaker to improvise all the time, while showing the life of a community that, in its daily routine, lives in the shadow of death upon facing the drought. In this sense it is a cinema that shows and questions, that depicts and confronts.

Takes are constantly prolonged as if pressing on the viewer a reflection that emerges from contemplation. An example of this are some moments from *La canción del pulque*. Something that happens in *Cuates de Australia*, which is different from his earlier films, is he lets viewers revel in the landscape. Even

more so, the natural beauty of the desert, the wildlife and vegetation give them the chance to observe the cycles of nature and the way in which life in this community plays a part in them. The lapses make up an approach and experience that are marked by the contrasting presence of children and senior citizens throughout the film.

The water problem is connected to the periods of time and is central to the film. Thus, it emerges as a denouncement of the miserable conditions of life for the inhabitants of this town. To do so, it does not resort to misery that these discourses like to do on occasions to appeal. It is a naturalized condition, internalized. Although every year they must carry out an exodus, the townspeople always come back, saying "Where are we going to go?" or as they say at another opportunity "To own a piece of land, one must suffer. Why don't people leave? Because they were born here, they grew up here, everything here…".

The image at the almost very beginning of the film, the one of the pregnancy, is the beginning of the story of a child, and the drought they must face is shown as a difficult condition for him as well, which is indicated by the words of the doctor: the pregnancy is high-risk. There is little fluid. The mother's malnutrition naturally passes on to the baby. But in addition, this fact brings us back to the initial problem, the lack of water.

The difficult life in the desert gets even harder when the lack of rain brings down the level of the only water sources. The senior citizens look for water while the schoolchildren read: "The children of the city know the ocean well, but not the earth". As the documentary goes on, we see children fighting to not have to drink that dirty water, which is all they have. We see animals lose weight. Men get desperate. We see, in the end, stark poverty and we see, above all, that we don't want to see.

Once the water is gone, the population must embark on their annual exodus. The gesture of closing the door to the empty house an-

nounces the hope of return. Only the camera remains and is witness to 40total decline and death. In a scene of tremendous visual impact, a colt walks along listlessly. It's been beaten by the draught and soon will fall to the ground. Later, the scavenger birds, that are already flying overhead, will take care of its remains.

The following scenes show the fight between the coyotes and the vultures for the animal carcasses. The emptiness of the abandoned city is the place of death in this cycle. Wild nature reclaims its territory via scavenger birds, coyotes and the swarm of insects in the face of the human work abandoned and useless. The takes of the empty houses don't make but rather emphasize the fact: the clothes hangers on the line that will not hold anything, the dresser drawers that have been emptied in a hurry, the place of absence, that which all have left behind. Everything, except the camera which continues to record. Some scenes the cycle closes. Then we see the birth of a baby in a hospital. The clouds hover over the ranch, the rain begins and the course of life and death begins again. From water everything will be born again like the life of the community, and everyone returns to their home.

The filmmaker enjoys an important level of rapport with the community, given that only based on an intense collaboration could you have the proximity to many characters and and the register of intimate moments. There is a relation created between the individuals and the camera when towards the middle of the film the argument between two boys escalates, to the degree that it provokes a fight; the smaller one defends himself by signaling the presence of the camera. It is true that in that moment, the camera represents a sanctuary, but it is also certain that the characters are aware of its presence, as it is made obvious by the signaling of the child. In the end, the movie insists on the central theme: life goes on, it always goes on, starts again. But only they know this, those that are in contact with the earth, with nature, and are capable, therefore, of reading its signals.

6. Life goes on

In 1990, Iranian filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami returned to places that he had filmed in a few years before during the filming of *La casa de mi amigo.* The region had been rocked by an earthquake and the evidence of devastation was very apparent. Kiarostami filmed *La vida continúa* (1992) in this place. It's a film that affirms the possibility of an existence that continues forward despite tragedies, and that tells the story of a search and discovery to which the title of the film alludes.

"Life goes on" is what the cinema of Everardo González seems to say and the sequence of the Los ladrones viejos close to the end, where you see the prisoners going about their daily lives, exemplifies it. Life always goes on, even in prison, even in helplessness, even after death. But it is not moral resignation like that proposed by a creed. Life goes on because that is its purpose, to continue. The customers at "La Pirata", the film's pulque bar, know that life goes on, the testimonies indicate this continuity. The followers whose spiritual leader is killed know it also, his life survived many other deaths. This formulation is more evident in *Cuates de Australia*, where life goes on beyond the tragedy, the misfortunes, the poverty, because life will always be born. The cycle ends to start again. The cycle of life and death.

7. Conclusions: Political cinema

To what degree can this cinema be considered as political cinema despite the postmodern relativization that "everything is political"? Evidently and as a central theme, these films refer to large problems of man in community. In other words, politically: access to justice, protection, equality. But also, Jacques Ranciere (2012) reminds, "a social situation is not enough to politicize art, just as an evident affection for the exploited and helpless is not enough to help them" (127). First, to the treatment of these topics you must add a way to represent capable of making "that situation intelligible

like the effect of certain causes and the mues-tre productores de formas de conciencia y afectos that modify it" (Ranciere, 2012: 129).

In Mexico, the long tradition of political and militant cinema has notable examples; due to the sum of a topic and a form of expression has generated an eminently revolutionary and militant art whose manifest intention is move the consciences and lead to action and social change. A good portion of contemporary ci-nema, while still being political, has abando-ned the effort to be explicative and mobili-zing. It is a cinema that, upon showing, wants people to see, and obligates them to do so; but has lost its unifying, organizing, and ex-plicative spirit, that gave it its politicalness. Meanwhile new ways of establishing a relation between art and politics have emerged. The question is no longer whether the movie is political or not, but rather in which concrete way is it, what topics does it address and what strategies does it use.

Everardo Gonzalez appeals to his viewers in different ways. As we have seen, throughout his career, he has employed different types of approach to the "real" and has expressed a world while seeking a truth. But it is a cinema-tographic truth, the only one that cinema can express. In other words, the documentary fil-mmaker is conscious of the impossibility of the art to imitate the world, but it appeals to the possibility creating a filmic truth. Different from various decades of tradition in Latin American cinema, he avoids making exploitive cinema, making one that is rather of helplessness. The aesthetic of this art is marked by the explora-tion of the life of those that have nothing, and live on the margins of society, but know to con-tinue living. In the pulque bar, in prison, on an isolated ranch. The subjects filmed by Everardo González portray the daily effort to survive.

The first political act of cinema has to do with giving visibility and this cinema makes an effort to make people see. From there the di-rector brings to the screen situations that are often absent from it and which he tries not to take away their dignity. The imprisoned crimi-

nals, who are serving long sentences, are con-sidered in their entirety as subjects. Everardo refuses to call them "his characters", and thus avoids objectifying them and, this way, main-tains their humanity. Possibly following the statement made by French filmmaker and an-thropologist Jean Rouch, that is the epigraph of this article: "the human is the "other" and the other is never a thing".

Said phrase summarizes one of the most impor-tant aspects of his praxis: his opening to the peo-ple (a result of his training as an anthropologist and admiration of the work of Robert Flaherty) and, as a result, the reduction of the distance between director and filmic subject. Charac-teristics with those that innovated the work of ethnographic filmmakers, giving their films an important place in the history of cinema (Hen-ley, 2009: 310-339). These last few, as well as his written works, make up the legacy of Rouch to the documentary filmmakers that, like Everardo Gonzalez, seek to have a representation based on approach in time and space to those indivi-duals whose lives they want to emphasize.

Thus, via different ways, the work of the director of *Cuates de Australia* establishes relations with the real, part of the testimony, based on the memory, archive and collaboration to express a vision of the world that implies a strong politi-cal stance. A vision of justice, a standpoint that wants people to see the problems of the com-munities he observes. This cinema opens so-mething real to the view of the audience, gives visibility to a world in conflict and talks about hu-man problems while saying, despite everything, life goes on, it always goes on.

Notes

1.   Everardo González is a Mexican filmmaker born in 1971 and trained at the Centro de Capaci-tación Cinematográfica, where he made his first film in 2003 (La canción del pulque). Since then he has made a career in Mexican documentaries that have won him various awards, like the Ariel Award given by the Academia Mexicana de las Ciencias y Artes Cienematográficas among many others.

2. In his Ontología de la imagen cinematográfica (1990), André Bazin put emphasis on the tension between reality and image based on the "manipulation" that classic cinema had created as a rhetorical vehicle. From this emerged two types of filmmakers, those that believe in the image and those that believe in reality. To an extent, this text is the basis for a series of debates that cinematographic theory had to address in the following decades and that give way to an intense discussion regarding the statute of reality in cinema.

Bibliographic References

Bazin, A. (1990). *What Is Cinema?* Madrid: Ediciones Rialp.

Carr, L. J. (1932). Disaster and the Sequence-Pattern Concept of Social Change. *American Journal of Sociology*, 38(2), 207-218. Recuperado de: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2766454

Gonzalez, E. (2012). The Fortune. In T. Huezo (coord.), *The trip… routes and roads taken to arrive to other planets.* México: Centro de Capacitación Cinematográfica.

Henley, P. (2009). *The Adventure of the Real. Jean Rouch and the craft of ethnographic cinema.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Didi-Huberman G. (2013). *When images touch the real.* Madrid: Círculo de Bellas Artes.

Plantinga C. (2014). *Rhetoric and representation in nonfiction cinema.* México: Universi-sidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Ramirez G. (30 de agosto de 2011). Cinema as a result, interview with Everardo Gonzalez. Frente (22).

Rancière, J. (2012). *The distances of cinema.* Buenos Aires: Ediciones Manantial.

Weinrichter, A. (2004). *Deviations from the real.* Madrid: T & B Editores.

About the author:

Francisco Javier Ramírez Miranda has an undergraduate in Communication Sciences, Masters and Doctorate in Art History from UNAM. Research professor of Art History undergraduate program at UNAM. Author of the book "Ibargüengoitia va al cine" (Universidad de Guanajuato, 2013). Director of the cinematographic analysis journal Montajes, Revista de Análisis Cinematográfico.

Victims of necropower? The construction of the feminine body in Mexican cinema about narco trafficking

¿Víctimas del necropoder? La construcción del cuer-po femenino en el cine mexicano sobre narcotráfico[1]

Gabrielle Pannetier-Leboeuf
Universidad de Montréal, Montréal, Canadá - Universidad de la Sorbona-París IV, París, Francia
gabrielle.pannetier.leboeuf@umontreal.ca

Abstract

The present article aims to give hints on the ways by which the masculine power emanating from narcotraffic has an influence on the images of the feminine body in the Mexican feature film *Miss Bala*, directed by Gerardo Naranjo (2011). The example of the short-film *El otro sueño americano*, directed by Enrique Arroyo (2004), will also be presented in order to introduce the analysis of *Miss Bala* and show that the violence exercised on the feminine body in Naranjo's movie is far from being an isolated case. This research will analyze how the woman's body is presented in those films as a space of expression of the patriarchal necropolitical domination associated with the violence that emerges from narcotraffic. The paper will explore more specifically in which ways Naranjo's movie limits the feminine character's control over her own body and by doing so perpetuates certain archetypical gender representations despite its aspiration to denounce the abuses suffered by women. However, the essay will also underline that certain acts of resistance undertaken by the protagonists of both films can reveal strategies that, although unsuccessful, do present the existence of an agency for the feminine characters.

Keywords

Necropower,: narcotraffic; feminine body; agency; Mexican cinema.

Resumen

El presente artículo pretende dar pistas sobre las maneras en que el poder masculino emanado del narcotráfico influye en las imágenes del cuerpo femenino en el largometraje mexicano de ficción Miss Bala de Gerardo Naranjo (2011). El ejemplo del cortometraje *El otro sueño americano* de En-ri-que Arroyo (2004), será también presentado para introducir el análisis de Miss Bala y mostrar que la violencia ejercida sobre el cuerpo femenino en la película de Naranjo es lejos de ser un caso aisla-do. Se analizará cómo el cuerpo de la mujer es pre-sen-tado en estas obras a manera de espacio de ex-presión de la dominación patriarcal necropolítica asociada a la violencia surgida con el narcotráfico. Más específicamente, se explicará de qué mane-ras se puede considerar que la película de Naranjo limi-ta el control que tiene el personaje femenino sobre su cuerpo y perpetúa en este sentido ciertas representaciones arquetípicas de género a pesar de su aspiración denunciadora de los abusos su-fridos por las mujeres. Se reconocerá sin embargo que cier-tos actos de resistencia emprendidos por las pro-tagonistas de ambos productos cinemato-gráficos pueden en el fondo traducir estrategias que, sin ser exitosas, sí apuntan hacia la existencia de una agen-cia en los personajes femeninos.

Palabras clave

Necropoder; narcotráfico; cuerpo femenino; agencia; cine mexicano.

1. Introduction

In Mexico, annual revenue generated by narcotrafficking is estimated at 150 billion dollars (Valenzuela, 2002). Although narcotrafficking is an important part of this informal economy, its influence on society and the Mexican cultural scene is no less real, which proves the existence of a violence and an ostentation inspired in the narco aesthetic in different artistic productions.The importance that narcopower has on the imaginary is such that it is currently found in a number of cultural manifestations that belong to what's called narcoculture (Sibila & Weiss, 2014), whether it is in literature Garcia-Niño, 2013), in song (Valenzuela-Arce, 2002), in architecture (Rivelois, 1999), and even in fashion (Heau-Lambert, 2014). Cinema on narcotrafficking can be considered also a new genre among the artistic and commercial expressions of narcoculture.

In various regions of the country, among which are Michoacan, Veracruz and the US border, this narcoviolence has increased drastically in the last decades. In northern Mexico specifically, the situation has affected women in a particular way; between 1993 and 2010, only in the state of Chihuahua, more than 500 women have been killed and more than 1,000 have disappeared (Fregoso & Bejarano, 2010: 6). The phenomenon has become so alarming that they have created a neologism *femicide* (Lagarde & de los Ríos, 2010; Radford & Russell, 1992) to describe this new reality. Over time, a parallel relationship has been confirmed between the increase in femicide —the majority of which go unpunished (Pantaleo, 2010)— and the multiplication of activities of drug cartels in the areas along the U.S. border.(Gonzalez-Rodríguez, 2002).

Motion pictures like feature film *Miss Bala* (2011) by Gerarado Naranjo and the short film *El otro sueño americano* by Enrique Arroyo make an issue of, each one in its own way, the presence and representation of the body and the feminine identity in said context of misogynic violence of Mexico. In the following pages, we will discuss the entire cinematographic product by Naranjo and the thematic, formal and aesthetic treatment of the feminine lead character Laura Guerrero. The specific analysis of *El otro sueño americano* will feed our reflections regarding the violence and will serve as a comparison in the study of feature films by Naranjo, letting us see that patriarchal violence sensed in Miss Bala is not an isolated case. Although the violence in the last years has devastated many regions and cities in Mexico, not just in the north. We chose two works whose plots are situated precisely on the U.S. border because we consider that they share a certain imaginary particular to the border area (dynamics associated to trafficking, promises of a new, anonymous life) that have a considerable incidence in the treatment of the questions of violence and gender.

2. Approach to the problem

For the thematic analysis of the film by Naranjo, our theoretic framework is multidisciplinary and comes from cultural and sociological studies and gender studies. The concept of *necropower*, which is the combination of powers of death or life that are exercised on a group or a population (Mbembe, 2003), is central to our analysis and, revisited with a focus on gender questions, allows us to explore how traffickers in both films impose their power of death on feminine characters. Indeed, by treating women as disposable beings that are at their disposal and that have no worth, the traffickers and police officers apply a violence over female characters that corresponds to what Mbembe (2003) calls necropower. This power, instead of referencing the power that the state or a group has of making a population live or letting them die, such as the case of biopower theorized by Foucault (1976: 177-191), rather it alludes to the power of making them die or letting them live (Mbembe, 2003: 41-47) and he gives a group the ability to decide who is important and who isn't, who can live and who must die.

3. Masculine "Point of view"

For formal analysis, we used a methodology of feminist filmic theories that correspond to the question of the agency. Our research follows the proposals by Mulvey (1975) regarding the fact that cinema is dominated by a masculine "point of view" to analyze the representation of women as objects for viewing. Given that theories by Mulvey have been widely reviewed, corrected and improved, we also took advantage of the methodological approaches of the feminist analysts that followed Mulvey starting in the 80s like Creed (1987) to criticize the oppression of women via formal cinematographic resources used. Therefore, our analysis subscribes methodologically to a line of redeeming the female protagonist on screen, proposing, however, reading the contempt towards women using a new socio-historic context: that of narcoviolence and recent femicides in Mexico. Of course, we are aware that the progress in gender analysis in cinematographic studies during the last decades has opened many interpretive perspectives that go beyond those coined by Mulvey. For this reason, what we intend to do here is only explore one of the many possible lines of analysis of the body chosen, and likewise inquire as to which proposals by Mulvey on oppression present in formal cinematographic are still valid, or not, today.

4. Synopsis of the works studied

The main object of study of this work, the fiction feature film *Miss Bala* (2011) is a drama directed by Gerardo Naranjo, co-written by Mauricio Katz and produced by Canana Films and 20th Century Fox. *Miss Bala* tells the story of Laura, a young Mexican from the border city of Tijuana that dreams of winning the Miss Baja California pageant to escape poverty. During a shootout in a nightclub, Laura is separated from her friend Azucena, and begins to search for her. During this process, she goes to the police but they take her to La Estrella, the drug cartel responsible for the shooting. Laura ends up kidnapped by the leader of the group, who will use her to carry out different missions involving his illegal activities. The plot is based on the true case of Laura Zuñiga Huízar, who won the titles of Miss Sinaloa and Miss Hispa-noamerica in 2008 before being arrested in December of that same year together with 7 men in possession of two assault rifles (Santamaría-Gomez, 2012: 66).

The movie *El otro sueño americano* (2004) that will serve as transition for the analysis of Miss Bala by introducing key elements of violence on the female body on the Mexico-U.S. border. It's a 10-minute short film that premiered at the Morelia International Film Festival. It was directed by Enrique Arroyo and produced in collaboration with the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CONACULTA), by Costachica Producciones and the Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía (IMCINE). *El otro sueño americano* recreates the physical and verbal violence suffered by a young adolescent prostitute from Chiapas arrested near the border for possession of a small amount of cocaine (Castro-Ricalde, 2015: 710). Her American dream quickly fades when she realizes that the police of the Procuraduría General de la República that are taking her away in their patrol car intend to give her to an former soldier in the US Army, Timoteo, who traffics people.

5. *El otro sueño americano*: the female victim of violence as an object of *necropower*

Although cinematographic reproduction of this misogynist and necropolitical violence on women's bodies plays a certain role in denouncing, at the same time it encloses female characters in a passive role, considerably decreasing their agency (Butler, 1990), which is to say, their ability to act on their own and make decisions as active subjects. From this perspective, this unambiguous treatment of male-female relationships in the two works selected can lead to a problematic representation of

feminine characters like systematic victims of gender necropolitics (Wright, 2011:709) of the border zone.

In this sense, the 10-minute duration of the short film *El otro sueño americano* is full of physical and psychological violence directed at young Sandra. El judicial, Genaro, calls her "whore", "bitch", "dumb", "damn woman", "asshole", "pig", he gives her cocaine, he hits her and encourages her to practice fellatio (Castro-Ricalde, 2015: 571). Plus, he handcuffs her to the car, sadistically obligating her to hear the atrocities that the men she is being given to will do to her. While Sandra cries, Genaro tell her, also in detail, what happened to another woman when these same men tortured her before killing her. The film ends with the sale of Sandra to the American Timoteo and makes it clear that there is no other escape for her except for rape, torture, and death.

The entire short film is filmed with the same frame, presenting the lead character only from the point of view of the instrument panel of the police car. While the discourse and insults of the driver fill the audio, the fixed frame centered on the woman allows you to see each one of her reactions to what is happening. In this case, the frame contributes, due to its fixedness, to enclosing the female character on the screen, like another prison impossible for her to escape. Said treatment of the camera, that recreates the oppression of the woman by the formal resources and the suffocating atmosphere that adds to the violence of the dialogues, anchors the violence to the character's body as well as the filmic material. Moreover, the fact that the point of view is oriented towards Sandra and not on her interlocutor emphasizes the critique of Mulvey (1975), for whom the domination of cinema by a masculine point of view alters the images of the woman, presenting her as object for the male gaze and not as a subject1. The immobility of the plane and the fixed angle refer also on the metaphorical plane to the violent and unshakeable violence by women on the border (Castro-Ricalde, 2015: 579).

Plus, the frequent interruption of planes by "static" or white noise characteristic of blank VHS tapes suggests that the cut we see could be the result of an amateur filming done in the diegesis with improvised or low cost film equipment, which can also be deduced by the poor image quality and the overexposure of the photography (Castro-Ricalde, 2015: 578). This particular aesthetic of the image insinuates that the character itself is filming the young girl that he is carrying prisoner in his car, which alludes to the snuff phenomenon in which people are tortured, raped or killed in front of the camera.

6. *Miss Bala* and the insistent presence of the feminine body: the reduction of the character to its body

In light of this example of narco masculine oppression on a woman, perceptible in both the narrative plot as well as the short film's aesthetic, it is now time to explore how narcoviolence is perceived by our main object of study, the feature film *Miss Bala*. In this section, we will explore in which ways the character of Laura is reduced on various occasions to her body. First we will study the emphasis placed on her body as well as by the discourse of the narcotraffickers and by the type of planes in the image. Then, we will present the objectifying techniques of eroticazation of this body, before finally addressing the strategies of instrumentalization of Laura's body by the group of traffickers and the resulting relegation of the female body to the *bare life* theorized by Agamben (1998).

6.1. The body in the center of the image and discourse

In *Miss Bala*, Laura Guerrero, the main character, is forced to have undesired sexual contact with Lino Valdez, the leader of the group of narcotraffickers known as La Estrella. Lino

promises to help her find her friend Azucena ("Suzu") and also use his contacts to help her get into the beauty pageant. To a certain degree, Lino robs Laura of control over her own body as well as the possibility to do as she so pleases. In the movie, in addition to being used as a sexual object, Laura also sees her body become an economic tool by the narcotraffickers. Lino makes her carry out the work of a "mule", which consists of carrying money and illegal merchandise from one country to another. The mule has to first cross the border between Mexico and the U.S. with stacks of bills under her clothes and return to Mexico with boxes full of firearms. Laura's body also serves the purposes of the criminal group when her physical beauty, her youth and her recently acquired title of Miss Baja California are used to seduce General Salomon Duarte, a military officer on the police force who Lino's henchmen try to kill.

The triple instrumentalization of Laura's female body as a sexual tool, as a mechanism or vehicle for transporting money to the United States and engaging in illegal commerce, as well as an object of seduction and attraction, seems to point towards a certain lack of agency in the female character in regards to the disposition of her body in the film by Naranjo (Molina-Lora, 2013: 236, 241-243). The work even ends with Laura's capture by the military, as a member of the group La Estrella, and with her liberation in a remote, unidentified place. Despite not knowing with any certainty what will happen to Laura, it is presumable she will not find a happy ending, but will rather remain subject to the necropower placed on her by the narcotraffickers in collaboration with the police in the border area.

Along these same lines, you could also argue that the formal cinematographic resources of Naranjo's film emphasize the loss and the dilution of her identity in hands of the narcotraffickers. Indeed, the fact that the camera avoids Laura's face and that the staging hides her in the initial frames as well as in the last frame points to the robbing of the main character's identity (Colin-Rodea, 2014: 433-434) which

accompanies her transformation into Miss Baja California and in parallel, her submergence into the Tijuana's world of misogynist crime. For example, in the first three minutes and thirty-four seconds of the film, Laura's face is hidden, whether by other elements in the diegetic space situated in the foreground, by camera angles that show her back or profile, by the frequent cuts of the upper part of her body by the frame or by her looking at the ground. By blocking access to the main character's face during this entire first sequence, the staging impedes the audience from entering into a relationship with Laura, given that the face is generally the port of entry to intimate experience. The fact that the main character's face is show for the first time on the screen only after the beginning of the film can have a foreshadowing effect of the threat of identity erasing that hangs over Laura with the narcoviolence that she will experience.

The formal insistence on the body of the young Mexican girl gives a glimpse of Laura's character's reduction by the narcotraffickers to its flesh wrapping and the impact the narcoinfluence has on her body. Indeed, in some key sequences in the movie, the camera stops on some close-ups on parts of the character's body, like when Laura is getting ready to get in the shower. At this moment, the camera reveals the ecchymosis that she has on her left buttock (38:17). The camera also shows the character's body when its shows her abdomen wrapped in tape (51:38, 52:18). In these frames, the feminine body visually fills a large part of the shot, which also places it in the center of the audience's attention. What is formally suggested and visually perceived is by the audience in these examples is the identity of the female character of Laura is reduced to her body by the narcotraffickers and that it is mainly via this body that they exercise power over her.

The fact that Lino and the group La Estrella refuse to see Laura as something more than an object and a female body is also confirmed verbally by the narcotrafficker: the most symptomatic discursive manifestation of this body enclosure is Lino's constant use of the

name "Canelita" to refer to Laura. In addition to using the diminutive "ita" as to underestimate Laura in front of the men of the criminal group, Lino gives superimposes a made-up name, Canelita, on Laura's real name, which he refuses to recognize. Upon doing so, it discursively imposes on Laura an identity that encloses her in her body, defining her only by her physical attributes, in other words, her cinnamon-colored skin, and reducing her to a produced aesthetic, once again, for the male gaze.

6.2. Male gaze on eroticized body

This cinnamon colored body to which Laura is reduced to, on various occasions, erotized by el staging, that appeals to the sensorial reactions of the spectator insisting on the sensuality of Laura's body. The aesthetic decisions regarding formal treatment of Laura's body leave in the air the impression of a fixed masculine and patriarchal view (*male gaze*, cf. Mulvey, 1975) yon her. More than once, like when Laura takes off her robe to put underwear on, the view induced by the camera is objectifying: a vertical ascending panorama lets the audience observe almost her entire body from the back, from her knees to her shoulders (49:43). The audience is invited to observe a young woman the say way the leader of the narcotraffickers does and to adopt his view full of patriarchal patterns. Upon adhering to this gaze, the spectator is also brought to feel the weight of his own man's gaze on Laura to better perceive the dangerous situation and worry about the sexual vulnerability which the main character is in regarding Lino.

In this respect, it is necessary to ask what the *Miss Baja California* beauty pageant sequences represent. This contest involves contestants that show off in turns before the audience in a bathing suit and a suggestive dress. It is an issue of the transformation of the woman in object and the reduction of her body. It is precisely the group of narcotraffickers La Estrella that ends up pulling the strings in this contest and use their influence so that Laura

is declared winner, which is evidence of the omnipresence of narcopower in Mexican institutions, including in those that transform a woman into an object. Once crowned, Laura is defined and introduced to Mexican society, the media and General Salomon Duarte above all for being *Miss Baja California*. Also, based on the experience of the beauty contest, the audience is brought to form its first opinion of the character now with the title2 of the film, *Miss Bala*, and likewise from the front cover of the DVD, in which the young Mexican woman is presented with high-heels, dressed in a bikini and wearing the beauty pageant crown and Miss Baja sash. This image clearly points to the narcoaesthetic cliché of the *Miss* companion of the narcotrafficker or *trophy-wife* that allows him to exhibit his power and virility (Santamaria-Gomez, 2012: 63, 64, 69), clichés shared in the narco imaginary that are both Mexican and Colombian.

6.3. Body, instrumentalization and *bare life*

The fact that Laura is reduced to a body by Lino and his group relegates the character to the *bare life* questioned in first place by Hannah Arendt (1951) and later by Giorgio Agamben (1998), which is to say, a life without value of the individual which groups exercising power do not recognize it as anything more than a biological life, but they deny it a political life. From the perspective of those that exercise their power over them, these individuals reduced to their body and their physiological existence can consequently be assassinated without any punishment or see their body instrumentalized while denying them of any civil rights (Agamben, 1998: 18). In the case at hand, the group La Estrella gives itself the power to decide the value of human life, to decide who can be relegated to the bare life and see their life and their body instrumentalized based on interests of the narcotrafficking group.

As Laura is obligated to have sexual contact with the leader of the group of the narcotraffic-

kers La Estrella, the audience is brought to contemplate the helpless way that Laura submits herself to the carnal desires of Lino. It even occurs that the staging artificially added a sensation of sexual coercion to certain images including when this connotation was absent from the narrative plot. For example, when Laura dresses the wounds on Lino's leg, the camera angle presents her from the view of the spectator from the back, on her knees before the trafficker who is not wearing a shirt, as if she were about to practice fellatio on him, which the audience perceives as a uncomfortable physical approximation (Bongertman, 2014: 43-44). From a approximation point of view, Lino is often particularly close to Laura, including when they are in spaces that are rather large4, which also consolidates the sensation of suffocation imposed on the main character by the criminal's physical presence.

The body of the character is also reduced by Lino to a biological body that is subject to the *bare life* and which the narcotrafficker can abuse sexually. It is also instrumentalized for strategic purposes. This instrumentalization derives in fact from a widely-used phenomenon in narco environments, that Bongert-man calls "the body ethics of narcoculture" (2014: 42), phenomenon by which the narcotraffickers share a common view of the moral acceptability of instrumentalization of the female body for their activities. In this sense, the director of *Miss Bala* has confirmed in interview that the mistreatment suffered by the female character Laura are central to the film and are the representation of patriarchal patterns used by Mexican society: "The way women were treated in the town where I grew up was definitely wrong—in fact, *Miss Bala* has a lot to do with this concept of women as just tools to be used" (Mongrel Media, 2011: 11). The official Mexican poster of the film, in which you see the main character in a bra, hands behind her head, calls attention to the total vulnerability of the young protagonist as well as her loss of independence to the narcopower of the criminal group.

The frames in which Lino wraps Laura's abdomen rubbed in oil with various layers of adhesive tape in order to later stash the US dollars makes the audience feel the oppression experienced by Laura, with close-ups that last respectively 29 (51:38) and 18 seconds (52:18) on her abdomen and with the evil sound of the tape being torn off and that fills the soundtrack at that moment. The dozens of layers of tape that Lino wraps around Laura's body also consolidates the impression that the torture experienced by the main character's body gets worse and worse. In addition, the stacks of bills taped to Laura's body visually anchor the character is its exclusively economic and utilitarian role in the eyes of the narcotrafficker.

Beyond the diegetic universe, you could ask whether the director Gerardo Naranjo and his film crew did not instrumentalize the body of actress Stephanie Sigman themselves to increase movie sales both domestically and internationally. Indeed, the audience is questioned by the estheticized presentation Naranjo makes of Sigman's body in the film and by the image of the young, attractive woman's body of the actress in a bra on the *Miss Bala* Mexican poster, which suggests that the instrumentalization of the female body for economic purposes will not be exclusive to the diegesis, but rather would also take place in the profilmic space and spectatorial as well.

7. *Sex, escape and… agency?*

However, it seems necessary to us to provide a few details to the arguments previously mentioned to avoid re-victimizing female characters in our own analysis, which would be falling into the same dynamic of feminine disempowerment that we are denouncing.

Thus, although it is certain that neither Laura, nor Sandra manage to escape the dangerous situation placed on them by the narcotraffickers it's important to note that neither of the

two is a passive person. In both cases, it is more the economic and social conditions in which they live that limit their possibilities of action.

In fact, you can also read some of the actions carried out by these women regarding their their oppressive environment like demonstrations of their agency, reviewing in this case the concept of feminine agency to include in it not only manifestations of real capacity of action (in this case, being successful in getting out of an undesired situation with violent men), but also the attempts and the strategies used to do it, although later these do not work.

In this sense, in Miss Bala, Laura escapes out the window during the shootout at the night club at the beginning of the movie (13:10). She tries to get away from Lino's right hand man by using the backdoor of the venue at the beauty pageant (31:16). She decides to stay with the drug traffickers in exchange for her father and brother's safety (41:01). She doesn't contact her father or brother using the cellphone that the criminal group gave her (1:12:36) – despite the interdiction formulated by Lino that she should speak to her family– and decides to go alone to the beach after the beauty contest (1:18:40), although she eventually returns to the trafficker's truck and accepts sexual activity with him. She also warns in a low voice to General Salomon Duarte that they are trying to kill him and that they are listening in on their conversation (1:39:29) (foiling the plans of Lino and his men. These attempts at escape and acts of rebellion by the young woman from Tijuana are not sufficient to change the course of events but at least show the intelligence and will of Laura to creatively and persistently resist narcoviolence (Molina-Lora, 2013: 241).

The mere fact that she wants to participate in the Miss Baja Contest and use her body as a "resource" to get her out of poverty alludes Laura's body is not exclusively subject to, but that she also perceives it as a possibilitizing agent, a tool, a capital, or another means to opening doors to a new life and improving

her situation (Molina-Lora, 2013: 241) as long as, however, it agrees with the narcocultural principles in which "the body of women and crime of men are valid ways to leave poverty behind" (Rincon, 2013: 22).

In terms of Sandra, in El otro sueño americano, she also uses a few strategies to achieve her liberation, although they all fail. Plus, trying to negotiate and convince the driver to let her go, trying to get out and run (3:47), demonstrating that she is willing to act and try anything in order to leave, before finally crying and begging Genaro to set her free.

Even the act of fellatio that she gives Genaro in a desperate attempt to buy her freedom could be seen as an act of feminine submission as it has been before, but also could be considered as another more realized act done deliberately by the main character to get what she wants and better her situation. The smile that comes to her face immediately after this act, in fact, confirms this interpretation. It's as if Sandra were aware of her talent for performing oral sex.

After some consideration, it seems that despite the characters of both films cannot escape the violence placed on their bodies, they are strong people that are astute and intelligent, and in this sense it is possible that the directors of both films did not create characters so deprived of agency like they seemed to have upon seeing the films at first glance and in the fatality of the violence and the unhappy ending of the characters.

8. Conclusions

In light of these considerations, we believe that although the tragic end of the characters of Laura (*Miss Bala*) and Sandra (*El otro sueño americano*) is part of process of cinematographic denouncement of the feminine body subject to patriarchal narcoviolence. In other words, it is subject to the violence tinged with misogyny and contempt towards the feminine gender that is exercised by narcotrafficking

Victims of necropower? The construction of the feminine body in Mexican cinema about narco trafficking

51

groups. You can criticize the fatality with which *Miss Bala* recreates and perpetuates the gender archetype representations. This situation is also perceived in the short film *El otro sueño americano*, presented in this article as support. By staging the feminine impotence to end its submission to narcopower exercised by the traffickers, the two films contribute in certain degree to the cinematographic naturalization of the patriarchal discourse on the woman, as denounced by Creed (1987). With this affirmation, we are not proposing to minimize the importance of gender violence in Mexico, nor much less deny its existence. The idea is for a redeeming of feminine representations in the cinematographic space that are situated outside the archetype of the dominated and weak female victim to narcotrafficking strong, dominant, executioner-style men (Mercader, 2012: 236).

Films like *Miss Bala* are right to bring to the screen the difficult reality that women suffer in the context of narcoviolence. This denouncement plays a fundamental role in bringing awareness to the gravity and magnitude of this problem and its repercussions on women. However, it seems that the impossibility to beat the image of a woman without resources or hope in the face of necropolitics of the narcoworld reinforces and affirms the dead-end fate of women in the patriarchal violent world of the U.S. border.

Nevertheless, we consider, just as De Lauretis (1987) says, that we have to redeem the feminine agency present in the dominant discourse instead of simply presenting these discourses as oppressive. For this reason, we also agree that both *Miss Bala* and *El otro sueño americano* speak of a feminine configuration of fiction that makes its own decisions and actively participates, despite the systematic failure of their initiatives. However, it must be questioned if this type of agency is sufficient to achieve the construction of a feminine emancipation in the Mexican imaginary or if its convenient to point towards a model of a woman even more empowering. Also yet to study, in terms of future research, is to what degree the treatment of

the issue of gender narcoviolence by female directors like Lourdes Portillo, who produced the documentary *Señorita extraviada* (2001), differs from this masculine approach, making possible the presentation of a voice and a point of view that breaks with cinema made by and for men.

Notes

1. This article is a revised and extended version of a paper published in the journal *Hispanophone*, student journal from the Hispanic Studies program (Montreal University).

2. However, it is necessary to note that the fact that Sandra is presented as an object of gaze does not necessarily mean that the director agrees with the misogynist view that is omnipresent in his short film. On the contrary, the final credits are very clear about the intent to denounce that which prevails in the work of Arroyo, with a use of the past perfect that also links the crimes and disappearances with the present (Castro-Ricalde, 2015: 571-572). Said denouncing effect of the short film can also be interpreted in the brief presence of crosses painted pink that appear in the window (2:52) and that invite you to understand the horrible fate of Sandra as part of a bigger phenomenon known as femicide (Castro-Ricalde, 2015: 570, 572).

3. It is true that the title of the film, *Miss Bala*, presents the feminine character as absolute protagonist of the movie. Yet said title does not recognize an identity or an existence outside the beauty pageant and exposure to violence. In this sense, the title seems to give anonymity to the character. Laura is not Laura, but rather a beauty queen.

4. However, it is necessary to note that not only the bodies of women are instrumentalized by narcopower and relegated to the bare life: bodies of some men are, too. The male cadavers, whether they be of enemy traffickers or U.S. drug enforcement agents, are frequently hung from bridges and viaducts and used as means of communication by the narcotrafficking groups that use these bodies to send messages to rival cartels, to police or to the

public at large. In Naranjo's film, for example, the cadaver of an undercover DEA agent, after having been crushed by a truck and drug down the road by the neck, is hung from a viaduct to demonstrate in public the strength and power of the group La Estrella. The group uses the cadaver to send a warning to the civil forces that try to deter their activities (1:27:14).

5. Think for example about the moment in which Laura and Lino are seated in the backseat of a truck after having left the dead bodies in front of the U.S. embassy: Lino is sitting in the middle seat and has an arm around her neck (27:31). Another example is when Lino's face gradually gets closer to Laura's in the bed and appears in the right side of the shot (43:12).

Bibliographic References

Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer. The sovereign power and the bare life.* Valencia: Pre-Textos.

Arendt, H. (1951). *The Origins of Totalitarianism.* Nueva York: Harcourt-Brace.

Arroyo, E. (Director) (2004). El otro sueño americano. [DVD]. México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (CONACULTA), Costachica Producciones, Instituto Mexicano de Cinematografía (IMCINE).

Bongertman, E. (2014). *The description of the marginal identity: the justice-seeker in the Mexican narcoculture melodrama.* Leiden: Leiden University Press.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* Nueva York: Routldege.

Castro-Ricalde, M. (2015). "Don't forget, don't forget": the construction of memory in El otro sueño americano de Enrique Arroyo (2004)". *Revista Iberoamericana*, 251, 569-582. doi: 10.5195

Colín-Rodea, M. (2014). "*Miss Bala*, the normality of evil and the psychological dimension of fear". In Changes, *Conflicts and Ideologies in Contemporary Hispanic Culture*, pp.432-452. Fernández Ulloa, T. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Publishing. Recuperado de http://www.csub.edu/~tfernandez_ulloa/changes.pdf

Creed, B. (1987). "Feminist Film Theory: Reading the Text". *In Don't Shoot Darling! Women's Independent Filmmaking in Australia*, pp. 280-313. Blonski, A., Creed, B. y Freiberg, F. (eds.). Richmond: Greenhouse Publications.

De Lauretis, T. (1987). *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Foucault, M. (1976). *Histoire de la sexualité.* I. La volonté de savoir. París: Gallimard.

Fregoso, R. L. & Bejarano, C. (eds.). (2010). *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas.* Durham y Londres: Duke University Press.

García-Niño, A. E. (2013). The narconarrative a literary bi-national border subgenre. *Razón y palabra,* 84. Recuperado de http://www.razonypalabra.org.mx/N/N84/V84/14_Garcia_V84.pdf

González-Rodríguez, S. (2012). *The Femicide Machine.* Los Ángeles: Semiotext(e).

Héau-Lambert, C. (2014). The Mexican narcocorrido: Violence as identifying discourse?- *Society and discourse*, 26, 155-178. Recuperado de https://journals.aau.dk/ index.php/sd/article/download/1097/926

Lagarde & de los Ríos, M. (2010). "Preface: Feminist Keys for Understanding Feminicide". In *Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas*, pp. xi-xxvi. Fregoso, R. L. y Bejarano, C. (eds.). Durham y Londres: Duke University Press.

Mbembe, A. (2003). *Necropolitics* (trad. Libby Meintjes). Public Culture, 15(1), 11-40. Recuperado de https://people.ucsc.edu/~nmitchel/achille_mbembe_-_necropo-litics.pdf

Mercader, Y. (2012). Feminine images in Mexican narcotrafficking cinema. *Tramas*, 36, 209-237. Recuperado de http://132.248.9.34/hevila/TramasMexicoDF/2012/no36/8.pdf

Molina-Lora, L. (2013). Narratives of trafficking in the cultural production in Mexico, Colombia and Spain. *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 38(1), 229-247. Recuperado de https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/24388690.pdf?refreqid=excelsior:-d1a4c276a65eaebe7fbc490fbd609030

Mongrel Media. (2011). *Miss Bala* [script]. Toronto: Mongrel.

Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. Screen, 16(3), 6-18. doi: 10.1093. (1989 [1981]). Afterthoughts on "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" Inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun* (1946). En Visual and Other Pleasures (pp.29-38). Mulvey, L. (ed.). Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Naranjo, G. (Director) (2011). Miss Bala. [DVD]. México: Canana Films, 20th Century Fox.

Pannetier-Leboeuf, G. (2016). Mexican cinema and patriarchal narcoviolence: the cases of *Miss Bala* and *El otro sueño americano*. Hispanophone, Recuperado de http://hispanophone.ca/2016/04/08/cine-mexicano-y-narcoviolencia-patriarcal-los-casos-de-miss-bala-y-el-otro-sueno-americano/ (Consultado el 19 de mayo de 2017)

Pantaleo, K. (2010). Gendered Violence: An Analysis of the Maquiladora Murders. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 20(4), 349-365. doi: 10.1177/1057567710380914

Radford, J. & Russell, D. E. H. (1992). *Femicide, the Politics of Woman Killing.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Rincón, O. (2013). We all have a narco inside of us – an essay on narco/culture/ soap opera as an entry way to modernity. MATRIZes, 7(2), 1-33. Recu-perado de http://www.revistas.usp.br/matrizes/article/viewFile/69414/71991

Rivelois, J. (1999). *Drogue et pouvoirs: du Mexique aux paradis.* París: L'Harmattan.

Santamaría-Gómez, A. (coord.). (2012). *The female bosses of narco.* The ascent of women in organized crime. México: Grijalbo.

Sibila, D. A. & Weiss, A. J. (2014). Narco Culture. The Encyclopedia of Theoretical Criminology, 1-4. doi: 10.1002/9781118517390.wbetc195

Valenzuela, J. M. (2002). *Bosses of bosses.* Corridos and narcoculture in eéxico. México: Plaza y Janés.

Wright, M. W. (2011). Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border. Signs: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* 36(3), 707-731. doi: 0097-9740/2011/3603-0015.

About the Author:

Gabrielle Pannetier Leboeuf has a doctorate in Hispanic Studies jointly from Montreal University and Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV). She is also an assistant professor for the Latin American Studies program at the Department of World Literature and Languages (Montreal University). She was awarded with a Joseph-Armand-Bombardier Canada (BESC-CRSH) Graduate Scholarship.

An intersectional analysis of power relations in the film Love by Ulrich Seidl

Análisis interseccional de las relaciones de poder en la película Amor de Ulrich Seidl

Violeta Alarcón-Zayas
Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, España
violeala@ucm.es

Abstract
"Love" (2012, Austria-Germany-Kenya), the first film of "Paradise", Ulrich Seidl´s trilogy, proposes a perspective which situates the viewer in an uncomfortable dilemma. The film will reveal both the patriarchal and colonial look. Faced with this confrontation, we wonder from the "intersectionality theory": what is the role that sexuality devices play in relationships of domination according to the film representation. We intend to discern what types of power relationship have been established between the characters, how borders work here and how cultural conflicts are managed. We will analyze some of sex relationships of the protagonist focusing on the courtship moments which reveal diverse linguistic, social boundaries of gender, age and class, where hegemonic concept of romantic love is questioned at the same time, its function as a technique of power is showed. In the same way, we will check if these conflicts are solved or not during sex negotiations, and what is the role that colonial domination plays in the film.

Keywords
Romantic love, sexual tourism, authenticity, intersectionality, domination.

Resumen
La mirada que propone *Amor* (2012, Austria-Alemania-Kenia), que inicia la trilogía de Paraísos, de Ulrich Seidl, coloca al espectador en un dilema incómodo. El film pone de manifiesto tanto la mirada patriarcal como la colonial. En este artículo se investiga desde la interseccionalidad qué papel juegan los dispositivos de sexualidad en las relaciones de dominación que se representan. Se propone discernir qué tipos de relaciones de poder se establecen entre los personajes, cómo funcionan las fronteras nacionales y/o sociales, y cómo se gestionan los conflictos culturales. Se analizan las relaciones sexuales de la protagonista, poniendo de manifiesto diversas fronteras sociales, lingüísticas, de género, edad y clase, y a la vez cuestionando el concepto hegemónico de amor romántico. Finalmente se analiza cómo se resuelven los conflictos de racialización sexualizada a la hora de negociar las relaciones sexuales y qué papel juega la dominación colonial en el film.

Palabras clave
Amor romántico; turismo sexual; autenticidad; interseccionalidad; dominación.

Fig 1.
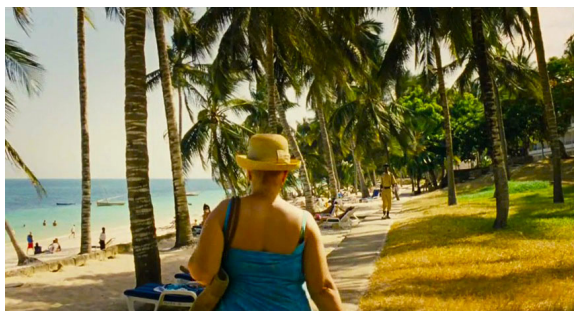
1. Introduction

"Love" tells the story of Theresa's trip to Kenya. Theresa is a 50-something-year-old Austrian lady who is the single mother of an adolescent girl, who taking the recommendation of someone she knows, seeks an amorous adventure with a native. Is it a story about the frustrated search for love of a mature woman from Western society, influenced by the hegemonic ideals of beauty and love, or does underneath this argument lay an anti-colonist discourse and criticism of sexual exploitation? Could you say it is a political film? Intrigued by what both the subject and the focus proposed by filmmaker and documentary filmmaker Seidl mean, we ask ourselves: what role does the colonialist point of view play in the sexual interaction between the main character and the African natives? The film's focus puts the audience in an uncomfortable situation, because it manifests contradictions between the different types of oppression. Looking through Theresa's point of view, the audience empathizes with her from the beginning and, in her flirtatious relations, she is seen as emotionally subordinate to the male. Nevertheless, this only addresses gender relations, understood as a universal patriarchy, in which the masculine role constitutes the dominant role in all contexts. But as Butler reminds us (2001), it is impossible to disconnect gender from cultural, economic, and political intersections in which they are invariably produced and maintained. It criticizes the ideas of universal patriarchy and the masculine/feminine dichotomy, because it considers that

both operate separating women from the class, ethnicity and other power relationship aspects that constitute the identity. Therefore, looking through the main character's point of view, we are situated on the side of class and race privilege, shown by revealing the situation of poverty and racial marginalization of the men with whom she interacts.

On the other hand, the erotic relationships that we will analyze are framed in the context of male prostitution within sexual tourism, an activity mainly associated to women and rarely addressed when it comes to men who sell sex. Male prostitution is made visible in this film without falling into stigmatization, but even so, it is presented as "illegitimate" sexuality, that from Western dialect opposes the "legitimacy" of dating and marriage as that opposite to the ideal of romantic love. In addition, prostitution in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa is shown as a consequence of colonization, where the evocation of slavery serves as a backdrop of the erotic imaginary that sustains the economic-sexual exchange between Africa and Europe.

Our objective, therefore, will consist of untangling the perspective that Love offers in respect to the diverse power relations proposed and discern whether there is a political criticism effort and in such case to what degree is portrayed in the situations of oppression exposed.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. General Overview

In essence we will perform an intersectional analysis (Crenshaw, 1989), concept stemming from Afro-American feminism in the 80s as criticism of the ethnocentricity of the white, Western and burgess point of view of contemporary feminism that has forgotten the exclusion that Afro-American women experienced in the USA. Crenshaw used this term to explain the mode in which race and gender operated together in situations of oppression that Afro-American

women experienced. This concept emphasizes the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination in the diverse social localizations, giving voice and visibility to all the marginalized groups. It is as much about localizations as it is processes via those in which race, gender, sexual orientation, class, and age acquire particular meanings, and indicate fields of organization where inequality is reproduced historically. Discursive analysis will be carried out with this perspective, supporting us especially in the decolonial discourse (Fanon, 2009; McClintock, 1995) and the studies on transactional sex (Meekersa & Calves, 1997) to refer to the type of sexual tourism that appears in the film and contextualize the different relationships of domination staged in the ritual of courting and heterosexual seduction.

We will use elements of cultural analysis of the images and the visuals to address the representations and stereotypes of "what is feminine" and "what is masculine", their interactions (De Lauretis, 1992). In addition, we will interpret gender as a technology (De Lauretis, 1987) in which needs, desires, experiences, rights and demands converge for both men and women, according to the roles assigned and the set, naturalized social expectations.

2.2. *Amorous Discourse*

When we talk about love, we will base it on the sociological analysis of romantic love (Illouz, 2010; Esteban, 2011) that refers to a type of relationships that:

> (...) tend here and now to emphasize love ahead of other human facets and underline the love-passion aspect over the others; which incites the search for transcendence, including happiness via love, and thus converts it in modern times into a substitute for religion; (...) and gives maximum value to any romantic process that implies overcoming difficulties; that idealizes the relationship and hypertrophies the amorous paraphernalia. (Esteban, 2011: 44)

This type of love is characterized for being a heterosexual, sensual and monogamous relationship that is conceived of a fusion or total disinterested commitment to another, love as a refuge from the evil in the world and that it is understood as a personal realization, especially for the woman. Legitimate sex is that blessed by the romantic love relationship that contrasts to any other type of sexual interaction, especially to that which is stigmatized precisely by economic mediation.

3. Methodology

In this article we will proceed via the perspective of filmic theory, that is, analyzing filmic language and its internal logics. From the semiotic perspective we will study the mode of enunciation, where and how the enunciator is placed and where the audience is located (Filinich, 1998) in regards to the power relationships established in the audiovisual story. We will analyze the mode of representation of the erotic-affectionate interracial relationships based on basic filmic elements like the type of shots, the composition of these, the colors, the sounds, the lighting, as well as the field of visuality (Burch, 1969).

4. Documentary fiction: context and background of *Love*

Artistic works in general resist being classified by very closed or set definitions, and it is no different for film productions, cinema being the most heterogenic and complex art. It is often difficult to classify a film. Its characteristics frequently go beyond those of the genre in which it is first considered to belong. However, not to go to the extreme opposite and say that every film is a genre in itself, intermediate terms have been invented to offset the rigid canonic dichotomies.

Classic books on film history often prioritize rigid classifications of filmic genres, and among them the great demarcation between the documentary and fiction. Nevertheless, starting with World War II, there is a critique of this systemization that seemingly absolute and without cracks. Modern cinema generates new interrelationships between fiction and documentary, making for the emergence of diverse forms of making films, as shown with Italian Neorealism, with filmmakers like Rossellini with films like *Roma, ciudad abierta* (1945), and that represents the origin of social or realism cinema. Later other directors mix reality and fiction in social denouncing by Buñuel in The Young and the Damned (1950) or Bresson in A Man Escaped (1956), in experimental films like the false documentary of *Fraude* (1973) by Orson Welles or in the Nouvelle Vague, especially difficult to classify works by Godard like *All's Well* (1972).

Seidl perfectly exemplifies this mix of hybridity that transgresses the traditional distinction of "fiction/documentary". In fact, the same rejects the term documentary to refer to its "documentary" films as "calculated arrangements". Some authors have referred to their works as "docudramas" (Busche, 2005). Both the themes as well as the filmic and narrative techniques they use in their fiction films and documentaries are very similar, giving their documentaries an appearance of fiction and contributing verisimilitude and realism to fiction films. This aesthetic that dances between the real and the theatrical has a clear inheritance from Dogma 95 cinema, observing the influence of the famous "chastity" rules that Von Trier and Vinterberg proposed, who seeking a more "realistic" cinema prohibited special effects, intervention of the set, the sound and the lighting, and proposed rolling the camera in hand, with amateur actors, like in *Los idiotas* (1988) and *Celebración* (1988).

The cinema of Seidl is also heir to documentaries of fiction and social causes that bring us back to the hits of social cinema like the Colombian *Agarrando pueblo* (1977) by Mayolo and Ospina. *Love* continues this tradition of hy-

brdity where via a fiction film script a social reality is created in scenarios where it takes place, with amateur actors via a improvisation-friendly script, as well as the appearance of "extras" (Didi-Huberman, 2014) or inhabitants of the Kenyan community portrayed as a backdrop. In signature cinema we find numerous examples of these fictions that narrate real stories filmed on site and sometimes even including the participating of main characters playing themselves, like *Koker* (1987-1994) Kiarostami on the vicissitudes of rural life in Iran; or the poetic and cruel Turtles Can Fly (2004) Ghobadi that portrays the life of Kurd refugees in the Iraq War; or *City of God* (2002) by Meirelles and Lund, filmed in Brazilian favelas with the authorization by narcotraffickers. Then there's the sex strike carried out by women in a Turkish community recreated by Mihailean in *La Source Des Femmes* (2011). Along this line of hybridity, the Paradise trilogy distances itself from the large mainstream productions and positions itself next to independent cinema and writer-director cinema, from social critique and satire, proposing often-times uncomfortable unrealities in a way that is realist and verisimilar via a fictional story.

5. Africa's erotic colonial myth

Love (2012) is ironic starting with the title. In first place, because it presents us with a genre, the romantic and erotic drama, that hegemonically is associated with a story within the coordinates that romantic thinking establishes. Theresa seeks to fulfill her erotic dream in Kenya from this imaginary, but what she finds is a grotesque theatralization that disguises a type of colonialist prostitution that is not explicit, and that is called *transactional sex* (Meekersa & Calves, 1997), where you exchange goods and money in a non-occupational framework, where racialization and class inequality play a fundamental role.

On the other hand, the Paradise trilogy (2012), upon staging this first film in a beach town in Kenya, whose name is not mentioned, and

that evokes the idea of a romantic adventure in an unknown, exotic country reinforces the European colonial imaginary according to which Africa and America were transformed into "porno-tropics": the paradigmatic context of the sexual aberration, of excess and of the anomaly (McClintock 1995:22). Just like back then, although the idea is to make racism invisible, contemporary images reproduce the objectification of colonized bodies: an ambiguous position that oscillates between attraction and repulsion. The exotic dream of Africa and the expectation of erotic encounters comes from the recruitment techniques of colonizing troops, that promised sexual encounters with black women that supposedly offered what white "decent" women couldn't (shouldn't), and is used as a tourist attraction. Therefore, black, muscular, shirtless bodies working and leading activities in the hotel pool or offering cocktails on the beach, allude irremediably to slavery:

> (...) like unfortunate events, images never come alone, nor are they recognized outside collections and virtual imaginary networks. Images always adhere to some social imaginary. They are at the same time part and result of these imaginaries. And these, in addition to compilations or virtual repertoires, consist in production matrixes and image reproduction (April, 2012: 31).

This forms part of the colonial imaginary, related to an ethnocentric tradition that sustains the literature and romantic cinema, those in which the romantic adventure of the Western woman is idealized with a lover from another culture, wild and mysterious. An African man takes on the stereotype of an exotic gentleman that lusts for the white skin of the Europeans despite the age or canons of hegemonic beauty. In fact Fanon (2009) explains the desire of the black man towards the white woman and the myth surrounding this relationship as a form of self-realization, of social ascent and recognition of the black man. Upon wanting to be recognized as white, from internalized racism, the black man understands that he can reach said status by love with a white woman, that will legitimize his whiteness from a Hegelian

dialectic: "Upon loving myself, it shows me that I am worthy of a white love. She loves me like a white. I am white. Her love opens the illustrious corridor that leads to total happiness" (Fanon, 2009: 52). In this imaginary, the black man must, according to Fanon, put himself to the test:

> "all ontology becomes unrealizable in a colonized and civilized society (…) Ontology, when once and for all it admits that it leaves aside the existence, doesn't allow us to understand the being of the black person. Because the black does not tend to be black now, but rather to be in front of a white" (2009:111).

Native Africans enamor the main character to ascend socially, both on an identity and economic level. Thus, the erotic perspective alluded to by the title of the film is actually twists to show a point of view that shows the tension between the patriarchal, classist, racist and colonialist aspects of the main character's sexual relationships.

Fig 2. Workers in the pool.

Regarding the habitual perspective that hypersexualizes the feminine body, this film hypersexualizes masculine bodies using the same film techniques Mulvey observes (2002) in the objectifying of women in cinema, making us *voyeurs* on some occasions and in others obligating us to see through the eroticizing point of view that tourists exercise on African male bodies. It especially reinforces the myth of the sexual prowess of the black male, resulting in the explicit perspective of his genitals (Fig. 3), whose dimension have been mythicized. This cultural essentialization based on the black

man's body, the *fetichization* of his penis, forms part of the colonial racist imaginary that objectified slaves, comparing their sexual attributes with those of livestock (Lengellé, 1971). This myth is renewed and reinforced via shots that seem created to be fixed images, where the intense color palate and the careful composition of the contrasts offer the bodies of young African men in submissive positions, working almost naked (Fig.2), seen always from above or fragmenting their bodies, thus putting emphasis on their genitals and muscular physique (Romero-Bachiller, 2007).

Fig 3. Theresa photographing her sleeping lover.

6. Borders: conflicts and treaties

6.1. *Barriers on land and skin*

From the beginning the audience is positioned as Theresa's cohort, seemingly vulnerable in a foreign country, chased by dozens of men whose interests are unclear to us. Being a shy woman travelling alone, in addition to her fears and insecurities that she shares with her friend that she finds at the hotel, she is presented as fragile and in danger, based on the stereotype of the vulnerability of the unaccompanied woman without male protection.

This perception, in addition to patriarchal, is linked to the racist colonial point of view, as they threaten her, the "others", are the Kenyans, the "blacks": "Compared to «non-marked» bodies, those presented as «marked» are

reiterated and compulsively incorporated in their condition as «others»" (Romero-Bachiller, 2007: 39). They are conceived as an absolute otherness in terms of that which constructs one's own identity, and in this way they are treated from paternalism to mistrust and fear, from the exploitation to the criminalization or to the hypersexualization, strengthening the hierarchical borders. The separation and confrontation of the bodies in based on the pigmentation of the skin serves as a domination device: "the body takes up a privileged space in the confirmation, mark and delimitation of the projected fictions of the 'nation'" (Romero-Bachiller, 2007: 40). This way, the conflicts and cultural borders are presented from a colonialist and racist perspective that naturalizes inequality.

> Racism subdivides humanity in a hierarchy of races equipped with unequal moral and intellectual qualities that are supposedly expressed in their different phenotypic features. (...) common sense and not so common sense often supposes that socio-political discrimination comes from real differences. Nineteenth century scientific racism is nothing, however, more than a concrete historical version of modern Western naturalism that contrasts culture against nature, society against biology, as if it had to do with obviously unrelated aspects and different from the human experience (Stolcke, 2014: 86)

Territorial boundaries draw lines on class based on skin color and the camera puts us on the side of the privileged, of the "civilized" (colonizer) compared to the "savage" (colonized). The Western bourgeois has erected enough barriers and wire fences in order to not really fear the competition of those whom they exploit and shun. The Western burgess racism in regards to black people and the *bicot*[1] is a racism of disgust; a racism that belittles the other (Fanon, 2011: 45).

We see the lines that hierarchically separate the white and the black from one direction. Theresa always walks with her back to the camera. We don't see her from the front, from the perspective of the natives, because we go to Kenya ba-

sed on the Western perspective. The camera makes us leave with our back to the hotel, from the area restricted to tourists and employees, and advancing towards the land that Theresa is going to explore like a colonizer, via the road that opens there:

> We see through the eyes of our culture and our experience as visual text readers, (…) by seeing and making others see we select, consciously or unconsciously, places of enunciation built and assigned as social positions: the patriarchal view, the view of the dominant class (who doesn't lower his gaze those who he should lower his gaze from, etc.), the view of the resistant subject, or accomplice, or indifferent to domination by the other, etc. (Abril, 2012: 28)

At the beach there is a roped-off area where the white tourists put their lounge chairs. It stands for a "symbolic" racist and classist boundary that is effectively material in the territory, segregating barrier that is reinforced with security all along the roped-off area, that the guards perform day and night. "In those cases in which the cultural space has a territorial character, the border acquires a sense of territorial space, the border acquires a spatial sense and in the elemental meaning" (Lotman, 1996: 27). As we see in Figures 4 and 5, tourists can access the foreign territory like colonizers, meanwhile their little *resort* is impassable. For this reason the natives wait immobile in front of the border, on the other side, to offer costume jewelry, watches, sunglasses, and offer tours of the city.

The colors are fundamentally in the order of visuality upon depicting the cultural clash and the construction of inequality. The are predominantly contrasts and vivid colors (greens, blues, oranges, yellows), according to the hegemonic idea of Africa, but especially there is emphasis placed on the contrast in the skin color of the tourists, who are blond and pale, and the dark black skin of the Kenyans. Despite evidently operating the racist mechanisms that fetichezation of certain skin pigmentation implies in addition to a radicalized/racist hierarchy system that positions the white in a place of privilege regarding cer-

tain «others» «coloreds» or «blacks» –the white continue to lack color-" (Romero-Bachiller, 2007: 212). In contrast to what occurs in the West where "whiteness" is goes unnoticed, in the movie it is emphasized as a result of the constant contrast. The colonial demarcation of the "other", according to Fanon (2009), causes the black to compare himself to the white. This tension shows that the colonized has no other role except to be the "other", because colonialism determines the limits in which you can produce that representation. For the black, or colonized, there is no way to access that otherness because it determined by its condition of subject. The interseciontality reveals the unequal oppression on race-emphasized bodies, subject according to a colonial and racist reasoning: you cannot avoid being black just like you can't avoid being female, essences built dialectically from power.

Figures 4 and 5. Theresa crossing the border
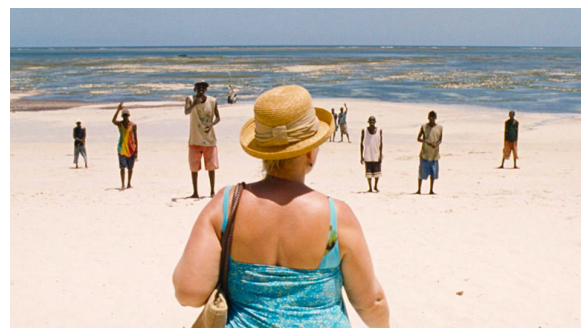
6.2. Fiction and Authenticity via the Visuality

Fig 6. Theresa, her friend, and the barman at the hotel.

Encouraged by the other tourists (Image 6), Theresa lets herself be seduced by the natives, and tries on three occasions to have a romantic adventure, a "legitimate" sexual relationship, in which economics do not play a part. All her sexual interactions carry out the same courting ritual pattern: she enters in contact with the men on the beach that come up to her with different excuses and strategies. When she crosses the physical border and exposes herself, they take the initiative (Image 7), and take her to the other side of the barrier that delineates the safe area for tourists, to carry her into their territory, into the slums. The white man, or here the white woman, enters the mysterious world of the blacks, world in which the audience can only access via what they let Theresa see. "The visual, "what you can see", is always related to what you can't see" (Abril, 2012: 21). To maintain the fantasy of the "romantic paradise", you prohibit anything that can ruin the illusion. We barely see native women or children, or extreme poverty, hunger, old age or sickness. Although it is all perceived in the background, in the foreground we will only see young, muscular, smiling men.

We advance on her journey through the colonial idealizing cosmovision. Theresa cannot access the authentic, the "authenticity" as MacCanell (2003) observes, is staged and theatrical in the paradisiacal tourist experience and the simulation of a courtship, generating a reality that is neither local nor foreign.

Fig 7. Theresa approached on the beach.

The person who best perceives the wishes of Theresa is her second romance, the young Munga, who Theresa chooses, because compared to the rest that approach her, he

is the most cautious and subtle. In minute 41 of the film both characters walk together through the dirt streets of the village, between the shacks and huts selling costume jewelry, clothes, fabrics, bags and belts. The camera follows them from behind, very close, in a medium shot that shakes as it advances. In the background, you can see the "extras", the people that live in the shacks, but they are out of focus, fuzzy, secondary, like a background element that is unreachable for the audience (Figures 8a and 8b).

Figures 8a and 8b. Munga talks about love to Theresa while they walk through his neighborhood.

The enunciator proposes looking through the perspective of a third party which is to say, from outside. In fact, the extras look at the camera strangely, scrutinize with mistrust and curiosity via the lens. For example, a driver turns around and stares at the camera in a funny way, passing and violating "the fourth wall". He inquires us with his look, accentuating the impression of documentary realism. The romantic history makes the surrounding reality less noticeable, the poverty is erased by the adventure that follows the tourist. In addition, each time she stops, Munga hurries her along. During this walk they maintain a dialogue that initiates the seduction ritual:

- Theresa: Do you bring all the women here?
- Munga: No, just you. (Laughs, he points at her while he says it for emphasis)
- Theresa: Do you bring all the women here? (laughs and stops)
- Munga: Noooo, just you (Grabbing her by the shoulder and pushing her so that she keeps walking as they laugh)
- Theresa: (Laughing and stopping again) Tell me the truth. How many women have you brought here?
- Munga: No, just you.
- Theresa: No? Just me?
- Munga: yes (finally grabbing her hand and taking her down another street). This way, honey.
- Theresa: Honey? Ha, ha, ha
- Munga: Yes.
- Theresa: You aren't married?
- Munga: Yes, I'm not married.
-Theresa: But I'm really old and you are very young.
- Munga: (stops, he looks at her and joins and separates his index fingers) Love has no end.
- Theresa: Love has no end?
- Munga: Yeah
- Theresa: (Spelling in German) Love is forever.
- Munga: Love is forever.
- Theresa: I believe that love sometimes ends.
- Munga: Oh nooo, no. In Europe, in Europe it an, in Africa no.
- Theresa: It's different in Africa?
- Munga: Yes. (big smile)
- Theresa: Love is forever in Africa? (laughing hard)
- Munga: Yes, yes, yes.
- Theresa: That would be fantastic.

Se comunican en una mezcla de alemán e inglés They communicate in a mix of German and English as bridge languages that he speaks very basically, but with the vocabulary necessary to seduce. He knows the cliché formulas, what the Western woman wants to hear. The key is to adhere to the topics and rules of the romantic imaginary. Thanks to his sexual interaction with other tourists, he dominates the seduction strategies and responds satisfactorily to Theresa's questions, although always laughing, which emphasizes the theatrical sense of the ritual. Thanks to the *habitus*, "this specie of practical sense of what you have to do in a determined situation" (Bourdieu, 1997: 40) he knows the rules of the game in order to get what he's after.

Theresa doesn't trust, but at the same time feels carried away upon seeing the requirements of romantic love met: she is the only one, the first that he brings to his village; he's free of commitment; and in Africa love is infinite. The courting ritual refers to a series of chronotopes appropriate for love, inciting gestures, patterned actions, appropriate words and forbidden words. It is an entire heterosexual ceremony where male and female roles are accentuated. "The amorous paraphernalia and ritualization is completely opposite that which is natural" (Esteban, 2010: 51). Everything is meticulously measured. Romantic love blows away borders and overcomes conflicts. "The border is a bilingual mechanism that translates the external messages into an internal language of the semiosphere and vice versa" (Lotman, 1996: 25). Love is supposedly a universal language. Theresa, blinded by her desire to be desired above all else, surrenders to the affirmations of Munga.

On the cultural border, a process of adaptation occurs, the colonized population incorporates the sexualized theater of the colonial culture into its practices to obtain commercial benefit, based on subordination. Also at play are elements from each culture like the constant laugh, very close physical contact, eye contact, direct, simple discourses. Although the linguistic resources are limited, there is a show of seduction apparatuses, molding themselves to the desires of the Western imaginary expressed in the marketing: "Love in Africa is forever, it has no limits". Munga uses the myth that love conquers all: age, time, language and race to create the scenario that she chases. The concept of "authenticity" of MacCannell (2003) characterizes the experience sought by the tourist, a unique, authentic experience that she has never had before. This is what gives value to the trip: live the typical practices of a community or region. In this case, the main character wants to experience love like it is experienced in Africa, with a real Kenyan: "The search for authenticity is marked by stages in the landscape from the front to the back" (MacCannell, 2003: 140).

The courtship continues when they arrive to the hole in the wall that he claims is his home. It is only one room, poorly furnished, and painted dark blue which emphasizes the blue-green dress Theresa is wearing. He leaves her there to go get palm wine which he says is the "best in Africa", for a special occasion, and he explains that it is tradition that men give it to the woman they are courting. Theresa observes the house enchanted and listens to him spellbound. While he is gone, she puts perfume on her neck, armpits, and groin, performing a kind of ritual to please the male, within a series of socially-taught techniques:

> We have games played alone or in group (pretend, reading, dolls, make up and taking care of one's image, costumes,…), especially in childhood and youth, in addition to all types of social interaction and anticipation practices (…).Social rituals where heterosexuality is emphasized and where (especially in women) you learn languages, techniques and attitudes that have to do with presenting oneself and with the education of the senses, movement and use of space, the communication. (Esteban, 2011: 51)

When he arrives from fulfilling his male role, they get drunk and smoke marihuana in the dark, and then go out to a bar. At minute 47´06" we find ourselves with a shot identical to that of the commented sequence. Once again we are walking behind them, this time at night, down a poorly-paved road where the noise of the cars driving by makes the conversation difficult to hear. They don't even hear themselves well and have to yell and repeat themselves over and over again.

- Theresa: Do you think this is a good idea?
- Munga: Yes!
- Theresa: With me?
- Munga: Yes! No problem...
- Theresa: ¿Nothing is a problem for you?
- Munga: What?
- Theresa: (In German) Is this a problem for you?
- Munga: Problem?
- Theresa: For you?
- Munga: Why?
-Theresa: If we walk like this. People will think

we are together.
- Munga: No problem.
- Theresa: hahaha, I can't believe it. I can't...¡-Careful! (A truck passes by very close). I can't believe it.
- Munga: Yes, the people think that if I am with you I have money, money, money.
- Theresa: You have money?
- Munga: People think I get money from you. If...
- Theresa: Do you want money?
- Munga: Me? No, no money. Love. It's love. Yes, it's love.

In the previous sequence Munga was always taking Theresa hand. Now, after having gotten her drunk, he clenches on to it and doesn't let go. While she shows some modesty for the age, to him showing her off gives him a social position in the eyes of the other natives. He explains it himself. For this reason the men that approach Theresa will try to take her hand, because walking hand in hand with a white woman means that she is "his", that the prey has been caught. Women are perceived as objects and for being white, a source of money and prestige.

> (...) women are treated as symbolic instruments that, upon circulating and making circulate the fiduciary signs of social importance, produce or reproduce symbolic capital, and that upon uniting and instituting relations, they produce or reproduce social capital. (Bourdieu, 2000: 131)

In fact, when the couple walks holding hands the other men look away. Nevertheless, despite chauvinism and the objectification of women are evident, this behavior does not differ much from the general treatment of the natives with tourists from both sexes in countries subject to relationships of economic and political subordination via tourism as a form of pseudo-colonialism. In other words, here the natives use a series of signs and symbols to communicate between themselves similar to those used in different types of business and informal commerce: from guides, taxi drivers, merchants, black market vendors, beggars, etc., to express which ones are "their customers". Munga is demonstrating that he has accomplished his objective, he has

seduced a "rich woman" which he benefits or will benefit from economically.

Again the conversation is forged with the allusion of love, magic word together with "akuna matata". The lesson learned: love as something disinterested. Theresa suspects, but she lets herself be tricked. Munga is now introspective. He no longer laughs, and progressively shows less enthusiasm, withdrawn into his own thoughts, but his radical transformation occurs once they have sexual relations. He stops acting happy, smiling, and talkative, and becomes shy and lacks sexual desire. She insists on curing him of his withdrawal and he then tells her an endless litany of bad luck, accidents, and scarcities that can only be solved with money. He would never ask for himself, but for his family and neighbors. In transactional sex, the prostitution is not explicit. You don't ask money in exchange for sex, but rather you establish a pseudo-relationship of courtship in which the prostitute ascends socially (Meekersa & Calves, 1997). Thus, when Munga considers that he's not getting enough money and gifts, he disappears without explanations.

Fig 9 a and 9 b. Theresa's revenge.

You bastard! She's your sister?
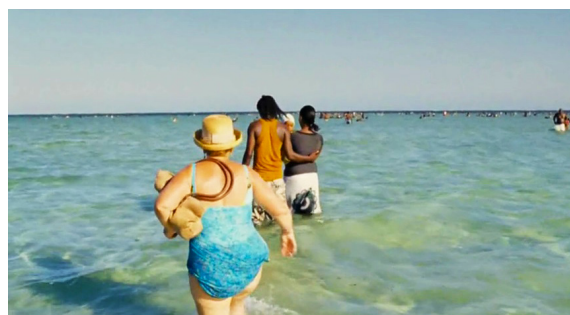
Theresa looks for him desperately until some time later she discovers the truth on the beach: the supposed sister of Munga, to whom he generously gave the money, is actually his wife. She goes up to the couple and takes Munga by the hair and gives him a beating. Mientras Theresa yells at him furiously and he submissively moans, the woman walks away with her baby in her arms. The couple accepts her rage because they have tricked her, but also, a situation of subordination is established for having accepted money. Theresa feels legitimized in exercising violence, for being white, but above all, for having invested money in an ex-lover, money that consolidated the sexual relationship. You are "rich to give to the poor"(...) You possess to give. But you also posses when you give. (Bourdieu, 1997: 202)

Having money, which at first seemed to bring Theresa guilt, and the supposed disinterest in which she gave it, provided for a dark sentiment of superiority. Expecting "fidelity", tying Munga to her via appreciation and the debt, the betrayal justifies the revenge, including violence. But is this aggression really fair? There will not be a satisfactory response until the end, where she decides which type of power predominates in the erotic relationships of the film. Theresa, disappointed, will risk a third adventure, but upon discovering that the relationship repeats almost the exactly same pattern, Theresa ends it.

Imagen 10. *Showboy* bailando.
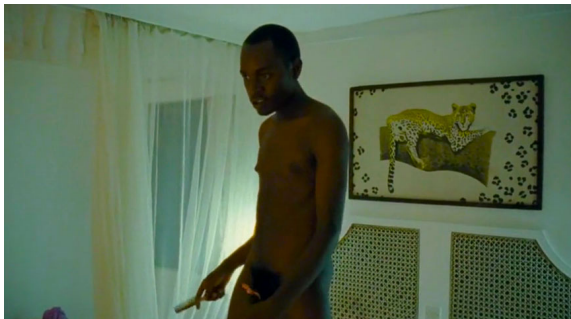
Imagen 11. *Showboy siendo ridiculizado.*

Finally, the other tourists will incite her to try prostitution openly, preparing an orgy-party for her birthday with a really young *showboy*, that will dance evoking slavery with his costume and submissive positions. Theresa will accept her privileged situation to humiliate the young striptease dancer. Together they make fun of him and ridicule him to later kick him out when he does not fulfill their sexual expectations as a "man", attributing it to a lack of virility and even homosexuality (Images 10 and 11). Again we can indicate how intersectionality operates, because not only does it discriminate and subject the victim by his racial and social condition, but rather it also serves as sexualized discrimination regarding the existence of a suspicion of stigmatized sexual orientation.

After this experience, the main character reaffirms her situation of power, and frustrated by repeat failure, tries with the hotel barman whom she treats as a slave, bringing him into her room and giving him cold, authoritarian orders: that he take a shower, that he touch her body, that he kiss her feet and finally that he perform oral sex on her (Fig. 12). During the majority of this sequence, he will have his back to the camera or with his profile to the camera, far and distant. His face is serious and retracted, his voice is almost imperceptible and his gestures tense and insecure: his *habitus* reveal a life of servitude, but not that of a sex worker. Theresa remains serious and imperative, a large part of her shots being taken facing forward. Feeling reassured in her territory, surrounded by pastel colors, where the colors rose and white contrast with the bright colors of Africa, she exercises her authority without blinking. The

colonial aesthetic intensifies the confrontation of naked bodies, emphasizing the borders between the character and the passive resistance of the barman.

The man will try to satisfy her sexual demands, but unaccustomed to this type of relationship, as he explains, he is unable to please her. Theresa, defeated in her desire to feel like an object of desire, throws him out with a shaky voice while he leaves quickly. The situation of subordination established is clearly colonialist. In fact, it is no longer about transactional sex or prostitution, but rather of domination from white privilege, from an imposition based on the worker's fear of losing his job. Although the movie ends with Theresa crying, we can no longer continue to be her accomplices without openly approving of colonial oppression. In the main character's sexual journey we perceive the different subordinations Foucault indicates:

> There are two meanings to the word subject: subdued by another via control and dependence and subject tied to its own identity by the conscience or the knowledge of himself. Both meanings suggest a form of power that subjugates and suppresses. (Foucault, 1988: 7)

Fig 12. Barman kissing Theresa's feet.

Foucault says (1988:7) that there are three types of struggles, "those that oppose the forms of domination", "those that denounce the forms of exploitation", and those that are called struggles "against the subjection, against forms of subjectivity and of submission". Theresa suffers from patriarchal subordination as a woman. She feels the rejection and the aesthetic pressure on a body that does not comply with the hegemonic stereotypical canons. She is also subject to the idea of romantic love where her realization depends on her ability to cause a unique sexual desire in man. This situation of subjection to patriarchal devices, is contrasted with the situation of social and racial privilege that she holds over the Kenyans.

Therefore, the end of the film proves the unambiguous situation of uncovered slavery that the Kenyans suffer. Theresa will take off the mask of political correctness by exercising blatant abuse. Nevertheless, the white woman fails by being unable to vanquish the desire of the Kenyans: the myth of the black man that desires the white woman as a realization fades. We don't see internalized racism, but rather a resistance.

7. Conclusion

The frustration and loneliness of a middle-class woman that is getting older and craves to be desired becomes evidence of the exploitation of the old colonies on behalf of Western countries: the colonies don't love their colonizers, just like the natives don't love their tourists. The con artist and the African prostitute seek to survive and therefore embrace the racial fetichization they are subject to by the West, and they mold themselves to the erotic desires of the colonists but without internalizing said erotica. Contemporary sexual exploitation is disguised as romantic love, and the sexual and partner device are used as domination techniques to mask sexual exploitation. In other words, the simple exploitation of the poor by the rich, the colonies by the colonizers, Africa by Europe, the slave by the master, the black by the white. Compared to the apparent male domination and manipulation, compared to the theatrical roles of normed heterosexual relationships, monetary, race, and class domination reigns supreme. The patriarchal domination does not. Although it is present, it isn't as important compared to the other factors that comprise the relationships of power exposed.

Based on this intersectional perspective applied to cinema as social technology that reinforces, weakens, and produces meanings, shows the artificiality of the social constructions and the complexity of the domination relationships. We conclude, therefore, that the crudeness of the language and the point of view from those that make up the film of Seidl, constitute a denouncement of how the West continues enslaving and obligating Africa to subject and prostitute itself via renewed forms adopted by colonialism. It also shows the pornographic racialization of blacks in the western colonial imaginary. All this is shown via the technique of making the audience watch from the perspective of the exploiter. The technique of documentary fiction introduces the audience from a committed place in a reality where relationships of power and oppression demand it be positioned.

Notas

1. El término francés "bicot" significa literalmente "cabrito", y se convierte en el siglo XX en un apelativo peyorativo que utilizan los europeos del norte de África para referirse a los autóctonos norteafricanos y los racistas en Francia para referirse a los inmigrantes árabes. (Pames, 1998) y (Rat, 1999).

Bibliographic References

Abril Curto, G. (2012). "Three dimensions of the text and of visual culture". IC – Revista Científica de Información y Comunicación 9, 15 -35.

Bazin, A. (2001). What is cinema? Madrid: Rialp.

Barth, F. (1997). "Ethnic groups and their borders". Mexico DF: Fondo Económico de Cultura.

Bourdieu, P. (1997). Practical reasons. On the theory of action. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). Male domination. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Burch, N. (1969). Cinema Praxis. Madrid: Fundamentos.

Busche, A. (2005). "Seidl, Ulrich". Encyclopedia of the Documentary Film 3-Volume Set.

Ed. Ian Atkin: Routledge.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist

Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics". The University of Chicago Legal Forum 140,139-167 69

De Lauretis, T. (1992). Alicia no more. Feminism, semiotics, cinema. Madrid: Ed. Cátedra.

De Lauretis, T. (2002). The technology of gender. En T. De Lauretis. Diferencias. Madrid: Horas y Horas.

Didi-Huberman, G. (2014). People exposed, movie extras. Buenos Aires: Manantial.

Esteban, Mª L. (2011). Critique of Romantic Thinking. Barcelona: Bellaterra.

Fanon, F. (2009). Black skin, white masks. Madrid: Akal.

Fanon, F. (2011). The earth's condemned. Bilbao: Matxingune taldea.

Filinich, M. I. (1998). The enunciation. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires.

Foucault, M. (1988). "The subject and the power". Revista Mexicana de Sociología. México DF. 50 (3), 3-20.

Illouz, E. (2010). Consumption of the Romanic Utopia. Love and the cultural contradictions of capitalism. Madrid: Katz.

Kelly, R. (2001). The title of this book is Dogma 95 (Nighty-five). Madrid: Alba.

Lengellé, M. (1971) Slavery. Barcelona: Oikos-tau.

Lotman, I. M. (1996) The Semiosphere I. Semiotics of culture and text. Madrid: Frónesis.

MacCannell, D. (2003). The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class. Barcelona: Melusina.

McClintock, A. (1995). Imperial leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest.

London: Routledge.

Meekersa, D. & Calves, A. (1997). "´Main´ Girlfriends, Girlfriends, Marriage and Money: The Social Context of HIV Risk Behavior in Sub-Saharan Africa". Health Transition Review 7, 361-375.

Mulvey, L. (2002). "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema". In Wallis, B.(ed) Art after Modernity: new proposals in regards to representation. Madrid: AKAL.

Pames, A., Iñesta, E. & Lozano, W. (1998) "The dog and the black color, or the valorative component in the phraseologisms" in: Lexicon and phraseology, eds. Juan de Dios Luque Duran, Antonio Palies

Romero-Bachiller, C. (2007). "The exoticism of bodies and the fetichezation of the point of view in the production of «immigrant women» as «others»". En M.ª José Sánchez Leyva & Alicia

Reigada (eds.). Feminist Critique and Comunicación 3, 186-214, Sevilla: Comunicación Social ISBN: 84-96082-39-3

Stolcke, V. (2014). "What does gender have to do with relationship?". In Cuadernos de Pesquisa 44 (151), 176-189, Enero/Marzo.

About the author:

Violeta Alarcón Zayas is a high school Language and Literature teacher. With a Bachelor's degree in Philosophy (UCM), she has a Master's Degree in Sociocultural Analysis of Knowledge and Communication (UCM) and a Bachelor's Degree in Spanish Language and Literature (UNED). She is currently PhD researcher in the Audiovisual Communication, Publicity and Public Relations doctorate program (UCM). Member of the Visual Culture, Communication and Decolonialism Research Group (CUVICODE), (ESPOL) Researcher of Image and Society Project. Audiovisual practice as a form of social intervention in Latin America. (ESPOL) and of the Informal Research Group (GIF) of the Department of Information Science (UCM).

Cómo citar:

Alarcón-Zayas, V. (2017). Análisis interseccional de las relaciones de poder en la película *Amor* de Ulrich Seidl. *Comunicación y Medios*, (36), 55-69.

Catastrophe imaginary under the yoke of television discourse in *REC*

Imaginario catastrofista en REC bajo el yugo del discurso televisivo

Andoni Iturbe-Tolosa
University of the Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain.
andoni.iturbe@ehu.eus

Abstract

The present article focuses on the analysis of the first part in the *REC* saga, one of the most important fantasy-horror film franchises in Spanish cinema. We believe that *REC* is paradigmatic for the manner in which it links the catastrophe imaginary with media discourse, and thusly, we opted to analyze this emblematic movie by examining its discourse structures and intertextuality, allowing us to underpin a close interrelation between cinema and television. The investigation concludes that *REC,* in effect, is indebted not only to traditional film narrative structures, but that it also draws on the conventions of contemporary TV reporting in its dealing with a fictional news report.

Keywords

REC; fantastic film; imaginary; TV report; rheme.

Resumen

El presente artículo se centra en el análisis de la primera entrega de la saga de cine fantástico y de terror más importante del cine español. Creemos que *REC* es un ejemplo paradigmático que entronca tanto con el imaginario catastrófico como con el discurso mediático, por lo que se opta por la vía de la intertextualidad y el análisis del discurso para analizar dicha película emblemática: estructuras de discurso que nos permiten apuntalar hacia una estrecha interrelación entre el cine y la televisión en el audiovisual contemporáneo. La investigación concluye que, efectivamente, *REC* no es deudora solo de la narrativa fílmica sino de los resortes del reportaje contemporáneo al tratarse de un reportaje-ficción.

Palabras clave

REC; cine fantástico; imaginario; reportaje; rema.

1. Introduction

The first part of the REC (2007) horror saga was a big cinematographic hit in Spain and countries less nterested in the habitual consumption of Spanish productions. The franchise's first production sold over 1,428,926 tickets in Spain alone and brought in 8,196,213.75 euros at the box office. In France, it sold over 500,000 tickets and had good results in Mexico and Hong Kong (Tato, 2014:122). Proof of its international success came in the form of a Hollywood remake, Quarantine, premiered in 2008.

In the official book on the saga, Guillermo Tato (2014) emphasizes that the production company Filmax went with less expensive production options given the movie industry market at that time that started to feel the consequences of pirating and the beginning of a widespread economic crisis. Finally, the budget of the saga's first movie was 1.2 million euros, financed by the Instituto de Crédito Oficial, la Generalitat de Cataluña, el Instituto Catalán de Finanzas, el Ministerio español de Cultura, Castelao Producciones and Filmax Entertainment, one of the most consolidated Spanish film production companies. The agreement between TVE and Canal Plus was signed just a few days before the premiere, having seen the film.

Fernandez (2014:275), having worked at Filmax and cited by Guillermo Tato, stood for the term "concept products" as part of the production policy, in other words, projects that had a place in the international market and guarantee a recognizable quality standard without having to depend on the interests of a TV channel. Projects, definitely, with mid-level budgets that would escape the interests of a multinational company. Horror movies became an indispensable part of the "Filmax concept"[1] thanks to the success of The Machinist (2004), The Nameless (1999) and Darkness (2002).

REC came from an almost unbelievable communication containment strategy including with the production company, that at one time had two different names to confuse staff and the press (Bombers and Rabia 6 were the originals titles to create the confusion): "This attempt to play hide-and-seek was strengthened by the speed at which everything was done " (Tato, 2014:45). The mystery around the product continues including with the script, which is not available in the legal repository of the Spanish National Library of Spain in Madrid or the Spanish Film Library, or in any other format found by the author of this article.

Tato (2014:46) says that the teaser was created for the first pre-sales in the American film market. It was filmed October 19, 2006 in the same building in which the movie was going to be filmed: "The teaser summarizes to a certain degree the essence of REC: the sequence shot, the sense of claustrophobia and, above all, the descent into hell where both the characters as well as the audience will be confronted with maximum horror".

The TV ad went viral. In it you can see the audience immersed in the movie in a theater thanks to the collaboration of the Sitges International Film Festival (Spain), that gave permission for the mounting of the cameras. The theater at the Sitges International Festival of Fantasy and Horror Films was witness to the (real) reactions of the audience, that released their image rights to Filmax. As mentioned in the official REC book, the person responsible for film communication managed that some news stations, in prime time, show the TV ad as part of the information material. In the second frame, an audience member closes his eyes affected by the fear that the film causes, and in the third frame we see the same reaction under the line "over 1,200,000 tickets sold".

According to the directors notes included in the press kit, they decided to tell this story like a TV news report, "like a recording". REC, therefore, appeals directly to the relationships between cinema and TV and on the use of the digital camera digital to conclude this "effect of the real". The press kit

also says that it tried to avoid mechanisms of suspense and cinematographic narration and let the action take place before our eyes as if it were real, unstoppable. As if it were alive. Like everything was really happening" (…) We artificially created an extreme horror situation and we let it develop itself. Grow.

Use of the digital camera has been a natural progression of horror movies in which *REC* could be classified. The change to digital served to increase the appearance of formal carelessness and of verisimilitude despite the difference digital filming caused even in 2006. Finally, they worked in progressive frames to create a greater TV texture. Thus, *REC* adopted its own style so that the audience –largely Spanish–, accustomed to the mechanics of the TV news reports, is immersed and familiar with this type of story.

Spanish critics (2007) –we will focus on Cahiers du Cinema España– called the film "a species of horror parody of *Aquí no hay quien viva[2]*" or in the subjugation of "a vulgar made-for-TV documentary –"España directo" or "Espejo Público"– in a year in which from the same pages tended to emphasize the idea of TV customs of other numerous films like *Siete mesas de billar francés*, by Gracia Querejeta and *Mataharis*, by Iciar Bollaín.

2. Theoretic framework

We believe similar to Pedraza (2008) that the issues relative to the imaginary need a constant attention and updating given that it is a constantly evolving universe, especially due to the relationships between the cultural imaginary and the imagetic and imaginary creations of the contemporary communication media. Therefore, we consider the study of the imaginary relevant from different various angles: on one hand there is the textualization of the report understood as a happening (Luhman, 2000) and from the cultural and discursive standpoint[3] in which the move is produced.

Luhman (2000) differentiates between different events in relation to the news and the report (events-explosion; events-appearance and events-results). The explosion events would be singular happenings that are unpredictable and natural (attacks, catastrophes, natural phenomena). It would be original journalistic happenings (accidental events and discoveries). Its degree of exceptionality and its non-media immanence cause the events to override their interpretations. As Langer (2000) says, this news continues to have an amazing similarity with the mythology of the elements of the cosmos: earth, air, fire and water.

Once again we cite the sentence of Balaguero and Plaza in the press kit (2007):

> tried to avoid mechanisms of suspense and cinematographic narration and let the action take place before our eyes as if it were real, unstoppable. As if it were alive. Like everything was really happening (…) So we decided to put all the horror pieces together in one scenario and give them life. To let them act for themselves, without anyone changing what was going to happen. We artificially created an extreme horror situation and we let is develop itself. Grow. Then it was only a question of filming it. To record it. As if we were also part of the horror that we had created.

This research falls into the framework of the relationship between cinema and TV in Spanish film work (Iturbe, 2016). *REC* cannot be understood solely from its filmic studies but rather is a result of the intertextuality and the intermediality[4] with the TV world –specifically with the TV news report and with the ecosystem of mass culture[5].

The film studies tend to use the *Deleuze* rhizome to analyze the writing process of various filmic works. The study of rhizome made it possible, to name a famous case, to itemize the work of Pedro Almodovar (Seguin[6], 2009). The essay on the body of the Almodovar films concluded that the rhizomes multiply their nuclei until the point they dissolve their centrality. Almodovar,

just as he has been studied by researchers like Smith[7] (2006), Iturbe (2016), Gomez (2014), is one of the Spanish filmmakers that has more profusely adopted and constructed the TV universe in his movies. Smith, for example, goes one step further suggesting that films like *Kika* (1993) should be studied as if it were television.

Table 1: key factors of the narrative and informative discourse in *REC*

The informative order in the report versus the narrative order of cinema. The informative or macrostructural order of the formal informative discourse is a hierarchy based on the novelty of the information delivered (Luhman, 2000:45). REC alters that order: the end is more surprising. When you begin a report, just as J.M. Almagro (2013:30) says, normally it goes in descending order: the most surprising comes first, then that idea is developed and the least interesting part comes at the end, because supposedly by this point this spectator is already hooked. Yet in film, this order is changed.

Television narrative versus cinematographic narrative. The directors of the film wanted to avoid the cinematographic narration, and in this sense fulfill their television influence. "We started to think about the format of trash-TV, of the reality show (…) The idea of creating a fake report came to us in one of those brainstorms on style the directors do. (…) Like a conventional TV reality show that follows night-shift workers could become something terrifying" (Tato, 2014:32).

Events and happenings. The events, the actors, the weather and the place constitute the material of a tale (Bal, 1985). *REC* reformulates the concept of the report as *happening* (Luhman, 2008) and as the main event. "The idea of real time came to us. Making a horror film with subjective camera, but above all that it would be occurring in real time. That the audience should feel involved in it and could detach itself from it, because it was happening before its eyes, at the same time that he was watching it" (Tato, 2014:31).

Rheme and/or rhizome. Rema[8] is about a statement that contains new information por oposición to the topic. This is precisely what *REC* is: introduces a rheme, new information (the referential attic of the Medeiros girl). It is not about a point of inflexion according to the traditional canon of cinematographic narration but rather the apparition of a presence/new information that isn't closed/ clarified during the four films of the saga.

Source: Author.

We consider that the first part of the saga is mediatized under the yoke and the influence of TV that tends towards a catastrophe story that connects with the contemporary parameters of horror films and fantasy cinema. We also believe it is a key film for its contribution to the TV construction in the Spanish film universe. It is a case that goes beyond the metadiscourse of the fantasy genre (Rodriguez, 2011:150) and the construction of the technique of a false report (Gonzalez-Laiz, 2013:275).

We start with the foundation the filmic text (Zunzunegui, 1994) being

the meeting place of elements coming from very different conceptual universes (…) and that it can be precisely the mix that proposes the concrete textual body, the decisive element for the comprehension of the aesthetic proposal presented(40).

Until now, studies on *REC* had signaled its relation with the videogame world (Gonzalez, 2014). The Mexican researcher considers that there are important factors in sync between this type of narratives and the filmic text: nighttime environment, the auxiliary function of the secondary characters, creation of claustrophobic frames, vulnerability in the field of vision (behind); the threat imposed by the music; presence of the stairs or the activation of the rage on behalf of the camera that focuses on the creatures; religious and medical experimentation.

However, without omitting this influence, we consider *REC* to have other influences coming from the literary and cinematographic tradition, as we will see, and a determinant presence of the forms of discourse of the television report. Olivares (2011), in his book on Jaume Balaguero, co-scriptwriter and co-director of the film object of analysis, analyzes the presence of TV in his filmic texts. He considers them examples of "cathodic apocalypse" to the point of composing

> the tragic verses, the horrid dance of masks, as well as the sinister and the ominous of a generation that in the middle of the night dreams of haunted houses and during the day lives out the horror of an existence shown on panoptic servile screens, the TVs of our homes aligned (100-101).

Jaume Balaguero is, together with Pedro Almodovar, the Spanish director that most uses the word "television" in his scripts (Iturbe, 2016): a contrasting and symbolic presence in the cinema of Paco Plaza abd Jaume Balaguero. To give an example, in Jaume Balaguero's debut film, *Los sin nombre* (1999), based on a novel by Ramsey Campbell, shows the significant presence of the TV apparatus. The movie script uses the word "television" 16 times, a presence that stresses the symbolic and physical imaginary within its diegetic universe.

3. Methodology

We will base our study on the analysis of the discourse that the formal microstructure (news-worthiness) and the formal macrostructure (the representation in news form) will consider and finally, the formal superstructure (ideology and the constructed imaginary). These will be the 3 basic structures (Manchon, 2014:18):

1. Formal microstructure: news-worthiness
2. Formal macrostructure (theme). The representation in news/report form.
3. Formal superstructure (ideology-imaginary).

4. Analysis

4.1. Formal microstructure

The news-worthiness of the report of *REC* is not completely clear. The team has arrived at a fire station to film how the firefighters live and work. The news team is made up of a reporter and her camera that is doing the report on a fire station with the intention of portraying their profession, their lifestyle and risk situations. The report created in *REC* doesn't have a clear objective: just observe, narrate and emphasize how firefighters live and work. Angela Vidal is the reporter of *Mientras Usted duerme*, a program that carries out nighttime reports.

Photogram 1. The reporter tries to do an entrance to coverage of a staff of firefighters that are waiting for their next fire. We even see the outtakes: the point of view is that of the TV camera called Paco with who interacts and prepares the report. This is inside the fire station and tells us that we will see "how they live, how they sleep, and how they eat", entering into their private realm.

The first interviewee is Andreu, a real-life firefighter. Angela, a reporter dying to cover an intense event, doesn't pay him much attention. She says to Paco, to the camera, that if Andreu is boring, there is no need to tape him, and thus they save film. The reporter tries on the helmet and says that she's "going to be the hero". She enters the cafeteria and introduces them to Manu and Alex, the only two actors that are undercover and have be living with their new teammates for 2 days. They test the microphones and ask Alex about his job: about routine operations, rescuing pets.

But the expectations of the journalist point towards more ambitious goals.

Just as they are shooting hoops and playing basketball, the expected siren goes off making everyone, firefighters and the news team, leave quickly. From the beginning, the camera is an uncomfortable companion in a relatively narrow hallway, where they enter packed in together tightly. "Put down the camera", says the youngest agent. Far off, we see an older woman standing with blood on her. They try to calm her but she can't speak. The light from the camera bothers the police and upsets the elderly woman even more, which we see in more detail.

Angela knows they must record no matter what, including the old woman's attack on the most veteran policeman. When they are separated, we see the gore of the attack thanks to the constant presence of the camera, the eye of the audience during the entire feature film.

Chaos takes over the scene, which requires an orchestrated choreography until one of the few cuts arrives. The firefighters take the policeman's body to the portal. Meanwhile, the reporter seems more preoccupied with the filming: "Get everything, goddamnit". They have to leave the blood-soaked body in the portal since they have the order not to go outside.

REC is comprised of three different spaces: the public work place (the fire station) and the residence building. From the beginning, we see the sliding of the informative towards the private (we see where the firefighters sleep and eat), as well as the group's cohabitating aspect, just as it happens in the landing of the building that slides towards the construction of the docudramatic. Therefore, the news-worthiness would be both the cohabitation as well as the management of a hypothetical crisis.

Photogram 2. Angela Vidal, more and more immersed in her role as reporter trapped together with other residents in the building. The entrance, the intervention of the journalist from the place of the events, says the following: "It's almost 2 a.m. and we are still trapped and without communication in this building which we ran into accompanied by the firefighters at the beginning of the night (…) The police won't let us out" (The extreme body language goes along with the moment in which the journalist takes the reins of the diegesis).

4.2. Formal Macrostructure

The lobby of the house (infected) is the center of operations of the report construction. The lobby of the building closed off serves as a laboratory where you practice and examine the neighbors -contestants that are eliminated and mutually blame each other. The interviews of the reporter accentuate the doubts and mutual reproaches and show the need to confess before the camera. Lipovetsky (2009) understands that the TV reality games are based on the air of authenticity, privacy and live filming and not in the great spectacle nor in cinematographic fiction.

Although the report-fiction of *REC* could not be found in the contemporary Spanish TV listings, the new hypergenres have forged formats that have given priority to docudramatic trends in

Spain starting right from 2008, a year after the film premiere. *REC* could not be understood or contextualized without the dynamic of those success stories that have transformed the public's consumption habits. Therefore, the representation (formal macrostructure) tends towards the docudramatization.

In hyper television, according to Gordillo (2009), the mirror television transforms into run-of-the-mill television, "given that it is no longer the building of the daily but rather the ordinary". The environment that is present in the lobby, with the neighbors supplied with some type of stereotype or defined role, reflects the primitive character of the essence of that television format. The Chinese immigrant, that works incessantly in the textile factory and doesn't relate with others; the mother, out of touch with reality, that doesn't want to address her daughter's problems; the responsible and organized neighbor; the Latin American character, self-complacent and flirtatious who mistrusts immigrants…
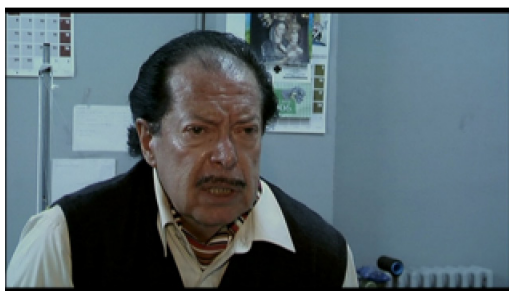
Photogram 3. The vaudeville or comic sketch aspect which REC has comes from the most productive roots of Spanish cinema. The directors also emphasize that they had certain reservations about so that said trend would not get out of control: "We didn't want to cross the vaudeville-comic sketch line, with the subplot of the barber with the camera" (audioguía of the making of taken from the dvd).

Rios Carratala (1997) concludes habitual localization of films with great comic sketch pre-

sence is precisely a building in a middle-class neighborhood where "certain characters live"(30). The film production adapted a part of the script to the real space that the team found, like the textile factory managed by Chinese citizens.

In addition, the neighbors, worried and upset by the presence of the TV crew, change or exaggerate their accounts depending on their interests. François Jost (1997) says that in TV reality shows, it would be more correct to use the expression "Role pretending TV". This term better describes the casting of the characters-neighbors that live together in a smaller and smaller space (from the building to the stairway; from the stairway to the lobby). The actors internalized the pretending of the roles characteristic of reality TV. Alberto Miralles (2000) says that cinema actors should avoid certain gestures like putting their hand on their chin to think or actions like biting their lip when considering things which are "unrealistic resources that show the limitations of actors"(188-189).

Photogram 4. The acting is inevitably contagious, made to be seen in the TV program *Mientras usted duerme*. Thus, this is how this intervention should be understood and analyzed, which is distanced from some canonic recommendations of cinematographic art[9].

4.3 Formal Superstructure (imaginary)

The second part of the story would be that which makes reference to the Medeiros girl. The purpose of the rheme is to provide new information. In this sense, it plays a key role in this second story where the audience asks itself what is going on in the attic where the presence of the being/monster is observed. What are we seeing? And what has happened in this place full of objects, press references and religious presences? We go from a formal superstructure where there is a strong sense of a new imaginary of fantasy. The rheme provides new information about a new character: the Medeiros girl and brings more questions than answers.

We enter in the territory of the fantasy religious imaginary. Todorov (1975) performs a series of clarifications on fantasy cinema: strangeness, which seems to be supernatural and wonderful, that is governed by unknown laws Todorov (1975) bases his description on the relationships that are produced in the heart of the text between the real and "other" world or the its appearance, according to the characters' or main character's point of view. The fantasy world is dual but in it, the real has more importance and value than the supernatural.

Cyrulnik (1999: 83), however, talks about the turning off of the "painfully imperfect", of the distressing future and of the irritating conditional. Everything here at the same time, the ease of one click, without having to wait or deal with doubt, "do it all now"; "have fun now"; "wanting is having", words of the order of the entertainment society, introduced by Charles Mellman (2003) when speaking of the mental economy of contemporaneity.

This vision is completed in *REC*: with the now famous "get it all". The statement "Pablo, get it all, goddamnit" of the film shows the obsessive message over the materiality of the filming and the presence/absence of the contemporary condition. Cyrulnik (1999) says that the strategies of semiotic creation generated by the man proceed from a formal transformation of primitive fear of the world perceived/lived in for the an-

guish of the world of the imperceptible, of the representative.

The doubts on the ontology and the interpretation of the images is another point that deserves to be analyzed. In REC 2, the first time the GEOX (Spanish Special Operations Group, in Spanish) enter the attic, they discover the iconographic program surrounding the possession of the Medeiros girl. One of the agents says: "They're just kids".

"No, no they're not", says the priest, dressed as a janitor. The image loses its referential part, and it is no longer possible to distinguish between organic body and subject. Starting here, the opacity of the image begins.

Photogram 5. It is significant that the face of the boy is erased by the passing of time and the religious image and hierarchy of the composiion remind us of the Byzantine hierarchy perspective, where in first instance we see the boy and in the background we see the figure of Christ. Image from *REC-2.*

4. Conclusions

In cinema, as industry of the imaginary, shares the imaginary function with mass media (debtor of a mimetic function). On one hand, thanks to the newsworthiness of the microstructure, the audience becomes involved in the creation of the fiction report: an open, opaque report construction, that no one knows where it will go.

Via the formal macrostructure we are able to see a representation between different characters that co-exist in a landing and try to accuse each other: a representation of hints of comic sketch and a docudramatized construction. Then, the story advances thanks to the rheme and enters the territory of the supernatural religious imaginary.

The report is, without a doubt, a genre in constant renovation in both radio and television given that the new millennium has created new forms and structures: transformations in aesthetics, narratives in terms of staging and editing. *REC* is an example of such. A film that is created under TV forms and particularly under the report-fiction aesthetic and the yoke of TV discourse.

Notes

1. Filmax, one of the production companies that has a TV division, is responsible for some of the biggest hits in Spanish cinema for premiering Los abandonados (2007), by Nacho Cerda in the USA before than Spain.

2. Successful fiction series broadcasted by Antena 3 (Spain). It managed to capture 40% of the TV audience.

3. Classic studies on the imaginary consider, among others, the following fundamental aspects: its mythological foundation, its cultural nuances, its showing of the arts (including intense studies on the iconic imaginary in the plastic arts and in the literary imaginary).

4. There are various approaches to the study of the intermediality: literary and narrative and intertextuality studies, among others.

5. The cinema of Almodovar is fed, among other factors, by the intertextuality coming from the mass culture ecosystem, resulting in a daring combination of genres. "Such varied media genre citations make an implicit commentary to the representational conventions of traditional television and cinema" (Gubern, 2005:51).

6.   Jean Claude-Seguin (2009:113) suggests that films by Almodovar should be studied with original semiotic analysis including when they address fiction, independent nuclei, limited geography or autonomous territories and the presence of the cathodic as "layer that is put over the plain, a division or perhaps a excrescence of the territory that goes crossing its borders" (2009:133).

7. From cultural studies, Paul Julian-Smith (2006:151) emphasizes the importance that the TV world acquires in Almodovar cinema to the point of concluding academic TV studies would not serve as a guide to understand and evaluate the impact and dialogue between both fields motivated by the regularity of its production; familiarity or recognition of his art and his connection with daily life, characteristics that would come from the cathodic universe.

8. Within the framework of the theory of discourse, many authors (Prince, 1988; Valldubí & Vilkuna, 1998, van Donzel & Koopmans-van Beinum, 1998; Ostendorf & Bates, 2001; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004 have spoken to us about the topic-comment dichotomy.

9. As Paco Plaza states, cited by Tato (2014:84), "we told the actors to never cut. If someone made a mistake, they should keep going. We told them they had to live it like a documentary".

Bibliographic References.

Almagro J.M. (2013). About the report. En. García Aviles, J.A.; del Campo E., Arias F. (ed.). The TV Report. *Hybridation and rise of the genre.* VIII UMH International Journalism Conference. Elche: Diego Marín.

Balagueró, J. *Los sin nombre* (DL 915141). Consultado en Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (España).

Bal, M. (1985). *Theory of the narrative. An introduction to narratology.* Madrid: Cátedra.

Cyruknik, B. (1999). *Do sexto sentido.* Lisboa: Instituto Piaget. Cahiers du Cinema-Caiman Editions Notebook (2007), 5,6,7.

Canet, F. & Prósper J. (2009). *Audiovisual Narrative. Strategies and Resources.* Madrid: Synthesis Editorial.

Gómez, A. (2012). The model of television in Pedro Almodovar cinema. Fonseca, Journal of Communication, 4, 60-81. http://revistas.usal.es/index.php/2172-9077/ article/ view/12048

Gonzalez, A (2014, marzo). The influence of the videogame on contemporary audiovisual language: Horror Survival games and their influence on REC. Work presented at the 5th International Colloquium on Contemporary Iberian-American Cinema in Guadalajara (México).

González Laiz, G. (2013). Fantasy in the latest Spanish cinema: adoption, reinvention and merging of the genre via Memorias del Ángel caído, Fuera de cuerpo and La hora fría. *Brumal, Research Journal on Fantasy,* 2, 261-284.

Gordillo, I. (2009). *Manual of television narrative.* Madrid: Synthesis Editorial.

Gubern, R. (2003). *The cultural nuances of the work of Pedro Almodovar.* Work presented in the First International Congress of Pedro Almodovar. Cinema as passion, Cuenca.

Halliday, M.A.K. & Matthiessen, C. (2004). *An introduction to Functional Grammar.* New York: Routledge.

Iturbe, A. (2016). Cinema and Television: TV constructions in the Spanish filmic universe (doctoral thesis, University of the Basque Country, Spain). Recuperada de addi. ehu. es/.../10810/18393/1/TESIS_ITURBE_TOLOSA_ANDONI.pdf

Jost, F. (1997). *Simulation of the World.* Mexico: U.N.A.M.

Langer, J. (2000). *Sensationalist Television. The people's journalism and the "other" news".* Barcelona: Paidós Comunicación 112 debates.

Lipovetsky G. & Serroy, J. (2009). *The world screen. Media culture and cinema in the hypermodern era.* Barcelona: Anagrama.

Luhmann, N. (2000). La realidad de los medios de masas. Barcelona: Anthropos.

Manchón M., L (2014). *Informative Discourse 2.0. Formal, textual and oral structure of news in the 21st century.* Barcelona: Editorial UOC.

Mellman, C. (2003). *O homem sem gravidade-gozar a qualquer preço.* Río de Janeiro: Cia. De Freud.

Metz, C. (1968). *Essais sur la signification au cinéma.* París: Klincksieck.

Miralles, A. (2000). Directing actors in cinema. Madrid: Cátedra. Signo e imagen.

Ostendorf, M. & Bates, R. (2001). Modeling Pronunciation Variation in Conversational Speech using Syntax and Discourse. EN IRTW on Prosody in Speech Recognition and Understanding Molly Pitcher Inn, Red Bank, NJ, USA (online).

Pedraza, P. (2008). Validity of fantasy in the modern imaginary. Cuenca: Notebooks of Mangana (46).

Prince, E. (1988). The ZPG Letter: Subjects, Definiteness, and Information-status (online). Consultado el 25/02/15. REC (2007). Press kit. Recuperado de http://www.filmax.com

Ríos Carratalá, J. A. (1997). The comic sketch in Spanish cinema. Alicante: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante.

Rodríguez, M.-S. (2011). Le Fantastique dans le cinema espagnol contemporain. París: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle.

Seguin, J.-C. (2009). Pedro Almodvar or the derivation of the bodies. Murcia: Filmoteca Regional. Francisco Rabal.

Tarín, F.J. (2006). Discourses of the absence: ellipses and off camera in filmic text. Valencia: Ediciones de la Filmoteca.

Tato, G. (2014). REC. The official book. Barcelona: Timun Mas.

Todorov, T. (1975). The fantastic: A structural approach to a literary genre. Cornwell: Cornwell University Press.

Van Donzel, M.E. & Koopmans-van Beinum, F.J. (1998). Pitch accents, boundary tones, and information structure in spontaneous discourse in Dutch. Works presented in Congress on Intonation: Theory, Models, and Apllications, Atenás (Grecia).

Valldubí, E. & Vilkuna M (1998). On Rheme and kontrast. Syntax and Semantics, 29, 79-108.

Zunzunegui, S. (1992). Think the Image. Madrid: Cátedra.

Zunzunegui, S. (1994). Landscapes of Form. Exercises in Image Analysis. Madrid: Cátedra. Signo e Imagen.

About the author

Andoni Iturbe-Tolosa is adjunct professor at the Department of Audiovisual Communication and Marketing at the University of the Basque Country (EHU/UPV). He received his international doctorate degree in Social Communication thanks to a doctoral thesis the interrelationships between cinema and television in the Spanish filmic universe. His undergraduate degree is in Journalism.

How to Cite:

The portrait of the ruined city as the construction of a photojournalistic view. The journey of Elsa Medina in Mexico City.

Retrato de la ciudad derrumbada como edificación de una mirada fotoperiodística: El viaje de Elsa Medina por la Ciudad de México.

Marion Gautreau
Toulouse Université 2 – Jean Jaures, France.
marion.gautreau@yahoo.com

Abstract
With the analysis of the photographs that Elsa Medina took of the consequences of the earthquake that hit Mexico City the 19th of September of 1985, we want to observe how the photojournalistic way of seeing does construct itself. After that, Elsa Medina will work at the newspapers *La Jornada* (Ciudad de México) and *El Sur* (Estado de Guerrero). With professionalism and knowing very well how to use her camera, she offers the portrait of a wounded city.

Keywords
Earthquake, Mexico City, 19th of September of 1985, Elsa Medina, Photojournalism.

Resumen
A través del análisis de las fotografías que Elsa Medina tomó de las consecuencias del terremoto que afectó duramente a la Ciudad de México el 19 de septiembre de 1985, pretendemos observar cómo se construye la mirada fotoperiodística que después pondría al servicio de los periódicos *La Jornada* (Ciudad de México) y *El Sur* (Estado de Guerrero). Con profesionalismo y gran dominio de la cámara, propone el retrato variado de una ciudad herida.

Palabras clave
Terremoto ; México DF ; 19 de septiembre de 1985; Elsa Medina ; fotoperiodismo.

1. Introduction

Like the majority of Mexico City inhabitants that didn't live very far from downtown, at 7 hours and 19 minutes on Thursday, September 19th, 1985, Elsa Medina felt the strong, long shake that, for a few months, transformed some neighborhoods of the capital into a desolate battlefield. Her young son, age 7, was crossing the street in front of the building where they lived on his way to school. She went down to get him, went back up to their apartment and remembers that when she arrived, fortunately, she got a telephone call from her father to make sure everything was alright (Gautreau, mayo 2017). It was the last call she would receive for days since afterwards the telephone lines went down and she only received news over the radio or via printed press. Unless they headed out on foot to observe the situation in detail, people in the capital didn't have exact information on the whereabouts of their family and friends.

Unlike the majority of the inhabitants of Mexico City, Elsa Medina decided to go out, not looking for friends or family, but rather to take pictures to portray the collapsed buildings and the vulnerability of the people. In 1985, Elsa Medina did not see herself as a journalist yet as she did not work in the press, not even as freelance, and worked in other things to make a living, graphic design in particular[1]. However, when you review the negatives taken throughout the day on September 19th, you could say without a doubt that on that date Elsa Medina was already a photojournalist and had the skills required to practice such profession: curiosity, determination, technique, and above everything, a point of view based on information.

In the following, we invite the reader on a tour of Mexico City, from Etiopía subway station to Hidalgo station, from Colonia del Valle to Alameda Central, from the SCOP[2] building to the ruins of Hotel Regis[3]. On this journey we will pause on the faces and on the facades of buildings portrayed by Elsa Medina in order to analyze the mechanisms of her point of view.

The 1985 earthquake, the largest natural catastrophe for the Mexican capital in the 20th century constitutes a singular "laboratory" for the photojournalist as it possesses several characteristics. It is a sudden, unpredictable event. It causes dramatic consequences in the short and long term. The urgent need to find victims of the event causes a limitless number of momentary scenes related to rescue work. Daily life in the streets affected by the earthquake is transformed on September 19th and the following days. The photographer feels the urgency to portray this situation that oscillates between life and death, vulnerability and the need to act, conscious that this day causes a rupture in the city's contemporary history upon defining it always as a damaged city[4].

This text proposes the first advances of a larger investigation that is being done on the photojournalistic work of Elsa Medina between 1985-2000. Although Medina is recognized by both the photojournalist association and the photography historians as a professional whose work is necessary to save, disseminate and even, at times, bring back so that it forms part of the visual memory of the last decades of the 20th century in Mexico. There are no monographs on her production. Nor is there research that goes much more in depth than her most iconic photographs. The purpose of our work is to have access to the negatives[5] of the author, to the images published in newspapers, and in particular the newspaper *La Jornada* where she worked from 1986 to 1993, in Mexico City, and from 1997 to 1999 as newspaper correspondent in the city of Tijuana. The images analyzed in the present text were not published at that time but are interesting to use because the show the photographer's to react in the seriousness of a natural catastrophe and camera skills that don't let her get carried away with emotion but rather comply with the requirements of a real report. The analysis of the production of Elsa Medina will be done in future publications to show the progression of her point of view.

2. A catastrophe that sharpens the senses

Although the 1985 earthquake is generally analyzed from a distance as a catastrophe that has marked a milestone in the capital's populations with the beginning of an awareness of the civil society as to the administration of its urban daily life (Leal Martinez, 2014), the earthquake was, above all, out-of-the-ordinary sensory and emotional experience. Mexico City is frequently the site of earthquakes but the quake of September 19th, 1985 was the most devastating due to its magnitude – 8.2 on the Richter Scale – and length in an area known for the specific morphology of the sub-soil of the city's center: "the seismic wave became trapped in the aqueous terrain of the ex lake" and amplified the resonance of the wave thus damaging mainly buildings between 7 and 12 floors (Rueda, 2012). The recording of the physical experience of an earthquake is almost impossible to do. How do you conserve the unbalanced feeling and dizziness caused by the earth's movements? In the 80s, you couldn't easily record the sounds made by objects falling, the walls cracking and causing panic. The most evident register –although it is done posteriori from the time of the catastrophe– is the visual register that allows us to capture forever the material damage to buildings, rescue efforts, the faces of posttraumatic pain.

On September 19th, 1985, the photographer took over 300 photographs. She goes to a photography store to ask for credit on a few rolls since she was without supplies for an entire day of work and without money to buy rolls (Gautreau, December 2016). This act clearly reflects her commitment to visual information that guided the actions of Elsa Medina in the mid-80s. she overcomes her own distress for the lives of her family and friends, the need to register the consequences of the telluric catastrophe. Contrary to accredited press photojournalists –whose images of the earthquake were immediately published and passed quickly to posterity– like Marco Antonio Cruz and Andres Garay[6], Elsa Medina walks without a sense of direction, without a work order on behalf of an agency or newspaper, with the indications that people go giving her in the streets. She photographs the first broken pieces of glass and buildings affected in the streets of Colonia Del Valle and Colonia Narvarte until arriving at the SCOP building via Xola Street. She takes two entire rolls at the Secretary of Communications building. At the top, the last four floors were damaged by the quake, one of them having completely collapsed and with the curtains, rendered useless, hanging over the facade (See Image 1).

Image 1.

SCOP Building. September 19th, 1985. © Elsa Medina

This photograph symbolizes the damage suffered not only by the workers of the SCOP, but rather the damage suffered by the whole country. It was a public building built in the 50s that carried the symbol of cultural nationalism promoted in the Post-revolution. The bottom part of the building features gigantic sculptures and murals made with "Mexican mosaic" on the sidewalls. Among the artistic works of Juan O'Gorman, Francisco Zuñiga and Jose Chavez Morado –among others– you can see the central position of the Mexican flag. It is surrounded by windows with broken glass and the presence of two helicopters is a sign of the first rescue efforts.

Image 2.

Group of people in front of the SCOP building. September 19th, 1985. © Elsa Medina

Around the destroyed building are the first faces of pain, testament of the emotion caused by the trauma of a ground that is no longer synonymous with stability. With the murals, the sculptures and the twister structure of the SCOP as a backdrop, a woman who is upset is embraced by a man who tries to offer her some security after the minutes of horror experienced and the helplessness in the face of the magnitude of the damage (See Image 2). With a closed frame, Elsa Medina also isolates the sad face of a woman whose gaze is lost towards the right side of the photo, showing her helplessness (See Image 3.) There are few photos of pain among the photographer's negatives. As the day goes on and her tour of the city arrives at the historic district, Medina's point of view leaves behind the emotions and focuses on portraying the destruction and the efforts to organize rescues and reestablish order in the midst of chaos. This progressive change in her images reflects the different stages that human beings experience in the face of an earthquake. At first, they give priority to

the fear during the earthquake, the stupor in the face of the destruction, distress for the lives of people around them. Yet quickly reason takes over one's emotions and guides them towards action. According to the authors of the article, "Human behavior in situations of catastrophe":

> Neuroscience research shows that human beings rarely resort to only one type of behavior. Generally, there is a chain of behavioral reactions. The first tend to be instinctive reactions that then lead to reasonable reactions base on the areas of the brain involved in the treatment of information (Provitolo et al., 2015).

Image 3.

Woman. September 19th, 1985. © Elsa Medina

3. The immediately consequences of the earthquake: destruction and rescue

Over 30 years later, in December 2016 (Gautreau, December 2016), we have tried to rebuild

with Elsa Medina and the help of her negatives the exact route that she took through Mexico City from morning to sundown on September 19th. But the memory is deceiving and it was impossible to determine all the streets the photographer walked down. However, we did make a list of the different neighborhoods and strategic places in the city which she passed. The following is an outline of her tour that day. From the street Adolfo Prieto en la Colonia del Valle, she walked toward Etiopía subway station and down Xola until reaching the SCOP building, most likely in her car that she returns in and leaves at home after having taken some 50 pictures in the area of the Secretary of Communications. Now on foot, she walks down Coyoacan Avenue towards Chilpancingo subway station and walks north on Insurgentes, photographing the streets perpendicular to this large thoroughfare. Upon reaching the corner of Glorieta de la Cibeles en la Roma Norte, she walks south until she gets to the corner of Tamaulipas Avenue and Juan Escutia Street. She continues on Nuevo León and Chilpancingo Street and heads towards her son's school. She decides to leave him at a friend's house to continue with her photography in the company of her friend and camera companion, Flor de Maria Cordero. Neither of them have press credentials but nevertheless, they decide to go downtown where they arrive mid-afternoon. Approximately from 5pm to dusk, they walk a route that starts near the Monument to the Revolution and continues down the República Street towards Reforma Avenue and Hidalgo subway station to get to Alameda Central, Juarez Avenue and Niño Perdido Street (now Eje Central). Elsa Medina covered more than 10 kilometers and photographed a dozen damaged buildings, some of them becoming symbols of the 1985 earthquake, like the Copicentro building.

The earthquake's random, arbitrary character that destroys some buildings and leaves others intact is reflected in the photography of the two buildings side by side who didn't have the same luck (See Image 4)[7]. The two upper floors of the building on the right are completely destroyed and its slanted walls threaten a total collapse. On the other hand, the building on the left seems to have only suffered damage on the wall

they share, as if its neighbor pulled it during the quake. We note that, as a consequence of the 1985 earthquake, a great controversy came to light on the conditions of the buildings in the city, and above all, the corruption in the construction sector that supposedly authorized these building that auto-were not built to earthquake-resistant construction codes. The punctum of the image of Medina is comprised of two people behind the broken glass of the windows in the building that still stands. They seem small and reflect the helplessness of being human in the face of a violent telluric movement that had occurred just hours before. A few meters away –although they can't see it as well as those who observe from the street– the furniture and curtains of the floor above to the left look as if they are about to all off given the non-existent facade.

Image 4.

Buildings affected by the earthquake. September 19th, 1985. © Elsa Medina

The same contrast is reflected in the image the photographer took immediately afterwards[8] (See Image 5). In this case, you can accurately geographically pinpoint the shot thanks to the presence of a sculpture of Venus de Milo. This sculpture is found (and was there in 1985) at the corner of avenues Álvaro Obregón and Insurgentes. The slanted angle of the shot gives it movement.

The Venus is in the foreground at the right, while the debris of a building occupies the background to the left side of the image. A dozen passersby walk past the damage and many of them are observing the hanging ce-

ment blocks. The rather closed shot of the debris gives the audience the feeling that they are about to fall on the people in the street, supplying a metaphoric effect of the earthquake: on September 19th, 1985 the world of this city's citizens came crashing down[9]. La Venus constitutes an ambivalent counterpoint. It's the symbol of mutilations due to the absence of its arms – the same image of Mexico's capital city that day -, but not having been affected by the earthquake, it stands tall and exudes stability in the midst of catastrophe.

Image 5.

Buildings affected by the earthquake on the corners of avenues Alvaro Obregon and Insurgentes. September 19, 1985. © Elsa Medina

These two photographs taken towards noon on the day of September 19th, reflect the dual character of natural catastrophes and earthquakes in particular: the violence of the seismic wave meets the stability of certain structures, human life cohabits with material destruction, the helplessness and the anguish lead to action.

Upon beginning her visual register of the afternoon, Elsa Medina takes a photo that would become her most emblematic shot of the earthquake, despite not having been published in the media during the following days. As we have already mentioned, Medina was not working at the moment for any newspaper and didn't have a way of getting her images to the press. However, analysis of her archives allows us, without a doubt, to say, thanks to its quali-

ty and expressivity, her shots would have been favorably received by newspapers. But such is the fate of the negatives; they do not always find an immediate point of view and thus they offer the pleasure of being rediscovered decades later, giving us the chance to bring back experiences sometimes forgotten. The image in question (See Image 6) was taken on Jose Maria Iglesias Street, north of the Republic Square. The destroyed building in the background is the Hotel Principado in which over 100 people lost their lives that day. Gray tones dominate the image, as if the air were saturated with cement dust as a result of the destruction. In this dusty environment a flag appears leaning towards a group of people trying to rescue people from the hotel remains. If you look closely you will see that the flag is upside down, with the eagle hanging down from the prickly pear branch. A flag hung upside down could be the sign of something (a building, a ship, a country, etc.) being taken over by enemy control or a sign of danger. In addition to associating the emblem of Mexico to the destruction, Elsa Medina emphasizes the pain of the city's inhabitants with this image as well as the urgent need for help. In fact, the issue of foreign aid also became another controversy linked to the catastrophe.

Beyond its intense aesthetic and symbolic meaning regarding '85, this photography is very relevant for the photographer's professional career. In 1985, Elsa Medina participated in photography workshops at CUEC[10] of UNAM with Nacho Lopez, recognized Mexican photographer from the 1950s who she considered at that time to be her main teacher. Together with other young photographers (and Andres Garay as leader) they created the Grupo MOFI (which stands for Independent Photographic Movement, in Spanish) in efforts to systematize the photographic work and organize expositions[11]. Belonging to this group surely motivated her to go out to the streets with her camera on September 19th, 1985, even if it were only to compare her images with those of the other members of the workshop and Grupo MOFI. Months later, in 1986, ENAH[12] based its annual photography contest on the earthquake. Nacho Lopez

and some of his students – among them being Medina – entered the contest as a collective and won second place (Gautreau, May 2016). To announce the winners of the contest, the newspaper La Jornada – independent left-wing newspaper founded in 1984 with high readership in Mexican intellectual and cultural circles) – chose the photo of "the upside down flag" to announce the awards[13]. Elsa assures that this publication led to them accepting to give her a test in order to become photographer at La Jornada, a test which consisted of fulfilling photographic requirements for 10 days. She took the test in July 1986 and her first photo was published in the newspaper on July 25, 1986 starting a long career with the newspaper, which only ended at the end of the 90s.

Image 6.

Upside down flag. September 19, 1985. © Elsa Medina

Without having known she had taken a photograph that would have a long and successful fate, Elsa Medina continues her road towards the city's historic district. This neighborhood suffered the most damage during the earthquake. According to the photographer, (Gautreau, December 2016), from Monument to the Revolution, she continued towards Paseo de Reforma , therefore going towards the Hidalgo station, then going down Doctor Mora Street, close to Alameda Central to the west. Upon arriving at the corner of this street and Juarez Avenue (south of Alameda) she found the remains of Hotel Regis that would become one of the visual icons of 85[14]. She did not focus, as other photographers did, on the hotel's old, useless sign, but instead took various shots of Juarez Avenue with the Monument to the Revolution as the vanishing point (see Image 7). The proof sheet allows one to see some 10 shots around the Regis building, with more or less closed frames and different people (police, firemen) that appear and disappear from the scene. One of these shots (See Image 8), taken at a great angle, lets you see the chaos that Juarez Avenue had become just hours after the earthquake. The debris occupies the inferior part of the image. To the right are the ruins of the hotel. Several people try to walk among the twisted metal and pieces of torn cement. Under a cloudy sky at sundown, blurry from the presence of the characteristic dust of that catastrophic day, the Monument to the Revolution still stands but looks crossed out by a slanted cement pole. This image offers an apocalyptic view of the city, both due to the destruction and general atmosphere, something unreal and mysterious, that comes from the grey tones. Nevertheless, upon observing the proof sheet in detail, we see that a few minutes (or seconds before), Elsa Medina turned her camera to the east, photographing the other side of Juarez Avenue and the intact Latin American Tower. In these shots, there are no fallen buildings. The street is clean and you can walk or ride down it without running into any obstacles. Once again it shows the arbitrary character of the material destruction after the earthquake.

Image 7.

Proof sheet. Mexico City's historic district. September 19,1985. © Elsa Medina

Imagen 8.

Juarez Avenue, to the west. September 19, 1985. ©
Elsa Medina

Imagen 9.

Rescue of a boy trapped in the wreckage. September
19,1985. © Elsa Medina

Another aspect of September 19th is the or-
ganization of the rescue efforts registered
from different points of view. Taking up what
could be considered almost cliché in the vi-
sual record of earthquakes, she portrays a boy

in a stretcher transported by various citizens
among the ruins of his building (Se Image
9). The absence of law enforcement is made
apparent by this image like in another in which
a woman tries to direct the chaotic traffic in the
city (See Image 10). One of the biggest comp-
laints by citizens after the earthquake was the
absence of reactivity on behalf of the govern-
ment and the disorganization by municipal and
federal authorities regarding the catastrophe.
Several of Medina's images show the idea that
police and firefighters were overwhelmed by
the magnitude of the destruction. A single po-
lice officer on a pile of debris holds his useless
machine gun with an empty expression (See
image 11) while another leans on a traffic light
post (See image 12). With various buildings
in ruins to their backs and a "no U-turn" sign
that dominates the picture, the police seem
to represent the fact that there is "no going
back" for a deeply-wounded city.

Imagen 10

A woman tries to direct traffic. September 19, 1985. © Elsa Medina

Image 11.

Police. September 19, 1985. © Elsa Medina

Image 12.

Police in the historic district. September 19th, 1985[15]. © Elsa Medina

4. The power of daily life

However, and as it occurs from prehistoric times in all areas of the world affected by natural catastrophes, people rise and organize to regain dignity and control of their daily lives. In the days following September 19, Elsa Medina picks up her camera once again to register a city that has to live despite the chaos. She carries out what we could consider two different reports: some 150 negatives in daylight hours in the streets in the center of the capital and over 200 negatives, at night, of rescue efforts and clean up work in the Secretary of Labor building[16]. These shots are not so focused on fallen buildings but rather on the inhabitants of the city and their tasks, the need for the day-to-day triumphs over the dejection and the resignation. The city citizens need to eat, get information, go to work when possible and look for lodging option if they were rendered homeless. These images of daily life in Mexico City show that Elsa Medina already had a great mastery of the art of capturing urban moments. This ability will be fully expressed in the pages of La Jornada, given that the newspaper gave a lot of freedom to its photographers, especially in the 1980s, to take photos of daily life in the capital, along with their work orders. John Mraz emphasizes the importance of this type of image at the end of the 20th century in order to show inequality:

> The daily life in the photography of the new generation does not fall into folkloric, yellow journalism, or official categories. They try to discover and portray the reality in Mexico in photos that insistently document the class differences that so define the country. Instead of masking the extreme injustice of the distribution of the nation's riches with the formula "we're all Mexican and therefore all equal", their eloquent images go directly the heart of the matter (Mraz et al., 1996: 54).

Image 13.

Shoes always clean. September 19th, 1985. © Elsa Medina

Image 14.

Eating and ice cream. September 1985. © Elsa Medina

All the photos that we could classify as image of daily life – except for the man who getting his shoes shined (see image 13) – were taken after September 20th and in them there is no urgent and immediate need to inform but rather a close look at the human being in apocalyptic times. You have to imagine the city streets still full of debris to measure the scope of the usually humdrum gesture of buying an ice cream (See image 14). With apparent indifference to the crushed Volkswagen, vendor and customer return to habitual commercial exchange in the city. The deeply necessary act of eating is repeated in the picture of the people seated at a table in the street under the healthy suggestion "wash your hands before eating" (See image 15). In these images daily life reigns over the violence of the earthquake and emphasizes the dignity of the city inhabitants, especially with the shot of the father of a family who has lost their home and is sitting on the side of a fountain together with their few rescued items (See image 16). He seems to be waiting, but, for what or for whom? Relatives? A truck to move with or a miracle? Once again a detail captured in frame by Elsa Medina serves as a metaphor of the catastrophe that just rocked this city: a doll seems to be crushed by a large bag reflecting the fragility of humans and their constructions in the event of strong earthquakes. The problems of the thousands of people who lost their homes thanks to the earthquake of 85 is represented in this shot emphasizing the importance of a roof over one's head in order to live with dignity.

Image 15.

"Wash your hands before eating". September 1985. © Elsa Medina

Image 16.

Waiting for lodging. September 1985. © Elsa Medina

Conclusions

After having accompanied Elsa Medina on the tour that brought her to portray the material loss and human pain and suffering of a city shaken after the earthquake of September 19th, 1985, we can say that Medina was already a photojournalist and on that day she built and carried out a true photographic report. The most important thing was to register although it was not to inform immediately. The quality of the images, the variety of the shots and the urgent point of view with which she focused on certain subjects show her mastery of working the camera and her quick action in the making of a sufficiently significant frame to propose a visual micro-story. Paradoxically, the chronicle of an earthquake –that we rediscover via a systematic review of its negatives– goes revealing the construction of a point of view. That point of view that for more than 15 years was exclusively at the service of information with a point of view always strong.

Image 17.

Information first. September 1985. © Elsa Medina

Notes

1. For more information on the career of Elsa Medina as photojournalist, see the following references: John Mraz. (2016). The alibi perfecta of Elsa Medina, Puebla, Contemporary Cultural Center. 31 p.; "Personal chronicle of small successes". En Alfonso Morales Carrillo (Dir.), "Journeys to the Center of the Image III. Approaches to Mexican Photojournalism", Luna Cornea n°35, México D.F., CONACULTA, Center of the Image, pp. 200-211.; Luis Jorge Gallegos. (2011). Self-portraits of Mexican Journalism. 23 testimonies, Mexico D.F., Economic Culture Fund, pp. 367-394.; as well as the online interview: https://www.canal-u.tv/video/universite_toulouse_ii_le_mirail/elsa_medina_castro_un_regard_photographique_marion_gautreau.34763

2. Centro SCOP, Secretary of Communications and Public Works, located at the corner of Universidad Avenue and Xola Street, Colonia Narvarte.

3. Hotel Regis, located between the streets Cristobal Colón, Doctor Jose Maria Luis Mora, Balderas and Juarez Avenue, historic district. The Plaza de la Solidaridad was later built on this lot.

4. This article was completed in October 2017. Just a few days after an earthquake shook the country on September 19, 2017, exactly 32 years after the 1985 earthquake. This coincidence opens a new wound in the history of the Mexican capital and the visual aspects of this recent catastrophe should also be analyzed in the years to come.

5. Consulting the negatives is difficult given that the majority of them are in La Jornada's photographic repository that is not open for access to the general public, and does not allow the reproduction and dissemination of the photographs it contains beyond the pages of the newspaper. Elsa Medina keeps the negatives from September 19th, 1985 in her home and gave us the digitalized proof sheets of these negatives.

6. These photographers worked for La Jornada in 1985. On September 22, 1985, the newspaper published a double-page spread comprised exclusively of photos of the earthquake titled "Living, after all" and credit is given to the two previously-mentioned photographers as well as Arturo Fuentes and Luis Humberto Gonzalez. The most iconic photograph of the catastrophe is titled "Nuevo León Building in Tlatelolco", by Marco Antonio Cruz.

7. The exact location of these buildings is unknown, but by their order in the film roles, they are probably

located on a street perpendicular to Insurgentes Avenue, near Colonia Roma or Colonia Condesa.

8. Image 4 is negative 43 and image 5 is negative 44 of the same film roll of 36 negatives.

9. Defeño: inhabitant of Mexico City (Distrito Federal).

10. Cinematographic Studies University Center.

11. «We didn't have money, but we did have photographic paper, coffee and alcohol». (Gautreau, mayo 2016)

12. National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH, for its Spanish acronym)

13. From then on, the photograph of « the upside down flag » has been published again and again. It illustrates, for example the cover of the book Images and Testimonies of '85 (the awakening of civil society) published in 2000 by the September 19th" Neighbors and Victims Union (UVyD, for its Spanish acronym).

14. On September 20th, La Jornada published a small photograph of the Hotel Regis on page 3 (without exact credits the author). The image of the hotel ruins taken by Enrique Metinides on 9/19/ is one of the most famous.

15. This image is directly taken from the proof sheet since we couldn't have access to the original negative. You can see the blue mark indicating that it was selected by the photographer as one of the most important images of her report of 9/19/1987.

16. Also in December 1985 (together with many other photographers, which unlike her, has press credentials) she created a complete register of the demolition of the Secretary of Labor building.

Bibliographic References

Gallegos, L. (2011). "Elsa Medina". Self-portraits of Mexican photojournalism. *23 testimonies*, México D.F., Economic Culture Fund. Pp. 367-394.

Gautreau, M. (Mayo de 2017). Interview of Elsa Medina. Mexico City, Mexico.

Gautreau, M. (December 2017). Interview of Elsa Medina, December 2017, Tou-louse, France.

Martínez, A. (2014). "From the people to civil society: political discourse after 1985", *Mexican Sociology Journal 76*, No. 3 (July-September), México, D.F, pp.441-469

Medina, E. (2016). "Personal chronicle of small successes", En Alfonso Morales Carrillo (Dir.), "Journeys to the Center of the Image III. Approaches to Mexican photojournalism", *Luna Córnea* n°35, Mexico D.F., CONACULTA, Center of the Image , pp. 200-211.

Mraz, J. (1996). *The restless point of view. New Mexican Photojournalism* (1976-1996), México D.F.: CONACULTA, Center of the Image.

Mraz, J. (2016). *The perfect alibi of Elsa Medina*. Puebla: Contemporary Culture Center.

Provitolo, D., Dubos-Paillard, E., Verdière, N., Lanza, V., Charrier, R. Bertelle, C. & M. Aziz-Alaoui. (2015). «Les comportements humains en situation de catastrophe : de l'observation à la modélisation conceptuelle et mathématique ». *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography* [En línea], Systèmes, Modélisation, Géostatisti-ques, document 735. DOI : 10.4000/cybergeo.27150

Rueda, A. (2012). The physics of the DF earthquake, Physics Institute, UNAM. [Online] http:// www.fisica.unam.mx/noticias_fisicatemblor2012.php (consultado el 4 de julio de 2017).

About the author:

Marion Gautreau s professor-researcher of the Department of Hispanic and Hispano-American Studies at Toulouse 2 Université– Jean Jaures (France) since 2008. Member of the FRAMESPA research laboratory that carries out projects related with the image and history. Currently, she is coordinator of the CNRS project titled "Photojournalism and Documentary photography in Mexico Since 1968: Visual history and national history".

How to Cite:

Gómez-Rodríguez, G. (2017). Cultura de la legalidad en notas sobre delitos de la prensa mexicana. *Comunicación y Medios*, (36), 97-112.

Culture of lawfulness in news articles about crime in the Mexican press

Cultura de la legalidad en notas sobre delitos de la prensa mexicana

Gabriela Gómez-Rodríguez
Universidad de Guadalajara, Guadalajara, México
gabygomez79@gmail.com

Frida Viridiana-Rodelo
Universidad de Guadalajara, Guadalajara, México
frida.rodelo@academico.udg.mx

Abstract

Based in the premise that media can contribute to the enforcement of a culture of lawfulness, the presence of messages reinforcing a legal culture in the Mexican newspapers is analyzed. After analyzing a sample of articles from six newspapers based in the cities of Culiacan, Sinaloa (*El Debate, Noroeste, Primera Hora*) and Guadalajara, Jalisco (*Mural, El Informador, El Occidental*), we found that these newspapers contribute little to the formation of a culture of lawfulness in a country with spikes in its rates of crime and violence.

Keywords

Culture of lawfulness; newspapers; crime; Sinaloa; Jalisco.

Resumen

Partiendo de la premisa de que los medios de comunicación pueden contribuir al fortalecimiento de una cultura de la legalidad, se analiza la presencia de mensajes reforzadores de cultura legal en la prensa escrita mexicana. Mediante un análisis de notas de seis periódicos con sede en las ciudades de Culiacán, Sinaloa (*El Debate, Noroeste, Primera Hora*), y Guadalajara, Jalisco (*Mural, El Informador, El Occidental*), concluimos que los diarios analizados contribuyen poco a la formación de la cultura de la legalidad en un país con alzas en sus tasas de delitos.

Palabras clave

Cultura de la legalidad; periódicos; delitos; Sinaloa; Jalisco.

1. Introduction

In Mexico, country in which crime rates have increased in the last years, it seems necessary that people know and obey the laws in place. In order to talk about people's attitudes towards these ordinances, we will use the concept of *culture of lawfulness*.

As a requirement of a state of law, the existence of a culture of lawfulness implies that the citizens know and adopt these laws, but also, in democratic terms, it also implies that they recognize the importance of respecting individual rights and those of others as well as democratic principles (Salazar Ugarte, 2006). This is due to the fact that lawfulness can be upheld (or be imposed) with the respect for rights and legitimacy. Para Salazar-Ugarte (2006), this is the reason that in a culture of democratic lawfulness "the legitimacy of the laws goes hand in hand with compliance with the laws" (30).

In a context where crimes are constantly committed, the communication media are very important sources of citizen information. Therefore, the media can have a large impact on people's attitudes towards laws and community regulations (Godson, 2000). Likewise, the recent change in the Mexican penal justice system passed in 2008 and with an implementation period of 8 years involves the media. For Lara Klahr (2012) this accusatory penal justice system "implemented appropriately will contribute to Mexico having full right to justice, and that journalists and media have access to correct, unbiased information thanks to the principle of publicity, that will materialize increasingly via the public hearings provided by such accusatory model" (17). This implies that the media inform about crimes committed, their punishments, and follow the legal process while always respecting the principles of presumed innocence and respect for victims. Thus, communication media will play a fundamental role in informing people about different types of events and knowledge of

the law. Therefore, it is possible to reinforce —as well as discourage— via communication media, attitudes that are compatible with a culture of lawfulness.

Under the assumption that society is influenced enormously by the news coverage it sees, some researchers have measured the presence of reinforced content of the culture of lawfulness in the media of Monterrey, Nuevo Leon and the Distrito Federal (Mexico City) (Lozano, Martinez & Rodríguez, 2012; Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 2014; Sanchez, 2013).

For Lozano, Martinez & Rodríguez (2012), "in their role as journalistic information transmitters, [communication media] have a decisive impact on the education, change and reinforcement of perceptions, attitudes and behavior regarding any social, cultural, or political topic,"(3). In regard to this role of the media, different studies have argued that the media disseminates information that does not contribute to society forming an opinion based more on events that are very common (Gomez & Rodelo, 2012; Hernández & Rodelo, 2010).

This is the reason that in the context of violence that currently exists —not only in Mexico, but in Latin America as a whole—, analyzing the messages of a culture of lawfulness in journalistic notes coming from regions with different media systems and the presence of organized crime groups will reveal to what degree the media reinforce or do not reinforce attitudes that favor compliance with the law and respect for rights, in two of the regions with the highest crime and violence rates in Mexico and that until now have not been studied. In this way, we will analyze the contribution of the printed press in the construction of a culture of lawfulness in the entities mentioned. The results show the modest role that Jalisco and Sinaloa newspapers are having in the construction of a culture of lawfulness.

2. Study Context

For Garzon (in Sanchez-Hernandez, 2013) the relation between violence and lawfulness may outlined with four forms of interaction: (a) violent citizens (attributing violence to people in general as an immediate form of conflict resolution in a scenario of scarce lawfulness exercised by the State); (b) strong State (authorities that manage to decrease crime rates and there is little violence); (c) everybody against everybody (incidence of high levels of violence and high levels of illegality); and (d) illegal monopoly (there are high rates of illegal activity, but controlled violence).

In Garzon's opinion, Mexico falls within the third case ("everybody against everybody"). Sanchez Hernández (2013) considers that it is not enough to have a "strong institutional apparatus", but rather it is necessary that whoever infringes the law be indicated also by sectors of society other than the judicial system. Citizens, then, play an important role by observing that they law is upheld. Therefore, it is necessary to ask: Do Mexicans know the law? Do they know what laws have been passed and the punishment that must be carried out after breaking a law?

The outlook is not good. According to Casar (2015),Most Mexicans do not know the law. The Segunda Encuesta Nacional de Cultura Constitucional indicates that 92.8% of Mexicans know little to nothing about what the carta magna sets forth (Casar, 2015). Among the causes for this is the little use Mexicans find in knowing the laws, the small value they assign to knowing the legal precepts (if the law does not favor you or seems unfair, it's valid to stop obeying it), and that Mexicans believe that the law is made to favor the politicians and the rich, as well as considering that justice is only partially applied in Mexico (Casar, 2015). Added to this, Mexicans have expressed via public opinion surveys a decrease in trust of institutions. According to a survey performed by Consulta Mitofsky (2015), the institutions Mexicans trust the most are the university (7.3 on a scale of 1 to 10) and communication me-

dia (6.6); while the institution they trust the least is the police (5.3). The mean rate of trust in institutions is barely 6.2.

The previous data is confirmed in the survey conducted by Tello & Garza (2000). Applied to inhabitants of a low to medium socioeconomic area in Mexico City, the survey indicated that security was a "very big" problem. 21.2% of those surveyed said that the law had no use or only served the interests of the authorities (29.2%), while 32.3% said that it served to make politicians and the rich richer (Tello & Garza, 2000). In this way, its proposed, we can get an idea of why "the law doesn't mean much for Mexicans" (6). For Tello & Garza (2000) "if we don't address the topicof lawfulness seriously and diligently, we will not be in conditions as a society to address the problem of security". This data reveals the society's apathy and mistrust institutions that guarantee public safety.

In reference to the media's role in socializing the culture of lawfulness, according to Casar (2015), print media published 502 journalistic notes and 27 newspaper headlines with the word "corruption" in 1996, while in 2014, 29,505 articles and 2,587 headlines contained this word. Casar affirms that this increase does not necessarily imply an increase in corruption. He relates it with a greater freedom of expression since in the last years there has been an increase in access to public information. Since then, the media has dedicated more space to these topics, and its greater exhibition comes into play in the way in which society perceives it.

Media representation of crime has also changed. For Kessler (2011), "security is a daily section in the newspapers; the dissemination of images, the camera at the scene of the incident, the constant updates in the online newspapers go threading a plot with a limitless number of situations, facts and news" (13). Security, he affirms, is a topic that no longer applies just to large cities, but rather has become a nationwide issue (Kessler, 2011).

The perception of corruption in Mexican institutions considered pillars of the democracy (political parties, legislative power) is high. In addition, the institutions dedicated to security and serving of justice are those that are most mistrusted by the population (Casar, 2015). This author also indicates that authorities of the justice system appear as "the most susceptible of creating mistrust for their presumably corrupt and unprofessional behavior" (Casar, 2015: 23).

The problems exposed in the previous paragraphs are shared by other countries in the Latin American region. Information from the Latinobarometer report (2016) suggest an increased feeling of insecurity and of the perception that crime is the most relevant issue. This same report indicates the percentage of Latin Americans that reported to have been victim of crime in the last year (2016) was 36%; while 88% of the population fears being a crime victim. As Reguillo indicates (2005), Latin America as a region share three processes "that worsen to a larger or lesser degree a feeling of defenselessness and a larger crisis" (2): the perception that "the State and its institutions cannot handle the problems we have" (2); the lack of inclusion; and the perception that "crime and organized crime is winning the war, while law is rendered useless" (2).

3. Sinaloa and Jalisco: context of violence and perception of trust in institutions

Sinaloa is a state that has had high levels of violence for decades before the increase occurring in 2006-2012, when Felipe Calderon announced the federal policy to fight organized crime. In Sinaloa, 1,434 people were reported missing during this period (Centro de Investigación y Capacitación Propuesta Cívica en Rodelo, 2015), putting this entity in fourth place in term of number of cases. Three companies produce the most important newspapers of the state of Sinaloa: Grupo Debate (*El Debate, La I, La Sirena*), Editorial Noroeste

(*Noroeste, Primera Hora*) and the Organización Editorial Mexicana (*El Sol de Sinaloa*).

Meanwhile, Jalisco's murder and disappearance rate increased during the six-year term of Felipe Calderon, in addition to suffering for the first time in the nation's history road blocks and attacks on civilians by organized crime groups. In 2007, 26,305 robberies were reported in Jalisco while in 2011, the number was 35,937. bank robberies went from 5 (2007) to 111 (2011). Murders increased from 445 in 2007 to 1,529 in 2011 (Jalisco Cómo Vamos, 2012 and INEGI, 2012). In February 2011, there were 7 blocks in different parts of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, in March 2012, 16, and August 25th of the same year, 22 (Gomez-Rodriguez, Mendez-Pupo & Cortes-Lozano, 2015).

In Jalisco new newspapers open and others close. The media environment changes, but newspapers with the highest readership continue. In 2015, *La Jornada Jalisco* closed, as well as La Prensa and *El Sol de Guadalajara* (both owned by the Organización Editorial Mexicana). The broadsheet newspapers with the most influence are *El Informador, Mural, Milenio Jalisco, Más por Más and El Occidental*. The tabloid with the most influence is Metro, produced by Grupo Reforma.

4. Method

For this study the method of analysis for the content was chosen for its ability to characterize texts objectively and reliably. The journalistic notes of an entire week were analyzed chosen randomly from 2013 issues from six journalistic publications with office in the cities of Culiacan (*El Debate, Noroeste, Primera Hora*, n = 244) and Guadalajara (*Mural, El Informador, El Occidental*, n = 113). The notes were taken from the Emerging Markets Information Service database (*Mural y El Occidental*) and digitalized printed issues (*Noroeste, Primera Hora*, *El Informador and El Debate*). The unit of analysis was the journalistic note

on crime. The criteria of selection was that the note must mention the committing of some crime or alleged crime and that the note be located in the local information section or the security section or the newspaper's equivalent.

The purpose of the two previously mentioned criteria was, on one hand, to focus on the notes in which to a larger degree we would find the issue of lawfulness and where, from our point of view, there is a larger necessity to reinforce a culture of legality. On the other hand, analyzing the notes of the local news and security sections we focused almost exclusively on the notes produced within the journalistic organization itself and that represented to a larger degree the news production values and routines (which is to say, we thus ruled out texts from the national news section that often publish syndicated pieces). One exception to this were the syndicated notes that included the security sections for complementary purposes, something that happened in the newspaper *El Debate*.

The tool used for analyzing content was the book of laws published in Rodelo (2015), which is based on the operation of the concept of culture of lawfulness carried out by Lozano, Martinez & Rodriguez (2012). The items of principles of lawfulness are direct messages of promotion of the culture of lawfulness. Thus, for example, principle number 1: "Society knows the majority of the laws and regulations. The members of a society know the essential parts of the most important laws from the official document that regulates these" is operationalized in the item "The note makes explicit reference to the laws broken during the criminal act or that need to be applied to punish it" (Lozano et al., 2012).

Style factors also measure factors that have an effect on the culture of lawfulness: the presence of value judgments on people mentioned in the notes invites readers to make parallel judgments on those involved, which may interfere in the judicial process. The presence of insults, dramatic terms and adjectives, as

well as the emphasis on the criminals over the victims and context appeals to the sentiments instead of inviting rationality regarding the social problem at hand in the reporting of the event. Praising the criminal act is contrary to a favorable attitude towards lawfulness. The same goes for all justification of mistreatment of those arrested. Finally, the lack of alternate sources to governmental ones implies that that of authorities is the only discourse that deserves to be recorded and considered true or official in each case. The book of laws used can be found as an annex at the end of this article.

Three people performed the codifying of the journalistic notes. The inter-codifier reliability of all the study variables was measured in a random sample of 10% of the units of analysis, making sure that the same person did not repeat a previously codified note. An arithmetic mean of percentage agreement (Holsti's method) of 86.6, which is considered acceptable; and an arithmetic mean of Cohen's kappa of 47.3, which can be interpreted as weak (McHugh, 2012).

In regards to the inferential statistic analysis, contingency tables were made to evaluate via Chi-squared tests of independence the statistic relevance of the population location (Sinaloa or Jalisco) in the presence of the different note features.

5. Results

As results of the content analysis of our body of notes, signs as to the presence of reinforced content of the culture of lawfulness were obtained in newspapers of Jalisco and Sinaloa, as well as those of the relevance of the newspaper's office location, the newspaper's type and media organization type. There were a total of 357 notes, 244 (68%) in newspapers of Culiacan and 113 (32%) in newspapers of Guadalajara. The distribution per newspaper is shown in Table 1. The newspaper of the sample that had the most notes on crime pu-

blished during the week was *El Debate*. This is due to, as indicated in the method section, this publication complementing its local news section on crime with brief notes of events in other federal entities obtained via syndication.

The notes of the corpus had as extension a mean of 234 words (DE = 189). In the newspapers of Culiacan, 56% of the notes were accompanied by photographs. The only newspaper from Guadalajara in which this condition was measured had a lower portion of notes accompanied by images (40%).

The presence of principles reinforcing the culture of lawfulness in the newspapers of both cities is shown in Table 2. The newspapers with offices in Guadalajara show to a higher degree the principles to mention the crime committed, denounce crime and mention the need for punishment

(principles 1, 7 and 4, respectively). Meanwhile, the newspapers with offices in Culiacan show to a higher degree the principles of mentioning the crime, presumption of innocence, and denounce crime (1, 5 and 7, respectively). In the newspapers of both entities, the least mentioned content type was the need to change or amend laws (principle 8) and the reason for obeying the law (principle 2). The second column of the same table shows the relative frequency for the sample total. In general, the principle with the most presence in the content of the sample was that of mentioning the crime or laws broken (present in 40% of the notes).

Table 1. Frequency and extent of notes on crime per newspaper.

Newspaper	Offices	Notes on crime	Importance (word count average	Presence of photography
El Debate (ED)	Culiacán	150	195	56%
Noroeste (N)	Culiacán	23	265	48%
Primera Hora (PH)	Culiacán	71	238	59%
El Informador (INF)	Guadalajara	35	280	40%
Mural (M)	Guadalajara	65	235	SD
El Occidental (Occ)	Guadalajara	13	469	SD

Note: the presence of photography was not measured in Mural or El Occidental given that this part of the sample was obtained in EMIS. The sample of El Occidental and Noroeste only included five days.

Source: Author.

Table 2. Presence of principles reinforced of a culture of lawfulness per publication office city (percentage).

Principle	All (%) n = 357	Culiacán (%) n = 244	Guadalajara (%) n =113	Sig.
1. The note mentions the crime or laws broken or applicable.	40	31	59	***
2. The note mentions the need or creason to obey the law or criticizes the lack of respect for the law.	7	3	14	***
3. The note mentions the need for different entities to work together.	13	7	25	***
4. The note mentions the necessity to apply punishment or fight against impunity	18	12	31	***
5. The note refers to the suspects as criminals, assumes their guilt or makes reference to their right to a fair trial.	31 (39)	18 (40)	30 (37)	
6. The note mentions support given to victims of crime or mentions the need to help them.	13 (15)	12 (15)	16 (16)	
7. The note denounces or condemns the crime or corruption, mentions the need to fight or lower its frequency.	28	18	51	***
8. The note mentions the need to change or amend laws.	4	0	12	***

Notes: This principle does not apply to all notes for not mentioning the suspects. In parenthesis is the proportion of notes that present the principle based on the notes in which it can occur. (b) It does not apply to all notes for not mentioning the victims. In parenthesis is the proportion of notes that present the principle calculated based on the notes in which it can occur ***: P<0.001>.

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Also measured were the different style factors of the notes relevant for the promotion of principles of lawfulness (See Table 3). The newspapers with offices in Guadalajara show a higher degree of inclusion of citizen testimony (44% of the notes), and the use of adjectives (37% of the notes), while the newspapers with offices in Culiacan show to a higher degree the style factors as they focus more on criminals than victims and consequences (43% of the notes) and the identification of those involved (28% of notes). The second column of the same tables shows the relative frequency for the sample total. In general, the most common factor is that the notes tend to focus more on the criminals than the victims and social consequences.

Table 3. Presence of style factors per newspaper offices city.

Factors of the note	All -(%) n = 357	Culiacán (%) n = 244	Guadalajara (%) n =113	Sig.
1. The message includes citizen testimonies, declarations, demands or proposals.	25	16	44	***
2. The message includes dramatic terms.	22	25	14	***
3. The message includes qualifying adjectives.	25	19	37	***
4. The message includes insults.	6	7	2	*
5. The message includes negative judgment on the moral or human quality of the protagonists.	6	6	7	---
6. The message includes positive judgments on the moral or human quality of the protagonists.	4	3	6	+
7. The message describes the crime or alleged criminal in heroic terms or praises his behavior or qualities.	1	1	1	---
8. The message justifies, promotes or defends institutional violence or mistreatment of detainees or alleged criminals.	3	3	3	---
9. The message focuses more on the alleged criminals than the victims, socials consequences of his actions, or laws and regulations broken or not applied.	39	43	32	+

10. The message identifies the first and last names of those detained or allegedly involved in the act before there is a trial.	27	28	27	---
11. The message gives statistics or general information that helps to understand the problem.	12	9	20	**

Note: ***P <0.001; **: p <0.01 *: p <0.05; +:p <0.10

Source: Author.

6. Conclusions

Before the new penal justice system in Mexico take effect, the role of the communication media is crucial for educating on a culture of lawfulness. Overall, clearly mentioning the crime or laws, principle of a culture of lawfulness with an increased presence in the newspapers analyzed, is only done in less than half of all notes. It seems, therefore, that the way that the media is covering the issue of crime is deficient given that they focus on informing of the events without mentioning information about the laws or the judicial process relevant to the event. In addition, compliance with respecting the principle of presuming detainees and suspects innocent is very low, despite being established in Article 20 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States.

In terms of style, the notes analyzed largely lack in their context mention of consequences or social implications and citizen testimonies. There is also no follow-up on the events, something that may cause doubt in readers' minds as to whether justice was granted or if due process was fulfilled.

In general, significant differences were observed between the characteristics of the notes of the Sinaloa and Jalisco newspapers (depth of notes, use of images, principles reinforcedand style factors between cities). These can be due to journalistic values inside the writing styles of media organizations[1]. Another possible cause could be the differences in the high-impact crime rates. Although in both cases these can be considered high, crime rates in Sinaloa are higher than in Jalisco. Despite not coming from a sample the statistically represents all Mexican newspapers, these results can give an idea of the way in which media throughout the country communicate criminal events.

In summary, newspapers in two places with high rates of crime and violence in Mexican present little news coverage that reinforces a culture of lawfulness. Despite this, we insist that the change in the penal justice system that took effect in 2016 in Mexico obligates communication media to assume its role of reinforcing a culture of lawfulness in the population via the correct use of new terminology and compliance with the responsibility of guaranteeing the presumption of innocence, respect for the victims, as well as a right to privacy and also in regards to the personal information of those involved in the process of a trial. Just as important is providing the reader with the context of the notes in order to have a full understanding of security issues. Upon exposing the role that newspapers have in the promotion of a culture of lawfulness, we

believe that we can call out to the media, and not just the Mexican media but to Latin Ameri-

ca as a whole, to be aware of their social function. As Lara Klahr proposes, the purpose of the media is "to be the watchdog that makes sure said [penal justice] system moves effectively from the obsolete model of inquisitory justice to accusatory justice" (2012: 17).

In light of the difficulty to obtain high-fidelity inter-codifier rates in this investigation, future research on the topic should seek to improve the items proposed to use for evaluation of the culture of lawfulness and dedicate special care to the codifier training.

Notes

1. For example, the editor of El Occidental, one of the newspapers that most often mentioned crimes committed, has experience in addressing justice system issues and manifested interest in that its team of reporters know the court system in order to contribute better information to readers, according to an interview by Gabriela Gomez and Yarimis Mendez in 2014.

Bibliographic References

Casar, A. (2015), Mexico: Anatomy of Corruption. Mexico: Instituto Mexicano para la Competitividad & Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE),

Consulta Mitofsky (2015), Mexico: Trust in institutions 2015. Disponible en: http:// consulta.mx/index.php/estudios-e-investigaciones/mexico-opina/item/575-confianza-en-instituciones [Recuperado el 21 de septiembre de 2016]

Godson, R. (2000). Guide to developing a culture of lawfulness. Trends in Organized Crime, 5(3), 91-102.

Gómez-Rodríguez, G., Méndez-Pupo, &., Cortés-Lozano, M. (2012), "Coverage of violence in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area: from its spotlight in the media in the PAN party government to the informative contention with the PRI". In Del Palacio-Montiel, Celia (Coord.), Violence and regional journalism in Mexico (pp. 203-253), México: Juan Pablos Editor.

Gómez-Rodríguez, G. & Rodelo, F. (2012), "The main role of violence in communication media". In Rodríguez Gómez, G. (Ed.), The social reality and the violence in Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (pp. 319-352), Guadalajara: Incide Social / Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente.

Hernández, M. E., & Rodelo, F. (2010). Dilemmas of Mexican journalism in the coverage of "The war on narcotrafficking": War journalism or red card. Communicational weaving (pp. 193-228), Guadalajara: Universidad de Gua-dalajara.

INEGI (2012), "Deaths for murders". Disponible en: http://www.inegi.org.mx/lib/ olap/consulta/general_ver4/MDXQueryDatos.asp?#Regreso&c= [Recuperado el 21 de septiembre de 2016]

INEGI (2015), "Press Bulletin 276". Disponible en: http://www.inegi.org.mx/salade-prensa/boletines/2015/especiales/especiales2015_07_4.pdf [Recuperado el 23 de diciembre de 2015]

Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM) (2014), Proyect "Media and culture of lawfulness". I reporte trimestral. Disponible en: http:// mediosyculturalegal.com [Recuperado el 12 de octubre de 2014]

Jalisco Cómo Vamos (2012), Life in Jalisco. Quality of Life Indicators Report. Disponible en: http://www.jaliscocomovamos.org [Recuperado el 21 de septiembre de 2016]

Kessler, G. (2011), The Feeling of Insecurity. Sociology of the Fear of Crime, Mexico:Century XXI.

Lara-Klahr, M. (2012), They're our rights! Manual for journalists on the accusatory penal system. Disponible en: http://www.justiciapenalbcs.gob.mx/Uploads/Docu-mentos/Manual%20del%20periodista-Marco%20Lara%20Klahr.pdf [Recuperado el 21 de septiembre de 2016].

Latinobarómeter (2016), Annual Report. Disponible en: http://www.latinobarometro.org

Lozano, J. C., Martínez F. J. & Rodríguez, F. A. (2012), "Border news media coverage of violence, organized crime, and the war on drugs, and a culture of lawfulness. A content analysis and a discussion of possible policy-oriented measures". Disponi-ble en: http://puentesconsortium.org [Recuperado el 18 de enero de 2014]

McHugh, M. L. (2012). Interrater reliability: the kappa statistic. Biochemia Medica, 22(3), 276-282.

Reguillo, R. (2007). Fragmented Horizons: A map of contemporary media. En Communication Dialogues. Disponible en: http://dialogosfelafacs. net/wp-content/uploads/2015/75/75-revista-dialogos-horizontes-fragmentados. pdf

Rodelo, F. (2015), "Sinaloa: practice of journalism and culture of lawfulness in the treatment of crime". En Del Palacio-Montiel, C. (Coord.), Violence and regional journalism in Mexico (pp. 327-363), México: Juan Pablos Editor.

Salazar-Ugarte, P. (2006), Democracy and (culture of) lawfulness. Mexico: Instituto Federal Electoral.

Sánchez-Hernández, C. (2013), "Culture of lawfulness and its coverage in the Mexican press". Nomads. Criticism Journal of Social and Legal Studies, 411-425. Disponible en: http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=18127008022 [Recuperado el 21 de septiembre de 2016]

Tello, N. y C. Garza (2000), "Culture of lawfulness, antidote of insecurity" (p. 34), In This Country, núm. 116.

About the authors:

Gabriela Gómez-Rodríguez is head research professor at the Department of Social Communication Studies. Doctorate in Communication obtained at Concordia University, Montreal, Canada (2009). Professor in the Public Communication and Sociology Undergraduate programs, as well as in the Masters program in Communication at the University of Guadalajara.

Frida Rodelo is professor for the Public Communication Undergraduate program at the University of Guadalajara and Doctor in Social Sciences at the same institution. Her research interests are the analyses of journalism focuses and the situation of exercising freedom of expression by journalists and media professionals.

How to Cite:

Examples of Notes Published

Detienen a "coyote" que vendía licencias de conducir falsas

Un "coyote" que operaba en los alrededores de la Secretaría de Movilidad fue detectado ayer por la mañana realizando la venta de una licencia de conducir apócrifa a una mujer que acudió a refrendar el documento. El hombre fue puesto a disposición de la autoridad competente para su consignación.

"Se sorprendió a José Óscar Flores Rodríguez, de 41 años de edad, quien se ofreció como gestor para refrendar la licencia de conducir de una usuaria a cambio de un pago de mil 200 pesos"; el documento resultó ser falso, informó la Secretaría de Movilidad.

La dependencia relata a través de un comunicado, que al aproximarse al edificio de la Secretaría de Movilidad la usuaria fue abordada por el "gestor", quien le ofreció la renovación de su licencia sin hacer ningún trámite y, debido a la urgencia que traía, aceptó "el trato".

Una vez que Flores Rodríguez fue descubierto por el personal de seguridad interna de la Secretaría de Movilidad, quedó en evidencia que tenía en su poder la licencia de la usuaria, aunque ésta resultó ser apócrifa.

El documento traía impreso un número de licencia, pero corresponde al de otra persona cuyo trámite es completamente legal.

Según la Secretaría de Movilidad, del hecho registrado la mañana ayer se desprenden dos evidencias: por un lado, que dentro de la dependencia no hay personal coludido con los llamados "coyotes" y, por otro, que los usuarios no deben exponerse a ser timados.

La dependencia pidió a los ciudadanos evitar recurrir a los "coyotes", ya que el trámite de refrendo de licencia se efectúa en alrededor de 20 minutos y el del documento nuevo en 40 minutos.

IN FRAGANTI. Un policía vial conduce al sujeto detenido.

Jalisco

El Informador
July 16, 2013, p. 5b.

November 28, 2013, p. 7-A.

Jueves 28 de noviembre de 2013 — EL INFORMADOR — PANORAMA LOCAL — PÁGINA 7-A

TLAJOMULCO REPORTE DE VECINOS EN LA DELEGACIÓN BUENAVISTA

Hallan en una casa 80 mil litros de hidrocarburos

Personal de la Fiscalía General del Estado aseguró ayer una finca en construcción en donde había contenedores con unos 80 mil litros de hidrocarburo. En el sitio se aseguró a un individuo que se encuentra bajo investigación: Pablo de Jesús Zúñiga Díaz, de 45 años y vecino de Zapopan.

Vecinos reportaron a personas sospechosas en una finca con ingreso por la calle Cuauhtémoc, en Buenavista, Tlajomulco. Cuando los elementos de la Fiscalía llegaron, varias personas huyeron hacia un cerro cercano; no fueron localizadas pese a un operativo.

Dentro de la finca fueron localizados nueve contenedores de diferentes tamaños en los que había hidrocarburo. Además había un camión, con caja seca, de la marca Kodiac, con placas JF-18086, además de tres motocicletas y un vehículo Accord negro, con placas JKK-7073.

Sobre la localización del hidrocarburo se le dio vista al Ministerio Público Federal.

LOS CONTENEDORES LOCALIZADOS. Una persona quedó bajo investigación; otras lograron huir.

VISIÓN A FUTURO. JALISCO TIENE RUMBO. ADIÉSTRESE

Canainpesca detecta la incursión
'hormiga' de pangas en altamar

> Se detecta a siete embarcaciones menores pescando en la zona de Topolobampo

REDACCIÓN
debate@debate.com.mx

~Mazatlán. La Canainpesca denunció la incursión "hormiga" de pangas en altamar por la zona de Topolobampo durante el primer sobrevuelo realizado en los litorales de Sinaloa.

Violando flagrantemente la veda del camarón en esa zona restringida para las embarcaciones menores, se encontraron a siete pangas con las artes de pesca saqueando el producto.

Juan Carlos García, gerente del organismo de productores, alertó de la situación para que se tomaran las medidas necesarias por quienes operan el programa de

Violan leyes

❶ Se encontraron a siete pangas con las artes de pesca saqueando el producto.

vigilancia en la entidad y no se dispare el furtivismo en la zona norte, como ha ocurrido en otros años.

>Ambiente ordenado. El sobrevuelo en el resto de las franjas que antes eran puntos críticos de los furtivos, el fin de semana estuvieron tranquilos, a pesar de que existen muchas quejas de los pescadores de bahía de que han encontrado poca producción y de tamaños chicos.

"En otras zonas se vie-

ron tranquilas, desde el aire, como las bocas de Agiabampo y del campo pesquero de La Reforma, que siempre han sido muy conflictivos", expresó el directivo del organismo de productores.

"Esto es un encendedor que se está prendiendo y que se manda un mal mensaje a los demás de que pueden salir, conforme pasen los días".

>La denuncia. El hecho fue denunciado, desde ayer directamente por el dirigente de la Cámara Nacional Pesquera al director de Inspección y vigilancia Rigoberto García Soto para que reforzara el operativo en esa zona, donde se ya se prendió un foco rojo.

El tema es más que delicado porque si se protegen unas bocas y se descuidan otras, podría registrarse la incursión masiva de pangas, como ocurrió entre Los Mochis y Topolobampo, en la temporada de capturas del 2011-2012.

>La advertencia. Por parte de la Unión de Armadores del Litoral Pacífico, existe la intención de que si se detecta la incursión masiva de pangas ribereñas a las zonas pesqueras de altamar, en ese momento se adelantarán las capturas, cuyo inicio oficial se tiene programado para el próximo domingo. ✐

>>MÁS INFORMACIÓN EN:
www.debate.com.mx

Padre de familia acusa
al Seguro Social de
negligencia médica

> Señala que le provocaron daños irreversibles a su bebé en parto

CAROLA ROJO
carola.rojo@debate.com.mx

~Luis Enrique Jiménez Avilez relató que su esposa, Eunice Villa Arredondo, fue obligada a dar a luz por medio de parto normal, a pesar de que las indicaciones eran que fuera por cesárea, lo cual le ocasionó daños irreversibles al bebé.

El padre del recién nacido señaló que el niño sufrió fractura de costillas, moretones en rostro y cuerpo y daños en el cerebro.

>Proceso. Recordó que en la clínica 36 del IMSS se expidió la orden de que el parto fuera por cesárea, pero al llegar al Hospital Regional número 1, la doctora que atendió a Villa Arredondo desechó el expediente y optó por ordenar que se le practicara un parto normal, el sábado 23 del presente mes.

Durante el tiempo que duró la labor de parto, los docto-

res se mostraron herméticos a dar cualquier información, y después de casi tres horas salieron a informar que el parto fue todo un éxito. Sin embargo, Jiménez Avilez se dio cuenta de que esa noticia era falsa cuando vio a su hijo el día lunes.

"Lo miré hasta el lunes, entubado, vendado de la cabeza, y le pregunté al doctor si se les cayó o qué le pasó, y es cuando me dijo que se atoró y tuvo complicaciones; y el bebé, si se logra, va a tener secuelas. Si se logra, va a ser un niño especial", comentó.

Ayer seguían la madre y el recién nacido internados en el hospital.

"Si a ella la dan de alta, el bebé se va a quedar internado porque dice el doctor que puede tener secuelas, ya sea del corazón, del cerebro, y el brazo que no le funciona, porque dice el doctor que cuando el bebé se quedó atorado, se murió por un instante por falta de aire y se

>Luis Enrique Jiménez.

le pudo haber dañado parte de la caja torácica", añadió.

Jiménez Avilez teme por su bebé y la condición en la que quede, porque necesitará atención especial, lo cual es complicado por su situación económica, ya que su esposa también trabaja para ayudar a la manutención de sus demás hijos.

Puntualizó que en el hospital no le han dado información sobre los doctores que atendieron a su esposa, por lo que pide la intervención de las autoridades. ✐

>>MÁS INFORMACIÓN EN:
www.debate.com.mx

Sinaloa
El Debate

September 9, 2013. p. 22A

November 28, 2013. p. 6A

ARTÍCULOS MISCELÁNEOS

Public Communication in Touristic Promotion. A review in Querétaro

Comunicación pública y promoción del turismo en Querétaro

Gabriel Corral-Velázquez
Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, Querétaro, México
corral@uaq.mx

Abstract

Queretaro state's touristic promotion is proposed as example of public communication. Approximately since 1997 it has been articulated to the competitive advantages of the state, as well as to the official publicity and the figure of the governor. In this paper, through the use of discourse analysis, we examine its structure and the image that is been constructed from the values promoted by each administration, since that time and until 2015.

Keywords

Public communication; discourse; touristic promotion

Resumen

La promoción turística del estado de Querétaro se propone como un ejemplo de comunicación pública. Desde 1997 se ha articulado a las ventajas competitivas de la entidad federativa, tanto a la publicidad oficial como a la figura del gobernador. Se examina, por medio del análisis de discurso, su estructuración y la propuesta de imagen construida desde los valores promovidos por cada regido, desde esa fecha, 1997, hasta 2015.

Palabras clave

Unicación Pública; Discurso; Promoción turística

1. Introduction

Promotion of tourism in cities has grown in the last years. This exposition, for the case of Queretaro, is not just a simple marketing campaign as if it were a brand. It has grown to include, among other things, building a concept of the city based mainly on the dissemination of government works or the image that the governor at the time wants to create. Approximately since 1997, a tourism promotion discourse has been structured to take advantage of the features that Queretaro has to offer as an industrial, economically active, and especially quiet city in addition to its tourist attractions. This touristic promotion has been designed in almost every case by the governor's office based on the discourse that he desires stemming from the added value that is used in the official marketing campaign.

In this paper we plan to offer, based on concrete examples, an analysis of the tourism promotion discourse in order to determine the main discursive elements which the city of Queretaro's touristic promotional strategy uses. This is a public communication exercise that is understood as a form of communication that a society generates to discuss issues of collective interest taking advantage of the place that communication has taken in the exercise of contemporary governments. Public communication proposes, as a starting point, the idea of a space of collective deliberation and action. It is a place where se discuss in favor of common action on those assets and values that belong to collective life.

The public space connects two discourses: the private and the public. Intermixed debates on ideology, the struggle for hegemony and propaganda, disguise private interests behind the mask of public interest. Between the domain of the public authority or the State, on one side, and the private domain of the civil society and the family, on the other side, emerges this new sphere of "the public": a public burgess sphere made up of private individuals that meet to debate amongst themselves on civil regulations

and the administration of the State" (Thompson, 1998:84).

With the beginning of the debate on modernity of the State and the need to open public issues to the people who participate in civil society, it is necessary to establish definitions: public space refers to a place where debate on issues of collective interest can be held thanks to the visibility of the people that produce a discourse exchange, which is capable of legitimately sustaining beliefs capable of rooting a solid political culture. McChesney (1999) says that the media have taken on a dominant role in all debate on public issues while citizens, little by little, have distanced themselves from the debate. The discussions around politics have become merchandise and as such they are presented in the large communication media sources, leaving aside the essential content that is motivating the debate around the topics of common interest.

This has diverse aspects with implications in the realm of social life. Firstly, it refers to the public, which is to say, to issues that concern all social players that we relate to regarding institutions and regulations, going beyond the government, but involve them just the same. Secondly, derived from the relation with the State, it is established that public administration is related the goods that a determined society possesses and that largely includes discussions regarding all things public. Finally, that related with communication focused on the symbolic change between members of a society concentrated basically on the two points mentioned; in relationships with institutions which are built to formulate a discourse that democratically articulates the media information, between the institutions and civil society.

Based on this, it is convenient to indicate *the public* as a complex social configuration whose creation is necessary to clarify (De León, 2009). For some time various authors (Arendt, Habermas, Thompson) have taken up the task of defining on a conceptual level the concept *of public* with the purpose of pinpointing the sphere of action that corresponds to this as-

pect of social life. There is, based on the theories of said authors, a general convention that states that issues of collective interest and spaces of social deliberation make up part of the definition that is defined around *the public*. As an example of which we can indicate: the movements of civil society, who upon demanding participation in the public agenda and the right to visibility clarify the comprehension and the widening of the territory of the public in the political sphere in order to interpret this phenomenon adequately, or the current electoral processes. In this sense we can say that *the public* is the formative construct of a collective identity via the cultural appropriation of history, and the production and reproduction of symbolic forms, thus rebuilding the connections between public and private space.

Along these lines, Demers and Lavigne (2007) state that deliberative democracy surpassed, little by little, the simple staging of institutional representatives and politicians elected in electoral cycles opening itself to all types of group "representatives", currents and options. Yet this public media plaza was always under the control of the large broad page communication media sources. This dominion was refuted thanks to the redeeming of a "right to media access" for all groups of the civil society, different from the hegemonic political figures (Demers & Lavigne, 2007: 68). The problem is that the public is more and more identified with that which appears in the media. The construction of spaces for debate are mainly focused on what is built via mass media and presumed to identify little with audiences. The public opinion that the media creates has less and less debate and less critique. The lack of representation of civil society facilitates the assimilation of the political discourse to the predominant model of communication in public space.

The construction of spaces for debate are mainly focused on what is built via *mass media* and presumed to identify little with audiences. The public opinion that the media create has less and less debate and less critique. The lack

of representation of civil society facilitates the assimilation of the political discourse to the predominant model of communication in public space.

Public communication, therefore, remains in the hands of a few mediators that decide who appears and who disappears from the controlled scene in terms of the dialogue of public opinion. Public communication analyzes the combination of phenomena of production, treatment, dissemination, and retroaction of the information that reflects, creates and guides the debates and public issues. Public communication is understood not only as the work of the media, but also of the institutions, the companies, the movements, and the groups that intervene in the public scene (Demers & Lavigne, 2007).

2. Methodology. The discourse as a vehicle to analyze public communication

Discourse permits recognition of the social imaginary. According to Van Dijk (2006), the discourse is the combination of communicative interactions of a group or society, the context, its integration in the day-to-day practices of the members of a group and its categorization, continuity and functionality of the levels and dimensions of the discourse, as well as social cognition. The discourse can establish the position of the actors in light of social situations, propose meanings and interpretations of the environment. Addressing discourse allows it to be seen in its formal sense, which refers to what it says and its context, in other words, from action and interaction.

In public space, the actors take a position based on their discursive action, that is manifested in concrete practices. The action of the discourse does not refer only to the linguistic exercise but rather is clear based on reference practices. In this sense, it is relevant given

that you can analyze the public communication discourses and practices together and all the different meanings you would ever want to know. You have to note, in this sense, that the discourse as a social practice and the subjects that produce the discursive forms should be registered within a clear social process and one that allows understanding of the relation that exists. Thus, the discourse is analyzed based on positions and subjectivities. In the discourse, the actor manifests his position on the issue and places emphasis on the references to which it is affiliated. The positions refer to the place that it occupies within the actors involved in the public sphere. This is to say that the actor, upon being part of the debate, is identified by his discourse and based on this takes position.

In this sense, it's important to do a general inspection of the text, discourse, before analyzing. This is done in order to understand the intricacies of the linguistic, rhetorical, and semiotic devices that compose it and finally distinguish between the ideological, appropriation of common sense, and naturalizing effects. These are done by using the rhetoric and semiotic devices that create an agile analysis when central topics of interest have been identified in the discourse. In general, they have to do with a semantic analysis and one of discursive praxis.

Thus three aspects have been taken for analysis:

a) The discourse should take place within a social process. It is a discursive exercise that assumes a determined position within the environment in which it is produced and finally makes reference to social, cultural, and ideological aspects.

b) All discourse implicitly or explicitly subscribes to a system of pre-existing social relations and representations. These always make reference to a scale of dominant or subordinate values in constant struggle, and whose complex and contradictory articulation defines the confirmation of a society.

c) The discourse is presented as a ritual practice, tied to cultural aspects within a social framework of meaning

In order to carry out the analysis and understand the relation between public communication and discourse we uncovered the brands used by state governments between 1997 and 2015.

At the same time, we reviewed the different images used by the government administrations in the different publications[1]. Based on this, the representatives were identified and those that served to promote the government administrations. This selection is what will be analyzed in the following pages. The link between discourse and the public is basic and complementary. Thompson (1998) considers public space as the formative construct of a collective identity via the cultural appropriation of history and the production and reproduction of symbolic forms, thus rebuilding the connections between public and private space.

Public communication based on the discourses opens the door to mixed debates on ideology, struggle for hegemony and propaganda, those that disguise the private interests behind the mask of public interest. Between the domain of the public authority or the State, on one side, and the private domain of civil society and the family, on the other side, emerges this new sphere of "the public": a public burgess sphere made up of private individuals that meet to debate among themselves civil regulation and administration of the State (Thompson, 1998: 84).

In that referring to promotion and politics of tourism, authors indicate

> considerable are the amount of changes that planning and decision making based on tourism [that] have been developed on behalf of groups interested in such activity. The State has redefined the roles that have allowed it to maintain "order" among public, private organizations and local communities to create a touristic development that until today has

been possible. However, what has been visibly clear are the difficulties in the correct guidance in terms of the management of tourism policies, that can be classified in different stages (Martínez et.al., 2012 p.420)

On one hand, De los Monteros et.al. (2012) consider that

> in the tourism promotion, the selection of images, marketing texts, and public relations leading to the creation of the image of a destination operate under this process of topic selection in which they choose the identifying attributes and elements that the offer features and that, supposedly, will modify the expectations in respect to leisure time and will bring tourists. (De los Monteros et.al., 2012:1411)

This is the framework of the analysis, seeking to relate the promotion of tourism in Queretaro a brand specifically determined for public communication of government entities. The analysis presented in the first place presents the recognition of 2 important actions, the first is the emergence of the name Queretaro as brand emblem[2], and second, the recognition of the historical and cultural references that reinforce the brand with which the state will be promoted for tourism.

Upon finalizing the analysis we will have elements to propose the connection between the touristic promotion of the entity and the political promotion of the State administration. Likewise, we will observe the factors that coincide between the two as part of the public communication strategy of state governments.

For the analysis, only the images that were representative of the state governments were used. There were 3 government administrations (1997 to 2015), each one for a six-year term (constitutional period of state (province) governments in Mexico). Each government has designed an image that identifies its term In the analysis presented, discourse analysis elements will be used. The image is proposed as a discur-

sive element and producer of meaning on the same level as other discourses.

3. Queretaro, cultural pretexts and discourse.

As mentioned, discourse provides for relating the meanings with social and cultural practices. One of the main characteristics, related with public life in Queretaro, is the lack of conflicts; even in moments of political transition and rotation that occurred in the 1990s. Dissident voices have been, in general, few and hardly visible. It is said that both the public sphere of Queretaro as well as the dominant political culture are tightly connected to the region's economic-industrial development. The adapting ability of the traditional elites to the changing situations in the economic and political context, particularly starting in the 40s, resulted in the transformation of the large land owners into business owners (Nieto, 2000: 105) and the cooptation of political and intellectual scenes and migrant workers that incorporated themselves harmonically to the business and political might of Queretaro. For Morales (1998) there were tensions and differences for the political control of the State, especially, when in the first half of the 20th century, the large land owners had to deal with the collapse of latifundium and the new policy of import substitution that led to an accelerated process of industrialization, creating a new class of business owners-politicians that challenged the age-old power of the cattle farmers (Morales, 1998).

In a period of no more than 4 decades, Queretaro changed from a completely rural entity, rooted in agricultural activities, to an urban and industrialized state, based on secondary and tertiary sectors, being industry, commerce, or services. Gonzalez (2013) notes that this intense industrial activity modified the population's structure and began to bring migrant workers to the urban centers of Queretaro. Demographics, stable from the viceroyalty to 1940, changed drastically. The population growth ac-

celerated, starting in the last 30 years of the 20th century, causing a considerable increase in the population that lives in Queretaro.

In this respect there are two clear trends: the deconcentration of the industrial plant of the metropolitan zone of Mexico City and the earthquakes of Mexico Valley in 1985. These two situations caused massive displacement, complemented by the constant flow of migratory workers inside the country. In 1980, the resident population of the city was barely 215,976 people. In 2000, the number passed half a million people: 536,463 in total. Today, the city has surpassed a million inhabitants. In two decades, Queretaro doubled its population.

In regards to political life, the prolonged reform of the Mexican State promoted during the 80s and 90s impacted all parts of the government after the slow disintegration of the party-state that was the PRI. In this progressive loss of the vertical authority, the federal entities took on their own processes of modernization and democratization. The case of Queretaro is exemplary in that sense. Starting in 1997 there was a change in governments as consequence of the constitutional reforms that led to political change, whose biggest success came in the form of the arrival of the Party of the Democratic Revolution to the executive office of the Federal District's government the same year that Queretaro converted the National Action into the first party of the state, result which marked a transitional democratic stage that was yearned for decades. From then on, the state has three electoral choices in state government, as well as numerous changes in the municipal governments and in the same legislature.

These aspects may seem of little importance when speaking of tourism or public communication focused on tourism promotion. However, it is considered to be important to note it, given that these are the main pillars on which the political discourse on Queretaro is built. In other words, the discourse that is built on the political promotion of the state is basically sustained on social and political

peace of the entity, discourse that is used in the same way in the touristic promotion of the last years.

4. Perspective of the discourse in Public Communication

To carry out the discourse analysis we will apply the idea of the discourse as a social practice from Van Dijk (2006). For the author, the discourse as a social practice is understood as the combination of communicative interactions of a group or society, the context, its integration the adoption of the discourse as a social practice of the members of a society and its categorization, continuity and functionality of the levels and dimensions of the discourse, as well as social cognition. The discourse can establish the position of the actors in terms of social situations, propose meanings and interpretations of the environment. This addressing of the discourse allows us to focus it on its formal meaning, which refers to what it says and its context, which is to say action and interaction.

You have to note, in this sense, that the discourse as a social practice and the subjects that produce the discursive forms should take place within a clear social process and one that allows understanding of the relation that exists. Thus, the discourse is analyzed based on positions and subjectivities. In the discourse, the actor manifests his position on the issue and places emphasis on the references to which it is affiliated. The positions refer to the place that it occupies within the actors involved in the public sphere. This is to say that the actor, upon being part of the debate, is identified by his discourse and based on this takes position.

Thus three aspects have been taken for analysis:

a) The discourse should take place within a social process. It is a discursive exercise that assumes a determined position within the environment in which it is produced and finally

makes reference to social, cultural, and ideological aspects.

b) All discourse implicitly or explicitly subscribes to a system of pre-existing social relations and representations. These always make reference to a scale of dominant or subordinate values in constant struggle, and whose complex and contradictory articulation defines the confirmation of a society.

c) The discourse is presented as a ritual practice, tied to cultural aspects within a social framework of meaning.

The discourse analysis for this work allows for an approach to the explanation of the political phenomena. As Cham (2003) says, discourses are not "something that reflects reality, just as it happens, but rather build representations of it. They also help build representations of social practices, of the actors that intervene in these and of the relations that are established between them" (Cham, 2003).

5. Analysis. Discourse and Promotion of Tourism

The year 1997 is, for many, a milestone in Queretaro's recent history. This analysis agrees with this statement given that it is when an opposing political party won the mayor's office and the state government. The victory of the National Action Party candidate consolidated a series of changes in the administration and meant a change in the political staff. New visibility was given to the business class that took control of politics that was previously reserved for university groups and labor unions, which results in a series of modifications in the public life of the entity. Although it has been a historic, social, and political process that has not concluded, it can be used as a starting point to understand the configuration of the governmental public communication and the corresponding discourse.

In order to make an historic account it's necessary to indicate some information that was recovered and that serves as some insight on the topics. At the end of the administration of Enrique Burgos (1991 – 1997) Queretaro was far from being an important tourist destination. There were at total of 121 hotels, which is to say, approximately 5,380 hotel rooms. The majority of them were located in Queretaro's capital, Tequisquiapan and San Juan del Río. Annually, the state welcomed some 900,000 tourists, half for business and half for pleasure. Only 50,000 of these were from abroad (INEGI of December 31, 1996). In a period of 20 years the touristic map and the offer had grown exponentially.

Once the process of political rotation began, with the government of Ignacio Loyola Vera (1997 – 2003) you could say that it was mainly a government of transition. On a political level, there were an endless number of conflicts with diverse political, business, and educational sectors in the state. However, it is one of the first governments to use a brand as a distinctive seal of its administration. *United for Queretaro* was the emblem that Loyola Vera (1997 – 2003) used to promote his government and the city of Querétaro in those years. With this emblem, Loyola Vera began the promotion of the state together with the then State Secretary of Tourism, Raul Parisi Arau. The administration of Parisi was important given that he is who developed the state's first important tourism promotion campaign.

This campaign was developed based on the promotion of the naming of the city of Queretaro as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site in 1996. Articulated as *Unidos por Querétaro,* the state government took full advantage of the promotion to create a campaign that would put the city and the state of Queretaro on the national tourism map.

The fact that the government of Loyola would be called one of transition does not mean that it didn't have a public communication strategy. Ignacio Loyola and communication team had the chance to establish some *rules of the*

game[3] of which his successors have known how to take full advantage; among them new relations between communication media and political power, as well as the creation of cabinets of image that have served greatly in the construction of media discourse promoting government entities. The insignia image of the state government during this six-year term was an "i" (for Ignacio) with a "q" (for Queretaro) that combined the figure of governor and the state into a single being, in the end the idea of *"United for Queretaro"* took advantage of the circumstances of the rotation and grouped the diverse sectors, tourism being among them (Illustration 1).

Illustration 1. First logotype of the Queretaro brand (1998).

Source: Annual Financial Report - 2000.

Upon the completion of Ignacio Loyola's six-year term, Queretaro had an annual hotel occupancy of 60% and had the clear objective of being the number one tourist destination in the country's interior. During the six-year term of Francisco Garrido (2003 – 2009) the state's public communication system was redesigned. With the growth discourse and industrial push, the Queretaro brand changed drastically.

It is also during this six-year term (2003 – 2006) that a brand and an image are consolidated in regards to tourism. The redesign of the Queretaro brand was executed between 2005 and 2009. The strategy, according to the company in charge of it, consisted of defining structural variables (essence, values, styles and touristic products) to position Querétaro as an attractive, quality tourist destination that offers travellers various options.

During this six-year term, Queretaro became the country's number one non-beach destination and the 7th nationwide (1,764 million visitors. Almost double they number they had in 1996 and 65% of hotel occupancy in 2006). 92% of visitors came from different parts of Mexico (62% from Mexico Valley, others from Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Nuevo Leon with 5% each) and the 8% remaining came mainly from Canada and the United States. There are 226 hotels totaling 8,239 rooms. Tourism represents 2.611 billion pesos in revenue (State Government, 2014).

For the promotion and redesign of the brand over 200 materials were created for the different communication departments, from institutional letterhead to different marketing campaigns, taking care of all the details, from the mapping and tone of the texts to the color palette of the photographs. With this goal the state government carried out a dissemination program more focused on positioning the entity in industrial and business tourism spheres while still promoting the recreational tourism objective. Manuel Gonzalez Valle, Tourism Secretary (2003- 2006), discussed the objectives of the tourist promotion efforts in a speech:

> One of the priorities is strengthening the human factor for the providing of better services; I am a believer in training, as much as we invest in our people, to that same degree we will be that much more competitive, to that same degree we are going to be able to provide better services, which is what the people who come to visit us are asking for (Diario de Queretaro, 2006).

In the second half of the 6-year term, articulated to the industrial consolidation and infrastructure construction project of the Garrido administration, Esther Carboney Echave, Tourism Secretary (2006 – 2009), made reference to a 7% increase in touristic occupation with economic gains of over 3 billion pesos. The state government carried out tourism infrastructure works in all 18 municipalities. The investment estimated by government authori-

ties estimated 107 million pesos. She said the following in regard to this:

> The state governor has invested a lot in the topic of tourism and for this reason has worked to carry out projects that benefit everyone. Such is the case of the undergrounding of telephone and power lines in Queretaro, urban images in many of the municipalities and of course we will continue working to finish all the projects in order to keep numbers up. (Diario de Queretaro, 2008).

The same quote mentions the projects related to the undergrounding of telephone and power lines of the city of Queretaro, as well as the development in the *Pueblo Mágico* de Bernal, and of course the mountainous areas where the Franciscan missions are located if the municipality of Jalpan de Serra, which is planned to become the Segundo *Pueblo Mágico* in the state of Queretaro[4].

In reference to the image and public communication during this six-year terms, the Tourism Secretary invested over 30 million pesos in promoting the state and consolidating the Queretaro brand. At this time, Queretaro used two brand emblems in political promotion: "Queretaro es mejor" (Quetaro is better) and "Queretaro va en grande" (Queretaro is going strong) (Illustration 2). The two communication productions focused on, as mentioned earlier, the development and push in infrastructure.

Illustration 2. Queretaro brand in official publications (2003-2009).

Source: Queretaro State Government, 2008.

The six-year term of José Calzada has been a continual effort in regards to tourism. Tourism Secretary Mauricio Salmon Franz has kept the Queretaro brand, recreated in 2009, and has consolidated business tourism, mainly. The hotel offer has risen in the capital and the website *http://www.queretaro.travel/* (Illustration 3) has become the main search engine of the local tourism industry.

Illustration 3. Logotypes of the Queretaro tourist brand.

Source: Tourism Secretary, Queretaro State Government, 2015.

Data complied shows the main destinations within the state to be Queretaro's capital (70% of tourism), San Juan del Río (14%), Tequisquiapan (9.2%), and the rest are scattered between Bernal (Ezequiel Montes) and the Region of La Sierra Gorda. The solid sector growth is due to the combination of business and leisure tourism that maintain high levels of hotel occupancy.

In the discourse, the image of the state government since 2009 (Illustration 4) has been "gobierno de soluciones" (government of solutions), as well as "Queretaro cerca de todos" (Queretaro is close to everyone). They even combine the two marketing slogans into "Soluciones cerca de todos" (Solutions close to everyone).

Illustration 4. Logotypes of governmental administration (2009-2015)

Source: Queretaro State Government, 2015.

In political life, the government of Jose Calzada has used as part of its discourse in reference to Queretaro, the social peace and its economic growth above the national average. Promoted by strong support by the people, and the political and economic sectors, this government has been able to establish the Queretaro brand as one of the most visible on a national level. With it, the image of the governor has been promoted on a local and nationwide level. In addition, inside the state a campaign was created to promote local tourism and was taken up by the governor of the state in order to emphasize the fact of living in a state with peaceful conditions and social prosperity. This campaign's brand slogan was: "#suertudo, vives en Querétaro" (Lucky you, you live in Queretaro) (Illustration 5).

Illustration 5. Lucky you, you live in Queretaro (2009-2015).

Source: Tourism Secretary, Querétaro State Government, 2015.

It is interesting, however, that this six-year term, in regards to public communication, could be one of the most closed and less inclined to critique, limiting the public debate exercise in the spaces destined for deliberation. In other words, the deliberation has been converted into a simple promotion of the governmental figure taking advantage of the promotion of the entity's touristic and economic activity.

6. Conclusion: Public Communication, Discourse and Touristic Promotion

As seen in the historic tour analyzed via the official images and discourses of the city Queretaro, each one of the six-year term administrations has sought to put a particular stamp on the political and touristic promotion of the entity. This shows that the discourse built refers to concrete aspects on the reality that the governmental entities desire to build and which seeks to position itself in the large media sources as part of a public and political communication strategy.

As previously-mentioned the discourse as public communication refers to 3 aspects that it is necessary to note in the proposed examples.

First, the discourse should take place within a social process. Tourism promotion is part of the communicative process that the state government has used as part of their administration's image. It is an exercise that is performed within the political environment to make reference to aspects that each administration wants to highlight. Every administration has used image and promotion strategies emphasizing the entity's social peace, economic growth and development of infrastructure. Part of the discourse includes cultural and ideological values that they arbitrarily recognize as people of Queretaro.

Second, all discourse implicitly or explicitly subscribes to a system of pre-existing social relations and representations. Each one of the discourses that have been presented in the tour refers to an existing system of relationships between the diverse sectors of Queretaro. In them, emphasis is place on, above all, particular moments or the own interests of the administrations. For example, the administration of Loyola take advantage of the political scene; Francisco Garrido's administration highlights the industrial and economic progress, which articulates touristic promotion and the development of infrastructure; and, finally,

that of Jose Calzada who strengthens his governmental discourse on the state's political peace and security, using a colloquial expression.

This system of discursive relationships that uses political class allow for the interests of political, economic figures to be articulated together with different spaces of civil society, looking for positioning space. Third, the discourse is presented as a ritual practice, tied to cultural aspects within a social framework of meaning. Finally, the discourse and the promotion emblems are directly related with aspects the administration in office wants to emphasize.

Public communication has always existed, governments acquire abilities to keep public opinion informed. At the same time, it is an obligation that is established in liberal democracies. Leaving the debate aside of whether governments in Mexico correspond or not to consolidated democracies or what type, what is true is that they are building mechanisms, that can be perfected, to touristically promote the entities. The debate which this work discusses is the formula being used to promote tourism, and at the same time promote the governor figure in office or certain government programs. The debate is, in this sense, if it forms part of the governmental obligation or if it forms part of promoting the personality, thus going beyond a public communication exercise.

Notes

1. Publications identified such as: annual financial report, government reports, touristic promotions.

2. Brand is the term used by specialists in the topic in order to reference the aesthetic design and promotion of the name. Although Querétaro is not a product, it refers to the sense of it being promoted as an entity.

3. Previous governor terms, Mariano Palacios Alcocer (1985 – 1991) and Enrique Burgos Garcia (1991 – 1997) did not use an emblem or logotype to identify their administration. At official events or in governmental propaganda they used the official seal of the State of Queretaro.

4. The term "rules of the game" is used to refer to the (non-written) agreements that regulate the relationship between the press and the powers (Corral, 2006). With the change in governor in 1997, it is said that these relations went from the own political subordination of the PRI regimens to a regimen of economic coaction by way of official marketing, starting with the "sale" of the Queretaro brand or of the government in power at that time.

5. Today, Queretaro has four magical towns: The municipality leaders of Tequisquiapan, Cadereyta de Montes, Jalpan de Serra, and the Bernal delegation in the municipality of Ezequiel Montes.

Referencias Bibliográficas

Arendt, H. ([1983]2005). *The Human Condition.* Barcelona: Paidós.

Cham, G. (2003). *Discourse Theory. Journalistic Strategies.* Guadalajara: UDG.

De León, S. (2009). *Changes in the configuration of public communication in Mexico: the case of political journalism in Aguascalientes. Doctorate thesis on social scientific studies.* Guadalajara: ITESO.

Demers, F. & Lavigne, A. (2007). Public communication: a contemporary research priority. *Communication and Society*, n° 7, New Era. DECS UDG.

González-Gómez, C. (2013). "An interpretation of the construction of urban space: Querétaro, from tradition to modernity and from modernity to globalization". In Bas-

sols, M. (ed.). *Processes of urban space construction in Mexican cities.* 19th-20th century. (In press).

Habermas, J. (1981). History and critique of public opinion. The structural transformation of public life. Mexico: Gustavo Gili.

Martínez, M., Osorio, M., Castillo, M. & Arellano, A. (2012) Towards a characterization of Touristic Policy. *Pasos* Vol. 10 N° 3 págs. 417-428

McChesney, R. (1999). *Rich Media, Poor Democracy.* University of Illinois Press: Illinois Morales, M. (1998). *The New Generation of Politics in Queretaro.* UAQ, Mexico. Nieto, J. (2000). *From Farm Owner to Business Owner.* Mexico: UAQ-CUMDES.

Pardo, N. (2007). *How to make a critical analysis of discourse. A Latin American perspective.* Santiago de Chile: Frasis.

Pardo, N. (2010). "Representations of the policy of democratic security in the discourse of Alvaro Uribe Velez: Community state?". *Discourse and Society*, vol. 4, No 1.

Poblete, C. (2011). "Legitimization strategies of the discourse of legislators in the Constitutional Accusation against Chile's Minister of Education". *Signs*, vol. 44.

Thompson, J. (1993). *Ideology and modern culture.* Mexico: UAM.

Thompson, J. (1998). *The media and modernity. A communication media theory.* Paidós: Buenos Aires.

Van Dijk, T. (2000). *The discourse as structure and process. Studies on the discourse. A multidisciplinary introduction* (comp.). Barcelona: Gedisa.

About the Author:

Dr. Gabriel A. Corral Velázquez is full-time professor at the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the Universidad Autonoma de Queretaro (Mexico). He currently coordinates the research project: "Public Debate and Visibility. An analysis from the public space".

Online corporate information and audience relations of the European public broadcasters

Información corporativa en línea de las televisiones públicas europeas y sus relaciones con la audiencia*

Carmen Costa-Sánchez
Universidad de La Coruña, La Coruña, España
Carmen.costa@udc.es

Miguel Túñez-López
Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela, España
miguel.tunez@usc.es

Abstract

Webs 2.0 and 3.0 have led the transformation in the way to communicate and to interact socially that has meant a greater dynamism in the forms, supports and dynamic of the communication and this is forcing to the institutions to project a speech and an image in accordance with their identity and, at the same time, to try to receive a feedback of their actions, listen to improve or propose contents that interest to the users.

The present work identifies and analyses the on-line positioning and the main parameters of corporate information presents in the web of the public television companies in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, United Kingdom and Germany. The results from the analysis of corporate and financial information, social responsibility and transparency reports, ethical codes, action guides and communication with the audiences show transparency in the form but an unidirectional communication.

Keywords

Public television; corporate communication; Europe; corporate information; Web 2.0.

Resumen

La transformación del modo de comunicar y de relacionarse socialmente que han supuesto las webs 2.0 y 3.0 ha generado un mayor dinamismo en las formas, soportes y dinámicas de la comunicación y está obligando a las instituciones a proyectar un discurso y una imagen acordes a su identidad y, a la vez, a procurar recibir un *feedback* de sus actuaciones, escuchar para mejorar o proponer contenidos que interesen a los usuarios. La presente investigación identifica y analiza el posicionamiento *online* y los principales parámetros de información corporativa incorporados a la web de las empresas públicas de televisión en España, Portugal, Francia, Italia, Reino Unido y Alemania. Los resultados de analizar la información corporativa, financiera, de responsabilidad social, transparencia, código ético, guías de actuación y los canales de comunicación con las audiencias apuntan a un discurso de transparencia en la forma, pero unidireccional.

Palabras clave

Televisión pública; comunicación corporativa; Europa; información corporativa; Web 2.0.

1. Introduction

Regarding the function of programming and public service the main public European channels have been especially subject to study and scrutiny. The present study provides a novel point of view by focusing on interest in managing *online* corporate image. In today's context of economic crisis and the questioned need for public broadcasting, public entities must argue and persuade naysayers of the added value of communication 2.0. The present study is aimed at several strategies that eulogize transparency, or the importance of audience in terms of content, despite evidencing certain scarcity in two-way management of their relations with audiences.

2. Theoretical Framework: Public European Television and Commitment 2.0

The changes deriving from social evolution and technology, as well as the need to be held accountable to the citizenry are two of the major adjustments public television is currently faced with in Europe. In an era of post-financial crisis and the subsequent consequences suffered by all communication media, both public and private, public entities are looking to explain themselves to society. As Bronson and Escobar first intimated in 2004, it has become necessary to provide information, not limited by commercial legislation, to *stakeholders.*

The generalization of web services has forced these companies to adapt and adjust to a new medium, however the manner in which they have approached the problem has not been the same for all (Sanchez-Castillo, 2011). As Manfredi points out (2011), in Europe the audiovisual map has become increasingly complex, characterized by audience fragmentation and the breakdown of the monopoly on distribution, production, and broadcast. Given these circumstances,

The digitalization of processes, audience atomization, multiplied offers for free access via DTT and the firm consolidation of the internet and new consumer devices are leading the way to a new stage in the dynamic and scope of public television (Manfredi, 2011:51).

Today, the environment surrounding these entities is far more dynamic in form, support and communication. Under the 2.0 paradigm institutions not only project a certain image and discourse intended to reflect their respective identities, they also actively look for *feedback* on their performance; they listen to improve, and propose content of manifest interest to users (Costa-Sanchez, 2014).

Public television entities, as the organized entities they are, are also experiencing this new need, perhaps to an even more pressing degree. As public entities they must of necessity adhere to institutional missions and the public nature of service, then transfer said philosophy to the audience. All of the previous under a looming shadow years in the making, a shadow that questions their need, their management model and their performance, ultimately leading to disappearances like that of Channel 9 in Spain, or ERT in Greece in 2013. The private and political second-guessing of public funding systems has forced the respective corporations to increase the level of transparency regarding the allocation of funds, and increased the need to improve on their reputation (Fernandez & Campos, 2013).

Communication within organizations constitutes a management tool that, among other functions, helps to adapt both internally and externally. This means it contributes toward achieving organizational goals within the coordinates of a determined context.

Even though attention is still firmly on offering a public service that reaches a wide audience, the interactive communicational relationship established with the citizenry has become a fundamental part of the relative capital of organizations dubbed "the value to a company of having internal and external relations

with its respective *stakeholders*" (Tejedo, 2013:194).

Managing relative intangibles linked to corporate information leads to the assumption that television companies must disseminate information about themselves beyond the content or products they broadcast, and they must provide some form of explanation to be understood, be accessible, useful and transparent. The activities they undertake, especially given their sociocultural and political impact and consequently their delicate nature, breeds and further highlights the need for even greater transparency for the public at large (Lopez & Manfredi, 2013).

In addition to the above they must also go one step further and become flagships of their own commitment to public service in the digital arena; through their action they set their identity and condition their own image in the minds of the general public. Identity (what the organization transmits) and image (what the audience perceives) form a conceptual synthesis that begins, in line with the thoughts of Christensen Askegaard (2001), with semiotics and linguistics. From a semiotic perspective, seen from Pierce's own process of representation: the object is the organization, however its personality is presented indistinctively from the organization (*identity*) as an object unto itself, as a sign that gives another sign to those that receive it, the interpretant, or who gives it meaning (*image*). The linguistic perspective considers the signifier and the signified as parts of the sign and its referent (Saussare, 1983), and even to the uncertainty analysis of the Moles perception (1966), it associates the image to the perception as a redundancy.

Identity and image interfere and complement organizational culture, or the manner in which things are done. Assuming the identity of the organization is the set of signs it sends to society as elements that identify it (Chaves, 2005). Visual identity does not stem from provoked denotative and connotative discourse, in which what the organization says and what they wish said of them converge, rather corporate iden-

tity is more encompassing and includes how it behaves, how it relates, how and what it communicates, the symbols it uses and the features that distinguish it from other organizations. It is the character of the organization, that is why it is similarly called corporate personality. Corporate identity is the sum of behavior, communication and symbolism that defines the organization (Van Riel, 1986).

The identity put forth by television companies "transmits an institutional culture and reality built dynamically in negotiations between agents with varying interests" (Moreno, 2007:2) and can also be considered public because, among other reasons, it is a question of the identity of public institutions distributed through its own base (Moreno, 2007:3). It is evident that this type of behavior could even be diverted toward an action attitude analysis and commitment to its surroundings. That is why the level of visibility of actions taken in the sphere of Social Corporate[1] Social Responsibility (CSR) are also checked.

Acknowledging that CSR is a complex concept in which academic debate has yet to close the book, we approach its conceptualization under the assumption that Corporate Social Responsibility is a management model ultimately intended as a means to guarantee sustainability and that it is ingrained into the organizations' very reason for being (Forética, 2009). Organizational decisions therefore adapt to incorporate values, policies and moral and ethical criteria linked to transparency and accountability to society, both of which outweigh existing legal obligations (Valarezo, 2009). They seek to improve on productivity and increase profitability without compromising the social and economic welfare of employees and collaborators, nor the expectations of the community regarding economic, social and environmental development set as the very premise of responsible management (Tuñez, 2011).

However, to communicate either publicly or not, management of Corporate Social Responsibility is cause for debate, and at the very least "can be complicated" (Kotler, 2009: 753). Managing

communications around Social Responsibility can bring with it moral and ethical conflict similar to those that arise with communicating philanthropy, even if Social Responsibility is not considered philanthropic action.

> What can't be seen does exist, it just isn't projected socially. The values of a company must be known, communicated, and accredited. They are the most basic reference on which policy for social responsibility is molded… (Foretica, 2009).

Socially responsible organizations aspire to sustainable growth both within their organizations as well as in the communities they interact with. 'Management' and 'intangibles' are key words in the development of corporate social responsibility. Managing responsibilities means to define the organization's behavior and attend to several fundamental parameters, always from a place of commitment and transparency: corporate citizenry, ethics, corporate governance, socially responsible investment, bonding with audiences, work climate, care for the value chain, contribution to the environment, sustainability, annual reporting and strategic communication.

As Tuñez (2016) explains, it is time to balance communicative processes and relations between an organization and its audience but not just through a symmetrical two-way model (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), but also through what we can call an interactive *symmetrical model*, in other words relationships developed between actors with independent behaviors but on an equal plain of mutual influence, in which both are capable of mass broadcasting, of taking the initiative in handling relations, and of giving individual or a group response to communications. And the aforementioned they have managed to honor through what has been defined as *commitment 2.0*, which is to say:

> When participating in 2.0 environments presence is not enough, rather they are required to actively contribute, both creators and users, exchanging opinions and content in a manner in which both benefit (Tuñez & Sixto: 2001, 5).

They have not been found, however, rigorous comparative analysis of corporate content in public television, and the majority of their contributions, are centered on analyzing disclosed content, however no pause or time is taken to delve deeper into the potential of interacting with users. The singular nature of the research lies in interest in information from public television companies themselves, all in order to approach the levels of transparency, honesty and social commitment that influence their reputations as corporations.

3. Methodology

3.1. Objectives

The present study is intended as a means to draw closer to *online* positioning of Europe's main public television companies.

It is of additional interest to determine if there exists one-way communication with the public and audiences via the web, or if they have advanced toward two-way participation, especially taking into consideration that the entities analyzed herein are defined as public service providers. The possibilities of users participating first stem from the idea of creating content with their interests in mind, considering them one of the most important audiences in the organization, bearing in mind they exist because of and for taxpayers, given their funding exists for the grace of State budgets and/or direct contributions from the citizenry. In second place and regarding channels, corporate web services bring together all the different formulas for audience participation as a matrix that opens other pathways to interaction, and nurtures content on other platforms. As concluded in previous studies:

> Ninguno de los tres canales desaprovecha la oportunidad de establecer una sinergia entre la página de la cadena de televisión y los fans de Facebook. Un recurso que se emplea tanto en los mensajes dirigidos a niños como jóvenes (Fernández & Díaz-Campo, 2014: 192).

As a result, the chosen objective is to study the *online* corporation as it is the face of the company or institutional persona on the internet, and is assumed to be he main corporate platform subject to the current 2.0 paradigm (Marti, Alvarez & Dominguez, 2010). Information on what television companies publish about their themselves and their medium, the nature of their service (public), their informative products, entertainment products, their financing, accounting, reviews or reports on the activities in social responsibility, their proactive attitudes in generating one-way or two-way relationships with their online audiences, the possibilities of real interaction and the formal communication on dynamics and financing and accounting control organisms.

The objective isn't so much to analyze in detail each one of these concepts but rather the use of each one as a basic element in a global context, all to determine the global discourse each television company directs toward society and determine if said discourse is centered on action of general interest (distribution of current information), tracking competition (promoting their informative offer and programming), social participation and interaction with society, or va lue

enhancement of public service and the benefits and obligations (control and transparency) that this entails in the communicational, social and political space in each country.

3.2. Sample and Method.

The study is novel in that it lacks a similar comparative study in Europe on which it can reflect. Although audience participation in channels founded by public television networks for that very purpose has been the focus of interest in recent studies (Sachez-Castillo, 2011; Monedero-Morales, 2013; Azurmendi, 2015), it has not been subject to transversal in depth studies, nor comparative studies of joint communicative intention of corporate web personas.

A purposive sample (therefore non-probabilistic) was chosen to effectively develop the study consisting of RTVE (Spain), France Televisions (France), RAI (Italy), BBC (Great Britain), RTP (Portugal) and ARD/ZDF (Germany).

TABLE 01. Study sample.

WEBS Y TELEVISIONES ANALIZADAS

País	Tv	Denominación	Web analizada
Alemania	ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Consorcio de instituciones públicas de radiodifusión de la República Federal de Alemania).	http://www.ard.de
	ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (Segunda Televisión Alemana).	http://www.zdf.de
España	RTVE	Radiotelevisión Española.	http://www.rtve.es
Francia	FT	France Télévisions (Primer grupo audiovisual francés)	http://www.francetelevisions.fr
Gran Bretaña	BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation (Corporación Británica de Radiodifusión)	http://www.bbc.com
Italia	RAI	Radiotelevisione Italiana (Radiotelevisión Italiana)	http://www.rai.it
Portugal	RTP	Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (Radio y Televisión de Portugal)	http://www.rtp.pt

Source: Own elaboration.

To analyze the chosen corporate web pages for the period between May and September 2016, both months included, the following set of items was determined and chosen for their contribution to measuring the degree of presence and transparency of corporate information and management, accessibility of institutional content or dialogue channels, and relationship with audiences:

- Available corporate information: History, mission, vision and values, members of the administrative committee, key figures, human resources, etc.
- Information regarding Corporate Social Responsibility or available sustainability reports.
- Available financial information and balances.
- Other informative indicators: portal or separate transparency section, code of ethics, code of conduct, studies and reports on programming and audiences, etc.
- Communication channels for audiences; social networks, television audience rights defense, creation of an *online* community or other tools that convert the user in the center of activity that provide an interface through which to answer the question: is there a 2.0 commitment to audiences? Can we consider transparency 2.0 a topic we can talk about?

To measure not only planned and structured discourse on the web, but also less clear and evident communicative intentions, research also focuses on *online* positioning of said channels on Google, browsing the web using the corporation's full name, acronym, and television company plus name of country, the type of content prioritized on the company's homepage, the presence of key terms in search menus or the degree of accessibility of content on offer.

It must be noted that the present study is only an initial exploration intended as a first approach to orienting public global discourse on public television through *online* content, an approach that will be continued in later

studies to determine the image of main public television channels both in Europe and Spain.

4. Results

4.1. Analysis of *online* corporate information by network

4.1.1. ARD

Popularly known as Das Erste (*The First*), the ARD offers abundant corporate information in a section literally called *This is the ARD* in which the channel provides all the explanations regarding their philosophy, objectives, quality indicators, journalistic competence, culture, awards and recognition, young and adolescent viewers, integration and inclusion. On their website there is a section, *ARD inter*, which lists, among other things, financial data and annual reports.

In the media library it also includes a video[2] on how ARD income is used, of special interest given that in Germany citizens pay a tax for television and radio at home, a single household tax item to the sum of 17.50 euros. ARD is entitled to 12.37 euros, while the ZDF and other radio stations receive 5.13 euros. The following belong to ARD: Tagesschau24, Eins-Plus, Eins-festival, ARD-Alpha, Anteilig PHEONIX, KiKA, ARTE, 3sat as well as teletext services and *online*[3] viewing.

Information on CSR is also thorough and includes stances before public entities regarding particular issues that affect the network both directly and indirectly. In the same manner the company also provides information on control mechanisms and all the relevant commissions and unions etc. all of which in their majority have their own websites. It also provides a link to audience rights defense, social networks (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Google+) and to a press service for accredited journalists[4], with information on training, work opportunities, statutes and, among others,

domestic and international legal stipulations (informative only).

Within the commissions and unions the company subdivides further into Länder and delegations, in such a manner that complaints must be sent to each one of them[5]. In turn these commissions have their own websites in each case with local information regarding the channel. In addition to the previous there is also a "Spectator message"[6]. With this tool the spectator can ask questions and will be answered; questions can be asked via telephone (free call number) or via email from 9am to 11pm.

4.1.2. ZDF

The ZDF, whose homepage prioritizes entertainment, provides corporate information via a link in small font at the bottom of the website. This section has information on the company's objectives, management, it has the company's organization chart, as well as lists the participation of external parties and entities, together with their respective percentage of participation and the name of the owner/representative, the varying activities the channel/entity engages in, advertising space for sale, programming and current news/press releases.

The website also offers up a code of conduct. There is no information per se regarding funding or balances but there is a section with an organizational chart detailing those in charge of financing and legal matters etc. ZDF offers a lot more information about *merchandizing*, co-productions, and licensed products, even paid apps for download. It also has an *online* store, most of which is dedicated to the characters from *Mainzelmännchen*, a children's cartoon. It also provides links to social networks Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Google+.

4.1.3. RTVE

All of the corporate information is accessed via the links at the bottom right of the webpage. In Rtve corporation it incorporates content about human resources, transparency, communication,

hiring and business[7]. Information on public service doesn't stand out but it does appear in the corporate section of the website, and, in revision, there was an image of a carrousel (4 images of a carrousel) representing Public Service in reference to quality. It is prioritized in the image but it isn't easily accessible. In the section *Who* we are nested in the section "About us" it reads" a public independent company"[8]. A Google search leads to new if they are broadcast under the banner of RTVE and to entertainment (programming) if the search is for TVE. It is a multi-media corporate webpage which overall prioritizes current news.

Information regarding Corporate Social Responsibility is also not highlighted, but nonetheless it is listed as news in the corporate section, sub-section reports: *"RTVE gives an account of their activity every year in the Public Service and Corporate Social responsibility Report, and in the Global Compact Progress Report"*. Information on control organisms is a section within the listed corporate information, with a tab referring to parliamentary control. In the transparency tab the company publishes financial information and statistics: accounts, contracts, budgets, audits, compatibility statement and 'our figures'[9].

There is a link to the audience rights defense and buttons to share content on Facebook, Twitter and Google+. It also talks of "many spaces open to participation" and provides rules for participation[10], but these spaces are not especially evident no real spaces for interaction with the audience.

4.1.4. France Télévisions

The homepage centers on entertainment and promotes programming on different channels. However, when logging on through francetv.fr it prioritizes informative programs (news) followed by entertainment, programming and culture. The site focuses more on channel content with little corporate information. Corporate information talks of the company's history, mission/vision and a summarized annual report on the balance, audiences, networks, programming,

management, creation of audiovisual content, digitilization, the year's highlights. It is the most complete and informative document on the website and it can be downloaded in PDF format.

Google searches lead directly to francetelevisions.fr, a page structured for TV audiences. Logging on the heading immediately reads *"france telespectateurs"* and the spectator is the axis of the page menu.

In the financial section users can download the annual report[11]. There is also a section with key figures that summarizes the most important aspects of resources, the cost of the program guide, the results, the evolution of their own capital and audiences.

For transparency and control refer to *Conseil consultatif des programmes[12]*, an organism made up of spectators that evaluate programming every year and look for ways to improve it. There is little information on administrative management/council as it only provides names and positions and makes no mention of career or cv of its members.

It provides links to Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Linkedin, Instagram, Pinterest and Google+. Each channel has a spectator relations and services module (SRT) with a telephone number and email, as well as a spectators' club[13]. There is clear intention to involve the spectator in the creation of feedback channels. This is why the webpage in itself is intended as an exercise in transparency and concentrates all the available corporate information (not just relative to the company's identity, or its activities as a television group, but rather information about management), and lists channels with audience participation.

4.1.5. BBC

Prioritizes current news on the website and has a section called *about the BBC*: news from the BBC and about the BBC. Corporate information is also available in detail regarding policies, regulations, *accountability*, Social Res-

ponsibility[14], and offered programming and BBC services all over the world[15].

It is a purely informative website that even converts itself into informational media, a web portal with news about the BBC and news from the BBC as a news source. However the history, mission and values as well BBC fundamentals as a public service are also on the website[16], including financial balances and salaries[17]. It also incorporates information on audiences[18].

There are no spaces for participation on social networks however it does allow users to share site content on their profiles on Facebook and Twitter. There is also an option to view content in other languages: Russian, Spanish, Persian, Portuguese… to a total of 28 languages. The prioritized subject matters vary according to language.

4.1.6. RAI

The RAI encompasses a broad range of media services (radio, television, production centers, distribution and advertising among others). This analysis covers rai.tv (not rai.it) which is also the first unpaid link that appears in a Google search. It leads to a page with programming and channels for both TV and radio that belong to RAI. At the top of the page (and highlighted) users can access *rai noticie* directly.

The section labeled *Grupo Rai* includes corporate information with a description of the main group and other group partnerships, the corporate mission and organization chart. There is s section for Documentation offering *Lo statuto della nuova RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana,* the service contract and code of ethics. There is also a web portal for transparency (*Rai per le transparenta*) that although isn't integrated into the website, it has its own independent web page[19]. It includes aspect of governance, administrations and control, the management council, balances, investment in the audiovisual industry, quality of the offered programming, balances, anti-corruption policies, human resources and procedures for awarding contracts. Most of the information is on the

transparency web portal. Prioritizing informational services and mission on the website is limited: on rai.tv there is a streaming video of what's broadcast on the news channel, and on rai.it the site prioritizes the programming menu or live feeds (*programmi on demand or ora in onda*).

Through the web page users can access all financial statements from 2011 to 2015 and in CSR what stands out is periodic monitoring of programming quality. The site also frequently puts together a balance depicting corporate reputation in which it measures citizen opinion on: TV, radio, website, televideo, cinema. It publishes information on control mechanisms and the names and profiles of the Management Council. It also provides links to Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Google+.

4.1.7. RTP

The website prioritizes current news. In the bottom right corner of the page users can find corporate information: history, mission, organization chart, administrative organisms, legal regulations for RTP, acquisition and production policies for programs and graphic representation of all the channels. However, a reference for public service is not apparent in itself and isn't even mentioned in the history tab, rather it is limited to the "Mission"[20] section. In the legal information section users can access in*formaçao financier* although the last entry on the websites revision date (July 2016) was for 2014.

There is a *Relatorio de sustentabilidade* seemingly given every year – from 2010 to 2014[21] – but there is no specific report for CSR. There is no yearly balance although it does reference specific campaigns within the RTP+ initiative "to raise awareness for social causes"[22].

In the Legal Framework tab the website includes a corruption prevention plan, the code of ethics and an assessment of Good Governance Principles, but there is no specific tab for control mechanisms[23]. Content can be linked to social networks (Facebook, Twitter, YouTu-

be, Instagram and Flickr) and there is a newsletter.

4.1.8. A Comparative Summary

In summary all the above are compared for the main items (Table 2) relevant to identity as presented on the analyzed corporate web pages, as well as the elements linked to intentional communication regarding transparency and commitment to society and audiences. The structure on these websites that hosts the aforementioned content is used as an indicator of the focus of the message. As observed in the case of RTVE, a separate website for transparency was created dependent on the RTVE Corporation, in RAI however the main corporate information is linked to a separate website that includes the Italian network's commitment to transparency. The British channel circumscribes to the 'how we work' section (philosophy or corporate values) while the Portuguese network makes it a part of the legal section of the website. The nuances lead to assumptions regarding their approach to transparency: a) complete (RAI) or complementary (the remaining channels); b)from a legal standpoint (RTP) and from the angle of identity (RTVE), from a stance based on action (France Tv and ARD) and of corporate values (BBC).

Audiences also have differing degrees of importance among the web pages analyzed in this study. The French website provides more space for audiences, more detailed information and greater commitment to audience, while for example the Italian website or Portuguese website have no specific section for audiences.

In reports and information on social responsibility it is perhaps the British website that provides the most detailed information in this regard, furthermore it is categorized and segmented according to the audiences it affects.

TABLA 02. Comparison of European Public Television Networks. Source: Own Elaboration.

	IDENTIDAD CORPORATIVA	RSC/ SOSTENIBILIDAD	TRANSPARENCIA	AUDIENCIAS
RTVE	RTVE Corporación.- Sobre nosotros	RTVE Corporación. RC. Memoria de servicio público y responsabilida d social (hasta 2013)	RTVE Corporación.- Transparencia (información institucional, económica y de relevancia jurídica)	RTVE Corporación. Transparencia. Oficina del defensor (defensor del espectador).
RTP	A RTP. Organigrama, historia y misión	Quadro legal. Relatorio de sustentabilidad e (hasta 2014)	Quadro legal. Plano de prevençao de riscos de corrupçao Quadro legal. Código ético Quadro legal. Informaçao financeira	Ningún apartado específico
ARD	Intern.ARD.de. - Esto es la ARD	Responsabilida d Social Corporativa	Datos financieros y memorias anuales	Defensor de la audiencia
France TV	Grupo.- Historia y misión	Acciones. Responsabilida d Social y medioambienta l (informe de emisiones 2014)	Grupo. Informe anual 2015 (cuentas, cadenas, audiencias, programación, recursos humanos y gestión)	FranceTelevisions& Vous.- Es el apartado más amplio dedicado a los telespectadores (club, consejo consultivo, etc.)
BBC	About the BBC.- INside the BBC.- Who we are (valores e historia)	About the BBC. Inside the BBC. How we work.- Corporate Responsability // Sustainability	About the BBC. Inside the BBC. How we work. Accountability. BBC Annual Report and Accounts 2015/16	About the BBC.- Inside the BBC.- How we work.- Accountability.- Audience information
RAI	Rai per la transparenza.- Misión, organigrama, historia	Sin apartado específico	Toda la web bajo la etiqueta de transparencia (web independiente). Incluye apartado	Sin apartado específico.

Source: Own elaboration.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

The public television entities analyzed in the present study coincide in prioritizing current news when accessing the website and using information as a highlighted element, all of which equate to projecting identify through one of their functions, reporting/informing.

The prevailing communicative intention is therefore identifies with public news television with an intent on becoming a reference and source of information for the citizenry, both at a general news level and sports.

The exception is the BBC which promotes news about its own actions and turns them into material with which they create/reinforce a certain image. Projecting identity through current news restricts public television services to a news medium, as if their *online* persona were limited to reproducing/replicating their content from informative instances.

The research reveals the interest generated in transparency manifest as a characteristic of discourse in every network. The Italian network stands out with a specific website developed for that express purpose (www.rai.it/transparenza) in which the network includes a paragraph in the anticorruption section of the site, where it explains the measures and regulations assigned to the role of corruption prevention and launches made within the framework of the triennial corruption prevention plan 2016-2018[24]. The Italian case is therefore one of the most aware, in terms of communicative action, of the need for rigorous action toward transparency visibly evident in communicative terms. RTVE also has a web section labeled transparency, while the BBC talks of *accountability* (nested within content on *How we work*). RTP and France Télévision are the only networks that don't use this express denomination to label information on balances and reports.

In this first approach it must be noted the almost universal coincidence of working in online environments with simulated interactive participation with audiences. There is no real (2.0), rather directional communication (1.0).

McNamara (2010) synthesizes the implications of the Web 2.0 for Public Relations in the following: a) true two-way communication; b) the breakdown of the control paradigm; c) new skills in *engagement* in *online* conversation; d) new ways in which to monitor media; e) reconsideration of issues linked to privacy and reputation. New digital media present dialogic, interactive, relational and global properties that turn them into the perfect mechanism for the paradigm of strategic management of public relations (Grunig, 2009). But spaces on social networks in which they encounter are not communities for multiple, interactive participation between medium and followers, rather they represent a limited almost symbolic presence, in several cases facilitating instant sharing of content from their respective websites on user profiles on social networks. What happens on these networks derives from the web model. In this we agree with Diaz-Campo (2014) in saying that it is a pending task of main television network websites to provide space for user-created content, offering them a more proactive role. According to Berthon et al. (2012), the three determining elements for communications and *marketing* professionals in the XXI century are Web 2.0, *social media* and creative users. Space is missing on the platforms of Europe's main public entities for said creativity.

Participation mechanisms are notably the exception in the case of the German ARD, British BBC and the French flagship. France Télévisions is the paradigm given all their efforts at corporate communication and image are geared toward the spectator, to the extent where the group, a public entity, named their website Francetéléspectateurs. In addition they have created a community through the founding of a tele-spectator club, among the members of which the company chooses participants for the programming consultant council. Said council is the mediating figure through which audiences can contact each channel. The group has incorporated *gamification* dynamics

to garner public participation and encourage brand loyalty.

Concerning the flow of corporate information, detailed updated information on control mechanisms and financial statements is, for the most part, available information, but has little access and is visually little exploited. The research validates another element of interest, public service should also cover the information available on the corporate web site. If said information is not accessible or not provided from an audience perspective the intention behind providing said information becomes less clear; it must be provided transversally in every communicative arena of public television networks. In importance of the information, the models analyzed here in are irregular. Faced with options like that of the BBC where they make public knowledge out of even salaries, other like RTP only publish the balances going back two years.

The present study provides a general outline of the situation, and confirms the need to deepen research by level. The study is an initial approximation of web content and management of relations with the public and audiences. It is framed by a broad analysis project that intends to identify and analyze indicators for governance, funding, innovation and quality of public service provided by European television companies so that, once identified, they can work on creating summary indicators applicable to public television networks in Spain. The need to measure has become one of the priorities of managing online communication, all in efforts to learn to results from image, reputation and positioning. The difficulty in measuring intangibles has turned generating indicators into a useful tool to make these intangibles objective and comparable.

Notes

1. The European Council incorporated Corporate Social Responsibility into the agenda of the European Union at the meeting in Lisbon, May 2000, and soon after presented the green book as a reference to encourage CSR in European organizations. Since No-

vember 2010 Social Responsibility has been regulated in ISO 26000, a guide for the workplace that sets lines of action defined by International Organization for Standardization.

2. http://www.daserste.de/specials/service/zuschaue-rredaktiondaserste-100.html

3. The graph with the details per section/content is available at http://www.ard.de/home/ intern/dieard/17_50_Euro_Rundfunkbeitrag/309602/ index.html.

4. https://presse.daserste.de/login.aspx?check=1

5. http://www.ard.de/home/intern/gremien/Program- mkritik_und beschwerde/679212/index.html

6. http://www.daserste.de/specials/service/zuschaue-rredaktiondaserste-100.html

7. http://www.rtve.es/rtve/20140707/esque-ma-web-cor- porativa/968460.shtml

8. http://www.rtve.es/rtve/20140512/quienes-so-mos/937847.shtml

9. http://www.rtve.es/corporacion/transparencia/

10. http://www.rtve.es/comunes/normas_partici-pa- cion.shtml

11. http://ftv.jnhebergement.com/sites/default/files/ pdf/2016/07/20/RAPPORT%20ANNUEL%20FI-NAN- CIER%202015.pdf

12. http://ccp.francetelevisions.fr

13. http://leclub.francetv.fr

14. http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/ y http://www. bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/

15. http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethe-bbc/ whatwedo

16. http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethe-bbc/ howwework/reports/ara
17. http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/inside-the- bbc/managementstructure

18. http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/inside-thebbc/ howwework/accountability/audienceinfor-mation/

19. http://www.rai.it/trasparenza/Rai-per-la-Traspa-

renza-46397dc7-65cc-41ef-b3cb-0b76ae9a838b.html

20. http://media.rtp.pt/institucional/rtp/missao

21. http://media.rtp.pt/institucional/informacao/rela-torio-de-sustentabilidade-2/)

22. http://media.rtp.pt/institucional/mais-rtp/rtp/

23. http://media.rtp.pt/institucional/informacao/ava-liacao-dos-principios-de-bom-governo/

24. http://www.rai.it/trasparenza/Anticorruzione-99ea10ed-e5d7-4e64-bf5f-6406185e7c2a.html

Referencias Bibliográficas

Azurmendi, A. (2015). "A public space to conquer. Institutionalized participation of audiences with television networks in Europe and Spain as an indicator for transparency in governance of communication media". *Derecom*, 19, 01-32.

Berthon, P. R., Pitt, L. F., Plangger, K. & Shapiro, D. (2012). "Marketing meets Web 2.0, social media, and creative consumers: Implications for international marketing strategy". *Business horizons*, 55(3), 261-271. doi: 10.1016/j.bushor.2012.01.007

Bonsón, E. & Escobar, T. (2004). "Voluntary distribution of financial information on the internet. A Comparative analysis of the United States, Eastern Europe and the European Union". *Spanish Magazine of Financing and Accounting*, XXXIII (123), 1063-1101.

Chaves, N. (2005). Corporate Image. Theory and practice of institutional identity. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili. Third Edition. (First Edition: 1988).

Costa-Sánchez, C. (2014). "The upcoming change. Audiovisual branded content". *Telos*, 99, 84-94.

Curras, R. (2010). "Corporate identity and image: revision of concept and interrelation". *Theory and Praxis* (7), 9-34.

Díaz-Campo, J. (2014). "Spanish television networks on the Internet: a study of the quality of their websites". Studies on Journalistic Message, 20(1), 67-84. Fernández Gómez, E., & Díaz-Campo, J. (2014). "Infant and Juvenile Themed channels on Facebook: an analysis of the Disney Channel, Boing and Neox profiles" *Communication and Man*, 10, 179-194.

Fernández-Lombao, T. & Campos-Freire, F. (2013). "Corporate Social Responsibility in Public radio and television in Europe". *Notebooks*. Info, (33), 145-157.

Forética (2009). Communicating CSR. *Proposals for a responsible communications model.* Collection of research notebooks and divulgation of Social Responsibility. Volume 13. Madrid: Cinca.

Grunig, J. E. (2009). "Paradigms of global public relations in an age of digitalisation". PRism, 6 (2), 1-19.

Kotler, P., Keller, K.L., Cámara, D. & Mollá, A. (2009). *Directing Marketing.* Madrid: Pearson. Twelfth edition.

López, A. M. & Manfredi, J. L. (2013). "Transparency analysis of web pages of the main audio-visual communication media in Spain". *Tripodos*, 1(32), 45-62.

Macnamara, J. (2010). "Public communication practices in the Web 2.0-3.0 mediascape: The case for PRevolution". *PRism* 7(3). Retrieved the 23rd of March 2017 from http://www.prismjournal.org/fileadmin/Social_media/Macnamara.pdf

Manfredi Sánchez, J.L. (2011). "Scenarios and challenges of public television in Spain". *adComunica. Strategy Magazine, Trends and Innovation in Communication,* (1), 49-62.

Martí, D., Álvarez, M. L. & Domínguez, S. (2010). "Reputation and responsibility on corporate websites". Open Area. *Magazine for audio-visual and advertising communication*, 26, 1-22.

Moles, A. & Costa, J. (1999). Advertising and Design. The new challenge in communication. Buenos Aires: Infinito.

Monedero-Morales, R. (2013). "Transparency and citizen participation in local public Andalusian television networks: the web 2.0. as a formula to increase public trust". *RiUMA*. Retrieved the 25th of August 2016 from http:// riuma.uma.es/xmlui/handle/10630/6828

Moreno, A. (2007). "The discourse of identity on public television. The self-promotion of Spanish television". *Telos*, 71, 1-10.

Sánchez-Castillo, S. (2011). "News framing on web homepages for Spanish television networks: digital convergence and new informative discourse". Retrieved on the 30th of August 2016 from http://campus.usal.es/~comunicacion3pun- to0/comunicaciones/011.pdf

Saussure, F. (1983). *General Linguistics Course*. Madrid: Alianza.

Tejedo-Romero, F. (2013) "Corporate communication strategy of socially responsible companies: analysis of Relational Capital as a base for company-stakeholder relations". Zer, (18), 191-213.

Túñez, M. (2015). Inte- ractive Symmetric Model of Organizational Communication. *The Mediterranean Communication Magazine*, 6(2), 5-7.

Túñez, M. (2011). *Managing communications in organizations*. Sevilla/Zamora: Comunicación Social Ediciones.

Túñez, M. & Sixto, J. (2011). "Social networks, policy and commitment 2.0: Government Representative communication on Facebook". *Latin Magazine for Social Communication*, (66), 210-246. DOI: 10.4185/RLCS-66-2011-930-210-246 / CrossRef link

Valarezo, K. (2009). "CSR communication must be based on ethics and truth". Acts of the I International Latin Congress for Social Communication. La Laguna (Tenerife): University of La Laguna.

Van Riel, C. (2003). "New Forms of Organizational Communication". *Reason and Word*, (34), August – September, 2003).

Available at: http://www.razonypalabra.org.mx/anteriores/n34/cvanriel.html Van Riel, C. (1997). *Corporate Communication*. Madrid: Prentice Hall.

About the authors_

Carmen Costa-Sánchez has a doctorate in Communication from the University of Santiago de Compostela and is professor of Corporate Communication at the University of Coruña. Co-author of Corporate Communication. Key factors and Scenarios (Ed. OUC) and Multimedia Strategic Communications (Ed. UOC).

José Miguel Túñez-López has a doctorate in Journalism from the Autonomous Univer-

sity of Barcelona and is Professor of Organizational Communication and Communication strategy at the University of Santiago de Compostela. Received the Queen Sofia National Award for Journalism.

How to quote:

Costa-Sánchez, C. & Túñez-López, M. (2017). Corporate information online for public European television networks and their relation to the audience. Communication and Media, (36), 127-141.

Transformations of Guatemalan television (1986-2017): From analog to multiplatform television

Transformaciones de la televisión en Guatemala (1986-2017): de la televisión analógica a la multiplataforma digital

Cicibel Lucas
Universidad Complutense de Madrid, España
cicibelucas@yahoo.com

Abstract

Guatemalan television goes through three stages that start with the promotion of private commercial television and the annulment of public television, the proliferation of foreign content in programming and later, the digital transformation of communication with the consequent expansion of entertainment and changes in social communication. The present text reflects on the particularities of programming and its contents, describes the effects of digitization in television system and delves into the political and business influences in a technology framework of multiplatform communication. The results achieved demonstrate the necessity to drive reforms in three ways, first regulate the usufructuary law of television channels and all related with Digital Terrestrial Television, improve the quality of national programming television and ensure the Internet access an regulate its use.

Keywords

Commercial television; communicational platforms; contents programming; convergence with Internet; political and business impact.

Resumen

La televisión guatemalteca pasa por tres etapas que parten con el fomento de la televisión priva-da comercial y la anulación de la televisión pública, continúa con la proliferación de contenidos extranjeros en la programación y, más tarde, la transformación digital de la comunicación con la consecuente ampliación de la oferta televisiva y los cambios en la comunicación social. El texto presente reflexiona sobre las particularidades de la programación y los contenidos televisivos, describe los efectos de la digitalización de la televisión y profundiza en la incidencia política empresarial en un marco comunicacional multiplataforma. El resultado alcanzado demuestra la necesidad de impulsar cambios en las leyes usufructuarias de los canales de televisión nacional y lo relacionado con la Televisión Digital Terrestre, promover la calidad de la programación de la televisión nacional y asegurar el acceso a Internet y la regulación de su uso.

Palabras clave

Televisión comercial, plataformas comunicacionales, programación de contenidos, convergencia con Internet, incidencia político empresarial.

1. Introduction

Television in Guatemala has many technical, legislative, business and content production particularities that would be difficult to separate in order to understand the way in which it develops. Thus, entertainment and information that it has contributed in the last 3 decades (1986-2017) has gone changing little by little, while maintaining elements that lead to a rather unbalanced progress. The most reviewed element throughout the period of analysis is the relationship of the politicians in office with those who have the licenses for the four channels of public transmission, and that translates into a monopolized trend and poor quality programming, keeping them in competition with other television groups and digital platforms that make more effort to bring less partial programming to TV viewers.

Our main objective is to identify the TV transformations in a framework of political, business, and technological influences, via a current contextualization, in which you will see the political-commercial scheme, the offer of TV programming and the change in model with the digital transformation and the convergence of the internet. Specific objectives are: a) describe the political incidences that have affected the development of public and private television b) see the privatizing role of the television that private generic content carriers promote in detriment to public television; y c) see the effects of the digital transformation of TV in social communication processes.

We ask ourselves the following question: How has TV in Guatemala progressed, from the democratic opening in 1985, through the signing of the peace agreements in 1996, the concentration of the rights to licensing for television and the technological impact on production and national dissemination in the 21st century? In that same environment, we will also have to respond to: What entertainment content do the channels offer? How is the news information and how does it promote response to user demands in times of multi-platform communication?

The hypothesis is that television has progressed in terms of widening the commercial TV spectrum, but not in the push and functioning of TV content with educational, informative, and entertainment interests. Specificities marked by political-commercial incidences, and, in the midst of which, the convergence with the internet and access on multiple platforms have given it a progression more in tune with social needs.

2. Theoretical framework

In order to draw our referential map of analysis, we start with a conceptual discussion in three steps. First, the relationships between politicians and businessmen focused on the direction of the political economy of the communication, widely defined with different tendencies and study guidelines, among which the following definition by Vincent Mosco goes in line with our analysis: "strictly speaking, political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the relations of power, that mutually make up the production, distribution and consumption of resources, including communication resources" (2006: 59).

Therefore, we use the two lines that professors Gomez and Sanchez establish after a collection of concepts and lines of research, determined by the impact of global capitalism in the cultural and information industries, ideas that draw a profile of action: the first, in the search of the economic nature of communication media and communicative systems, and their relation with the wider social structure; and the second, in the specific observation of how property, finance mechanisms (for example, marketing) and public policies influence content and behavior of the media (Gomez & Sanchez, 2014: 4).

For better understanding, Cesar Bolaño gives us a clear example:

> We highlight that action by political groups to manage a sliver of state apparatus (…) The articulation between the interests of the state and the interest of specific private groups takes place directly via a complex network of information in which the possibility of corruption is always present (2013: 46).

The political economy of communication reflects on the environment of digitalization, convergence and business models that emerge from within the industrial sector, but also over other lines, in which there should be a diverse environment to provide strategies for contemporary societies within capitalism (Gomez & Sanchez).

Digital media convergence of television with internet is expressed in a transition of a traditional model to a more current model. A merger in which there is flow, contents, platforms, cooperation between media industries and migratory audience behavior (Jenkins, 2008: 14). We would like to highlight the meanings: technological, communicative, regulatory, content and professional expressive (Villanueva, 2016: 169-173). We have analyzed the role of the user and the new ways of consuming content and interacting (Sanchez & Ibar, 2015), the products and challenges as an industry (Drula, 2015), the discursive hybridations (Marzal, 2013), the new professional profiles (Barrios & Zambrano, 2015), the forms of communication (Velasquez, 2013) and the new regulatory contexts (Crettaz, J. 2016), among many more.

Without a doubt, "the convergence has gone defining itself to be a deeply complex and multi-disciplinary concept" (Sanchez & Ibar, 2015: 88). Gonzalez Romo et. al (2014) also note that "the media convergence conforms a paradigm in which you can say that the digitalization of the media and the change of the communicational paradigm are a palpable and undeniable fact. The novelty and freshness of the new scenario draws a rich, confusing panorama with potential".

In light of this, we must consider the multiple communication platforms and transmedia narrative, communication process derived from the convergence of the television with internet. Henry Jenkins, Carlos Scolari, Kevin Moloney and many researchers have determined the applications of transmedia narrative in entertainment and journalism. Fortunately for this study, Carmen Peñafiel analyzes transmedia informative stories and narrows the concept to "in that story or news whose content is fractioned intentionally on different platforms and supports, whether digital or not, with the objective that absolute comprehension can only obtained by going to each one of these supports" (2016).

In our analysis, the transmedia narrative is palpable in news information and is where the television is best reinvented, mainly because it is the most important production, and it allows you to stay on the multiplatform cutting edge. Peñafiel talks about the media need and of the strategy to implicate the audience freely, motivating it to see support after support, with the purpose of taking a tour and becomes involved in the dissemination of the content. Guatemalan TV has adapted to the multiplatform in which Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp allow users to interact and define a TV reality of interaction, especially in the informative environment.

We move on to a third axis that is much more traditional. This is the informative and entertainment proposal of the channels, that as mentioned in the previous argument allow us to pertinently and adequately explain the results that also interpret the logics of the programming (Gomez Escalonilla, 2002).

3. Methodological Strategy

The present qualitative study is obtained via the following phases: a) reflection on academic literature related to the topic, legislative documentation and the journalistic documents relevant to supporting the progress of pri-

vate and public television b) description and analysis of channels 3, 7, Guatevision, Canal Antigua, Azteca Guate and their respective programming, using a sample of the listings of the week February 20 – 26, 2017 d) inquiry into the internet platforms of each channel in order to see the evolution of its social role and the scope of the use of technologies which they have.

The samples of the TV programming and digital platforms are taken from 2017, the year in which this article is written and we analyze the objective and the content. The objective refers to inform, educate and entertain; and the content refers to reality, fiction, sports, variety, music or religion, category to which each program belongs. The variables used are: origin of the domestic or international production and the content category. Technique of observation, visualization and quantification of the previous categories brings us to a description of each one of the channels and helps us to not only determine a clear view of the programming, but rather contribute to understanding the political-commercial incidence. The same observation and quantification technique is performed on digital platforms Twitter and Facebook of the informative programs, as well as general interest content.

4. Results

4.1. Transformation of Guatemalan Television

4.1.1. Socioeconomic Context

The country has a population of over 16 million, of which 50% live in urban areas and the other half live in rural areas. The average age is less than 30 years. Guatemala takes the 125th place out of 188 on the Human Development Index. Its economy is the smallest in Central America, but it is one of the highest in terms of inequality in access to wealth. The economically active population is over 6 million of which 69.8% work in the informal sector, whether in commerce or agriculture (National Employment and Income Survey, 2016). The monthly per capita income coming from a salary or revenue, ranges from USD162 to USD753. In terms of TV content, 63% say that TV is the main source of information and entertainment, 14% use the radio, the rest do not use communication media. Social networks and internet are used by 1% (National Life Conditions Survey, 2014).

4.1.2. Evolution of Commercial Television

Guatemalan television, in the beginning, created public and private, but basically develops the private sector. At the end of the 50s, after the rushed attempt to establish public TV via Channel 8 emerged, one after the other, channels 3, 7, 11 and 13. All showed Mexican programs and some of their very own production that satisfied TV viewers until multichannel cable TV arrived (1985) and the traditional channels began to lose little by little their audience numbers. At the same time, a monopoly of 4 channels formed and today they are administrated by Albavision. Channel 7 and its Notisiete news program (1987) are positioned as audience leaders, then Telediario of Channel 3 (1998). Regarding discussion, analysis and proposal, Libre Encuentro (1991) for more than a decade was the only opinion-forming program. Its contributions were relevant in the analysis of current issues, although it created controversy for the biased focus on many of the topics, as well as its ostentatious production (Lucas, 2009).

In the late 90s, in a more open social-political context complaints arose about the monopolistic tendency of the 4 channels, under the domain of Angel Gonzalez, owner of Albavision and that until today has strong ties with political figures in order to benefit mutually at the cost of government contracts. See the 2015 report of the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG for its Spanish acronym). An important event occurs

during the administration of Alfonso Portillo (2000-2004), when the political decadence and the servility of the televised information leads to the creation of paid cable TV channels Guatevision and Canal Antigua in 2003 (Lucas, 2009: 153-165). The going on air of the first national news program on paid television shows evidence of a lack of commitment in informative material on behalf of Notisiete and Telediario, and marks a milestone in the news with the production and publication of more objective content. This, together with the proliferation of cable channels that sprang up in several cities and with their respective productions, becomes the new informative and entertainment option, capable of captivating some of the attention of the user that had migrated to cable television.

In 2008, Azteca Guate appears when the digitalization in production content is already a reality. Towards 2009, internet is positioning itself in the country and television begins to converge with internet via its web platforms. YouTube and Facebook begin to be common in digital entertainment and audiovisual information consumption. This year, the Rosenberg Case, a death announced via a video that circulated the internet shows that the platform is used. The users comment and share the news via Facebook, generating information and opinion. The informative work of Guatevision, Canal Antigua and Azteca Guate compared to the Albavision channels is now notably different, as it would continue to be with events like the 2015 crisis led to the fall of the administration of Otto Perez Molina. Also, Telediario, Notisiete, T13 Noticias and more recently TN23 avoid the information linking the boards of directors of Albavision to politicians accused (El Periódico, 2016).

4.1.3. The Power Behind Albavision

Angel Gonzalez has ties to all the politicians that prosper in power for over 3 decades now. In addition to TV channels, there are radio stations, and according to the report by the International Commission Against Impu-

nity in Guatemala (CICIG), he has contributed to and promoted corruption and impunity in Guatemala by financing political parties in exchange for millions of dollars in contracts from the state and protecting the monopoly of radio and television stations. The power of Gonzalez is such that he places people as government cabinet members and in the Congress to make sure that everyone wins (2015: 49). This goes as evidence of the voracious political economy of communication on its level of highest impunity after the Albornoz concept.

The clamor to do away with Gonzalez's power has grown bit by bit in the media as it goes on, and there is little doubt that the laws that regulate television have been made or modified at Gonzalez's request. Thus, in the framework of the Washington Consensus, the Foreign Investment Law (1998) and that concerning television and under market deregulation, the limiting of the State and the privatization of public goods directly benefits the Albavision Group. In addition, the Congress of the Republic via Decree No. 34/2012 reformed the General Telecommunications Law (1996) and allows Gonzalez to hurdle over the licensing of the television frequencies whenever he desires. Then you have to add the loss of the file that gave the renovation of the licensing to Channels 3 and 7 in 2011 and the documents that lay the groundwork to concession rights before the existence of the Superintendence of Telecommunications. The laws have been modified on those points that are incompatible with political commerce. Thus, each law that emerges is adapted and in other cases, a decree is created to strengthen the Albavision Group in terms of its business.

If we look to the future, the background information of the concentration of the media and the political context put objectivity in doubt and the regulation of public call for bids due to privileges that help Albavision, especially in regards to the national project for migration from analogue TV to Digital Terrestrial TV (DTT).

4.1.4. Postponement of public television

Previously we learned about the context of commercial television and the absence of public television, except for some programs that can define the interest for public audiovisuals. The national coverage TV channels 5 and 9 regained the society's attention, especially the indigenous and some politicians after signing the 1996 peace agreements. In 2000, Canal 5 became TV Maya and is destined to become a public multi-cultural channel in Guatemala. The first TV project is done with UNESCO, of which other projects followed with organizations like the Association for the Advancement of Social Sciences in Guatemala, who have produced since 2014 "Una Mirada Crítica Sobre Guatemala", but it continues to be little, with fleeting budgets. On one hand, Channel 9 transmits, as its only activity, the plenary sessions live, the control panel and other news from the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala.

With this fragility, the lack of public television is a result of the political will and decency. Its functions should be, as explained by Belen Irgazabal, produced in a way that is free of charge, complementary, and competitive, promoting human rights, making visible that which is invisible on commercial channels, general interest view on current issues and on information, that promotes the development of citizens, that focuses on childhood, but among its most important aspects, provide services of information and includes the minorities; a more European vision if you will (2013: 53-54). In defining times of Digital Terrestrial TV and the most interested society on the current national level, it is a good time to push the implementation of public television.

4.1.5. The technological context and its challenges

The change from analogue to digital technology means a great change in transmission quality and the reception of content, but the migration to DTT has yet to come in order to completely digitalize the television service. Guatemala, as the rest of Central America, has plans to migrate to DTT in 2022, but today the growth of communication media web platforms and the emergence of alternative communication spaces prove the convergence of traditional broadcasting with the internet. Avila and Gutierrez (2013) conduct a review of the state of technology in the country and the technological and social goals that it must meet, concluding that although there are advances, the State does not cover the lack of access to the internet throughout the country, as priority #1.

In social material, the discussion of internet rights is just starting based on private proposals (Gonzalez, 2017), but the DTT returns as topic in the discussion because there is a need to publicly discuss a digital agenda, as well as everything related to connecting the country's municipalities and the need to advance discussions on responsible and controlled use of the internet. Another challenge is in the legalization of all cable companies that provide illegal service, a generalized practice that is done in over 50% of all companies that offer the service (Terra and Notimex: 2015). Without a doubt, the delay compared with other countries in the region is serious.

4.2. National televised programming

Thanks to technological innovations there has been an expansion in local and national television among VHF, UHF frequencies and cable channels, these being religious, commercial, public, news, cultural, university and sports channels. Guatevision, Azteca Guate and Canal Antigua have national coverage in the 22 departments where there is at least one local cable station.

In research on channel programming that we did 10 years ago (Lucas, 2009), we established that the foreign content was shown much more than that produced locally. Here we reviewed content and current news information to see its progress and convergence with the internet.

4.2.1. Analysis results of listings

The categories of analysis of listings from the week February 20 – 26, 2017 consist of defining the origin of the production and the types of content offered. In first place, there is 24-hour transmission on almost all channels. In other words, there are 168 hours of programming with local and foreign content that in some cases are re-run during the same week. We do not make a differentiation here because the quantity of hours per week is not our focus but rather the number of programs produced by each channel and day. Table 1 shows Guatevision offers the largest amount of content produced in its studios or in those of its partners. Canal Antigua produces mainly informative and opinion programming and takes second place. The combined amount of what the rest of the channels produce equals that of Antigua and Guatevision together.

Table 1.

Channels	Nationally-produced programming – hours per week	% nationally produced
Guatevisión	154 hours	92
Antigua	127 hours (3 hours without programming)	76
Canal 7	35.5 hours	21
Canal 3	28.5 hours	17
Azteca Guate	35.5 hours	21

Source: Author, based on channel information and mi.tv/gt/programación.

We follow the classification used by Gomez Escalonilla on television content types: fiction, game show, reality, news and political talk shows, variety: vehicles, real estate, cooking; interviews, culture, sports, musicals and religion. Canal Antigua and Guatevision in terms of international programming offer current issue shows, news, interviews and soap operas. In terms of their own production, they offer kid TV games shows, national and international sports, sales services, religious content, cooking shows, comedy, musicals, modeling,

interviews, cultural, news and political talk shows. Channels 3, 7 and Azteca Guate produce news shows, morning shows and sports. The rest is international programming. Channel 3 produces a cooking show and one of interviews, differing from Channel 7. Most shows last half an hour.

Table 2.

Guatevision, Antigua, Canales 3 and 7 Features % nationally produced	Features	% nationally produced
Own programming	News, game shows, current affairs, morning shows, sports, religious, music, and comedy	45
Foreign programming	Soap operas, news, current affairs and sports	55

Source: Author.

Together the channels produce 45% of all programming, doubling the production that Guatevision, Channel 3 and Channel 7 did in 2006 (Lucas, 2009: 275). In other words, it has increased over 10 years, being 5 channels and it's worth noting that where there was more growth is in the news program production. Some 55% of programming continues to be international entertainment production.

No channel produces reports, with some exceptions, but there were none during the week of analysis. Channels 3 and 7, in contrast to the morning shows, do not produce audiovisual material except for the news programs. Guatevision has a high percentage of television sales and Azteca Guate produces very little despite the success it had initially. Canal Antigua broadcasts various news shows throughout the day with more audience in the capital city than outside.

The most popular international television shows in Guatemala, especially on Channel 7, are the Latin American soap operas, whose recipe for success lies in narcotrafficking (Silva, 2014), power, heartbreak and poverty. They are shown during prime time and without a doubt are the content that gets the

most audience. Channel 3 produces "Combate", a show where contestants must compete on obstacle courses, show mental ability and talent.

4.2.2. Informative programming, opinion and political talk shows

News information is the best example of television progress because they are almost the only content that the channels produce. Daily broadcasting on Canal Antigua is 9.5 hours of informative programming, including talk shows, interviews and analysis of current politics. Notisiete destines 4.5 hours and Telediario 5 hours, in both the morning news is the longest and features traffic reports, fundamental content and with a lot of audience to relieve the problems that those in the capital city face. Guatevision produces 3 hours of daily informative programming, to which you must add the programs of analysis and opinion, satire, reporting and awareness on politics to make a total of 4.5 hours. Azteca Guate produces 3 hours of informative programming. Table 3 shows a comparison of the programs that each channel produces.

Table 3.

Channel	New and current affairs & Opinión talk shows
Guatevisión	Noticiero, Sin Reservas y Sin Filtro
Canal Antigua	Noticias a las 5,45, 7, 1 pm, 2 pm, 6 pm, 7 pm, 8 pm, 8.45 pm y 10 pm.
Canal 7	Notisiete
Canal 3	Telediario
Azteca Guate	Hechos Meridiano, Hechos de las 6, Hechos noche
TN23 Noticias(+2014)	Noticieros en distintos horario

Source: Author

TN23 Albavision News is channel exclusively dedicated to news. Its frequency is in UHF which covers the capital and is broadcasted by cable channels. It works via the website www.chapintv.com, news production matrix that then distributes to the other channels of the group.

In conclusion, the channels Antigua and Gua-

tevision produce more shows on analysis, debate and opinion on current national issues; Guatevision produces "Sin Reservas", show of opinion of current issues, and "Sin Filtro", a nighttime talk show on current issues. The news shows on Canal Antigua makes spaces in their broadcasting for this purpose. In 10 years the informative and opinion forming alternatives have advanced, while entertainment produced by the channels has been stagnant.

4.3. Television Convergence with the Internet

To analyze the transition of one media to another we are going to consider the variables of internet access available as reference. Thus, mobile telephone service is growing and therefore connection to the internet as well. For example, the Superintendence of Telecommunications registered more than 16.5 million users in 2016 (Prensa Libre, 2016), the ENCOVI registers cellphone use at 82.4% of the population in 2014. Connection to the internet in homes reaches only 12.4%. The market research website Internet World Stats reports 5.3 million internet users in 2016 (a million more than in 2015), which comprises 30% of the population. The Economic Commission for Latin America indicates that between 2006 and 2013 the number of users grew by 50% (2016: 10). The data is scattered. Although it is recent, the dates don't coincide. Therefore, basing it on cellphone use behavior, it seems unlikely that there are as many users as there are people and that in this sense they are connected to the internet. Herein lies the explanation that consumers, seeing a way to save on the price of services, acquire up to three telephone lines, thus altering the number of users.

Therefore, it is difficult to calculate the number of users of audiovisual media and understand consumption practices. However, some patterns can be established such as the type of consumers. One is the triple connection (home + work + mobile) and another that has cellphone connection and at home, users influenced by the dominio effect of society.

Another is the user that only uses public Internet services in the cybercafés whose numbers are also growing in the country's different municipalities. The previous information assures us that there is an increase in internet connection in urban and rural areas, although there are challenges in terms of technology, infrastructure, etc., outside the scope of this study.

4.3.1. Television, web platforms web and social networks

The metamorphosis of communication has left behind the radio or the television (public channels and cable), but rather, such media has been converging with internet for over a decade now. Public television continues to be the media with the largest coverage. Guatevision, Azteca Guate and Antigua maintain their webpages, while los Channel 7 and Channel 3 (including their news shows) have dropped their individual webpages in favor of the platform www.chapintv.com, that standardizes the news information and organizes the programming of all the channels of the group, promoting it on social networks. The following table shows the number of people that like Notisiete. Telediario and Guatevisión channels, Antigua and Azteca Guate news, upon the latter not having a platform on Facebook or Twitter.

Table 4. Number of followers on social networks

Canales o noticiero	Facebook	Twitter
Notisiete	2 269 543	1 077 340
Telediario	1 404 534	856 891
Guatevisión	1 927 140	876 178
Antigua	596 188	354 719
Tv Azteca	193 584	277 057

Source: author, with data from social networks taken on 17/10/2017

Table 4 indicates that Notisiete has more followers on both networks, Guatevision occu-

pies the second position following Telediario, while the rest of the programs and channels are way behind Notisiete. WhatsApp for its immediacy and innovation is also gaining ground in the news that personalize their link with the audience and that allow for sending informative reports, under the concept of user content generator. User numbers are large and will continue growing.

Now let's take a look at the Global Web Index of Central America which describes the use tendencies on social networks: read news and events (71%), communication with friends (56%), keep in touch with other people (43.9%), look for entertainment (38%) and spend free time (22.4%) (ILifebelt, 2016: 17). In this situation, the data is not broad enough for the needs of the analysis of Guatemala. However, you can reflect based on many research contexts, but above all use of the internet that is not exactly scarce and is growing.

Another reflection has to do with the percentage of people that communicate with friends, given that the current situation of the country, the surroundings and the world is implicit, as well as the sharing of entertainment and news videos; which would be a line of investigation to pursue, due to the importance that citizen participation has in the country's political context. A valuable source of information to know the users and their interests lies in content reproduction, commentary in the news, Facebook posts and Twitter tweets, sharing and approval after clicking on "like" on national interest topics or entertainment (actions on the rise).

Strategies of channels go hand in hand with technology and knowledge of their audiences, with which convergence is sure. For television, there are strategies that for now keep the consumer in front of the TV. In it we will also have to see the migration of traditional entertainment to digital entertainment, in which channels update and merge with the internet producing changes in the way they communicate with the audience.

In the communication processes framework

in a more open socio-political context that is more tolerant to criticism, information is in full growth, with research effort, immediate and comfortable access, which makes traditional media struggle to stay on the cutting edge. Likewise, social processes that occur are different and change the way in which politicians and businessmen support a conspiracy for personal benefit. Today we have growing list of online journals for research, opinion and proposals that are already "go-tos" for search and reference. Among these are: Plaza Pública, Nómada, Soy 502; informative blogs like El Salmón, Diario Digital, República GT; together with newspapers: Prensa Libre, El Periódico, Diario La Hora and others. All of them counterweight the effects of Albavision media, with an enormous national coverage.

Internet access and with it the use of social networks, information on webpages and the exchange of ideas and opinions, are one of the great advances of the new media context in Guatemala. In three decades, the possibility to inform and be informed, to communicate and be communicated to has widened. Entertainment has also grown, from traditional television, the numerous options on cable TV and user and audience interaction with audiovisual content. However, not has been positive in times of digital platforms. Channels also use networks to better the profile of public figures or manipulate the cause of the most belligerent users and platforms.

5. Conclusions

The key stages of TV evolution in the last decades offer us a conceptualization that allows us to see the current state and make a proposal on the areas in which television must improve. The following are the conclusions we have reached, based on the programming analysis, the informative content, convergence with internet and the television monopoly.

Firstly, production of audiovisual content has progressed less than the development of commercial television. Forged in its over 60 years of programming international content and leaving aside the idea of public television, these productions will not have a bit of interest until the signing of the peace agreements in the country and the assignment of two channels with barely an operating budget, in clear manifestation of the lack of political interest.

Secondly, public television that has been failing since the beginning of the 80s as a monopoly positions itself more on the protection of political-commercial alliances with censurable motives, resulting in the national production limited to news shows with a tendency to promote impunity and corruption in the country.

Thirdly, the appearance in 2002 of Guatevision and later Canal Antigua and Azteca Guate, among others, access to Internet and the convergence of media result in a more-normalized television and alternative to Albavision channels. The multiple platforms that show proof of the number of users on social networks and in which current information advances in amount and objectivity, goes permeating its socio-political reality in the population. News programs, talk shows and TV discussion are also a result of this transcendental media diversification. The same does not happen in the rest of the content, given that on all the channels there is a high percentage of foreign entertainment content, especially on Albavision.

Fourthly, increasing covering in the majority of the country's departments and municipalities show that access to the internet, despite poor conditions, happens. This, together with the implementation of Digital Terrestrial Television is the largest challenge, mostly due to the political-commercial conspiracy that is highly perceptible even today an poses a latent danger for citizen communication.

Finally, the transformation of television and the appearance of multiple platforms goes had in hand with the social participation to build better communication in these times in

which it is convenient to study the role of the citizens and the pros and cons of the internet in Guatemala.

Notes

1. Albavision is a communication media network by affiliation. In Guatemala, it is made up of the 4 public TV channels. It has a 24-hour news channel, a news website, 13 radio stations and Alba theater circuit. The news radio channel with the most coverage is Sonora.

2. The assassination of Roberto Rosenberg in 2009 caused controversy both nationally and internationally for the posthumous video that appeared a day afterwards, in which he accuses the President of the Republic Alvaro Colom and other government officials of his disappearance. Attorney for businessman Khalil Musa, murdered some time before, Rosenberg denounces a theory on the murder of Musa which involves government officials that will also go after him. The International Commission Against Impunity in Guate-mala clarifies the crime in which it establishes that Rosenberg planned his murder.

3. The corruption case called "La Línea" caused a series of citizen protests via social networks, thus demonstrating that although traditional channels had a captive audience in the areas without cable television, they couldn't avoid the citizen indignation organized in a series of protests.

4. To have an idea of the growth of internet use and therefore of Facebook, between 1995 and 2014, the number of users was 22% of the population, but between 2014 and 2016 the percentage of users reached 40%. In other words, in only 2 years, it grew the same amount as in the previous 9 years (Melgar, 2016). /howwework/reports/ara

Bibliographic References

Ahumada-Barajas, R. (2013). Television by Internet: from the convergence to the mutation. Mexico: Academic Quorum, Vol. 10. N° 2, July-December (pp. 277-288). Recuperado en http://www.redalyc.org/ pdf/1990/199028788006.pdf

Ávila, R. & Gutiérrez, A. (2013). Mapping digital Media: Guatemala. Country Report. London: Open Society Foundations.

Berganza, G. (2011, agosto). II National Survey on media, new media and elections. Guatemala: Association for Development, Organization, Services and Sociocultural Studies.

Barrios, A. Zambrano, W. (2015). Digital Convergence: New professional journalist profiles. Anagramas, 14 (26). Recuperado de http://www.redalyc.org/articulo. oa?id=491548260012

Bolaño, C. (2013). cultural, information and capitalism Industry. Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa.

Cepal (2016). State of broadband 2016 in Latin America and the Carribean. Recuperado de http://www.infobae.com/america/america-la-tina/2016/09/13/informe-cepal-crecio-el-uso-de-internet-en-ameri-ca-latina-pero-sigue-con-baja-velocidad/

International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala. (2015). Political Financing in Guatemala. Guatemala: Editorial Serviprensa. Recuperado de http://www.cicig. org/uploads/documents/2015/informe_financiamiento_politicagt.pdf

Congress of the Republic of Guatemala (1980). Law on Radiocommunications, Law 433 1966. Recuperado de: http://www.unesco. org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/ CI/pdf/media_standards/GUA_Ley%20de%20Radiocomunicaciones.pdf

Congress of the Republic of Guatemala (2012). Reforms to the General Law on Telecom-munications, Decree No. 34-2012. Recuperado de:

http://old.congreso.gob.gt/archivos/decretos/2012/CCX-CV0940200010034201205122012.pdf

Crettaz, J. (2016). New regulatory contexts in the convergent sector of the telecommunication and entertainment media: analysis matrix proposal. Austral Comunicación, 5, (1). Recuperado de http://www.austral.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/australcomuni-ca-cion/article/view/142

Díaz, C. (2016). "From concentration to convergency. Media politics in Argentina and Latin America". New Erea, 25, July-December, 2016, pp. 297-302. Re-cuperado de http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttex-t&pi-d=S0188-252X2016000100013

Drula, G. (2015) "Forms of convergency in multimedia media and content: A Romanian perspective". In Revista Scientific Edu-communication Journal. Comunicar, 44 (XXII), 131-140. Recuperado de http:// www.revistacomunicar.com/index.php?-contenido=detalles&nume-ro=44&articulo=44-2015-14

Gómez-Escalonilla, G. (2002). TV programming in Spain. Study of the Spanish Television Program Listings from 1956 to 1996. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cer-vantes.

National Statistics Institute. National Survey on Life Conditions 2014. Guatemala.

National Statistics Institute. National Survey on Employment and Income 2016. Guatemala.

Irgazabal, B. (2013). "For public television with audience". In Zapping TV, The Landscape of Latin tele, pp. 51-63. Bogotá: FES Comunicación.

Jenkins, H. (2008). Convergence culture: The culture of convergency of communication media. Barcelona: Paidós.

Lucas, M. (2009). The structure of television in Guatemala: the social-political incidence on the analysis of informative content. In Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Recuperado de http://eprints.ucm.es/9575/1/T31307.pdf

Marzal, J. & Martín, M. (2011). New tendencies and hibridations of audiovisual discourses in contemporary digital culture. adComunica, 2. Recuperado de http://www.ad-comunicarevista.com/ojs/index.php/adcomunica/article/viewFile/7/7

Melgar, J. (1 de septiembre de 2016). A year since #RenunciaYa and the movements that followed on the networks. In Study of Social Networks in Central America and the Caribbean. Study VI. ILifebelt. Recuperado de http://ilifebelt.com/6to-estu-dio-anual-ilife-belt-redes-sociales-centroamerica-caribe-2016/2016/08/

Mosco, V. (2006). "`The political economy of Communication: an update 10 years later". CIC Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación, 11. Recuperado de http://www.um.es/tic/LIBROS%20FCI-I/EconomiaPoliticaCom.pdf

Peñafiel, C. (28 de abril de 2016). "Reinvention of journalism in the digital ecosystem and transmedia narratives". adComunica, 12. Recuperado de http://www.adcomu-ni-carevista.com/ojs/index.php/adcomunica/article/view/341/301

Sacayon-Madrigal, J.L. (2016). The concentration of the Media and Democracy in the era of information. Case study of Albavision in Latin America and the interference in Guatemala's democracy. Portugal: (Master's Thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal). Recuperado de https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/hand-le/10316/31769

Sánchez, M. & Ibar, R. (2015). "Convergency and interaction of the new media: typology

of the prosumers among university students". Communication & Society, 28 (2). Recuperado de http://www.unav.es/fcom/communication-society/ es/resumen.php?art_id=533

Velásquez, G. (2013). "Convergency of media and new forms of communication". Revista Politécnica. 9, (16). Recuperado de http://revistas.elpoli.edu.co/index.php/ pol/article/viewFile/335/311

Villanueva, E. (2017). "Media Convergency: lessons and questions from the Peruvian experience". Revista de Comunicación, 16, (1). Recuperado de https://issuu. com/revistadecomunicacion/docs/rcom2017_1

Webography

El Periódico. (25 de julio de 2016). Ángel González: The president charmer is upset. Recuperado de http://elperiodico.com.gt/investigacion/2016/07/25/angel-gonzalez-el-encantador-de-presidentes-esta-molesto/

González, I. (23 de febrero de 2017) Internet bill of rights for Guatemala. ILifebelt. Recuperado de http://ilifebelt.com/carta-derechos-internet-guatema-la/2017/02/

González, Z. et al. (2014). Digital convergency of the press of proximity. The case of the Comarcal Press in Cataluña. Portal Comunicación.com. Lecciones. Recuperado de http://www.portalcomunicacion.com/lecciones_det.asp?id=84

ILifebelt. (2017). 5 factors that make Facebook the preferred social network in Latin America. Recuperado de http://ilifebelt.com/5-factores-consolidan-face-book-la-red-social-preferencial-latino-america/2017/03/

ILifebelt. (2016) Study of Social Networks in Central America and the Carribean. VI Estudio. Recuperado de http://ilifebelt.com/6to-estudio-anual-ilifebelt-redes-sociales-centroa-merica-caribe-2016/2016/08/

Internet World Stats. (30 de junio de 2016). Internet Usage and Population in Central America. Recuperado de http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats12.htm

Laines, O (2016). Users and use of networks in Guatemala. ILifebelt. Recuperado de http:// ilifebelt.com/usuarios-uso-redes-sociales-guatemala/2016/08/

Peralta, L. (5 de julio de 2016). Cable TV in Central America: market in movement. Mediatelecom. Recuperado de http://www.mediatelecom.com.mx/index.php/ agencia-informativa/colaboradores/item/111249-cableros-de-centroam%C3%A9ri-ca-mercado-en-movimiento

Prensa Libre. (24 de marzo de 2016). Some 16 million cellphones are registered in SIT. Recuperado de http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/comunitario/ unos-16-millones-de-celulares-estan-registrados-en-la-sit.

Sánchez, L. (5 de junio de 2015). Digital Convergency. El País. Recuperado en http:// el-pais.com/elpais/2015/06/04/opinion/1433410704_789409.html

Silva, J. (16 de marzo de 2014). The boom of narcoculture. La Prensa. Recuperado de http:// www.laprensa.com.ni/2014/03/16/reportajes-especiales/186929-el-boom-de-la-nar-cocultura (Fecha de consulta: 15/03/2017).

Terra.com / Notimex. (27 de noviembre de 2015) Piracy of paid TV in Guatemala. Estrategia y Negocios. Recuperado de http://www.estrate-giaynegocios.net/centroamericaymundo/centroamerica/guatemala/gtnego-cios/905790-330/pirater%E-Da-al-abordaje-de-tv-de-pago-en-guatemala

About the author:

Cicibel Lucas Cajas received her doctorate from Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Master's in International Affairs and an undergraduate in Social Communication from the Universidad Francisco Marroquín de Guatemala. She is author of the book *La Televisión en Guatemala* (2017).

How to quote:

Lucas-Cajas, C. (2017). Transformaciones de la televisión en Guatemala (1986-2017): de la televisión analógica a la multiplataforma digital. *Comunicación y Medios,* (36), 142-154.

Homoheresy on Film: Subversive Gay Cinema in Spain in the 70s and 80s

In this book, based on his doctoral thesis, Alberto Berzosa carefully and entertainingly analyzes a dozen diverse Spanish movies from the 70s and 80s. The author analyzes the movies in two of the five chapters that comprise the book. Then it is dedicated to analyzing the concepts used for almost 60 pages. Chapters 2 and 4 are dedicated to the sociopolitical context of homosexuality in the decades studied and Chapters 3 and 5 analyze 13 movies: 6 short films in Catalan: Una senzilla història d'amor (1970) by Ferran Llagostera; Gais al carrer (1977) by J. R. Ahumada; Cucarecord (1980) and Buscando el camino de tu amor (1978) by the Els 5 QK's collective; Actuació d'Ocaña i Camilo (1977) by the Video-Nou collective; Silencis (1982) by Xavier-Daniel; 2 documentaries in Catalan: Ocaña, retrat intermitent (1978) and Informe sobre el FAGC (1979) by Ventura Pons; a short film in Spa-

nish by Pedro Almodovar: Dos putas o historia de amor que termina en boda (1974) and finally 4 feature films in Spanish: Manderley (1981) by Jesus Garay; Los placeres ocultos (1977) and El diputado (1978) by Eloy de la Iglesia and Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón (1980) by Almodovar.

Each movie is presented in its context of appearance, with an introduction to the director or collective and its work, a description of one or several sequences and the analysis of the representation of homosexuality as subversive on different levels. For such, the author has mainly used information collected in newspaper and magazine articles, monographs on the directors, interviews and personal correspondence with some directors. For this layout, the author went with a chronological analysis: the decade of the 70s and the decade of the 80s. The originality of this

work consists in bringing largely little known movies into the spotlight.

Berzosa classifies these movies in a subcategory of gay cinema, the "subversive gay cinema" that subdivides into three types: underground, militant and commercial. Subversive gay cinema is composed of, according to him, movies in which the representation of homosexuality transgresses the dominant sexual norms.

Some movies are so unheard-of that there are no copies on record. Such is the case of the first short film analyzed, Una senzilla història d'amor (1970) by Ferran Llagostera that even Berzosa has not been able to see. Therefore, study of this militant film is based on secondary sources and in conversations with the director. It is the "first example of subversive gay cinema" according to him, because it expresses a pride for sexual difference at the height of Francoism. Despite the innovative character of Llagostera proposal, this short film was seen by very few (mainly in movie clubs and neighborhood associations).

The same goes for Gais al Carrer (1977), a shortfilm by the

FAGC, the Front d'Allibera-ment Gai de Catalunya. It is a documentary on various important events for the homosexual liberation movement that emerged in Barcelona. The first gay pride march in Spain occurred in June 1977, still illegal then, among other protests with discourses criticizing the Law on Social Dangers and Rehabilitation with which sentenced some homosexuals were still, and discourses in favor of sexual freedom. It gives visibility to the collective in a militant form and in Catalan despite limited distribution and exhibition.

In addition, various collectives emerged from Barcelona's underground scene in the 70s like Els 5 QK's and Spain's first public service video collective called Video-Nou created in Barcelona in 1977. They used alternative circuits like cultural centers, neighborhood associations, bars, the creation of a "Video-Bus" –a bus with screens facing the outside in order to show works to passers-by – and they had, therefore, a very limited audience according to Berzosa. In his short film Actuació d'Ocaña i Camilo created in 1977, despite difficult material circumstances, they represent an image of homosexuality as a "liberating and subversive instrument" (155) via transvestism (feather boas, manila shawl, flamingo dresses, etc.), street shows and pornography with an orgy and religious hymns.

At the beginning of the 80s, although the cultural center

of the Spanish State changes to Madrid with the famous move, in detriment to Barcelona, Berzosa names another two movies still made there: Manderley (1981) by Jesus Garay and Silencis (1982) by Xavier-Daniel. The first was was classified as erotica, and therefore, this classification caused it to have a small audience. It was only distributed in Barcelona according to correspondence between the director and the author. Beyond topics already addressed in previous like transvestism and the feather with Ocaña, Manderley proposes a very novel question about the sexuality of children and with children at a time in which this topic was not as taboo as it is today, since some movements asked for "recognition of sexuality from childhood" or sexual liberation of children (261).

HOMOHEREJÍAS FÍLMICAS: CINE HOMOSEXUAL SUBVERSIVO EN ESPAÑA EN LOS AÑOS SETENTA Y OCHENTA

ALBERTO BERZOSA

2ª EDICIÓN

brumaria

The large majority of these movies, almost all filmed with low budgets, had a small audience. On the contrary, more commercial movies were those of Almodovar staring with Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón and those of Eloy de la Iglesia, but they are all very-well studied movies and have numerous monographs.

Finally, this work presents some methodological and conceptual doubts. The monograph organization presents a problem. Only two out of five chapters analyze movies and two chapters analyze the context. What Berzosa says is interesting but maybe it would have been better to briefly include that context in the chapters on cinema itself, like the author already does in fact, but without overdoing it with two separate chapters.

This category of "subversive gay cinema" is not very productive. Despite the justifications of the author for limiting this category to the 13 movies selected, it could be said that all gay cinema is subversive by definition, on different levels according to the context in which it appears. For the mere representation of homosexuality on screen, you could say it is subversive. Obviously, not as much as a gay orgy with religious hymns sung by Ocaña, but that's why I would say that the subversive character of homosexuality in cinema can be seen in almost all the gay movies, only the level of subversion changes. As a result, I do not consider this ca-

tegory analyzed by Berzosa of "subversive gay cinema" that would start in the early 70s and would end in the mid-80s to be very successful.

Moreover, another problem could be proposed: How can a piece whose exhibition was so little and limited be subversive? Obviously, the subversion of these movies resides in its same existence. You could also say that the level of subversion also depends on the reception it has. A following project could possibly be that the author could analyze the audience's reception of the supposed subversion, or lack there of, of these movies. Despite these necessary critiques, one has to applaud the work of Alberto Berzosa for finding movies of which a majority are practically inaccessible today, via first-hand interviews and for the thoughtful editing done with images from the movies in the annex.

Geoffroy Huard
Universidad de Cergy-Pontoise
geoffroy.huard@gmail.com

How to Cite:

Democracy's Detectives: The Economics of Investigative Journalism

En un contexto de cambios tecnológicos, políticos, económicos y culturales en que se desenvuelve la industria de medios en general, y el periodismo en particular, hay un creciente interés por evaluar el periodismo de investigación a nivel global. ¿Cuál es su impacto? ¿Qué tan eficientes han sido los programas de ayuda internacional destinados a financiarlo? ¿Cuáles son sus debilidades y qué contextos lo promueven? ¿Cómo sustentarlo financiera y editorialmente? ¿Cuáles son las mejores prácticas? En esta línea está el estudio de James Hamilton *Democracy's Detectives: The Economics of Investigative Journalism,* que analiza las tendencias en la investigación periodística en medios estadounidenses durante tres décadas.

Hamilton revisó más de 12 mil postulaciones al premio anual de la asociación de editores y reporteros de investigación (IRE, por sus siglas en inglés) entre 1979 y 2010, identifican-do los temas y problemas que el periodismo de investigación estadounidense ha cubierto, cuál ha sido su impacto, y sus modelos de producción financiamiento. Algunas tendencias son desalentadoras: Han disminuido las investigaciones producidas por medios locales, hay menos solicitudes de acceso a información hechas por reporteros locales y solo un puñado de medios líderes en el mercado estadounidense concentran los reportajes premiados. Otras tendencias parecen esperanzadoras, como la emergencia de actores ajenos a los medios tradicionales como organizaciones periodísticas sin fines de lucro (*ProPublica* o *Associated Press*), universidades y medios especializados (*Bloomberg* o *The Wall Street Journal*).

El periodismo de investigación es el trabajo original de un reportero o un equipo que devela algo de interés público y que otros tratan de ocultar. La novedad del trabajo de Hamilton radica en que aborda detalla-damente las implicancias económicas de estos tres elementos: un trabajo original implica costos fijos en la producción de un reportaje (personal, instalaciones, operaciones), el interés público se traduce en lo que los economistas llaman externalidades positivas de lo que son bienes públicos, y el interés de terceros (el gobierno, empresarios) por mantener estas historias ocultas impone costos significativos para la investigación, como el uso de leyes de acceso a información, que se traduce en tiempo, pago por reproducción y uso de *software* que permita análisis de grandes volúmenes de datos y documentos, entre otros. A pesar de que las investigaciones periodísticas sí toman más tiempo y sí cuestan miles de dólares, Hamilton demuestra que también han generado miles de millones en beneficios a la comunidad.

El estudio de Hamilton es fascinante por varias razones: por la construcción y uso extensivo e intensivo de enormes bases de datos de cientos de trabajos de investigación periodística publicados en distintos soportes en Estados Unidos; porque identifica tendencias históricas en el periodismo de investigación en el país del norte que

complejizan los hitos clásicos –*muckrakers* a principios de 1900s, la guerra de Vietnam y los 1960s y Watergate en los 1970s (Capítulo 2, "Detectives, Muckrakers, and Watchdogs"), así como también relativiza el arquetipo del reportero tipo llanero solitario. El corazón del trabajo (capítulos 3 a 6), analiza en detalle los trabajos presentados y premiados por IRE en tres décadas. La extensa investigación de la que da cuenta el libro va más allá de documentar casos o anécdotas y, más bien, navega a través de patrones y tendencias de largo alcance que incluyen qué medios han realizado este tipo de periodismo (considerando soporte y tamaño del medio y alcance de sus audiencias, por ejemplo), cuál ha sido la agenda en este periodo (según tipo de medio), con qué recursos, qué producción requirió y qué impacto tuvo, identificando para todos, además, cambios en el tiempo.

El concepto mismo de impacto es controversial, no solo en periodismo, sino que también en otras áreas de las ciencias sociales y las humanidades. ¿Cómo definirlo, cómo medirlo y por cuánto tiempo? Una investigación puede generar frutos mucho tiempo después de su publicación y cuando el público y los medios ya 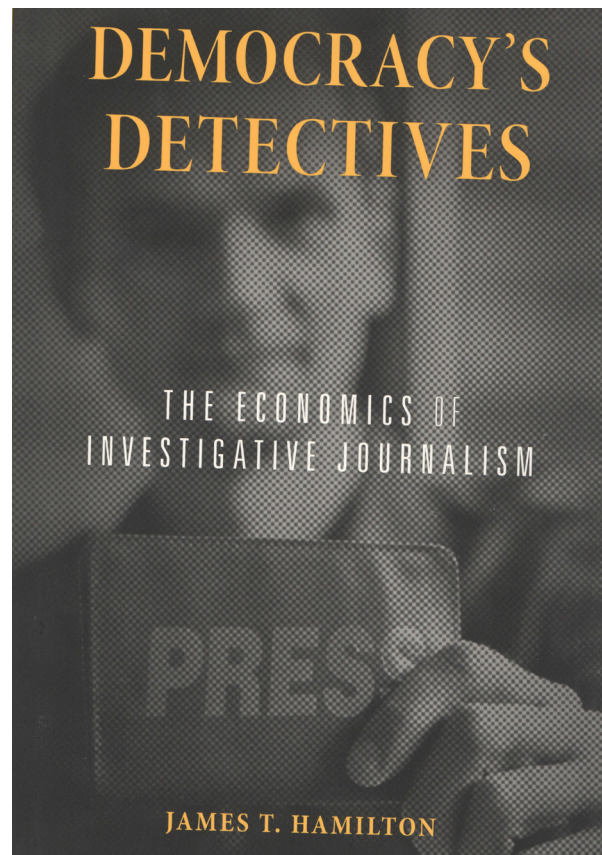perdieron interés. Además, una denuncia puede aparecer en momentos en que las agendas mediática y política están sintonizadas en otra frecuencia y, por lo tanto, no genera repercusiones.

A pesar de estas limitaciones, Hamilton analiza el impacto de corto, mediano y largo plazo del periodismo de investigación basado en la propuesta de David Protess y sus colegas, quienes describen tres tipos de efectos del periodismo de investigación: deliberativo,

DEMOCRACY'S DETECTIVES

THE ECONOMICS OF INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

JAMES T. HAMILTON

individualista y sustantivo. El primero se refiere a que una investigación puede gatillar la acción de organismos gubernamentales o judiciales. El segundo, a que un reportaje puede provocar el despido o renuncia de un funcionario público o privado involucrado en lo que la historia devela. Finalmente, los efectos sustantivos pueden adoptar la forma de nuevas regulaciones, la creación de instituciones o cambios presupuestarios.

Así, Hamilton constata que aquellas historias que generan impactos menos costosos (como despidos o renuncias) han sido más frecuentes y que el efecto de la fiscalización depende del tamaño y del tipo de medio. Hamilton calcula por primera vez el costo-beneficio del periodismo de investigación analizando tres casos de estudio: una serie publicada en 2008 por *News & Observer*, un diario local de Raleigh (North Carolina), sobre las fallas en el sistema de libertad bajo fianza; la investigación emitida en 1997 por KCBS, un canal local de Los Angeles, sobre la insuficiente fiscalización de la autoridad de salud, y una serie de artículos publicada por *The Washington Post* sobre las muertes provocadas por los disparos de la policía de Washington D.C. Hamilton identificó los costos de producir cada serie, estimó los efectos que tuvieron en políticas públicas, y calculó cuántos dólares produjo la investigación por cada dólar que el medio in-

virtió (ver pp. 112 y ss., en particular tabla 4.5, en p. 131). Los casos representan, además, diversos tipos de medios en cuanto a soporte, tamaño, ubicación y audiencias y por eso el modelo que Hamilton propone para analizar las consecuencias del periodismo investigativo en ciertas condiciones resulte atractivo para aplicarlo en otros casos y contextos.

Para el público latinoamericano, las conclusiones no parecen pertinentes en latitudes distintas (y distantes) a aquella que da sentido al trabajo: por ejemplo, Estados Unidos cuenta con una ley federal de acceso a información desde la década de los 1960s, hay un campo más o menos institucionalizado del periodismo de investigación desde los 1970s con la creación de IRE y sus miles de socios, su conferencia anual, sus bases de datos de reportajes de investigación, el periodismo asistido por computadoras desde los 1980s, y sus capacitaciones locales y nacionales. Además, el periodismo en Estados Unidos no opera bajo niveles de violencia como los que experimentan los profesionales en México y otros países centro y sudamericanos.

Sin embargo, el trabajo de Hamilton es fructífero y pertinente no solo en el contexto que lo hace posible, el campo del periodismo de investigación en Estados Unidos, sino que también en América Latina, en general, y en Chile, en particular, sobre todo porque el norteamericano es un modelo –para bien o para mal- que

los medios del continente han emulado. El libro es una fuente infinita de buenas prácticas, de estrategias colectivas, institucionales y profesionales, así como también individuales (el capítulo 7 se dedica a evaluar en detalle el impacto del trabajo de un solo periodista de investigación, en medios locales, ha tenido en su trayectoria). Otras prácticas y herramientas, ya sea por escasez presupuestaria o inmadurez del campo o adecuada capacitación, es un camino aún por explorar.

El periodismo de investigación es costoso y requiere tiempo. Pero este estudio también demuestra que en un contexto en particular, en un sistema de medios específico, con ciertas características profesionales, ha tenido impacto incluso económico. Aun cuando el periodismo de investigación representa un fragmento ínfimo de todo el trabajo en prensa, precisamente por sus altas externalidades positivas es que amerita ampliar nuestro conocimiento sobre este género en nuestros propios contextos políticos, históricos, económicos y de cultura profesional.

A pesar de que en América Latina hay una larga tradición en periodismo de investigación que algunos datan en los 1950s gracias a Operación Masacre del argentino Rodolfo Walsh (1957) y que la primera unidad especializada en investigación fue creada por el diario colombiano El *Tiempo* en los 1970s, hay una deuda en desarrollar teóricamente el campo. Buena parte de la literatura sobre

periodismo de investigación latinoamericano se basa en casos de estudios, experiencias individuales de reporteros y manuales. Los esfuerzos académicos por desentrañar las particularidades del periodismo de investigación en el continente son escasos. Trabajos como el de Hamilton llaman no tanto a emular, pero sí a remecer nuestros propios enfoques tanto en el campo del ejercicio profesional como en lo que nos falta por documentar históricamente y, así, teorizar para comprender mejor el rol de este tipo de periodismo en nuestras sociedades.

Claudia Lagos
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
clagoslira@gmail.com

Cómo citar:

Focus and Scope

*Comunicación y Medios i*s a historical Chilean academic journal, published every semester, since its creation in 1981. Its purpose is the plural discussion on the main issues that define the field of communications, the audiovisual industry and journalism. Since 2009, Comunicación y Medios is published in digital format in Spanish. As an originality reviewing mechanism, Comunicación y Medios submits all articles received to a plagiarism detection tool.

The journal considers communication as a problem and an interdisciplinary field. As a problem, communication is complex and involves discourses, objects, social practices, subjectivities and institutions in constant transformation and of great incidence in contemporary societies. As a field, it is a space for reflection and analysis in which knowledge, notions and methodologies of various disciplinary fields converge. This interdisciplinary character of communication supposes that it constitutes a space of critical knowledge that comes from diverse traditions -mainly, those of the social sciences, humanities and the arts- and, at the same time, as a "place" to think society itself. Due to the foregoing, the study of the development and installation of cultural industries, among others, mediation and mediation processes, ethical and political aspects of media and the reflection on communication and information technologies.

Comunicación y Medios publishes each new number online on the first day of January (January 1) and the first day of July of each year (June 1).

This journal is aimed at students, professors and/or creators who research communication from an interdisciplinary perspective and who carry out relevant research in the field of the audiovisual industry, journalism and new communications.

Peer Review Process

The Editorial Committee cautions that the author acknowledges receipt of his or her work within a period not exceeding one month. In the first place, the article is submitted to a selection stage where the Editorial Committee accepts the academic writing that corresponds to the theme of the Journal. In the second stage, pertinent articles received by the Editorial Committee of Comunicación y Medios will be subject to a strict peer evaluation process. At least two academics or researchers from the Editorial Committee or referees, who are not part of the journal's publishing institution and, preferably, have doctorates, will review all quality articles. To ensure neutral evaluations and no bias of any kind with the authors of the article, Comunicación y Medios ensures arbitration through the "double blind" system. During the reviewing process, the identity of both authors and evaluators will remain hidden. The factors that are taken into account during the review are the relevance, the solidity, the importance, the originality, the legibility and the language of the article. The reviewers assess the intellectual content of the manuscripts, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, ethnic origin, nationality, or political philosophy of the authors. When the author belongs to the University of Chile, referees external to this institution will review his or her work.

The evaluators will record their assessment of the text according to the following categories: Publish, Not Publish and Publish with suggestions. If both evaluations are positive (with or without suggestions) the article will be published. In the case of consigning suggestions, the author will have a month to send their text again, incorporating the observations made by the evaluator(s). If any of the evaluations is negative, the article will be rejected. If there is a contradiction between the two opinions, a third evaluation will be considered as definitive. The Editorial Committee of the journal must respond in 120 days, from the date of delivery of the article, about its publication. If after this period the Ediorial Committee has not responded, the author is released to submit the article to other publications. Before the publication, all accepted articles go through a correction and comments stage in charge of the Editorial

Committee of the Comunicación y Medios. This stage is composed of the following sub-stages: initial correction, author correction(s) and final correction. During these stages the editor meets with other editors and reviewers to make the final decision on the publication of the article. The editor of the journal is responsible for deciding which of the articles submitted to the journal should be published. The authors and the Editorial Committee must safeguard ethical care regarding the information published in the writings. It must be ensured that the manuscript in its entirety is original, unpublished, that it has not been published previously in any other support and that the use of words of other authors is duly cited. Plagiarism constitutes unethical behavior and is unacceptable. A publication is rejected when one or more authors publish manuscripts that essentially describe the same research in more than one journal or academic publication. Information obtained privately, such as conversations, correspondences or discussions with third parties, should not be used without explicit written permission from the source.

The originals received for review are treated as confidential documents. Submitting the same article to more than one journal constitutes unethical behavior and makes the manuscript unacceptable. Evaluations must be carried out objectively. Any personal criticism towards the author is inadequate. The referees should express their opinions clearly and with supportive arguments. Comunicación y Medios believes in constructive criticism. Reviewers are encouraged to be truthful, but not offensive in their language (harsh words can be modified or eliminated by decision of the editors). A negative criticism also explains the weaknesses of the manuscript that serves to allow interested authors to understand the basis of the rejection and he / she can improve the manuscript based on these observations. For their part, authors should not confuse simple and true comments with unfair criticism. Details of the methods/research processes should be provided within the manuscript so that another researcher is able to reproduce the described methods. Fraudulent or inaccurate statements constitute unethical behavior and are unacceptable. All sources of financial support for research must be made known. We will also take into account papers presented at conferences (a significant amount of changes must be made before acceptance in the journal and a proper citation of the paper is required).

Desde *La Ville qui tue les femmes a La ciudad de las muertas*: el webdocumental como herramienta de indagación de la catástrofe en Ciudad Juárez

Cine mexicano y migración: los pasos perdidos en La Jaula del oro de Quemada-Díez

Aproximaciones a lo real en el cine de Everardo González

¿Víctimas del necropoder? La construcción del cuerpo femenino en el cine mexicano sobre narcotráfico

Análisis interseccional de las relaciones de poder en la película Amor de Ulrich Seidl

Imaginario catastrofista en REC. Bajo el yugo del discurso televisivo

Retrato de la ciudad derrumbada como edificación de una mirada fotoperiodística: El viaje de Elsa Medina por la Ciudad de México

Cultura de la legalidad en notas sobre delitos de la prensa méxicana

Comunicación pública y promoción del turismo en Querétaro

Información corporativa en línea de las televisiones públicas europeas y sus relaciones con la audiencia

Transformaciones de la televisión en Guatemala (1986-2017): de la televisión analógica a la multiplataforma digital

Homoheregías fílmicas: cine homosexual subversivo en España en los años 70 y 80

Democracy's detectives. The economics of investigative journalism