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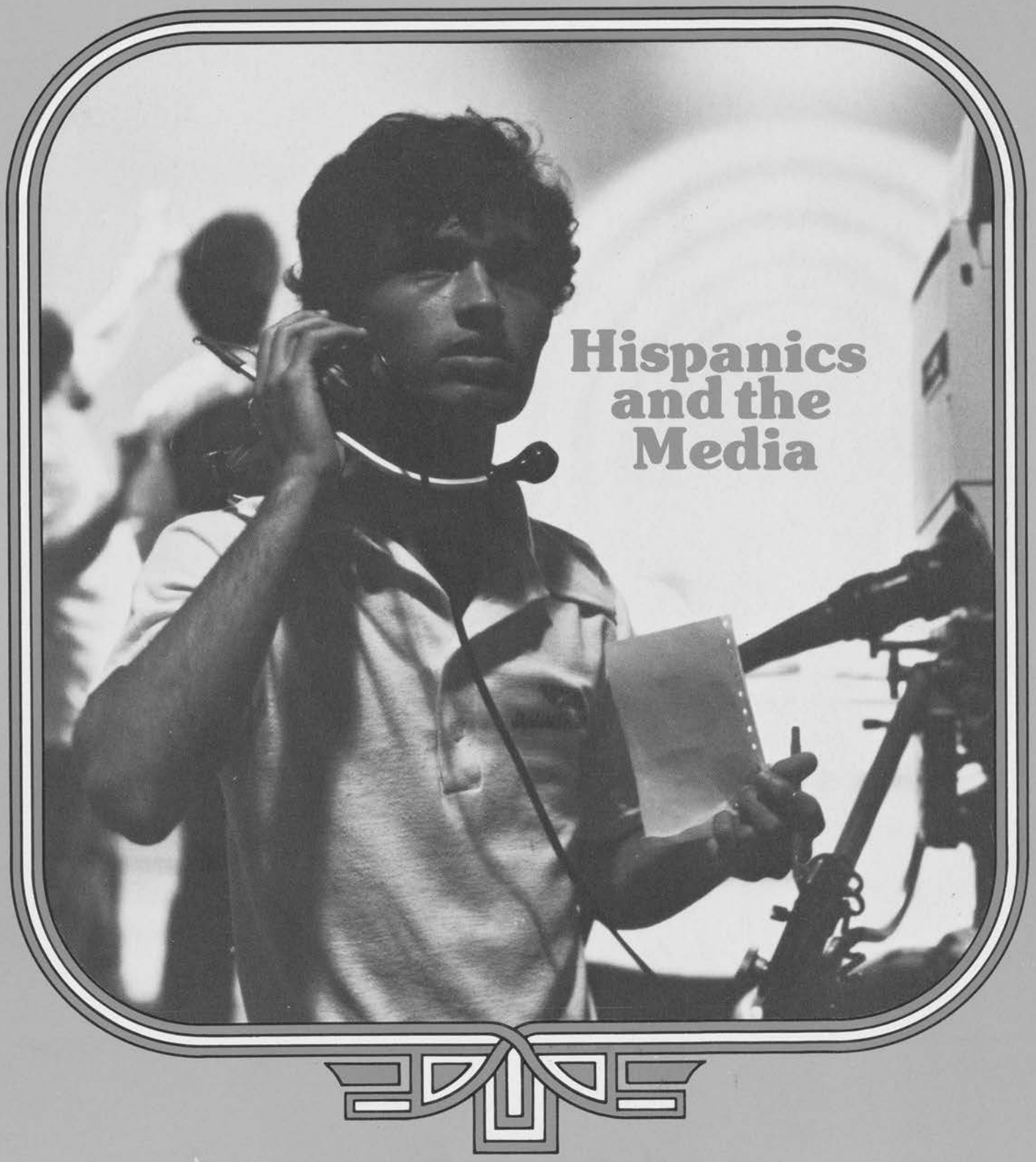
Version 3
August 20, 2018

AGENDA

A JOURNAL OF HISPANIC ISSUES
VOL. 11, NO. 3 MAY/JUNE 1981



Hispanics and the Media

AGENDA: A JOURNAL OF HISPANIC ISSUES

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Contents

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AGENDA

National Council of La Raza
1725 Eye St., N.W.
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AGENDA is published bimonthly by the Office of Public Information of the National Council of La Raza, 1725 Eye St., N.W., Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20006, telephone (202) 293-4680. Subscriptions to *AGENDA* are $15 yearly.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome but are not the responsibility of the *Agenda* staff and will not be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Allow eight to ten weeks for response.

Contents

The July/August 1981 issue of *Agenda* will feature a discussion of Hispanic Immigration and Migration.

The National Council of La Raza presents *Agenda* as a forum for issues particularly affecting Hispanic Americans. Contents of the publication do not necessarily reflect NCLR policy. Cover photo by Toni Breiter: Project '79 participant, Miami, Floria.

Typography and Design by Eagle One Graphics, Inc., Lanham, Maryland. Printing by District Lithograph, Inc., Washington, D.C.
ISSN: 0146-020X

EDITORIAL

A Foothold on the Future

by Toni Breiter
Editor-in-Chief

If you think the mass media in this country exert too pervasive and insidious an influence on our thought processes *now*, WAIT! In the words of one famous comedian, "You ain't seen nothin' yet."

The information industry—from newspapers to cable television—is experiencing a technological explosion that will alter the way we receive information in the future more dramatically than has occurred in the past 50 years, since broadcasting became common. It is not an exaggeration to say that the force of these changes can be compared with that of natural phenomena—an earthquake or a tidal wave—and in many ways, it may prove to be as dangerous, at least for the minorities who exist within U.S. society.

Within the next few years (not even a *decade*, just a *very few years!*), each home in the nation will be able to receive anywhere from 50 to 100 individual channels providing information, entertainment, shopping and banking services, and other still unbelievable sources of convenience. Information is already available from all over the world through satellite and microwave and the television screen shows first-run movies in the living room for a fee. Soon, direct computer connections to local libraries will make it possible to obtain any information needed in seconds and newspaper delivery to the home may even become obsolete, as it becomes possible to punch up the sports section on the television screen and avoid the problem of getting rid of stacks of newsprint.

Where will Hispanics be when this information explosion hits with full impact? Will they, and other minorities, remain on the outside looking in at the stereotypical portrayals of themselves and at the misinformed and one-sided reporting of issues of major concern to their participation in the economic and democratic processes of this country? Or will they move into the forefront of a burgeoning industry and grab onto the comet before it leaves them behind?

Journalist A.J. Liebling once said, "Freedom of the press belongs to those who own one." Unfortunately, for 200 years, while the rights of free speech have been extolled on paper and upheld in the courts, the reality has been a very different situation. If free speech depends on ownership and/or employment within the industry most protected by the First Amendment, then for Hispanics and other minorities, true freedom of speech is nonexistent.

The problems of media ownership are complicated by the fact of ownership concentration, which has long caused concern among journalists and broadcasters themselves. Very few cities today have available the luxury of two opposing newspapers providing divergent viewpoints. Even the nation's capital is today in danger of becoming a one-newspaper town, as the *Washington Star* fights for survival. An example of this concentration of ownership is provided by Edwin Emery in *The Press and America* (Prentice-Hall, 1972). Emery says that in 1971 the Hearst Corporation owned eight daily newspapers, 14 magazines, four AM stations, three FM stations, three TV stations, a news service, a photo service, a feature syndicate, and a paperback book firm.

When the major sources of information in a society are controlled by one group, information about any minority group in that society becomes one-sided, distorted, stereotyped, and even nonexistent. Amos and Andy, Step 'n Fetchit, the Frito Bandito, Chiquita Banana—all are proof that depiction of minority groups by the majority lacks reality and is often blatantly racist. When such racism is perpetuated through means as pervasive and powerful as the mass media system in the United States, the results can be devastating.

Television, in particular, has a very pervasive influence on our lives. Studies have shown that many people admit to receiving the bulk of their news and information through television. Other studies have indicated that low-income minority children watch more television than other groups of children and that they tend to believe in greater numbers that television is a faithful presentation of reality. Thus, the absence of Hispanics as role models on television (as actors, newscasters or newsmakers) and the stereotypical presentation of those few Hispanics who do appear, create a negative self-image for the Hispanic child. The problem is exacerbated by television's use of old Hollywood movies which portray racial and ethnic minorities in the most base and distorted characterizations. It is difficult to combat past stereotypes if the most influential and pervasive medium of them all continues to feature movies which originated those stereotypes.

Even worse than racial and ethnic stereotyping of Hispanics is the almost total lack of any images which might serve to reinforce positive attitudes—or *any* attitudes—about Hispanics in the United States. For Hispanics, watching the television screen is like looking into a mirror which returns no reflection. Without that reflection, there can be little affirmation of one's own existence. And for the general reading and viewing audience, there might just as well be no Hispanic population in the United States at all, save for the "illegal immigrants" on whom the media have concentrated their recent attention.

The cycle is self-perpetuating: the majority society controls the communications media in the United States; they make decisions regarding program practices and content; they make decisions about hiring and firing; they present images of minorities which, for the most part, reflect their own misconceptions and biases; the stereotypes help to keep minority groups out of the mainstream American society. And so, Hispanics continue to live on the fringes of the social structure, sharing only marginally in the diversity and wealth of the nation.

How to break the cycle? The most obvious way is to become involved *in all aspects* of the information and entertainment media. Some small breakthroughs are beginning to occur, but they are far too meager to make any real impact on the industry as a whole. Now, while the new technology is bursting, is the time to gain a foothold in the future. Microwave, satellite, teleconferences, cable, special-interest newspapers and magazines—all of these hold opportunities for ownership and control; all offer employment opportunities; all offer a chance to become an active part of the information industry, and not just a passive receptor for the predigested pap that is presented as truth.

If it is true that "freedom of the press belongs to those who own one," then Hispanics must become owners of and decision-makers in the information dissemination processes that affect society's perceptions and values. The time is *now*, for the future is *now*.

About the Theme

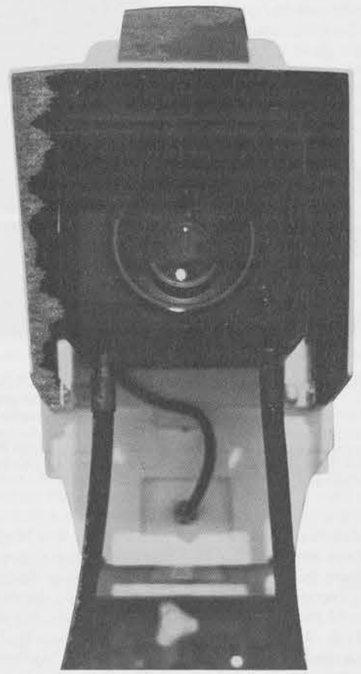
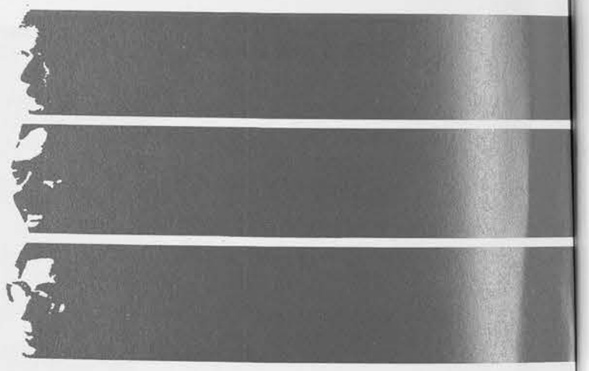


Photo by Toni Breiter.

Focusing on Hispanics and the Media

There is no doubt that the mass media in this country exert extraordinary influence on the lives of all U.S. citizens. All information received is channeled through a relatively small number of outlets, when the conglomerate ownership of media is taken into account. The best of these media do attempt to present accurate, fair, and balanced accounts of the news of the day, and of other information required to exist in a society as large and complex as that of the United States. But many questions remain about the coverage of Hispanic issues and the involvement of Hispanics in all aspects of media production and management. This issue of *Agenda* represents a special effort to bring into discussion some of the issues regarding media in the United States and their relationship to Hispanics. It is the first time in *Agenda's* publication history that an entire issue has been devoted to one topic. In fact, so important is the subject of Hispanics and the Media that this issue is one-third larger than usual. It is hoped that further discussion will be initiated by the articles presented and that this discussion will lead to new opportunities for Hispanics throughout all levels of every communication medium.—T.B.

The Hispanic Market: A Profile



by Antonio Guernica

Antonio Guernica is Executive Vice President of the National Association of Spanish Broadcasters (NASB) and Editor of *U.S. Hispanics—A Market Profile*, a demographic study of the Hispanic market conducted by Strategy Research Corporation with the sponsorship of NASB and funding under a grant from the Minority Business Development Agency. He is currently working on a book on the Hispanic market to be published in 1982 by McGraw-Hill.

This article is based on a paper prepared for the Hispanic Americans and the Mass Media conference, sponsored by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and funded by the Atlantic Richfield Foundation, August 2-8, Baca, Colorado.

Recent studies of the U.S. Hispanic population's potential numbers, media habits, and purchasing power have attracted the attention of major media executives and advertisers to Hispanics as a market target. As Hispanics are increasingly recognized as a viable market, focus on the demographic aspects of the U.S. Hispanic population is being clarified and fine-tuned. What is the demographic profile of the Hispanic population and how is it culturally identifiable? This article is a brief description of Hispanics as a market and as a culture/language group.

Estimates of the U.S. Hispanic population range from 12 to 25 million. The 1980 decennial census placed the number of Hispanics in the United States at 14.6 million, based on self-identification according to Spanish origin. Research conducted by Market Statistics Incorporated (MSI) "based entirely on Spanish language, eliminating persons of Spanish surname, origin or heritage who do not speak Spanish" arrived at a total of 12.6 million for 1980. Publications such as *Time* and *Newsweek* have placed the U.S. Hispanic population at close to 20 million. Other estimates go as high as 25 million.

The great range of estimates and terms that ostensibly refer to the same population—Hispanics—clearly points to the lack of a single, universally accepted definition. Without claiming that this is the ideal definition, the term "Hispanic" in this article will refer to people living in the United States who speak and comprehend the Spanish language and are of Spanish origin or descent.

Based on this definition, there were approximately 15 million Hispanics residing in the U.S. mainland in 1980, according to Strategy Research Corporation. There is an additional population of undocumented Hispanic aliens, loosely estimated between three and 12 million, about whom few reliable statistics are available. No comprehensive or systematic attempt has been made to account for this large number of Hispanic undocumented aliens in the population estimates that follow.

The median family income of U.S. Hispanics is $13,000, substantially less than the $19,000 median figure for all U.S. families. Nevertheless, U.S. Hispanics are the most affluent Hispanics in the world. For 1980, their projected gross income represented a market of approximately $51.8 billion.

From 1970 to 1980, the U.S. Hispanic population grew at a rate 6.5 times that of the general population. Legal and undocumented Hispanic immigration to the United States shows no sign of slackening, nor is immigration expected to decline appreciably until such time as Spanish-speaking countries, particularly Mexico, reach relative economic parity with the United States. Regional data indicate that Hispanic mothers are giving birth at a higher rate than the general population: giving birth to children whose first words will be in Spanish, whose attitudes and perceptions will be shaped intially within the Spanish-speaking environment of their homes. Should this rate of growth continue, U.S. Hispanics will reach 20 million by 1986, 25 million by the late 1990s, and approximately 41 million by the year 2000.

The average U.S. Hispanic is approximately seven years younger than his or her non-Hispanic counterpart. The median age of U.S. Hispanics is 22.1 years as compared to a median age of 29.5 years for the general population. Over 40 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population is under 18 years old, and over 25 percent is under 12 years of age. Their comparative youth is a primary factor in projections that indicate that the U.S. Hispanic population will continue to grow at a much faster rate than the U.S. population as a whole. Another contributing factor is the substantially larger Hispanic household size; the average size is 3.7 persons as compared with the U.S. mean of 2.8 persons per household.

Of Hispanics 25 years of age and over, 43.1 percent have completed four years of high school or more as compared with approximately 65 percent of the total U.S. population in that age group. However, among younger Hispanics (20—24), 63.9 percent have completed four years of high school or more. In fact, 28 percent of these 20—24 year olds have completed at least one to three years of college. The average level of Hispanic educational attainment should rise significantly during the 1980s as many younger Hispanics advance through school and college.

The U.S. Hispanic population is overwhelmingly concentrated in the metropolitan areas of the country. Of all U.S. Hispanics, 86.5 percent live within metropolitan areas as compared with 66 percent of the non-Hispanic population.

Of the 15 million U.S. Hispanics, 8.9 million, or 59 percent, are of Mexican origin. This is almost four times the size of the Puerto Rican origin subgroup (2.3 million), and eight times larger than the Central and South American Hispanic origin segment (1.1 million). Cuban origin Hispanics number 883,500. Hispanics designated under "Other" Spanish origin reach 1.8 million.

The U.S. Hispanic population is regionally concentrated according to national Hispanic origin. Over 75 percent of the U.S. Mexican origin population resides in the Southwest and Pacific regions. Over 60 percent of the U.S. mainland Puerto Rican population is found in New York City, with another sizable segment living in Chicago. The Cuban population is primarily concentrated in Florida, with significant numbers in New York as well. The Central/South American population is geographically dispersed, although centered in the large cities, notably New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and increasingly, Miami.

The cultural identification of U.S. Hispanics generally encompasses a blend of orientations. Were individual Hispanics to identify themselves, some would respond with a term that connotes a specific nationality or national origin: Mexican or Mexican American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Venezuelan, Columbian, etc. Others would refer to themselves by a non-nationality term such as Hispanic or Latino. Still others would call themselves Americans.

The U.S. Hispanic may very well perceive himself or herself (a) as a member of a specific Spanish nationality such as Mexican, (b) as an Hispanic, and (c) as an American. Belonging to one group or the other does not prevent the Hispanic from also identifying with one or both of the other groups, albeit in varying degrees.

Exemplary of the differences among Hispanic groups related to national origin is the celebration of strictly national holidays. Each Hispanic nationality celebrates its own national holidays, for example, its independence day or the birthday of a national hero. As a rule, the other Hispanic nationalities do not join in such observances nor are they familiar with strictly national holidays outside of their own country of origin. Purely American holidays such as the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving are usually celebrated by U.S. Hispanics but may be appreciated more for the opportunity they provide to gather with family and friends than for their significance within the context of U.S. history.

Notwithstanding the strong nationality ties, the term Hispanic does have meaning and is a very useful term in identifying this group in comparison to non-Hispanic groups. While identity may be based primarily on nationality, all U.S. Hispanics share basic cultural values and traditions that are directly related to being Hispanic rather than to being from any single Spanish-speaking country.

Unification Through Language Use

The universal and most unifying characteristic of U.S. Hispanics is their use of the Spanish language. The same Spanish language is used by every one of the 20 Spanish-speaking nationalities encompassed by the U.S. Hispanic population. There are, however, national colorations or styles related to pronounciation and to the meaning of individual words just as there are regional colorations among English-speakers.

The use of Spanish is not limited to older Hispanics, as is sometimes believed. According to a Department of Commerce study in July 1976, over 64 percent of the Spanish origin population under 20 prefers its native tongue. The same study showed that over 50 percent of the Spanish origin population with college education has retained use of the Spanish language. Over 65 percent of the people who identified themselves in the study as being of Spanish origin lived in households where Spanish was usually spoken. More recent estimates place this proportion at 80 percent.

The enduring power of Spanish language use by U.S. Hispanics is due partly to the constant reinforcement it gets from the large numbers of Hispanics who immigrate to the United States each year, as well as to modern communications and transportation, which help to keep ties to the Spanish-speaking countries of origin alive and strong. The relatively recent development in U.S. society of maintaining and expressing pride in ethnic heritage has also played its part, but the enduring power of Spanish language use by the U.S. Hispanic population is perhaps most closely associated with the family and the home.

The first words an Hispanic child born in the United States is likely to hear will be in Spanish. During the early years of life, the child will be in daily contact with the Spanish language in the home environment. More than likely, the home will also be located in an area populated by other Spanish-speaking families who will shape many of the child's first contacts. This is not to say that the Hispanic child will not encounter English early in life, for he or she will most likely also be in daily contact with the English language. Ideally, a capability in both languages will develop along parallel lines, but usually the use of one language becomes dominant.

That Spanish is closely connected with the home and family helps the child to develop a positive attitude toward speaking Spanish. This is enhanced by the Hispanic's characteristically strong family ties and the feeling of security associated directly with the home and indirectly with the Spanish language. Since the use of Spanish outside the home may be discouraged by the dominant English-speaking society, this positive reinforcement is all the more important.

Once the child reaches school age, the demand for developing proficiency in English takes precedence. Within formal education, priority is placed on developing English language reading and writing skills as these are skills that the child will need to succeed in school. Nonetheless, there is every reason to believe that Hispanics will continue using the Spanish language. Both past history and current evidence point to the retention and use of Spanish as the primary or secondary language of U.S. Hispanics, particularly in verbal communication. Spanish language use is such an integral part of the Hispanic culture that one is inseparable from the other. Surrendering Spanish language use would be tantamount to surrendering a vital part of one's identity—something the U.S. Hispanic has no intention of doing.

Maintenance of Family Values

At a time when, in the general population, traditional American family values are under the greatest stress they have ever faced, the U.S. Hispanic family is maintaining traditional family values. It is characterized by strong and close bonds that frequently extend outside the nuclear family to include grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and nonfamily members who are treated as family by virtue of long-standing associations. The extended family is very much alive among U.S. Hispanics.

Just as the family is primary to the maintenance of the Spanish language, so does the family play the primary role in the transmission of other Hispanic cultural and social values, such as upward striving and religious faith. The role that the U.S. Hispanic family plays in this respect is particularly determinant in that the dominant American society requires that the U.S. Hispanic family fulfill cultural transmission functions that are normally fulfilled by larger institutions and influences when the family culture and the dominant culture are the same.

Approximately 85 percent of U.S. Hispanics are Roman Catholic, giving the Catholic religion a tremendous influence in their values and lifestyles. This influence is readily evident in the Hispanic family's close ties with and respect for elders. The charitable tendency of U.S. Hispanics and their willingness to help other people are also largely founded in the Catholic concept of brotherhood and of obligation to the unfortunate. Today, in many parishes and in many cities, Hispanics represent the majority of practicing Catholics.

Being proclaimed by the general media and the general public as "Soon to be the Biggest Minority in the United States" is a significant recognition for Hispanics. Nevertheless, the fact that Hispanics continue to be perceived as a "minority" in a pluralistic society, even in areas where Hispanics in fact represent the numerical majority, is much more significant. Hispanics do not perceive themselves as a "minority" with all the unfortunately negative connotations that the word usually produces. Hispanics do experience cultural estrangement and isolation and they recognize that the dominant society and language are not the same as theirs. Hispanics know they are viewed as a "minority" from the outside. The overwhelming majority of Hispanics per-

ceive themselves, however, as being *different* from the dominant society. They are far from accepting the label of minority often thrust upon them.

That U.S. Hispanics have historically resisted surrender of the Spanish language and Hispanic culture is clear evidence of the pride they have in being Hispanic. Not all have retained their language and culture; some have not. But the overriding interest of U.S. Hispanics has been to participate in U.S. society rather than assimilate into it—an extremely difficult balancing trick.

There is a strong historical basis as to why Hispanic people in this country have not followed the traditional path of assimilation traveled by most other immigrant groups. First, part of what is now the United States was populated and settled by Mexicans before the Americans arrived and made it theirs. In Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, and California, it was the non-Spanish who was the newcomer and the Mexican who initially represented the established group.

Second, the Puerto Ricans who have come to the U.S. mainland arrived as U.S. Citizens, not as foreigners; therefore, the psychological impetus to become Americanized as a prerequisite for citizenship does not exist for them. That large numbers came to the mainland within a short time and created Puerto Rican enclaves further diminished the immediacy of assimilating. Social and economic survival did not hinge on talking and behaving like an English-speaking American.

Unlike the Puerto Rican migration, the Cuban influx to the mainland was politically rather than economically motivated. There are similarities, nevertheless, between the two migrations. Both groups came to the United States over a short period and established their own pockets of concentration. Within these pockets, the immigrants could live comfortably enough without having to make irreversible concessions to their new country.

Resistance to Assimilation

Although the need to assimilate has not been critical, there have been strong legal and social pressures on Hispanics to force them to assimilate. Just a few years ago in some parts of this country, it was against the law to speak Spanish in public schools. When not ignored by the general media, Hispanics have been consistently and negatively stereotyped. Discrimination against Hispanics seeking employment or housing was commonplace 20 years ago; it is not unheard of today.

In general, it has been the differences and the negative aspects of the differences between Hispanics and other Americans that have been emphasized and continue to be emphasized. Still, Hispanics choose not to surrender their hertiage and language and, in fact, have demonstrated a disinterest in assimilating. This disinterest has brought about both positive and negative repercussions. Hispanics have retained their identity at the expense of being perceived as a "minority" from the outside. On the other hand, Hispanics are making great progress in increasing their participation in American society as a whole.

As a target audience for media and advertisers, Hispanics prefer media choices characterized by the use of Spanish, the presentation of shared cultural experiences, ties to their countries of origin, and involvement with the local Hispanic community. These informational demands are rarely fulfilled by the general audience media. Spanish news media, in descending order of priority, usually concentrate on (a) events taking place in the local Hispanic community, (b) news from the countries of origin of the local Hispanic population, (c) local and national events of concern to the Hispanic community, and (d) news from the rest of the Hispanic world. The success of the Spanish media in providing this information and drawing an audience depends greatly on the number and nature of the other media competing for the same audience.

While the cultural orientation is a factor that should be considered in the presentation of essentially informational material by the Spanish and general media, particularly in the case of soft news and features, it is most important in regard to entertainment media content aimed at Hispanics. The entertainment offered by general audience media is, by definition, based on what would most effectively attract a general audience. It is not a question of offering high interest programming to a special audience segment. The rationale behind this policy is straightforward: media content that strongly attracts a certain segment of the audience will, by its nature, strongly repel another segment of the audience. Mass media do not demand intensity to be financially successful; they do demand large numbers.

This philosophy of neutral media content made particularly good business sense when the public had access to relatively few mass media outlets. And while the neutral media content orientation has by no means been abandoned, there has been a gradual shift in policy toward increased targeting of media content. This targeting is particularly evident among magazines in the print media, and radio in the broadcast media. As the circulations of *Life* and *Look* declined, magazines such as *Sports Illustrated* thrived. Magazine content narrowed even further, focusing on specific interests, as indicated by the emergence of *Road and Track*, *Popular Photography*, and *Skiing*, to name a few. Lifestyle magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Playboy*, and *Ebony* joined the fray in a trend that has not yet reached its peak.

Newspapers retained their basic cross-sectional appeal but increasingly organized their format into sections devoted to specific interests. Coverage of local news and events gained a greater role. Additional sections were added to attract readers who would not regularly buy the paper for the basic news coverage. The emergence of special interest columns and features began to play a part in readership promotion efforts.

Media segmentation also became increasingly evident in broadcasting. Essentially a segmented medium since television became dominant, radio by necessity quickly recognized the positive side of directing programming at a specific audience segment. A growing variety of formats came onto the scene, positioning themselves according to the dictates of the marketplace. The radio audience pie being only so big, intense competition for the same audience exists among formats and stations with similar formats. But each station plans its programming content with one particular listener profile in mind. When stations try to appeal to every programming taste in the market at different points during the day, the listener only switches to a station constantly programming for his or her particular taste.

Mass Appeal of Television

With the exception of foreign language programming, television has remained the most purely mass appeal medium. Surely, there is a diversity of program fare on television appealing to separate audience segments. *NFL Football* does not have the exact same appeal as *Charlie's Angels*; nevertheless, both are watched by many of the same people. The boundaries of allowable and profitable audience segmentation are severely limited.

The boundaries of profitable audience segmentation are particularly limited when it comes to network entertainment programming, which makes up the bulk of prime-time fare. The Monday through Friday, 8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. time period guarantees each of the three networks an audience of millions, only slightly affected by the programming they offer. The networks do not have to entice the audience of millions to turn on the television set. Prime time has its own inertia. Millions of television sets are already turned on, overwhelmingly to the network stations. It is then not so much a question of giving the viewer a reason to turn on a particular channel as it is a question of preventing the viewer from switching to a competing station. Given this ready audience of millions, the networks design the program content to be the least objectionable to the largest number of people.

Independent television stations counterprogram by offering something in their programming that the networks do not. They have little choice but to actively pursue a section of the audience. They have to try and break the prime-time inertia by making it worthwhile for the viewer to switch to their station, if only temporarily. Since the independents generally operate at the local level rather than at the national network level, they can focus on local programming desires or on the desires of a section of the local audience. The independents then seek to provide coverage of local sports, both professional and college, that may not have the sufficient national appeal to be carried by the networks. Just as radio stations position their programming to attract a specific audience segment, so do independent television stations seek to offer a type of programming which the networks do not offer at that particular time period.

Emergence of Hispanic Media

In this environment of positioning media content and audience segmentation, the emergence of Hispanic-oriented media was a logical and predictable occurrence. The development of Hispanic-oriented media has actually remained dormant for too long because the people involved in the media industry were unfamiliar with the audience. Once it became evident to the media industry that targeting content for Hispanics would be profitable, Hispanic-oriented media began to develop very quickly. In the last ten years, this development has been spurred by an unprecedented emphasis on ethnic and cultural identity.

Virtually all U.S. Hispanic-oriented media are in the Spanish language, although rare exceptions exist in magazines and non-commercial television programming. Similarly, most Hispanic-oriented media programming has been imported from the countries of origin of the U.S. Hispanic population, with Mexico providing the bulk at the national level.

Hispanic magazines generally cover personalities and events in the Hispanic world that have their greatest impact and importance outside of the United States. It is the exception that a Spanish radio station will play the song of a U.S.-based Hispanic artist. U.S. Spanish-language television stations usually produce their own local news programs and public affairs, a very rare series, and an occasional special. SIN—Spanish International Network—has gone on the air with a domestically produced nightly national news program; this is still the exception, however, to the predominance of imported programming.

In most cases, U.S. Hispanics are at best a secondary audience for the media content they have available, be it an English-language situation comedy produced for the general audience or the Spanish-language *novela* produced for the Mexican audience in Mexico. And while the cultural and language differences between a U.S. Hispanic and a Mexican in Mexico City may not be as striking as the differences between a U.S. Hispanic and a non-Hispanic American, differences certainly exist that influence viewer preferences.

For essentially economic reasons, the U.S. Hispanic population remains largely unapproached as a primary audience, even as Spanish media continue to develop in the United States and some material is produced with U.S. Hispanics as the primary audience. Fortunately, again for essentially economic reasons, U.S. Hispanics will be recognized as a primary audience to a much greater extent in the future.

The projected growth of the U.S. Hispanic population has already been noted. Concurrent with this awareness of the Hispanic market potential, the economic connection between the media content originator and the media content consumer is becoming increasingly direct. This connection is facilitated by the growing use and capabilities of cable television, subfrequencies, satellites, earth stations, translators, etc., to deliver high-interest programming to a select and selective audience. The more directly a consumer can influence the choice of programming offered—as, for example, by the effect of purchase decisions for various pay-television services—the more profitable it becomes for a programmer to serve relatively small but intensely interested audiences for special material.

Today, the Hispanic population is already an attractive market for programmers and one whose commercial value will continue to grow. The potential for profit can be expected to draw increasing investments of talent, money, and resources into the development and delivery of media services designed for the special interests of the U.S. Hispanic audience. The tangible results of this expected investment—media content designed with U.S. Hispanics as the primary audience—is already in evidence and will continue to develop.

U.S. Hispanics will certainly benefit from the increase in quantity and quality of the media content expected to be available to them. Who else will profit from the production and delivery of this media content depends on who has the foresight and interest, the technical and creative skills, and the financial resources to make the necessary investment.

Hispanic Marketing: New Applications for Old Methodologies

by Bernadette A. Brusco

Ernest Bromley, Market Researcher at Sosa and Associates, and Lionel Sosa, President, have contributed to the development of the model described in this article.

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U.S. business has discovered the Hispanic in America. During the last five years the business community has been asking: How many Hispanics are there and where do they live? Now, the questions being asked most often are: Who are the Hispanics? What are they like?

This interest in the U.S. Hispanic by the business community should come as no surprise. U.S. business historically has sought out new markets and strategies during periods of economic stagnation. Consider what the business community currently faces: inflation, foreign competition, greater expenditures on marketing and advertising but with less realized return, increased costs of doing business, and a general overall economic stagnation. Many businesses have decided that to specifically tailor marketing, promotional and public relations efforts, and advertising to the Hispanic market segment is a good business decision. But how does one effectively sell products and communicate ideas and programs to the Hispanic?

Current studies and literature on marketing to the Hispanic are sparse. Many of the available studies are often conflicting and self-serving; there is, however, a broad body of literature that can be used by marketers. One need only look to the social sciences to find numerous general studies on acculturation, which can provide invaluable information, and a growing number of specific studies that relate to the Hispanic. It seems truly surprising that the business community has taken so long to realize that standard marketing know-how and procedures can be combined with traditional theories and methodologies from the social sciences (cultural anthropology, psychology, and sociology) to provide insight into the Hispanic market segment.

One of the fundamentals that marketers must first understand is the acculturation process. Acculturation, in the standard social science definition, is "analyzing the process of socialcultural change under the conditions of cultures in contact."[1] In the acculturation process there is an exchange—a mutability that takes place. The dominant, or mainstream culture has an impact on the subculture group, but it is important to note that at the same time, the subcultural group has an impact, but to a lesser degree, on the mainstream group.

Initially, marketers spoke in terms of the assimilation of the Hispanic. But assimilation does not accurately characterize the true cultural exchange that is taking place today between the Hispanic and U.S. mainstream cultures. The U.S. marketer should come to grips with the Hispanic acculturation process to properly develop optimal marketing strategies for selling products, and communicating ideas and programs.

The acculturation studies completed to date come from various social science disciplines and vary somewhat in definition, variable, saliency, and scope. There are areas of similarity and they are expressed in the following four issues:

- identifying the relevant cultural variable or variables,
- determining the interdependence structure among relevant cultural variables,
- ascertaining the cross-cultural equivalence of the cultural variables for the groups under study, and
- specifying the cultural variable within the proper temporal context.[2]

Acculturation studies undertaken for marketing information should address each of these issues.

It is not possible for every marketer to undertake an acculturation-market study specifically relevant to their product or communication campaign. Instead, product-specific research should begin from a base that has previously researched and defined the Hispanic acculturation phenomenon to some degree. Research conducted by Sosa and Associates has established just such a base by developing and putting into operation the theory of Acculturation Influence Groups (AIG). Basically, the underlying assumption was that traditional social science acculturation theory, hypothesis, and methodology could be meaningfully employed in market research.

By addressing the four issues mentioned above, and incorporating the crucial notion that "rates of acculturation vary for individuals and groups, and failure to incorporate temporal dimensions properly may obscure important aspects of the process and lead to unwarranted generalization,"[3] the U.S. Hispanic market segment can be characterized by AIG I, AIG II and AIG III. These groups each reflect three major categories of cultural variables:

- *Linguistic:* Language preference, proficiency and use.
- *Psychometric:* cultural value orientation, attitudes, knowledge and behavior.
- *Socialcultural:* educational/occupational status, mobility, family size and structure, degree of urbanization.

These are combined with population and standard demographic data on sex, age, etc. It is then possible to identify, within each market or Area of Dominant Influence (ADI), the number of Hispanics in AIG I, AIG II, or AIG III.

Very simply put, each AIG represents a language and culture comfort zone which corresponds in the following manner:

- AIG I—most comfortable in the Spanish language and culture, lowest degree of mainstream acculturation.
- AIG II—comfortable in both Spanish and English language and Hispanic and mainstream culture. Represents the emerging Hispanic American who is creating a distinct cultural subgroup which is an amalgam of Hispanic and mainstream culture.
- AIG III — most comfortable in the English language and operates in a highly developed synthesis of the Hispanic and mainstream cultures.

A marketer can then use this base to conduct product-specific studies if desired. Since the AIGs define large and distinct lifestyle segments which provide data to inform all aspects of a marketing and advertising effort, the optimal marketing plan for positioning, advertising, and distribution can be developed.

In addition to acculturation, there is one other area of culture research that is crucial to the marketer and very important to the Hispanic community: culture affect studies. This is the area that identifies the characteristics of a culture and attempts to understand the difference between cultures. While it is a most crucial and legitimate area for research, it is also the one that leads to the most misunderstanding. Social scientists have done many studies to understand and identify the salient cultural characteristics of the Hispanic community, particularly when compared to the Anglo community. Studies by Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, which have been long cited as the benchmarks against which new research is compared, identified the Hispanic, when compared to the Anglo culture as:

- less "active" in problem solving style;
- less dynamic, less technological and more internal;
- more family centered;
- less complex in "cognitive structures";
- more cooperative in interpersonal activities and hence less competitive;
- more fatalistic and pessimistic in outlook of life; and
- more present-time orientated—live for the present.

The findings from Sosa and Associates' marketing research, which was conducted over the past five years, substantially challenge many of these cultural stereotypes and find little evidence to support them within the Hispanic market segment. With each additional research effort in this area, more clarity and understanding of cultural characteristics is being established. Additionally, new academic research is calling into question these characteristics as not representative of culture so much as emanating from economic conditions. Any identified cultural characteristics must be sensitively interpreted by researchers and marketers unless they become meaningless stereotypes which are offensive.

Finally, it is imperative for the marketer to truly understand the basis of cultural characteristics which translate into cultural imperatives. All cultures have value, and indiscriminantly imposing evaluations of right-wrong, good-bad, or positive-negative on the Hispanic culture without attempting to understand the culture will surely be detrimental to the marketer and rightfully offensive to the Hispanic community.

There is definitely a demand for continued research into the Hispanic culture, identification of Hispanic lifestyle characteristics, and evaluation of Hispanic consumption habits. By bringing together the methodologies and theories of the social sciences and marketing, much can be discovered about the burgeoning Hispanic consumer market for the benefit both of U.S. business and of the Hispanic community.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Esteban L. Olmedo, "Acculturation: A Psychometric Perspective," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 34 (1979), p. 1062.
[2]Olmedo, Ibid., p. 1063.
[3]Olmedo, Ibid., p. 1068.

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Hispanic Print Media—Alive and Growing

by Jesús Rangel

Jesús Rangel is a reporter for the *San Diego Union*. He has a Master's Degree in Communications from Stanford University and has completed research on Hispanic media habits.

Photo by Lizanne Fleming.

Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr.'s, decision in 1953 to increase domestic coverage of the United States in *La Opinión*, his Los Angeles Spanish-language newspaper, was an indication that print media for Hispanics would grow in the next three decades. His idea was to aim for a post-World War II Hispanic audience that had grown rapidly during the previous three decades.

While the Hispanics of that time were concerned with news of their countries of origin, they had become increasingly linked to the United States. And while they maintained strong cultural and language ties, they wanted more news and discussion of themselves and their problems in this country.

According to the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals*, there were 24 daily, weekly, and monthly newspapers and magazines of a general and specialized interest written for Hispanics in 1953. Today there are over 100. The audience in the 1980s is much younger, more upwardly mobile, and more urban. Their spending power has increased to about $40 billion annually. Advertisers are actively modifying marketing techniques to appeal to Hispanics.

Some observers have criticized Hispanic print media for being too glossy or for emulating the Anglo-oriented media. David Medina, writing in the *Washington Journalism Review*, says that one general interest magazine, *Nuestro*, "is all about Aren't-We-Beautiful-And-Aren't-We-Making-It (with a capital M)." Medina says *Nuestro* "equates economic prosperity with looking, speaking, and acting as much as possible like a mainstream American."

Others, however, say the print media for Hispanics are no worse than the Anglo-oriented media. Some say they are better because they appeal to Hispanics' common interests and good, unlike the Anglo media which grow by appealing to the "me" in the U.S. consumer. But print media for Hispanics are still in their infancy. It will take five to ten years before it is known whether the publications are capturing and holding the market.

On the surface, it appears that in the future readership will increase because the Hispanic population will boom. Estimates are that the Hispanic population will grow to 25 million by the late 1990s, up from the current official census count of 14.6 million. If other factors are considered, such as the number of undocumented aliens, the 1990s estimates could be pushed up to 30 to 35 million.

Large numbers, however, do not guarantee more readers, says Thomas E. Pino, publisher of *La Luz* magazine. There are other business factors to consider, he says. And there are problems which include a low number of Hispanics experienced in both the business and the editorial aspects of publishing, heavy competition with broadcasting for the advertising dollar, and distribution problems. The growth of the print media in the 1980s will indicate whether these problems are being solved.

The Spanish-language newspapers are the least affected by problems in distribution. The nine dailies* in the United States and Puerto Rico circulate in a smaller geographic area than do most of the magazines. The oldest, *La Opinión*, was founded by Lozano's father, Ignacio E., Sr., in 1926. It is patterned after a metropolitan daily and is considered to be one of the best ethnic publications. Critics say it still needs to improve coverage of local Hispanic problems, but Lozano says that his intention is to provide a broader scope by including international and national events, sports, and entertainment, as well as local events.

Information Void

It is no secret that one reason for *La Opinión's* success is that it is filling a void in the newspaper market for a discussion of issues important to Hispanics. The two English-language dailies in the Los Angeles area (the *Times* and the *Herald Examiner*) still remain baffled as to how to publish news for and about Hispanics. A more obvious reason for its growth to 50,000 readers is the fact that it circulates in the Los Angeles area, the second largest market in the United States for Hispanics (after New York). The Hispanic population in Los Angeles, mostly of Mexican descent, has grown from 6.9 percent of the general population in 1950 to 28.8 percent in 1980. Accordingly, advertising in *La Opinión* has increased. This year, Lozano says, he has 20 percent more advertising than last year, mostly national.

Lozano feels confident that he can expand future readership. Marketing reports indicate that Hispanics are expected to comprise more than one-third of the population of Los Angeles by 1984 and over 50 percent by 2000. "I think there's going to continue to be enough migration to this area from Mexico and Latin American that there will always be an audience for a Spanish-language daily newspaper," Lozano says. He predicts that he will hold on to the current readers, of whom one-half were born in the United States or are first-generation born, and in addition will be able to attract the offspring of his current readers. "There's so much interest in maintaining ties with your roots. [The next generation] will be keeping the native language."

The fourth largest Hispanic market, Miami (the third is San Antonio, Texas), also has a Spanish-language newspaper. *El Diario de las Américas* has become the second largest selling newspaper, after the English-language *Miami Herald*, based on its advertising. It serves a $2.5 billion market that includes mostly Cubans, who make up one-third of the Dade County population.

The only English-language publication so far to break into the Spanish-language daily newspaper market is the *Miami Herald*. *"El Heraldo"* has a circulation of about 60,000. Another newspaper considering entering the Spanish-language market is the *San Diego Union*.

An additional example of the growth of these newspapers is in the number one market of New York City, where the Hispanic population, mostly Puerto Rican, is estimated by the census to be 2.3 million. *El Diario-La Prensa* has filled the need for a Spanish-language daily newspaper there and is the largest of the Spanish-language dailies. Recently, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church in New York started publishing *Noticias del Mundo*. It makes different appeals to each Hispanic subgroup with separate social and civic sections.

While newspapers are the most profitable in the Spanish-language market, specialized and general interest magazines are making inroads into the bilingual market. According to *Advertising Age*, a weekly international market newspaper, the bilingual segment comprises 40 percent of the Mexican American population, the largest segment of Hispanics. The bilingual segment of Mexican Americans is much smaller than the monolingual segment, but has a much higher income level. The bilingual segment, the paper says, accounts for more than 50 percent of the $18 billion in consumer goods purchased by Mexican Americans.

According to Julio Morán, Editor of *Nuestro*, and Pino of *La Luz*, bilingual Mexican Americans make up the bulk of the readership of *Nuestro* and *La Luz*, two general interest magazines, although the Cuban and Puerto Rican populations are reading them in increasing numbers. Generally, both magazines attempt to appeal to the middle-class, successful Hispanic. The average reader of *Nuestro* is likely to be a Hispanic male who has done postgraduate work and has at least a $25,000 yearly income, according to Morán. *Nuestro* has a total circulation of 200,000, mostly in Southern California.

La Luz, published in Denver, is the first national general interest magazine (started in 1972) and has a current circulation of 138,000 in every state and outside the country. *Caminos*, published in San Bernardino, also aims for the bilingual Mexican American market but within California. According to publisher Kirk Whisler, *Caminos* is geared to people interested in the cultural and intellectual aspects of the community.

*La Opinión *in Los Angeles*; El Diario de las Américas *in Miami*; El Diario-La Prensa *and* Noticias del Mundo *in New York*, Laredo Times *in Laredo, Texas*; El Continental *in El Paso, Texas*; El Nuevo Día, El Mundo, *and* El Vocero *in Puerto Rico.*

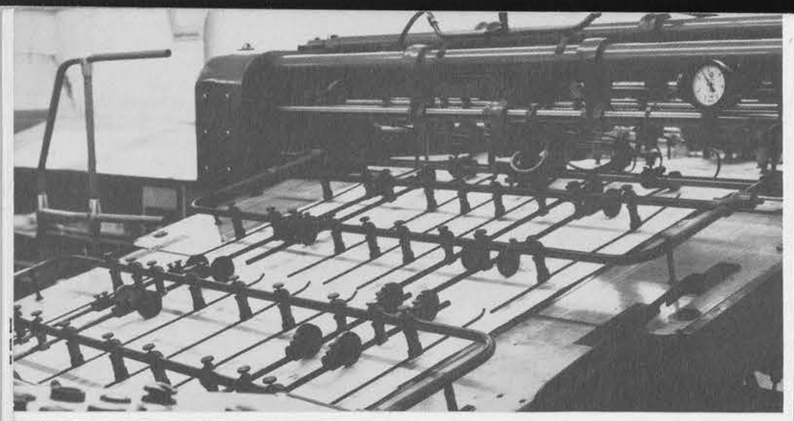


Photo by Lizanne Fleming.

At the other end of the spectrum, opposite from the Hispanic magazines that aim for the upwardly mobile, middle-class Hispanics from all subgroups, are the magazines published for one specific Hispanic group. *Low Rider* magazine, published in San Jose, has a readership composed 99 percent of Mexican Americans. The average reader is 19.5 years old, is a high-school graduate, and has a median income of $13,500. *Low Rider's* circulation, 150,000, is equal or better than that of most Hispanic magazines. Over 90 percent of the monthly copies are sold on newsstands. Recently, *Low Rider* expanded from 70 to 82 pages because of a surge in advertising, mostly local. It circulates mainly in California, but has started to penetrate the New York and Florida markets as well as the overseas Hispanic military market.

Miami is currently experiencing the hottest battle for the Hispanic audience. *Vida/Miami* and *Miami Mensual* are competing for their share of the Hispanic population that wants depth and hard-hitting articles. They are joined by *Miami Affaire*, newest of the city's five monthlies, which focuses on social affairs, *Guía*, and *Donde en Miami*.

As much as the magazine segment has grown in the past five years, it has an attrition rate of about 90 percent, according to Pino of *La Luz*. The problems are not insurmountable, but they have curtailed what otherwise is one of the most promising markets in the United States. For all its intentions to provide quality information, business dynamics are still the bedrock of publishing, the "pivotal end," as Pino calls it. It's not a problem peculiar to Hispanic publishing, but it does have a significant, mostly negative effect on a magazine's growth.

Many in the industry agree that Hispanics have yet to fully grasp the business as well as the editorial aspect of publishing that is necessary to steer a magazine through the critical first three to five years. During that period, magazines either fail or show signs of survival. Morán of *Nuestro* agrees. He says that *Nuestro* has some Hispanics trained in either one or the other aspect, but few in both. "That's why we're not as strong as we should be," he said. Morán calls the problem a "Catch-22 situation. It's like any other business. You have to get the experience but where do you get it if you don't work? In all the major publishing houses there are few if any Latinos who understand the full scope."

Of major concern in the industry is how to compete with broadcasting for advertising. Again, the problem is not unique to Hispanic media. In fact, numerous surveys indicate that two out of every three Americans cite television as their most important source of information. Hence, the impact of broadcasting on print media in general is tremendous. Broadcasting advertising represents close to 90 percent of all advertising budgets. National and local advertisers spent more than $10 billion last year for radio and television advertising.

One reason advertisers concentrate on broadcasting is that it is more cost effective, although some market reports argue that newspaper advertising fares much better. In the Los Angeles market, three television and radio stations for Hispanics share their local advertising dollars with only one daily newspaper and a few monthly magazines. Penetration by broadcasting in this case would be more cost effective.

Cost Effective Advertising

Advertisers also often prefer to focus on broadcasting because they can pinpoint the exact Hispanic audience they are aiming for more accurately than they can in general interest magazines. Compounding the problem for Hispanic publications is the fact that there are very few advertising representatives working for print media. In broadcasting, one ad agency frequently services several radio and television stations.

A theory often advanced by advertisers and communication researchers—that Hispanics tend to be broadcast- rather than print-oriented, that they are a look-and-listen audience—is being largely discounted as a major problem. Whisler of *Caminos* thinks the idea is a self-prepetuating myth. "If you look at Mexico City, for example, you will find that there are hundreds of newsstands. They may be reading little *novelas* or something else, but at least they're reading."

Morán doubts whether that factor has much impact on the magazines, which seek a particular audience that is more print-oriented in the first place. "Most who rely on broadcasting are the less educated Latinos who listen to Spanish broadcasting. What we're trying to do is give an alternative on a higher level. We try to get to the community leaders."

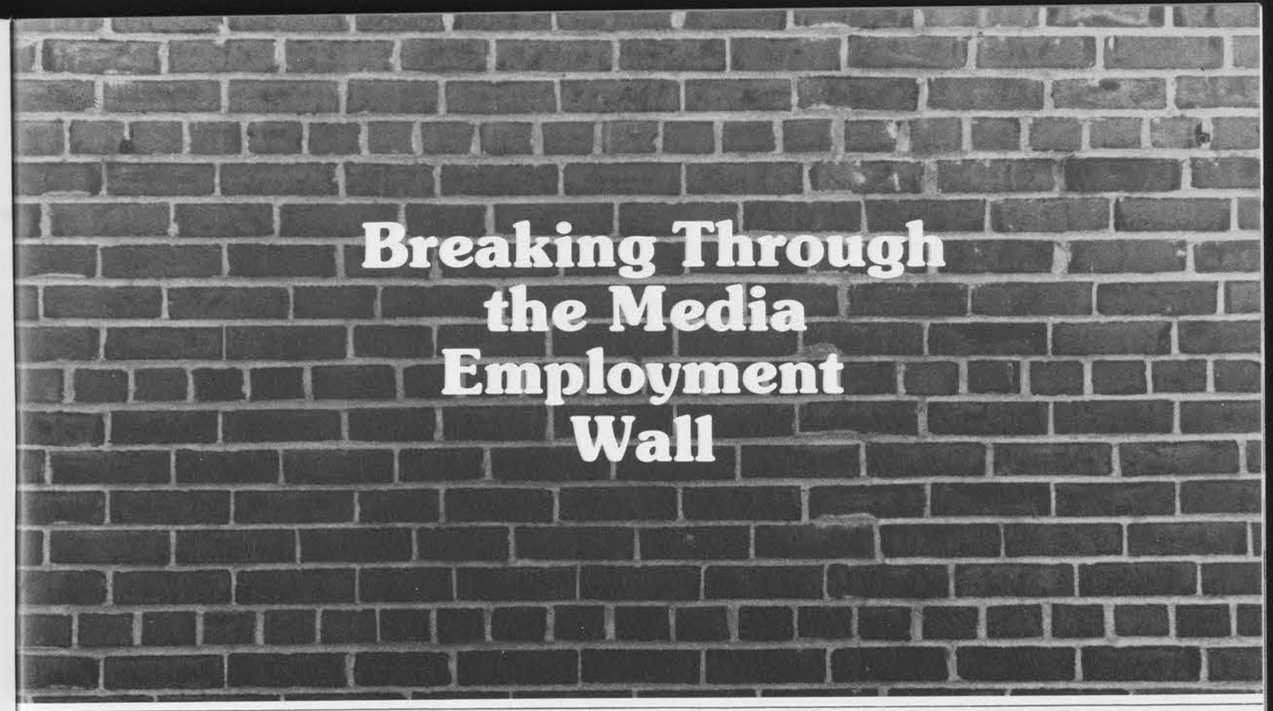
The truth is that heavy reliance on broadcasting cuts across racial and ethnic lines and encompasses most of the low-income end. But the studies that show these results are often conducted where there is no Spanish-language or even bilingual daily or weekly. Hispanics questioned must then indicate a preference for the media that *are* available.

Business activity is not confined to advertising. Print media for Hispanics are also experiencing problems in getting the product into circulation. Many large distribution firms are not equipped or do not know how to circulate smaller magazines. *Nuestro's* editors have also complained that once their magazine reaches the newsstand, it often winds up with the foreign-language publications rather than with the general interest magazines. One answer is to have Hispanics break into the distribution end of the business. *Low Rider*, which was first distributed from park to park by its three founders, has now begun to control its own circulation after encountering problems with the larger distribution firms.

The Hispanic publishing industry also faces problems in appealing to readers. Some in the industry say that it will take a concerted effort to draw Hispanics away from the English-language media and make them aware that publications *do* exist for and about them. In the past, the *only* alternatives were the English-language media, which tended to stereotype Hispanics, and media from Mexico.

As stated earlier, many of the problems are not peculiar to the Hispanic publishing industry, but they are compounded by the lack of persons who want to invest in a relatively new business and market that requires different marketing techniques.

Some advertisers, for example Coors Beer, have modified their marketing techniques to appeal to Hispanics in a manner that combines U.S. advertising style with appeals to traditional values. But whether they will have a vehicle to reach Hispanics in the future depends to a large extent on how the Hispanic print media fare in the 1980s. The general feeling in the industry is that despite the problems, Hispanic print media will continue to grow.



Breaking Through the Media Employment Wall

by Félix Gutiérrez

Félix Gutiérrez is an Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of Southern California and served as Executive Director of the California Chicano News Media Association from 1978 through 1980.

Luís Torres is the kind of journalism school graduate most editors and news directors say they would like to meet, but cannot find. Last year, at the age of 30, he decided he wanted to be a reporter, looked back at his varied career in film and broadcasting, and applied to the prestigious Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism in New York City. He was accepted, entered the school in September 1980, and graduated with a Master's Degree in Journalism last Spring.

As a bilingual Hispanic with excellent experience and education, Torres should have had several job offers waiting for him upon graduation, but he did not. Instead, he hit the pavement with thousands of other journalism school graduates looking for suitable employment in the news media. His job search led him to interviews with print and broadcast media on both coasts and he was a little surprised at what he was asked by the editors and news directors who interviewed him.

"There weren't very many who talked to me about being a Latino or covering Latino stories," Torres recalls. "In fact, it came up only in a couple of interviews and, even then, it was at the end or as an afterthought."

Torres' job search was successful. He received several broadcast offers before accepting a reporting position with KNX, the all-news CBS radio station in Los Angeles. But the priorities of those who interviewed him may indicate that editors and news directors are less attuned than they should be to the need to integrate their news staffs with qualified Hispanic journalists.

"Five years ago a newspaper would hire you on the strength of your Hispanic last name," says Norma Sosa, an investigative reporter with the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "Now they look for experience, a certain level of ability. Now they look for quality."

The emphasis on ability, rather than ethnicity, as a criterion for hiring can be seen as a positive step in the news industry. It is encouraging to see editors and news directors evaluating Hispanics as individuals rather than hiring token Hispanics to fill vague hiring quotas in the newsroom. And, as news professionals, Hispanic journalists should be judged on more than their ability to cover the *barrio*. Yet the growing Hispanic community in this country and the increasing importance of Latin America to the United States would seem to make ethnicity more than an afterthought in a job interview.

Editors and news directors who discuss the Hispanic hiring and coverage issue profess a great interest in integrating their news staffs and coverage. But they also profess an inability to find Hispanic reporters and editors whom they consider qualified. "We want to hire Hispanic reporters and editors, but cannot seem to find enough who are qualified," the editors and news directors continually complain. In the 27 months that this writer served as Executive Director of the Los Angeles-based California Chicano News Media Association (CCNMA), editors and news directors frequently called requesting assistance in locating Hispanic journalists. Most of their calls came when they were looking specifically for Hispanics either to integrate their news staffs or to replace a departing Hispanic reporter.

In these conversations, the news managers stressed their desire to interview only "qualified" Hispanic applicants, which usually meant a degree in journalism or broadcasting coupled with campus or community media experience. They placed little, if any, priority on interviewing individuals who offered not much beyond a Spanish surname as their qualifications. Most editors asked for reporters who were conversant in Spanish, often declining to consider reporters who were Hispanic in heritage, but lacked the ability to communicate with other Hispanics in Spanish.

The editors and news directors appear to be sincere in their belief that they "cannot find anybody qualified" to fill certain jobs in the newsroom. However, when the news managers were able to list specific qualifications for an open position and Hispanics with those qualifications were referred by the CCNMA, the position was invariably filled by an Hispanic. Thus, the employment issue revolved around locating qualified candidates, not convincing editors and news directors to consider Hispanics.

Since 1979, the CCNMA staff and members have referred more than 80 Hispanics who have been accepted for jobs, internships, or graduate school, about two-thirds of them in full-time newsroom employment. The success of the association in this area has been due largely to the demand for Hispanic reporters and editors and the ability of the organization to locate Hispanic journalists to fill those positions. But the success of one organization, along with the journalists and news organizations it has served, cannot be projected to the entire industry. Even though the CCNMA has served Hispanic journalists and news organizations across the country, its greatest impact has been felt in California. In other sections of the nation, the recruitment and placement of Hispanic journalists is less centralized and organized, often depending on an "old boy" network of contacts that works haphazardly at best.

Thus, in many areas the complaint that "we cannot find anybody qualified" is still too frequently heard from news management. Those who have made sincere efforts to locate and recruit minority talent are more optimistic. "We haven't had any trouble locating the people we want," says Gerald García, Assistant to the Publisher of the *Kansas City Star* and one of the few Hispanics in top daily newspaper management. "We are saturated with applicants. I don't know why editors say they can't find them."

New Emphasis on Hiring Hispanics

The *Star's* parent company, Capital Cities Communications, operates a company-wide training program for future minority journalists, about one-third of whom are Hispanics. Other major news corporations, such as Times-Mirror, Gannett, and Knight-Ridder, have also recently placed a higher priority on identifying and hiring Hispanic reporters and editors. In most corporations, the Hispanic emphasis has come after a similar effort to hire Black journalists. There are signs that the minority hiring emphasis in the 1980s will shift away from Blacks to Hispanics.

The spur for this shift, if it does occur, will be the rapidly growing Hispanic population within the United States and the growing importance of Latin America to this country. Editors and news directors will have to recognize that they cannot serve the needs of a multiracial society without integrating their news staffs with members of all racial and ethnic/language groups. Similarly, they will need to provide integrated news coverage if they hope to attract their share of the minority audience. "We will continue to do it [hire minorities] because it is right," García continues. "A lot of media companies also feel it is a good business practice."

The business side of the equation is one that is increasingly referred to by top managers in communications corporations. Hispanics spend more than $31 billion annually in the United States and more than $100 million is spent by advertisers to reach the Hispanic consumer. With the rapid growth of Spanish-language print and broadcast media in the 1970s, mainstream communicators have realized that they will have to work to attract their share of the Hispanic audience and the advertising revenue it generates. As the Hispanic segment of the U.S. population continues to grow at a faster rate than the Anglo population, Hispanics will become increasingly important as potential readers, viewers, and listeners, especially in cities and towns that already have substantial Hispanic communities.

Already, there are solid signs of such a change in thinking. It is demonstrated in the marketing studies recently conducted by major communications corporations and in recent hiring and coverage decisions made by some news organizations. A few examples include the following:

- The *Miami Herald*, which began publishing a daily section in Spanish in 1976 to serve the Cubans who were then one-third of Miami's population. The section, which was staffed by 22 persons in 1980, brought the newspaper more than 60,000 new readers and continues to increase its circulation.
- The Gannett Corporation, which last year commissioned a comprehensive study of Hispanic coverage, media use, and attitudes in seven Southwestern cities in which it owns daily newspapers. Gannett, the nation's largest newspaper chain, conducted the study in these communities in cooperation with its newspapers and Hispanic community leaders prior to making changes in the newspapers in those towns.
- The NBC television stations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, which simulcast a Spanish-language translation of their late night newscast on radio while the video portion is transmitted over the air.
- The *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Arizona Republic*, which earlier this year began publishing news sections in Spanish.
- The Spanish International Network (SIN), the Mexican-owned Spanish-language television network in the United States, which this June began telecasting a national evening newscast from Washington, D.C., for its audience in this country.
- The *Los Angeles Times*, which has taken a second look at the growing Hispanic community in Southern California by conducting extensive marketing studies, hiring and upgrading Hispanic journalists, and exploring new ways to package news for the Hispanic community.

The impetus for such actions, while it may be couched in references to the social responsibility of media to cover all segments of their community, is based on more than a renewed sense of Anglo guilt or sudden love for the Spanish language. The motivation is based on the media's recognition that if they hope to survive economically they will need to deliver the news to an audience that is increasingly Hispanic. They will also have to deliver that audience to the advertisers who pay their bills and provide the profit for the media.

Such bottom-line thinking can also spell increased job opportunities for Hispanic journalists and improved news coverage for the Hispanic community—if it is pushed in the right direction. Some news organizations have responded to the population growth by teaching their Anglo reporters Spanish, not by hiring more Hispanic reporters. In other cases, the marketing studies and research have yet to produce solid progress in either hiring or news coverage. And in one newspaper, the introduction of a Spanish section did not necessarily mean large numbers of Hispanics were hired. "We had almost a 300 percent increase in Hispanic employment when the Spanish section started, from two to five Hispanics," quips the *Sun-Times'* Norma Sosa. She feels that the employment opportunities for Hispanic journalists should improve with the growing Hispanic population but adds, "I don't know if you can count on that."

Another problem is that the Hispanic sections may not prove to be the economically viable vehicles news manager hoped they would be. In a sense, the Hispanic community is being asked to pay for its coverage through advertising. The development of a solid advertising base appears to be a continuing problem, especially for the print media. "The problem is in attracting major advertisers, though we do get a few of them," *El Miami Herald* Managing Editor William Long said in an interview last year. "We think it's to their advantage to advertise in 'El Herald' but they get such a good return on the *Herald*, they don't see the need."

Thus, if the new journalistic efforts to attract readers and advertising are not successful economically, the Hispanic community could find itself where it was earlier: a stepchild of American journalism. Hispanic reporters who are just beginning to gain a foothold in the profession could also be similarly displaced.

Such a reversal would come at a time when the Hispanic presence in the newsroom is just beginning to be felt, along with the influence of other minority journalists. Newspaper journalism continues to be one of the most segregated professions in the United States. Broadcast news, pushed by federal regulation of radio and television stations, is somewhat better. Still, only 5.3 percent of the nation's daily newspaper journalists are from minority groups, reports Jay T. Harris, Assistant Dean of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. This compares with 13 percent of the nation's chemists, 18.5 percent of the soical workers, and almost eight percent of the secondary school teachers. Broadcast news is between 14 percent and 16 percent minority, but could level off or drop because of a recent Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ruling reducing minority employment reports from stations to once every three years. Radio and television stations previously were required to report their minority employment each year.

Newspapers, which are not regulated by the federal government, have already begun to slide backward, according to Harris' figures. The 1981 newspaper survey revealed that 63 percent of the nation's dailies have no minority reporters or editors, an *increase* from last year when 60 percent reported no minority journalists. The papers hiring minority staffers tend to be those in large cities with large editorial budgets, not the small- or medium-sized newspapers that offer a larger share of the total jobs. Some minority journalists point out that it is more difficult to move up to a top reporting or editing position on the larger papers, further cutting off upward mobility once hired.

A Foot in the Door

Getting the first job continues to be a problem, particularly for minority journalists. A journalism or broadcasting degree is the minimum requirement for most meaningful jobs in the newsroom, but even having the right degree does not ensure employment. A 1979 survey by The Newspaper Fund revealed minority journalism school graudates have an unemployment rate nearly triple their Anglo fellow graduates. There are only a handful of Hispanics teaching journalism in four-year colleges and universities. Few Anglo professors have the knowledge or compassion to encourage Hispanic students through a journalism program and provide realistic job counseling. In spite of the unemployment figures, some journalism professors still feel that minorities have an easier time than Anglos entering the field. One Anglo professor told an introductory journalism class that minority students could still be "mediocre" and get a job, but that Anglos would have to be "at the top of the class."

For those Hispanics who do get jobs in the news media, the rewards can be excellent, but long in coming. Most have to spend a few years in small- or medium-sized markets or perform minor newsroom tasks in larger print and broadcast media. Rick Martínez, a reporter for the *Santa Monica Evening Outlook*, describes himself as the only Hispanic on the staff and an ombudsman for the Hispanic community. As such, he must make decisions about what stories will be covered, how they will be covered, and how they will be written. Editors approve the assignments of stories to reporters and determine where in the newspaper they will go.

Minority reporters and their news organizations have become the agenda setters for the society. Reporters and editors play a crucial role in developing stories and making them into news. Much of what the general public thinks it knows about Hispanics is obviously conditioned by what is seen on television and read in newspapers. As Robert Maynard, the Editor of the *Oakland* (California) *Tribune* and one of the few Blacks in top newspaper management, commented, "Newspapers may not tell the public what to think, but they sure tell the public what to think about." And, in order to tell their audience about Hispanics, more news organizations have found it necessary to employ Hispanic journalists.

"Having a Hispanic on the staff is a necessity, not a luxury," comments the *Chicago Sun-Times'* Norma Sosa. "It adds a dimension to the newsroom that newspapers were lacking for a long time. And it's really a necessity in cities in which Hispanics are comprising a majority of the inner city, such as New York and Chicago."

But Sosa, who has also worked on newspapers in Texas and Florida, admits that life in the newsroom for an Hispanic reporter is no easy street. Some of the problems stem from the way Hispanic reporters are often seen by the Anglo editors and reporters. "I hate to see Hispanic journalists typecast or added to the staffs just to cover Hispanic news," she says. Yet reports of typecasting or stereotyping of Hispanic journalists are a common topic of conversation when Hispanic journalists gather. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* article on minority journalists, one Hispanic reporter referred to such assignments as "the taco beat."

"I don't mind covering the Cinco de Mayo, the demonstrations, and the other things that happen in our community," says one veteran television reporter with a medium-sized station in California, "but I also want the chance to cover the City Council, the elections, and the other activities that determine the future of our community."

The stereotyping by assignment apparently was greater in the early 1970s, when most large news organizations hired their first Hispanics, often as a result of community or government pressure. But it is still felt by those Hispanics who work on smaller staffs where they may be the only non-Anglo. Says one young Chicano who recently changed newspapers, "When I interviewed I didn't indicate an interest in covering the *barrio* since that was just about all I had done at my old paper. I wanted a chance to cover other stories."

Hispanics fortunate enough to be hired today will probably have a greater chance to demonstrate a broader range of abilities. One reason is that most larger papers and those in communities with large Hispanic populations already have at least one Hispanic on staff. Another reason is that some Anglo reporters, sensing the growing importance of Hispanics, have begun to report on "the taco beat."

Thus, when a Pulitzer Prize was awarded for coverage of undocumented immigration this year, it went to an Anglo reporter, John M. Crewdson of the *New York Times*, not to one of the Hispanic journalists who has covered the story for years. In Los Angeles, *Herald Examiner* reporter Merle Wolin has been lauded for posing as an undocumented worker in the Southern California garment industry for her series, "Sweatshop." Both reporters deserved the honors they have received since their stories balanced the one-sided negative coverage of Hispanic immigration that dominated the news in the 1970s. But reporting on the human side of the immigration story is also something that Hispanic reporters have been doing for more than a decade. Their efforts have too often gone unrecognized and unrewarded.

But even with the increased coverage and attention by Anglo reporters, news coverage of the Hispanic community leaves much to be desired. The Gannett survey of its six newspapers in California, Arizona, and New Mexico showed the greatest percentage of Hispanic stories in sports, followed by local news other than crime, crime stories, and cultural activities. The editorial pages and local announcement pages were less well integrated. Previous studies have shown newspapers to be less integrated than the Gannett study shows and criticisms of news coverage of Hispanics are frequently heard, particularly from Hispanic journalists.

Focus on the Sensational

"News media coverage of Latinos is poor. The only stories covered are the sensational," says Julio Morán, Editor of *Nuestro* magazine in New York. "They don't cover stories on issues of daily impact and the media don't show the Latino side of issues. The Latino is just left out."

While no survey as comprehensive as the Gannett study has been performed on other news media, perceptive media users have no shortage of what they consider to be biased or inaccurate reporting. A few citied in other articles include:

- A northeastern newspaper that dressed an Hispanic reporter as a potential airplane hijacker, sent him to the airport, and prominently played his picture with the headline, "Would You Let This Cuban Board Your Airplane?"
- A *Texas Monthly* cover story on "Roots: The Mexican Version," followed three generations of a Chicano family and, while finding them to be fine individuals, characterized the *barrio* as populated with "hard characters... whose arms wore bracelets of scars and wounds from years of hatred and anger...."
- Los Angeles Dodger pitching ace Fernando Valenzuela was characterized by an unending series of racially inspired characterizations last Spring, the mildest of which compared his ability to strike out opposing batters with his skill at flicking flies off tortillas.
- A *Chicago Tribune* editorial headlined, "Who Is Hispanic?" allowed that Blacks may deserve "an extra break" because their forebearers came as slaves, then asked, "Why should we extend the same advantage to those whose forefathers came by choice?"

"America's print media still have great difficulty accepting Hispanic Americans as potential contributors to this nation's fiber. They are threatened when Hispanics push for recognition and a piece of the action," writes Charles Erickson, founder and Editor of Hispanic Link, a news service syndicating opinion columns on Hispanic issues. Erickson continues, "The needs, interests, and contributions of Hispanic Americans remain misunderstood and too often ignored or inaccurately reported by this nation's print media. Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and other Latinos are negatively typed in the coverage given to their community by the nation's press. Additionally, events and actions important to the welfare and advancement of Hispanic Americans are inadequately covered, and their leadership is persistently ridiculed and challenged."

Erickson, a former newspaper reporter who has covered Hispanics both in and out of the United States for decades, is joined in his criticisms of print media by broadcast journalists. Says Alberto Reyes, a former California television reporter now working in public television in Texas, "Our community is asking for a fair hearing from the media—no more or nor less." Reyes continues, "At least now there are some Chicano reporters with some sensitivity to give the Chicano community a fair shake in some situations, to listen to them, and to present what they say honestly and without distortion."

Another veteran television reporter, Jesús Hernández of KNXT in Los Angeles, recalls how he won an award for a documentary which told the immigration story from an Hispanic perspective. His report focused on one person coming to the United States and allowed the viewers to reach their own conclusions. "He [the worker] was just a good father and husband trying to provide for his family in Mexico. Knowing this from my own experience, my own family, helped me tell that story," Hernández remembers.

Most Hispanic journalists recognize that they have a responsibility to their community and their profession to report stories with a balanced and honest viewpoint. But they also see their influence within the profession as limited without the support or interest of Hispanic readers and viewers. "There are things we can do just because we are in the profession," comments Virginia Escalante of the *Los Angeles Times*, "but we also need the community to organize, write letters, and complain. It's their paper, too. We have to react, particularly since we are living in times when racism in increasing."

Uncertain Future

With a conservative political trend, less government oversight, and tight economic conditions, the future for Hispanics seeking to enter journalism seems tighter than in the recent past, placing more responsibility on those already in the profession. While professional associations within journalism have taken a greater interest in minority hiring and upgrading, most groups have little direct control over individual newsrooms. Corporate executives have much more control and can set the agenda for their editors and news directors on minority hiring and timetables. But Hispanics cannot expect corporate executives to carry the ball for integration alone, particularly since there are few Hispanics on the boards or in the top management of the media conglomerates.

The foothold Hispanics have gained in the nation's newsrooms can become a steppingstone for further improvements in hiring and coverage if Hispanic journalists continue to organize and place effective pressure within the professional community. Similarly, Hispanic community groups must become more active in watchdogging the news media and writing letters when they approve or disapprove of something that is reported. Finally, the rapid growth of Hispanics in the United States and the growing importance of Latin America places a new priority on the issue, but numbers and world geopolitics alone cannot ensure progress. They must be used as arguments by those who hope to influence media hiring and coverage.

In this regard, the ultimate power for improving Hispanic employment and coverage lies more with the public than with the profession. Media organizations, perhaps more than other businesses, can be forced to respond to community needs. They are supposed to be the watchdog for the rest of the society. But a watchdog only responds to the wishes of the owner, and Hispanics still must organize and articulate forcefully their potential power over those who own and control the media.

Getting a Jump on a Media Job

by Toni Breiter

It is a common Catch-22 situation: a young high school or college graduate applies for a job and is told by the employer that someone with experience is needed. "But how am I to get experience," the job-seeker replies, "when I can't get a job?" The scene is played over and over again, in all professions and in all career choices. Anyone who has ever looked for a job has experienced the frustration that accompanies the no experience—no job—no experience merry-go-round.

In Miami, Florida, the Youth Co-op is trying to break that cycle by providing on-the-job training in television production. Operating with funding from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), Project '79 is the only CETA training program in the nation that focuses on entry into television, and its success is inspiring. Just ask the young people who participate in the project.

"Project '79 has helped me 100 percent," says Carlos Meneses, an 18-year-old who is now working as a production assistant at WLRN-TV in Miami. "Prior to going into Project '79, I was going into television as a degree in college. It [the project] gave me the opportunity to work in production, to know what television production is, to work with the equipment."

Meneses spent one year with Project '79 during high school, where he was involved in media clubs and projects. Because much of Project '79 training occurs in the studios of WLRN, he found himself volunteering to assist around the studio until, as he says, "They just got used to seeing me here." He was offered a job and continues to work at the studio, gaining invaluable experience to combine with his education as he prepares for a career in media. As for Project '79, Meneses says, "It's gotten me here. It gave me a big step up the ladder."

Project '79 is run by a dynamic and committed Cuban, Luís G. Díaz, who is a staunch believer in the potential of Hispanic youth and works to prove he is correct. Says Díaz, "Society doesn't think these kids are mature or reponsible. We treat them like they're mature and give them lots of responsibility, and they respond. It's amazing."

Rogelio Tomasino, who provides much of the classroom training for the project, concurs. "We've had kids in the program who were on drugs, and stopped. We give them a challenge. When they first start the program they think they can't make it, but when they see they *can*, then they really get involved. They change."

Maturity, responsibility, and commitment are, indeed, required of any youth who is accepted into the project, because the demands are great. The project is open to any youth, age 16 to 21, who is still in school and falls within the lower income levels. The participants receive 25 hours a week of classroom training, field trips, and seminars, earning a minimum wage. This is in addition to their regular high-school classroom time.

As part of their training, the participants tape three television shows each week, usually all on the same evening, which frequently runs into the next day. The participants do everything from arranging the sets, to operating the cameras, to setting up the lights, to directing the proceedings either from the floor or from the control booth. All of this is accomplished under the tutorial guidance of Luís Díaz, who has produced and directed numerous television shows in the Miami area, and personnel from WLRN and from an independent production company that provides classroom equipment and training.

The enthusiasm of the Project '79 participants is contagious. Because of the hands-on experience provided, they are able both to gain practical experience and, at the same time, to learn that television production is not all glamour. The work is sometimes dirty, the hours are often long, and the rewards frequently come simply from the personal knowledge that an individual has contributed to producing a good half-hour. Because the learning process is all-encompassing, no job is too dirty or too menial for anyone to do, and it is not unusual for young women to lift the same heavy scenery or maneuver the same heavy cameras that the young men do. As one female participant, 18-year-old Irma Franqui says, "They all treat us the same." She adds that one of the most important by-products of the project is the opportunity for young people to learn to cooperate. The best thing about the project, Franqui says, is "the development of the kids—how they learn to get along with each other." In addition, she says, "I've got myself a job. I'm doing something I like to do. It's communicating with interesting people every day."

With the expensive television equipment that is used daily, both in the classroom setting and in the studio, the responsibility of the participants is put to the test. The equipment requires special care, and one of the major components of the training program is teaching the participants how to handle the equipment and how to store it properly after use. Manuel García, an 18-year-old participant, says, "You have to be responsible. We are dealing with equipment that they trust us with, and since they do, we have to show we *are* responsible. I don't think in many jobs they'd do that—trust us with equipment [and teach us] how to take care of it."

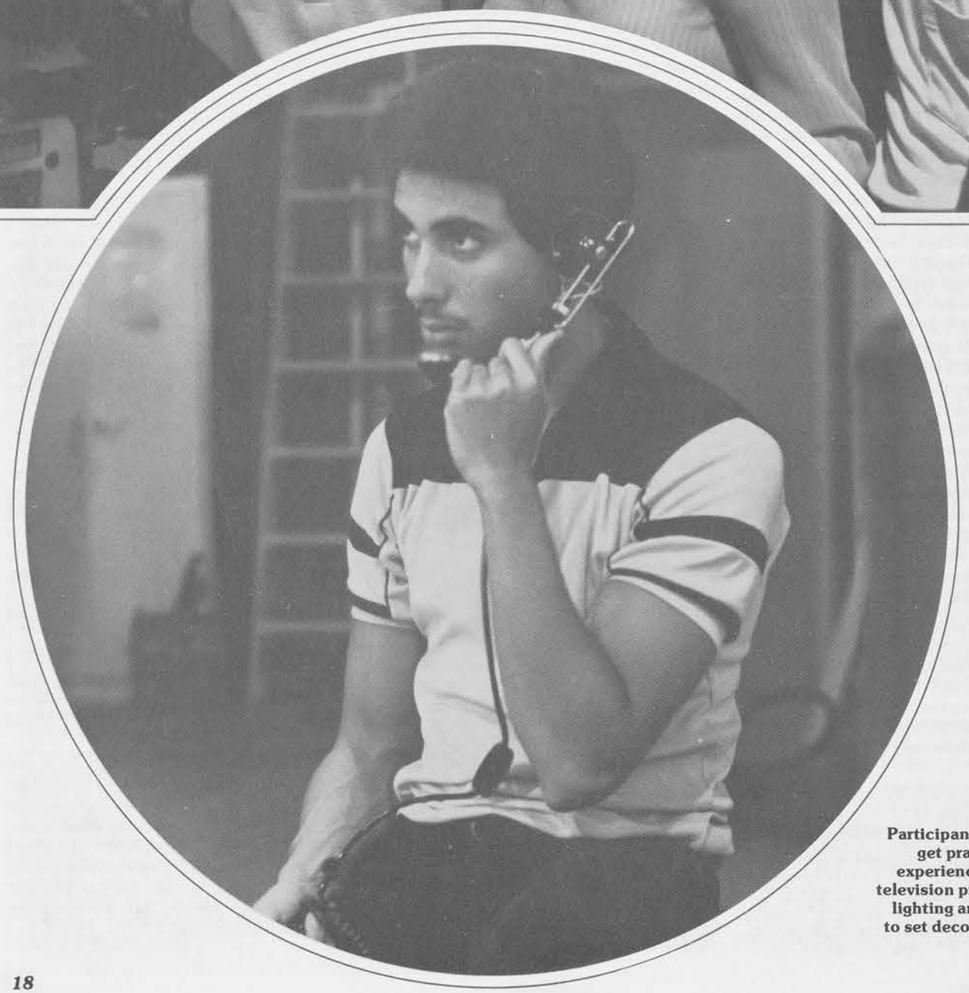
John Pérez, a 19-year-college student who plans to complete his Master's Degree in television production, is an example of the commitment involved in working with Project '79. Although he completed a year with the program before entering Miami Dade University, he still spends many hours working with the current participants, and his schedule reads like a whirlwind. On one recent day, Pérez attended classes at Miami Dade from 7:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m., worked as an assistant to Luís Díaz at the Youth Co-op from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., then spent from 7:30 p.m. to after midnight in the studio directing production of the three weekly television shows.

Has it been worth it? Pérez has no doubts. "It has helped me a lot," he says. "First, I didn't know what I was going to be. [Then Project '79] motivated me a lot towards television." Pérez is also grateful for the experience he has received and is continuing to receive and worries about what cuts in CETA funding might do to the program. Echoing the sentiments of frustrated, inexperienced job seekers, he says, "Every time we go for a job they ask if we have experience, and we say no. Without the program we won't get experience."

Díaz, who is almost single-handedly responsible for developing the concept of Project '79 and obtaining funding for its operation, is also concerned about the effects of CETA cutbacks. As of this writing, Díaz is waiting word on continued funding, but is prepared to fight long and hard to keep the program going. He is a determined man who does not give up easily.

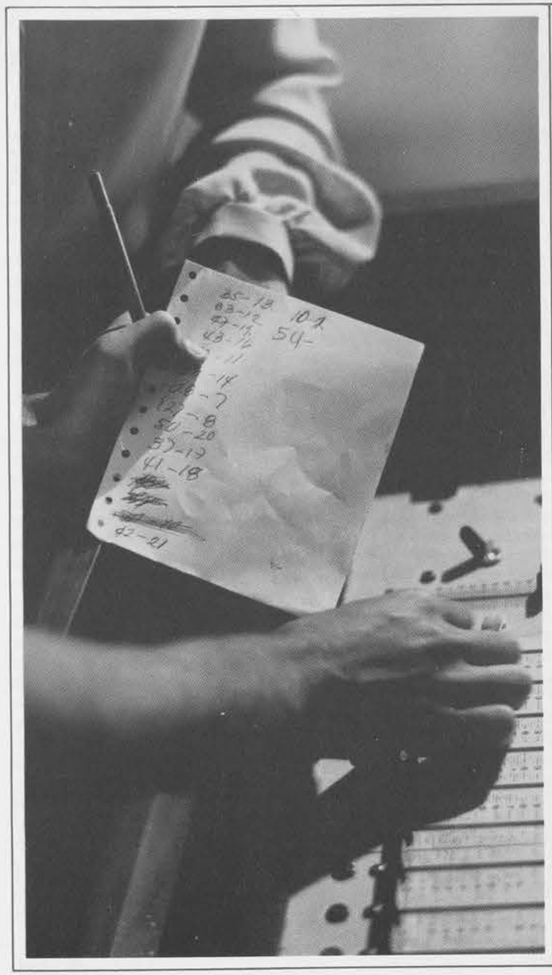
As for the future, Pérez has his planned: "I think I'll reach the top. That's my goal. I want to be a good producer and director. I think cable is the future, and that's where I want to be."

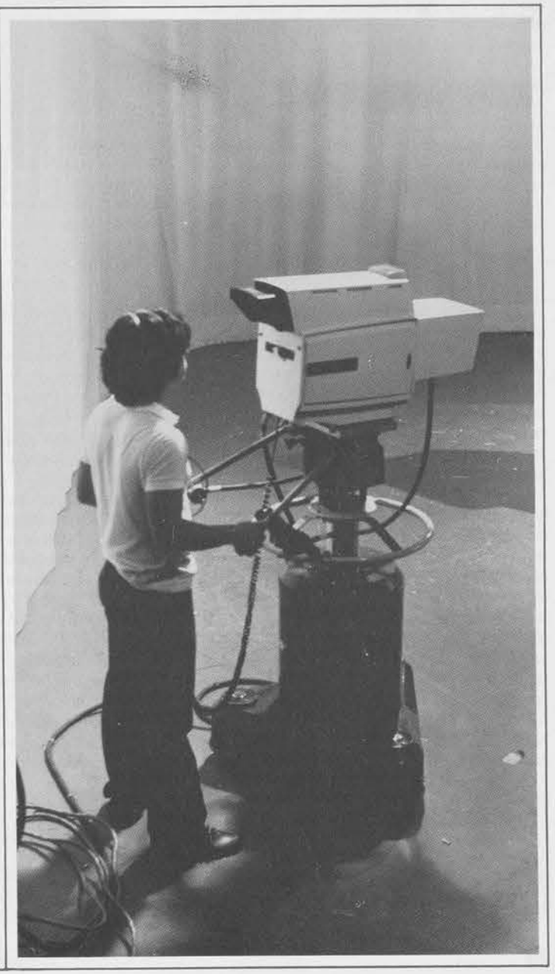
With programs such Project '79, it just may be that the future involvement of Hispanics in the media will grow as rapidly as the industry itself grows. One thing is certain: it will be a lot more difficult in the future for employers to dredge up the tired, old excuse: "We'd love to hire some young Hispanics at our station, but we need *experienced* people."



Photos by Toni Breiter

Participants in Project '79 get practical in-studio experience in all areas of television production, from lighting and camera work to set decoration and floor management.





Cable TV—New Opportunities for Hispanic Communities

by María C. Siccardi

María C. Siccardi is Executive Producer of *Latin Tempo*, a weekly news magazine television program for Hispanics developed and produced by the La Raza Production Center. *Latin Tempo* is scheduled to begin airing around the country this fall.

For many people, cable television is synonymous with top entertainment, movies, and sports at home. For others, it is just a vague concept of a new communications medium which they still have no access to and feel they have no say as to when and how it reaches their homes. Both perceptions are shortsighted and mistaken; the latter is particularly dangerous.

Cable TV, technically speaking, is the distribution of audio and video signals through cables connected to each household, in much the same way as the telephone or electric companies provide services. This differs from the conventional radio and TV signals which are transmitted through the airwaves. The technological differences between the two systems acquire a special significance when it is realized that currently, the audience is limited to, at the most, eight to ten channels. When cable TV enters homes, the potential availability of channels can be as many as 100.

The cable TV industry is not a new one. Over 40 years ago small businessmen throughout the rural areas of the country began wiring communities primarily to bring to them better reception of regular TV signals. What accounts for cable TV's sudden emergence as a highly attractive industry is that technological advances in the past five years (satellite, microwaves, computers, fiber optics) have multiplied the potential application and service delivery of cable TV to such an extent that now the big corporations see the feasibility of investing billions of dollars to expand the industry and bring it into the highly populated urban centers.

Because cable TV possesses such a potential for the future economic, political, and social development of the communities it serves, legislative procedures have been established throughout the country to authorize and regulate the wiring of the cities. Unlike conventional TV, cable TV does not come under the direct control of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC); therefore, there is no regulatory entity at the federal level which legislates and dictates the basic services cable TV must provide and the manner of operation it must use. This role has been relegated to the individual state and county authorities.

Cable TV comes into a community after the local legislatures issue a Request for Proposal (RFP) stipulating the guidelines and requirements which the applicants must meet for the installation and operation of the system. The cable companies then proceed to present their detailed designs for a system in compliance with the minimum requirements dictated in the RFP, and anything else they can add to make their particular proposal more attractive. The local authorities will choose *one* of the cable companies to be awarded the "franchise" of the city. This franchise is in essence a contract which gives the cable company exclusive rights to establish a cable system in a predetermined area of the community, and also circumscribes the business terms (fees, delivery deadlines, special features and services) which the cable company is compelled by law to meet.

Without the interference of federal regulations, cable TV provides a fertile ground for bargaining and devising innovative concepts of cooperation between the public and the private sectors. Cable TV is an open and competitive market with no guidelines except those of the potential franchiser's own judgement and innovation, the influence and needs of the community, and the decisions of the local elected officials. This is why Hispanic involvement as a community in the expansion of cable TV has to be *now*, before the franchises are awarded. Even if it is five years before the service is actually available to the community, there very soon will be nothing (or very little) that Hispanics can do to enforce delivery of services and responsiveness to the needs of the Hispanic community.

Minorities have been systematically excluded from access and ownership in the existing system of public and commercial media, a situation which has left these groups in a very weak position when they have tried to counter discriminatory employment practices, lack of services, and stereotyped portrayals. In the past, Hispanics and other minorities tried to enter the market too late, and were not really ready or prepared to enter the market. The advent of new media technologies, particularly cable TV, provides what may be the last opportunity in this century for Hispanics to control and develop channels of information tailored to their specific needs and interests. A few active and informed members of the community could succeed in shaping the future of communications policies for the next Hispanic generation.

Getting in on the Franchising

Cable TV is a capital-intensive industry. Literally millions of dollars are needed to finance the installation of the system in any one community. This is why so few minority businessmen can afford to get involved financially in a cable TV venture. Yet, this does not mean that other schemes cannot be devised to ensure an active participation of minorities in the cable TV revolution that is sweeping the country.

The cable TV industry, at least through the franchising process, comes under direct and strict regulation of the local authorities, who in turn are subject to community pressures. The franchising process thus becomes the greatest asset for the Hispanic community because, if Hispanic voices and demands are raised, the local authorities, because of their dependence on community support, will be inclined to listen to them and in turn exert the same pressures on the cable companies.

Since, in the long run, only *one* cable company will get the franchise in a city or region, the community should get access to the system through a series of commitments negotiated with the cable company and included in the final contract under which it receives the franchise. For Hispanics, it is already a race against the clock. During the next two years, all the cable TV franchises throughout the country will be awarded. Right now, the following large metropolitan areas are in the process of issuing cable TV franchises: Queens, Staten Island, and The Bronx, New York; Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Atlanta, Georgia; Boston, Massachusetts; Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; New Orleans, Louisiana; Fort Worth and Houston, Texas; Denver, Colorado; Omaha, Nebraska; Portland, Oregon; and hundreds of smaller communities and counties throughout the country.

The number of interesting promises and pitches made by the cable TV companies is in direct proportion to the amount of competition, which is keen in the large urban centers. It is a normal and accepted trade-off for the cable companies to provide "free access" channels to community groups. This means that among the 50 to 100 channels that a cable system can actually carry, some channels are reserved for the exclusive use of the community. Moreover, the cable company is often also required to provide the studio facilities and on-going budget allocations to guarantee the operation of a community production center where the community groups can produce, free of charge, the programs they want to transmit through the free access channels.

This system may vary somewhat from one community to another. How much or how little the community ultimately gets in exchange for the franchise depends on the degree of community participation and sophistication in the political machinations that precede the final award of the franchise.

The free access channels and the community production centers are very valuable concepts and should be pursued. But for the Hispanic community to receive any real benefits from the cable system, this concept has to be taken a step further. In the District of Columbia and in Montgomery County, Maryland, it has been successfully argued that the Hispanic community will not avail itself of the facilities of a community production center or of the free access channels that the city may succeed in negotiating for community use. These community access channels and production centers work on a first-come, first-served basis. The programs that are actually seen through the free access community channels are very loosely scheduled because of the nature of this type of operation. This has two drawbacks that adversely affect the Hispanic community. On the one hand, the community is not receiving a regular service at a regular time. Rather, at sporadic intervals there *might* be a special program that is directed to the Hispanic audience. When this happens, it means that someone in the Hispanic community has taken the time to produce a TV show to convey a message to the Hispanic viewer. There are very few people in Hispanic communities who have the interest, can afford the time, realize the value of such effort, *and* have the expertise to produce effective TV programs. Those working within Hispanic communities are usually too concerned with survival issues to be bothered with the intricacies of media production.

Apart from some skepticism regarding the community's effective use of the free access facilities, the fact remains that the needs of the Hispanic community for information are substantially greater and more distinct from the rest of the community. Whereas Blacks, women, children, senior citizens, and even the hearing-impaired can receive from the exiting media the most essential and elemental services, such as news, emergency information, public service announcements, community calendars, and even entertainment, Hispanics cannot because there is often a language barrier which must be overcome before any medium can effectively serve the community. How can cable TV remedy this situation if the community groups cannot be expected to have the capital needed to avail themselves of the cable systems? It is possible to have access to the system through a special strategy that will give Hispanics the control of the medium that is needed, at no cost, and ultimately even render profits.

Forming a Cooperative

The first step is for the nonprofit community-based organizations within each community to form a nonprofit cooperative. A cooperative is a form of business corporation whose shareholders are the people who use the business' services or buy its products. A cooperative operates its business with the intent of generating profits and benefits for its members. The only difference in this particular instance is that the shareholders are community-based nonprofit organizations, rather than private individuals. In other words, the profits of this cooperative will revert to those who provide services to the most needy in the community.

The "business" of the nonprofit cooperative will be the operation of a "leased access" cable TV channel. That term is the important element here; this is not the same as the free access channel discussed above. A free access channel is one that is provided at no charge to the community, and its operation is by definition noncommercial. The leased channels are those which the cable company rents for profit; the leasee in this case is free to operate the channel commerically or not. The leased access channel is a combination of both; it is to be made available to community groups, but it can be operated on a commercial basis. The cable company can receive either a nominal fee for use of the channel (which can be as low as $1.00 per year), or it can receive a nominal percentage of the revenue which the operation of that channel may generate.

This means that community groups will gain exclusive access to a cable TV channel which they can operate and make a profit from. It also means that the community nonprofit cooperative will be responsible for securing the necessary financing needed to staff and equip the channel facilities. This idea should not be considered an insurmountable obstacle. The Hispanic community constitutes a large percentage of the population in most of the major urban centers. Hispanics are a consumer segment of the population this is very attractive to

advertisers who want to reach a targeted audience. Until now, Spanish International Network (SIN) has been the only entity capitalizing (at a rate of some $50 million per year) from the services provided to Spanish-speaking communities throughout the country. The establishment of media outlets designed to serve and reach exclusively the Hispanic consumer is a very attractive commercial venture for a financing entity.

To weigh properly the viability of this plan, there is another misconception that must be eradicated. Today, technological advances are making video production hardware more and more inexpensive. No longer is it necessary to invest millions of dollars in hardware to produce a TV show. Amid all the accounts of multimillion dollar productions, the public tends to forget that the primary purpose of the media is to communicate. That goal can be achieved just as effectively without going overboard in expenses. In fact, the cost to operate a cable TV channel can range from as little as $120 (for the purchase of two good microphones) to hundreds of thousands for a full-fledged broadcast quality TV studio.

The cable TV channel, at the outset, can be operated just as a radio station, that is with just voice transmission providing news, music, and special programs. Then gradually, as the market and commercial sales increase, other productions can be acquired for little or no money. There are innumerable programs produced by the government, libraries, and universities which supply audio-visual catalogs listing available programs. There are also independent producers who may, however, expect some remuneration for the use of their material. Eventually, a TV station can purchase its own equipment and start producing its own programming. There is no need to start up the operation with a big investment or a 24-hour broadcast schedule. In addition, as part of a cable system there is no expense for hardware to transmit programs; that is already part of the system.

Generating Revenue

A major question for Hispanic communities interested in cable TV is still: What sources of revenue are available? As technology continues to advance, many new possibilities will emerge for the profitable operation of any information medium. Even now, income generation is not restricted to the sale of advertising and sponsorship of the programs, although this is certainly a big pool to tap. The cable channel operator can lease time for data transmission, especially if it is specifically aimed at Hispanic consumers (such as shopping guides in Spanish, banking information in Spanish, consumer information and tips for local shopping in Spanish, even government information packages which government information agencies may want to convey to the Hispanic audience).

This type of data transmission service may well generate in the future as much revenue as is generated right now by conventional commercial spots. The cable channel operators can also sell time to politicians or business groups who want to address the Spanish-speaking population in the community. Once the cable channel has acquired production hardware, it can rent those facilities to other groups, and can also charge for the translation of regular programs or commercials originally produced in English. The possibilities of revenue-producing strategies ultimately will be limited only by the ingenuity of the personnel in charge of the operation of the channel.

Why is it so imporant that the community get involved in the franchising process? Because it is essential, to gain access to these channels, that the availability of leased access channels be specifically designated in the RFP and the final franchise contract. Furthermore, the community will need to pressure the local authorities to include in those legal documents very strict and clear language regarding the terms under which these leased access channels must be made available, including guarantees that the Hispanic community is to have control of one of those leased access channels. It will not happen by chance; the community itself will have to become involved in the franchising process from the beginning to ensure that it does happen.

The cable industry would probably like to control all 50 to 100 channels of the system in each community. The only reason it may be forced to give up some channels is because that is the most effective offer it can make to the various communities in exchange for the franchise. Use of community access channels cannot be based on gentlemen's agreements with cable companies; rather, it has to be stipulated by the law. The cable companies may be very agreeable to the idea of the community channels now, at the inception of the system when all their channel capacity is not being used. But the response may not be as positive years from now when *all* those channels are in high demand. If it proves to be more profitable for the cable company to dump a community channel to use it for other purposes, it will, unless there are strict legal deterrents.

What does this entail now at the community level among the Hispanic groups? In those communities where the local authorities are appointing citizens advisory committees for cable TV, it is essential that at least one Hispanic seeks appointment. Where this may already be too late, or where this entity is nonexistent, then the community representatives must testify at public hearings dealing with this issue and clearly express their concerns *and* expectations to the local authorities who will be in charge of the final decision. The primary objective is to create awareness among the local authorities, as well as among the potential cable applicants, that the Hispanic community is cognizant of the impact this new medium will have in the community and is ready to stand firm to see that Hispanics are given their due in terms of participation and access to the cable system that will be making considerable profits from the services it will bring into the community.

Making a Difference

Just one person can be extremely effective in working on behalf of the community, and my own personal experience testifies to that fact. In the District of Columbia, I testified before the City Council representing a community-based umbrella organization that comprises 23 of the District's nonprofit service agencies that serve the Hispanic community. That was the only credential needed to present the community's case to the authorities. In Montgomery County (a suburban area of Washington, D.C.—one of the richest and most conservative counties in the Northeast), the success was even more striking. As a member of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Cable TV, I was simply acting in my capacity as a concerned resident of the county. Nonetheless, the RFP just issued by the County specifically calls for the availability of leased access channels, and it further explains that the County contemplates the commercial use of those channels by community organizations. In fact, it was not until *after* the RFP was issued with this language in it that the Hispanic community in Maryland learned of my activities as part of the Citizens Advisory Committee, and now the community as a whole is beginning to form a cooperative to organize and operate a leased access channel.

One last fact should be highlighted: leased access channels controlled and operated by Hispanics can become centers of training and employment experience for Hispanic youngsters who want to enter the communications fields. Given the current limitations that the mass media impose on the entry and advancement of Hispanics in the print and broadcast industries, the establishment of Hispanic media outlets, where these human resources can be developed, cannot be considered anything but a major accomplishment.

For too long Hispanics have held passive roles in the growth and development of media outlets. Today, the new technologies may at times be confusing to those not directly involved in media work, yet the effects of not getting the entire community to respond and participate in the shaping of the future of these technologies can be fatal to the effective integration of Hispanics into a telecommunications system that is growing increasingly complicated and technologically oriented. The options are available today, and there is still time. But if Hispanics fail to act soon, there will be little ground for complaint of lack of access in the future.

Ensuring Future Hispanic Participation in Telecommunications

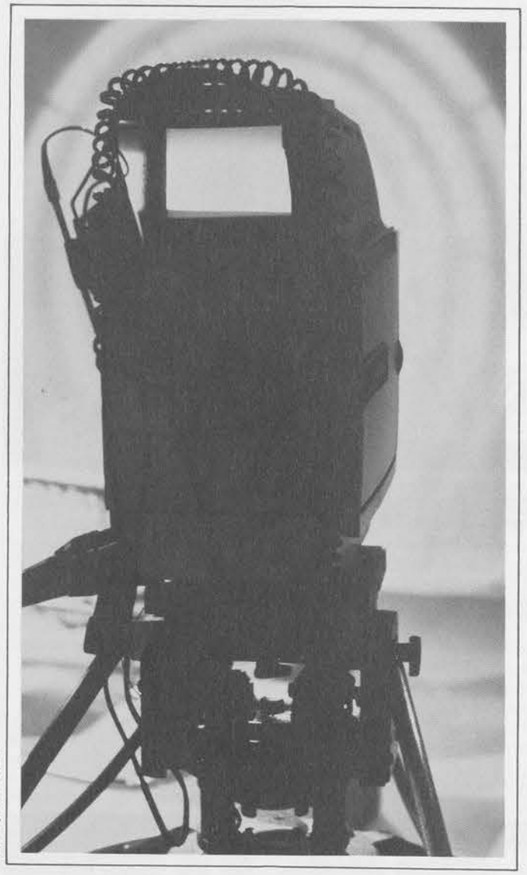


Photo by Toni Breiter.

by Nicholas A. Valenzuela

Nicholas A. Valenzuela is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Communications at Stanford University. He previously worked in the Office of Communications Research at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting assisting public television stations throughout the country in audience research studies.

Hispanics are being encouraged to participate in the development of the new functions television will have as a result of the revolution currently going on in the telecommunications industry. The promise is twofold: (1) if Hispanics act now, there will be many opportunities for some to earn impressive financial returns for their investments; and (2) by acting now Hispanics can ensure some control of the future mechanisms of mass communication and information transfer. The threat is that if Hispanics fail to act, they will find themselves in the same position relative to future telecommunications systems as has been the case with regards to radio and television broadcasting for the last 60 years: on the outside, criticizing the decisions of those in control.

There is a sense of urgency. Hispanics are told that in a few years the opportunities available in the telecommunications industry will be taken, there will no longer be room for them. In an increasingly technologically complicated industry, Hispanics are told, they may not be able to understand the new technologies if they do not begin to invest in them now. The argument goes that if for years Hispanics have lamented the lack of media sensitivity to their needs, concerns, and interests, and have criticized the broadcast industry for its lack of employment opportunities for minorities, then now it is their responsibility to act or else resign themselves to the consequences.

Given that change in the media is evident, is it possible to anticipate anything about Hispanics' relationship to the telecommunications industry of the future from experience with the broadcasting industry in the past? What can be learned about the realization of the promises of telecommunications from the promises of broadcasting and its actual practice?

Television, as we have experienced it for the majority of the last 30 years, has generally meant over-the-air broadcast programming, largely dominated by entertainment programs and advertising sprinkled intermittently with information about the real world through newscasts, public affairs programs, and occasional documentaries.

Although television is distinct from radio, both share a common history based on their common means of transmission: the broadcast airwaves. Television inherited many of its policies, practices, and regulatory structures from radio. Early broadcasters in radio worked out how the new technology was to be used and then carried over these practices to television broadcasting. Any analysis of the practices of television, therefore, requires that radio also be discussed to a certain extent. Some of the examples used later in the body of this article are drawn from both radio and television, thereby permitting a broader and more accurate answer to the questions.

Today, television is part of a much larger concept, the telecommunications industry. Television is simply one of many components in a much wider range of communication systems used in the creation, storage, and delivery of information. Included in this are data storage facilities, computers, cable television, telephone transmission lines, lasers, optical data transmission fibers, videodiscs, video cassettes, and even satellite communications. To the general public, the use of these new technologies is linked to the use of the television. New delivery systems such as cable, optical fiber, and in the future even satellite broadcast direct to the home, promise to make available a multitude of channels from which to choose.

Even now, cable companies competing for new franchises talk about providing 80, 90, 100, and even more channels. Many companies are offering various classes of services called tiers. The basic rate tiers have channels with more general interest material. Additional tiers have channels which have more specialized services. These specialized services might include access to information data banks (heretofore only privately available), interactive computer capability, and possibly even complete shopping and banking services handled entirely from the home.

Videodiscs, essentially resembling phonograph records with both video and audio storage capability, promise to make possible affordable collections of audio-visual material for use whenever desired. Because videodiscs have so much storage capacity, will be low cost, can be easily mass produced, and can be advanced to any point in the program almost instantaneously, they promise to make individualized instruction more of a reality than computer assisted instruction turned out to be. For the companies competing in the videodisc industry, the immediate concern will focus on the division of markets between the two major types of videodiscs: the mechanical videodiscs using a stylus and marketed by RCA and JVC, and the optical videodiscs using a laser beam and marketed by MCA, Sony, Pioneer, and the office equipment giant IBM.

To some users, television a decade from now could resemble a computer terminal more than an entertainment screen. To others, increased channels, services, and sources of program materials will mean greater diversity of selection, a seemingly unlimited abundance of channels and information. Satellite to home transmission, recently approved by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and optical fibers promise to multiply channel capacity and information sources even beyond the capacity metal cable now has.

The hopes and expectations are that members of society will benefit from this abundance of information. For minorities the implied promise is that this increased information will result in increased social equity, but only if they act now by buying into the new systems while they are still in the development stages.

This brief discussion of what the future may bring illustrates in a general way what is referred to as the revolution in the telecommunications industry. What role Hispanics will play in that revolution remains to be seen.

Concern for Media Influence

Minority criticisms over negative stereotyping, lack of employment opportunities, and denial of access to the mass media, especially television, are founded on a deeper concern for the impact made by those ideas, images, and points of view reflected by the media. The immediate concern has obviously been that so many of the images of ethnic and racial minorities have been blatantly racist. But the long-term concern has been the tremendous power of the mass media, television in particular, to influence attitudes and value about what minorities and the rest of the world are all about.

The media have been selective about the images they portray. Those ideas, concerns, and points of view *not* presented on television, especially prime-time showings, are not ascribed the same importance given those which *have* been seen on television. For the last 30 years, since the beginning of the widespread use of television, only a few minority faces have been seen regularly on U.S. English-language television, and the exceptions for the most part have been only recently. Even fewer ideas, concerns, and points of view from minority perspectives have found their way onto the medium.[1] It was not until the racial riots of the 1960s, which shocked and bewildered the nation, that the media focused attention on minorities.

How is it that the mass media in a country based on ideals of democracy, equality, and freedom of speech suddenly found itself accused of discrimination, racism, and, ironically, of contributing to the conditions fostering the social unrest of the 1960s, as the Kerner Commission investigation of the causes of the riots concluded? Was this discrimination due simply to an oversight suddenly brought to their attention or were there more definite reasons for it?

Commercial broadcasters have always been concerned with making the media an effective tool for marketing. Their own profits are directly related to the ability of the media to attract and influence the largest possible audience. The concern of broadcasters has thus been to avoid anything which might alienate audiences who could be so disturbed with the broadcaster that they would turn away from that broadcaster's channel.

Minority issues, it was thought in the early radio broadcasting days, were too controversial for U.S. audiences. As early as the mid-1930s E.I. du Pont's radio program, *Cavalcade of America*, had a "ban on Negro topics"[2] and it was not until 1948 that the "company agreed to a program on Booker T. Washington—who had felt the Negro should 'keep his place' until better educated,"[3] wrote Erik Barnouw in *The Sponsor: Notes On a Modern Potentate*, a 1978 book. In the 1950s, the same policy was carried over to television. Controversial topics such as minority issues and labor conflicts were avoided in the new medium. During this era of blacklisting and McCarthyism, not only were race relations items considered threatening to business, but "interest in the subject was now regarded—by many, including the FBI—as a likely symptom of communist leanings,"[4] stated Barnouw. Thus, the practice of discrimination in image portrayals and employment became an institutionalized practice in the broadcast media.[5] The result was *a priori* censorship. Innocuous entertainment, devoid of any exhortations about real-life concerns, became the preferred standard. The norm, therefore, has been to be sensitive to (i.e., to favor) those ideas which would be acceptable to advertisers and sponsors.

Power Equals Advertising Dollars

The power of the media to influence people is obvious to anyone who stops to look at how advertisers use it. The full extent of the power of television to influence can be measured by the number of dollars advertisers spend on the media. Advertising revenues spent on commercial television alone have exceeded $5 billion since 1976. Radio, by comparison, had revenues of only $2 billion in 1976. Meanwhile, nonprofit public broadcasting, both radio and television, had an "income" of a mere $412 million, not billion, in 1976. Only about a quarter of it came from the federal government. The rest came from state and local sources and from corporate underwriting.

It is interesting to note that Spanish-language television, touted as booming and "beaming in on the big time," had billings of only approximately $10 million that year, barely two-tenths of one percent of the overall commercial television billings. Even today, Spanish-language television's billings are estimated at only slightly over $30 million, a phenomenal growth rate of over 300 percent in just five years, but still small compared to the total commercial television industry. (For more information about the size of the broadcasting industry, see the annual *Broadcasting Yearbook; Television/Radio Age*, October 23, 1978; and *Business Week*, March 23, 1981.)

Average cost for 30-second prime-time network television announcements may be $50,000 to $60,000. A full advertising campaign, however, may represent an investment of several million dollars by the time the cost of repeated showings on network television, individual stations, and independents are added up, not to mention production costs which can average several hundred thousand dollars. Occasionally, even single advertising spots on specials, such as the Super Bowl, can cost as much as $200,000 to $300,000 each. Advertising on television is expensive and the people who spend that kind of money on it take their investments very seriously.

Some may think of television as a beneficial service, bringing the news and events of the world, and provided philanthropically in the public interest. Commercial advertisers, however, certainly would not spend billions of dollars annually if they were not getting an even greater return for their investments. An advertising campaign can yield a single company a return of millions of dollars in sales by influencing the buying behaviors of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people. It can be reasoned that if a hierarchy were postulated about degrees of influence television may have, shaping people's buying behavior might signify a greater amount of influence than would shaping what people think

Photo by Tom Breiter

about. If this is true, then how might repeated negative stereotypes and distorted images televised about Hispanics influence and shape people's attitudes, opinions, and values about this minority group? Is it any wonder that Hispanics should be concerned?

The introduction of broadcasting 60 years ago stimulated utopian hopes of education for everyone. It was to reach every corner of the United States with important news and information, a school of the airwaves. It was expected to augment the democratic process by permitting access of information to everyone, young and old, rich and poor. Those expectations for the development of broadcasting parallel, in many ways, the expectations of today for the development of the new telecommunications systems. Some people expect that there will be so many channels in the future that they will never be completely filled. Yet another often repeated expectation is that since every home will be connected by cable, people will be able to hold town meetings electronically to discuss important governmental issues. Information about any topic will be available to everyone as today's libraries become libraries without walls, data banks of information to be accessed from home terminals. To what extent can we expect the promises of what the telecommunications era will bring to actually become reality? One way to speculate about the answer to this question is to look at what happened to the promises made about broadcasting.

One issue, in particular, is worthwhile tracing throughout the development of broadcasting: the issue of the educational usage of the airwaves. "Educational" refers to the use of the airwaves for distribution of that information which has been identified for broadcast on the basis of its perceived utility to society rather than on its perceived profit-making potential. When radio came into widespread public use in 1920, its potential for reaching masses of people awed society into expecting that it would be used for only the most important purposes, such as education.[6] Early offerings included Presidential speeches, concerts, talks, and church sermons.

Within two years of this beginning, the concept of toll broadcasting was introduced by AT&T, an early broadcasting company which later stepped aside when NBC was created. Toll broadcasting meant thinking about the use of the airwaves as a commodity to be sold to the highest bidder. Educators, the federal government, and even much of the business community expressed public indignation over the idea. The airwaves were supposed to be the domain of the public and they were supposed to be used to serve the public good, not to generate profits for a company selling their use.

At this time in the development of broadcasting, however, indirect selling was as far as advertisers could pursue their goal, given the still recent expectations that the airwaves were to be used only for the most important purposes. Advertisements could not even mention the word "company," much less the sponsor's product. Trade-name publicity (i.e., attaching the company's name to the title of the radio program, for example the Goodrich Silvertown Orchestra or the Kodak Chorus) helped make the practice of using the airwaves for advertising more acceptable. With time, as audiences grew in size and radio advertising demonstrated dramatic sales increases, the educational uses were pushed aside in favor of the commercial purposes. Educational stations were pressured to leave the air, they were given the least desirable "class" of station license, and they were urged to sell their time to commercial broadcasters.

The conflict came to a head in 1934. Educational interest groups rallied behind the Wagner-Hatfield Senate bill which proposed to allocate one-fourth of all station channels for nonprofit use. Commerical broadcasters, however, thwarted the effort by offering free air time during unsold periods, the fringe periods rather than prime time. The bill was consequently defeated, and, by implication, the commercial use of the airwaves became the standard. Nonprofit programming was tolerated but given less importance than commercial use.

It was not until 1952, during a period of national economic growth and rising expectations, that the FCC designated 242 channels for nonprofit use. Funding for programming on these stations, however, was held back until the late 1960s after the first Carnegie Commission Report which recommended the creation of a Public Broadcasting Service with appropriate financing.

To a certain extent, broadcasting did meet its expectation of uniting the young and old, and the rich and poor. Commercial broadcasting, after all, strives to offer programming which the largest number of people are willing to hear and watch. National advertising has created consensus concerning dress, lifestyles, and images of what is beautiful. For many people, the evening television news determines the agenda about the important day's events. Broadcasting has fulfilled part of the original promise, but not about the same concerns. Rather than becoming a system to augment the democratic process, it has fundamentally changed the electorial process into an advertising popularity contest.

Already, advances in telecommunications systems have made "teleconferencing" a reality. But will it be used for citizens to communicate to their political representatives or will it be used by business conglomerates to pursue more effectively their own goals? Will cable linkages from home computer terminals to bank computers, electronic libraries, and other users mean increased efficiency of social control by elites? Will the people at the fringes of U.S. culture and society, such as minorities, gain greater social equality or will they be further alienated because of the technological barriers imposed by the new systems of information searching and retrival?

One lesson has been made clear from the analysis presented earlier about the development of broadcasting: the usage of the media is determined more by commercial goals than it is by other more altruistic goals. This is important to remember considering the encouragement given minorities to enter the telecommunications industry while it is still in its infancy. It is true that there will undoubtedly be impressive financial returns to some entrepenuers; however, will the promise of gaining control of the future mechanisms of information transmission become a reality? Is it possible that by allowing some minorities to buy into the new industries, future criticisms of discriminatory practices will be dampened because of already vested interests?

If the goal is to ensure that the future practices by the telecommunications industry be equitable to all points of view, then there is a sense of urgency to act now, not because Hispanics should assume the burden of responsibility for how the new systems develop, but because if Hispanics do not act now, profit-making concerns will determine which views will predominate in tomorrow's media and which will not.

Perhaps what *is* urgent is a fundamental reconceptualization of citizen's communication rights. It is no longer sufficient to guarantee freedom of speech, the right to stand on the soapbox. It is now *also* necessary to guarantee an equitable use of the megaphone.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Criticisms about the distorted picture of Hispanics that the U.S. media, television in particular, have presented, have been well articulated by others, for example: Thomas Martínez, "How Advertisers Promote Racism," *Civil Rights Digest*, Fall 1969; Armando Rendón and Domingo Nick Reyes, *A Brown Position Paper: Chicanos and the Mass Media*, National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee, 1970; Francisco Lewels, "Racism in the Mass Media—Perpetuating the Stereotype," *Agenda*, Jan./Feb. 1978; Félix Gutiérrez, "Making News—Media Coverage of Chicanos," *Agenda*, Nov./Dec. 1978; and Harry Skomia, *Television and Society*, McGraw-Hill, 1965. Also see the Kerner Commission's *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Bantam Books, 1968.

[2]Erik Barnouw, *The Sponsor: Notes on a Minority Potentate* (Oxford University Press, 1978) p. 34. (Much of the historical analysis presented in this article, such as the development of the broadcasting industry, is summarized from points found in this work.)

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

[5]When commercial television is used in this article, it refers to both English- and Spanish-language television since all Spanish-language television in the United States is commercial (i.e., a few programs on public television have been bilingual but none have been all Spanish). In discussing discrimination by the broadcast media, no research has been done to date about image portrayals on Spanish-language television. Concerning employment, however, it has long been a practice of Spanish-language television, more than radio, to prefer foreign-born over U.S.-born Hispanics. The reason traditionally given for this is that U.S. Hispanics do not speak Spanish well. During the 1970s, however, the Spanish-language television industry did begin hiring more U.S. Hispanics than previously at entry level non-on-air positions. Spanish-language television in the United States is dominated by Spanish International Network (SIN), a company 75 percent owned by Mexican television interests and not considered by the FCC to be a minority enterprise.

[6]Previously, radio was used by "hams" until 1912 when it it was restricted for military use only during World War I. In 1920, after the war, radio was again made available for public use.

A Community Gets Its Own Spanish-Language Television Station

by Juan C. Turnure

In a city like South Tucson, where more than 85 percent of the population is Hispanic, why isn't there a Spanish-language television station? That is exactly what Lillian López-Grant kept asking herself as she watched a mustachioed man describe the merits of his tortilla chips on her television set. Irked by this relentless stereotype of the Hispanic American, López-Grant decided to start her own television station. A fanciful pipe dream, her doubters said. It will never become a reality. On March 20, 1981, a public reception was held at the Santa Rita Hotel in Tucson to celebrate the completion of the application process for the city's first Hispanic-owned and -operated television station.

The formation of the Valle Verde Broadcasting Corporation was long and arduous. Financing, licensing, building, staffing, programming, broadcasting—at any point the project could break down and be remembered for what it could have been. Luckily, López-Grant found the Ulloa brothers—three Mexican Americans involved with television in Los Angeles—to provide technical assistance in getting the station off the ground. Roland Ulloa, president of Alpha Group, a California-based communications corporation, realized that licensing and economic conditions were favorable to starting an Hispanic-owned and operated station in Tucson and that Tucson was one of the top 20 Hispanic markets in the United States. The Ulloa brothers—Roland, Ronald, and Walter—also shared López-Grant's view that such a station would have a major impact on the negative characterizations of Hispanics seen on today's television. The Ulloa brothers now own 30 percent of Valle Verde stock, the other 70 percent being owned by the Monte Verde Corporation.

Public service programming on community issues, as well as educational programming, will be of primary importance to Valle Verde. The station is considering English-language instruction for preschool children and conversational Spanish language instruction for English-speaking adults. López-Grant said that since she is uncertain of the future of bilingual education, the station "would like to be, in some way, a part of the bilingual program." She said that the station can reach a lot more "kids and parents with a lot less money." Roland Ulloa emphasized this ideal, saying "We are going to have wholesome programs on our station, programs with integrity. We are going to emphasize children's programs. . . and hope to present public service programming at least once a week." A wide spectrum of musical, dramatic, and narrative programming will also be provided as representative of educationally oriented programs.

Another major thrust of the Valle Verde venture will be to maintain an intern program to train Hispanic news reporters. Hispanics are drastically underrepresented in the broadcast media, a factor which may have great bearing on the negative portrayals of Hispanics in television shows, and on news reporting which all too often concentrates on issues placing Hispanics in an unfavorable light—crime, poverty, undocumented immigration, welfare, and drug abuse. "Whenever we talk to network stations. . . the classic line is, 'Well, we can't find any qualified Hispanics,' " said López-Grant. "Well, by God, we plan to give them qualified people." Ulloa also stressed that the station would provide jobs by hiring personnel from the Tucson area.

Valle Verde's pledge and purpose are to be responsive to the needs of the Hispanic community it will serve. Programming, reporting, and hiring will focus on enhancing the cultural and linguistic quality of life of the Spanish-speaking people of Tucson. Valle Verde will affiliate itself with the Spanish International Network (SIN) in order to provide Spanish-language news coverage on people, events, and places of particular interest to Hispanics in the United States. Favorite, traditional *telenovelas*, or soap operas, such as *Colorina* will also be broadcast.

At this writing, Valle Verde's application for a broadcasting license is being reviewed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Three nonlocal investment groups from Illinois, Tennessee, and California have also filed with the FCC for a license to operate Channel 40, the channel Valle Verde has applied for. The FCC is expected to issue a ruling by the end of the year on the awarding of the Channel 40 broadcasting license.

Whether Valle Verde is awarded the channel or not, the corporation and Lillian López-Grant have already proved one thing: it may take a lot of work, and a lot of courage, and a lot of uncertainty, but small groups of individuals *can* become viable forces in the media industry.

La Raza

The People

by Toni Breiter

Despite persistent criticism of the mass media in the United States, particularly television, for lack of coverage of Hispanic issues, there have been occasional oases to quench the thirst of U.S. Hispanics for honest representation of their lives and concerns.

In 1973, the McGraw-Hill Broadcasting Company, Inc., embarked on a three-year project to develop and produce a series of nine documentaries to examine in detail the social, political, psychological, and historical factors which influence the lives of Mexican Americans. Originally intended for broadcast over McGraw-Hill's own stations (KERO in Bakersfield, California; KMGH in Denver, Colorado; WRTV in Indianapolis, Indiana; and KGTV in San Diego, California), the much acclaimed series was eventually shown on television stations throughout the country.

The series, titled *La Raza: The People,* relied heavily on Mexican Americans for all aspects of the production, from research through producing and directing. This represents a unique departure from the usual attempts of mass media to treat Hispanic issues without the benefit of Hispanic participation. From the beginning, Mexican Americans were involved in the series, bringing to it realism, sensitivity, understanding, and appropriateness not possible without such involvement.

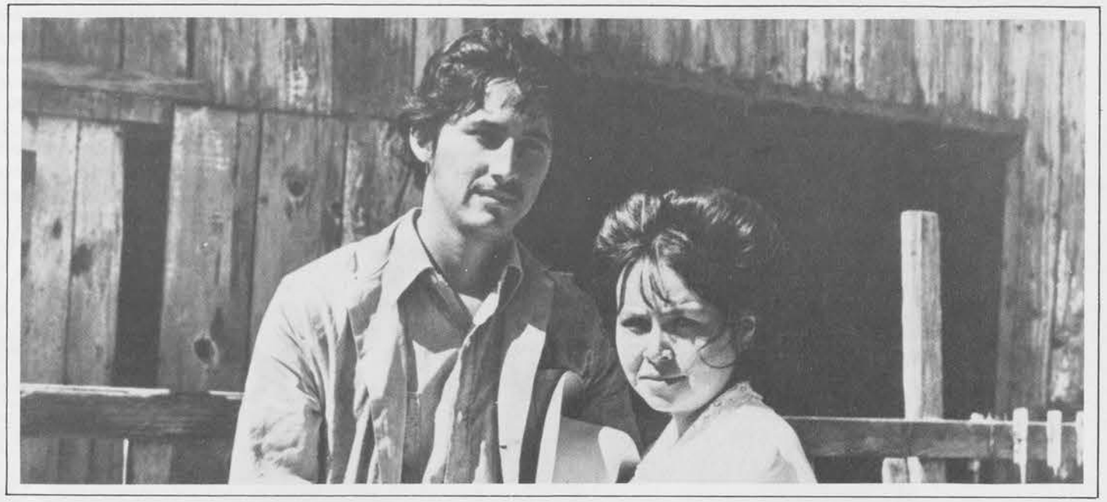
The process began with the naming of the La Raza Coordinating Committee composed of eight distinguished Mexican Americans, including Dr. Julian Nava, former U.S. Ambassador to Mexico; Mario G. Obledo, California State Secretary of Health and Welfare; and Dr. Mari-Luci Jaramillo, former U.S. Ambassador to Honduras. Contributing scholarly expertise to the series were such noted Mexican American scholars as Dr. Ricardo Romo, Dr. Julian Samora, Dr. Ernesto Galarza, Dr. Fermin Herrera, Dr. Rodolfo Acuña, and Dr. Juan Gómez-Quiñones. Executive Producer of the series was Emmy Award winner Albert Waller; Jim Estrada was Associate Producer.

Several of the episodes were written, produced, and directed by noted Chicano film maker Moctesuma Esparza. The episode titled "Survival," which was written and produced by Esparza and directed by Esperanza Vásquez, won honorable mention in the Clarion Awards, sponsored by Women in Communications, Inc. (WICI), finishing second in the Human Rights Division of the competition. "Survival" also won the prestigious Ohio State Award for excellence in educational, informational, and public affairs broadcasting. "Survival" provides a dramatic inspiration for all Americans since it shows that despite adversity, success is possible. The program traces the lives of seven Mexican Americans who are trying to cope with a sometimes hostile society. Among the seven Chicanos featured is 77-year-old Agueda Martínez, who lives on a small farm in New Mexico. Agueda does not speak English. Everything she needs to survive—food, clothing, shelter, and medicine—she either grows on the farm or barters with a neighbor. "The earth is my life," she says. "It is the only thing that gives life." Her struggle for survival and for human dignity is universal. (Actress Carmen Zapata provides the English voice for Agueda.) Armando Valdéz, a researcher and teacher who is also featured in the episode, sums up the struggle for survival when he says, "I teach to survive, but I don't want to get locked into it. Survival today depends on your ability to change. And change is simply working with choices."

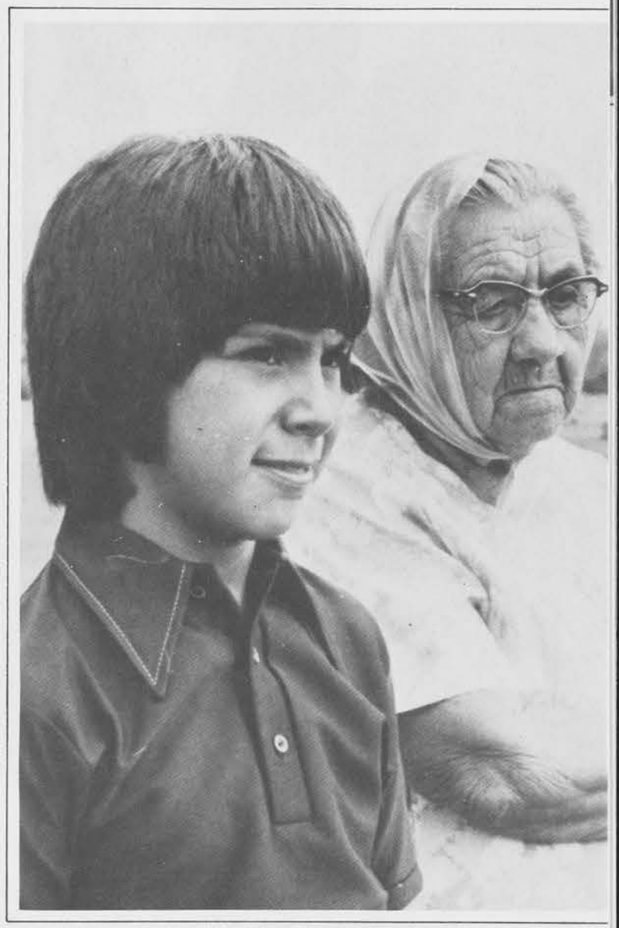
Other episodes in the series include "La Raza: The History and the Heritage," "La Raza: Learning in Two Worlds," "Celebración," "A Political Renaissance," "The Working People," "The Future Is Now," and "The Alien Game."

Ricardo Montalbán narrated the series, which has been called the first truly comprehensive, multidimensional portrait of the Mexican American life ever produced for television. The series received the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award, which is given annually for excellence in coverage of the problems of the disadvantaged in the United States.

La Raza: The People proves that it is indeed possible for major media corporations to produce works that reflect the true image of Hispanics in the United States, and to do so with the support and involvement—and the expertise—of the people they assume to portray.



Scenes from the McGraw-Hill series, *La Raza: The People.* Top: a couple appearing in the introductory episode; Below Left: Agueda Martínez, a 77-year-old woman featured in the fifth episode, "Survival"; Below Right: a young boy and an old woman representing culture and language continuation through the generations.



Many of our loyal readers are loyal viewers, too.

Every week, over five million people turn to the television stations McGraw-Hill owns and operates in four cities across America.

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Photo courtesy of the American Film Institute.

Carmen Miranda in *The Gang's All Here.*

Film Portrayals of *La Mujer Hispana*

by Cordelia Candelaria

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The hypothesis underlying this article can be summarized as a consideration of the relevance of social equity in film criticism. The hypothesis concerns the extent to which audiences, including critics, can legitimately expect the social value of equity to be a valid requirement of film.

Social equity refers to the principle of free and equal access to educational, economic, and political opportunities in society. This does not mean that all film makers should incorporate social equity into their productions as the central element. Rather, the hypothesis will be developed within the boundaries of film interpretation where equity will be considered as a valid criterion which the film analyst, both the professional critic and the intelligent moviegoer, might bring to bear in the evaluation of particular movies. This article thus argues that it is appropriate to evaluate films such as, for example, *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Salt of the Earth* (1954) with an interpretive yardstick composed of several inches of technical cinematic quality, several inches of script effectiveness, of acting strength, of audio quality, and of social equity.

It is appropriate to apply the criterion of social equity to the evaluation of film if that criterion is balanced with two others: filmic integrity and narrative content. Two reasons justify this view. First, social equity may be understood as a political statement or stance, and since works of art have historically disclosed political stances of one sort or another and of one degree or another, it is totally fitting to judge individual films according to the nature of their political statements, including social equity. Second, social equity expresses a particular morality or ethos, and since works of art have historically expressed moral/ethical principles, it is proper to evaluate films according to the nature of such principles.

The need for balancing social equity with filmic integrity and narrative content (or theme) is perhaps self-evident. As appreciators of beauty through the ages have known, any work of art must ultimately be measured according to the requirements of its artistic medium. In other words, the artist is evaluated in terms of how effectively the medium is exploited in the design and total effect of the product—Picasso's use of paint and canvas, for instance, or Faulkner's use of words in print. For film makers, the test lies in the effective use of the camera, the actors, the film editor, visual and aural techniques, color (including the choice of black and white), and other elements demanded by cinematography. In the same vein, the film's content or theme provides the most accessible way a viewer can come to terms with its overall effectiveness. Whether or not a movie presents a story chronologically from opening frame to the final roll of credits (as in *Salt of the Earth*), or presents a story through a montage of disjointed images and scenes (as in *Alambrista!*), or whether or not it even presents a story in the conventional sense (e.g., the plotless films of Luis Buñuel), the content must be considered primary in film analysis because it is the viewer's most immediate contact with the work.

In a certain sense, social equity may be applied to both technical, filmic integrity and to narrative content. If it is true that the nature of a film's cinematography depends on the combined technical talents of particular individuals, than the historical exclusion from film making of individuals from certain groups (e.g., ethnic minorities and women) would mean that the perceptions of such persons have been denied to filmgoers. In this sense, *in*equity characterizes the cinematic technique of the vast majority of movies produced in the last 80 years. Social equity may also be communicated through a film's treatment of certain subjects and themes. For instance, the narrative content of *Salt of the Earth* presents a positive treatment of labor and of feminism, themes that receive equally favorable treatment in the more recent *Norma Rae* (1979).

The approach followed in this discussion of the images of Hispanic women in film balances the three criteria discussed above: filmic integrity, thematic content, and social equity. The purpose is (1) to reach valid conclusions about the general cinematic treatment of Hispanas as members of an ethnic minority group and as women, and (2) to suggest a critical mode others might use in analyzing movies they experience. Most of the examples of films appearing in this section are to full-length movies produced since World War II, and they fall into four categories: significant films which contain images of Hispanas other than Mexican American women, significant documentaries about Chicanas/os, significant films with extended portrayals of Chicanas, and independently produced short features containing portrayals of Hispanic women.

Hispanas in Frivolous Roles

The films presenting images of Hispanas other than Chicanas have enjoyed great popularity and have been viewed by millions of Americans. These portrayals constitute the only contact many viewers ever had with Spanish-speaking women until performers like Rita Moreno and Charro were welcomed to the television talk shows in recent years. Among the most well-known of all film Hispanas was Carmen Miranda (1904—1955), star of over 20 films in a career that spanned 20-odd years. A good many of her movies depict Argentine, Brazilian, Cuban, and other South American women in roles that are essentially frivolous and frothy. Such productions as *Alo Alo Brazil* and *Alo Alo Carnival* (1934—1938) present Miranda as a fun-loving, simple-minded girl whose greatest assets are her physical beauty and her dancing talent. Movies like *Down Argentine Way* (1940); *That Night in Rio* (1941), and *Weekend in Havana* (1941) continue the stereotyping of Hispanas as blithesome creatures preoccupied with the entertainment of handsome men, usually the Hollywood version of the non-*raza macho*.

These movies and others like *Copacabana* (1947) and *Nancy Goes to Rio* (1950) lack both depth of thematic content and any hint of social equity as an important human value. Straightforward in their frivolous approach to entertainment, Miranda's films were highly successful at the box office. For example, in 1941 and 1946 she starred in two movies each year, while in 1944 she starred in three, giving her an average of one movie per year from 1934 to 1953. That level of activity would not have been possible had her movies been financial failures. Indeed, because of her renown as "the Latina movie star" many moviegoers assumed that she was of South American ancestry; she was, in fact, born in Portugal. Carmen Miranda's primary importance in the present context concerns her fame as a Hollywood star in roles that dehumanized Latin American women into silly, sexy, performing dolls.

Another motion picture containing significant images of Hispanas, in this case Mexican women, is *Viva Zapata!* (1952). *Méjicanas* in this film are minor characters flitting in and out of the story of the famous hero of the Mexican peasantry. Because of the rich story line depicting Zapata's rise to power for noble reasons and because of the movie's thematic subtlety, *Viva Zapata!* rates better than the Miranda movies in content and cinematography. However, the film's portrayal of Mexican women, though reasonably realistic, does little to promote the image of *mejicanas* as full-dimensional persons with complex human motivations. The argument can, of course, be made that in a biographical film of this type, social equity for women may not be a valid expectation. Nevertheless, the depiction of Mexicans in *Viva Zapata!* is a vast improvement over their portrayal in *Martyrs of the Alamo* (1915), one of the earliest movies produced containing offensively flat stereotypes of Mexicans, the media stereotype of Mexican chicanery which eventually evolved into Madison Avenue's Frito Bandito concept.

In the musical *West Side Story* (1961), a Puerto Rican girl appears as the female lead in a cast of characters that includes other *puertorriqueños*. Typically, however, a non-Puerto Rican actress, Natalie Wood, performs the lead role. As a genre, the musical appears to have reached its pinnacle in the 1940s and 1950s, and certain elements in *West Side Story*, such as the urban setting and the dance sequences, "ring hollow," as critic Leo Braudy describes it. Even so, the film's story complications and musical score, along with its adequate adaptation from stage to screen, combine for a satisfactory balance of "pleasure and delight," in Horace's phrase. Accordingly, with allowances made for its dated time frame, social equity with regard to minority women is also satisfactory.

Turning to significant documentary films about Mexican Americans, three television treatments of the condition of migrant farm workers can be singled out as excellent examples of the genre. *Harvest of Shame* (1960—CBS), *Hunger in America* (1968—NBC), and *Migrant* (1970—NBC) disclose through stark, graphic realism the painful deprivation which a large segment of America's workers endure as a matter of daily routine. Researched and produced by media investigative journalists, these documentaries effectively achieve their purpose: the brutal expose of humans forced to live subhuman existences. Farm workers of both sexes, including children, appear as equals in the face of poverty, disease, and employer/consumer abuse—a sad, ironic twist on the principle of equity discussed in this article.

Another category of films consists of four that include extended portrayals of Chicanas. Part of the remarkable quality of *Salt of the Earth*, a film that continues to receive enthusiastic audience responses in the 1980s as it has for three decades, derives from its realism of language, of

A.

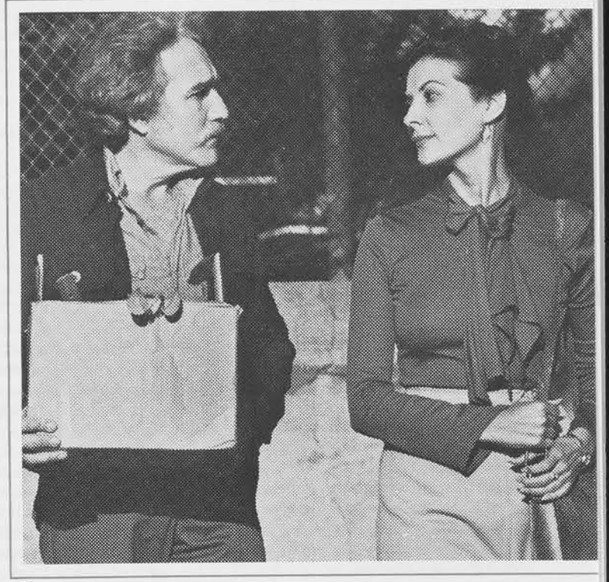
Portrayals of *la mujer Hispana* range from stereotypical to inspiring. Photo A: Miguel Salazar as the boy and María Salazar as the Flute Woman in a scene from *Mestizo Magic;* Photo B: Rita Moreno (left) in *West Side Story;* Photo C: Natalie Wood (center) and George Chakiris (right) in the lead Puerto Rican roles in *West Side Story* (neither is Puerto Rican); Photo D: Socorro Swan and Photo E: Miguel Robelo and Estrellita López in scenes from *Only Once in a Lifetime.*

Mestizo Magic photo by Daniel Salazar; West Side Story photos courtesy of the American Film Institute.

B.

C.

D.



E.

scene (a small New Mexican mining village), and of folkways. Another part of its success arises from its depth of characterizations and its rich nonsexist, unionist theme. As straightforward agitprop drama (that is, theater that overtly expresses a particular political message with the intent of influencing the audience toward that particular viewpoint), the film's story line is ideologically narrow. Still, its employment of nonprofessional actors and its troubled production history outside the Hollywood norms of the day outweigh its narrow ideology.

Salt of the Earth presents the story, based on actual labor history, of a predominantly Mexican American community's united response to a large mineral corporation's insensitivity and unfairness toward its employees and their families. The process of political consciousness-raising and coalition building establishes solidarity within the community and also leads to the people's awareness of the importance of equality between the sexes. In all three criteria, then—cinematography, content, and equity—the achievement of *Salt of the Earth* is of genuine classic proportions.

Alambrista! (1976), produced and directed by Robert Young, shares some of the same strengths of *Salt of the Earth*. Its realism, thematic depth, and use of competent Mexican actors are noteworthy. However, because its portrayal of women is for the most part limited to the Anglo waitress who befriends Roberto, *el alambrista* or undocumented immigrant of the title, it cannot be fairly evaluated in this examination of *la mujer hispana* in films.

Produced and directed by Chicano Moctesuma Esparza, *Only Once in a Lifetime* (1978) contains elements of social realism that enrich a generally sentimental story. The thinness of the script no doubt accounts for the flat characterization of the protagonist's friend, a Chicana schoolteacher played by Estrellita López. Although the criterion of social equity does not mean that every representation of Hispanic women should conform to an abstract image of the radical Hispanic feminist, it does imply that such characterizations, even of women in traditional roles, be developed with a concern for normal human complexity. Or, if stereotypes are to be incorporated into the script, then they ought to function in a way that gives thematic purpose in their presence. Except for one brief schoolyard scene, the school teacher in *Only Once in a Lifetime* appears to lack any motivation unrelated to either her authoritatian father or the troubled protagonist, Dominguez. Thus, the film's many cinematic strengths are not enough to overcome its shortcomings in the areas of content and equity.

Like *Salt of the Earth* and *Alambrista!*, *One-Eyed Jacks* (1961) captures sufficient social realism to communicate its plot and themes effectively. About a Yankee outlaw, played by Marlon Brando, who is forced to serve five years in a Mexican prison because of his abandonment by a cohort, the film transcends its Western genre in several ways. First, it contains prominent roles of Mexican immigrants whose characterizations are full, complex, and brilliantly acted. Second, it employs enough Spanish to create an effect of total authenticity, just as, third, it provides enough insight into Mexican customs and folkways to underscore its departure from the typical Hollywood chase western. *One-Eyed Jacks* also goes beyond its genre in that the protagonist does not appear heroic from start to finish (à la John Wayne). Rather, his psychological and moral development is a central part of the story and girds its theme.

Especially effective are the images of women in this movie. The protagonist's Mexican girlfriend, daughter of one of the immigrants, manifests a wide range of emotions and attitudes—innocence, fear, anger, shyness, etc. Played by a Mexican actress of unconventional beauty, Pina Pellicer, her character's subtle richness and the magnetic force of the acting allow her to match Brando's powerful screen presence without being upstaged. In addition, the role of her mother, frankly drawn within the boundaries of Mexican tradition, avoids stereotype because of the sophisticated portrayal of mature human emotions and, again, because of the outstanding quality of the acting of Katy Jurado. Social equity is tightly woven into the plot and theme of *One-Eyed Jacks*, producing images of Hispanas as dramatic and exciting as those in *Salt of the Earth* and as forceful as those in the documentaries discussed earlier.

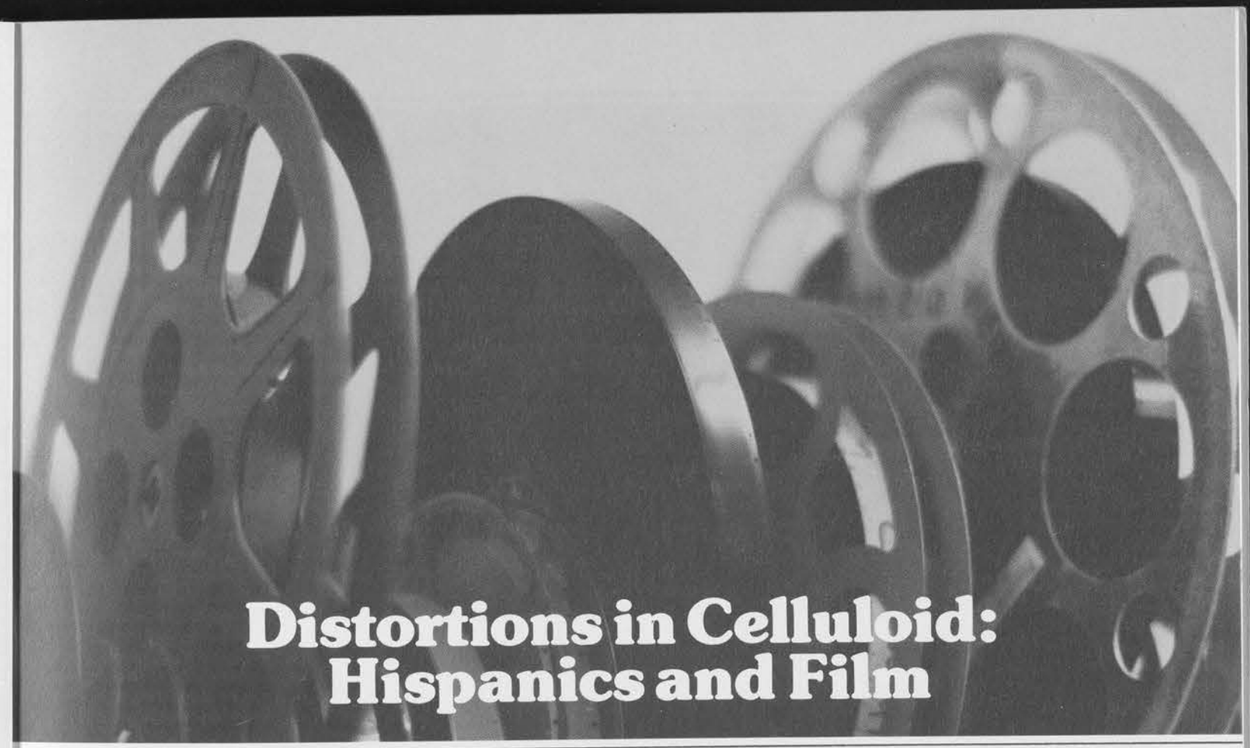
Emerging Chicano Film Makers

The last category of films to be discussed in this study comprises short features produced by Mexican American film makers. *El Corrido* (1976) features the Chicano theater company, El Centro Campesino Cultural, formerly called El Teatro Campesino, the original farm workers theatre. In many ways, this film combines elements from *Salt of the Earth* and *Alambrista!*, for it deals with a fictionalized treatment of migrant farm workers and it also offers an explicit ideological message. Moreover, it is effective in integrating social realism and fine performances by Chicana/o performers with an interesting "everyman" type of story. Following a Mexican undocumented worker's progress in the United States, the film includes images of women in an assortment of plausible roles captured through pantomiming and extensive use of symbols. With respect to the three aforementioned criteria, *El Corrido* rates well in its overall achievement.

Similarly strong is *Después del Terremoto (After the Earthquake,* 1979), an independent feature created by Lourdes Portillo, a Chicana film maker based in San Francisco. A bilingual film in black and white, *Después del Terremoto* focuses on a group of transplanted Nicaraguans living in San Francisco after the catastrophic earthquake in Managua in 1974. Portillo uses the earthquake metaphor both to convey the harmful effects of the Somoza dictatorship on the country and to show the personal upheavals experienced by those who emigrated to the United States in search of better futures. The film offers an effective range of feminine portrayals that appear documentary-like but are, of course, fictional. From traditional homebound, religious, older women to highly modern, independent, young women, *Después del Terremoto* portrays womanhood as a complex array of virtues, foibles, needs, and motivations and successfully integrates the three criteria discussed here.

Another noteworthy independent feature is *Mestizo Magic* (1980) produced by Denver-based Chispa Productions. A plotless montage of artistic images summarizing the nature and the development of art through the ages, the film contains only two central characters, a Chicano boy, played by Miguel Salazar, and a women of indeterminate age representing wisdom and beauty, played by María Salazar. She also symbolizes a quintessential *mestizaje*, the blend of European and native American blood and culture that underlies the Hispanic world of the Western Hemisphere. *Mestizo Magic* exemplifies the vanguard of contemporary Hispanic film making which synthesizes theme and content with sophisticated technical skill.

This article presents four significant topics that the public, film makers, and film critics ought to consider in any serious analysis of current media issues. Two of these relate to process issues: (1) the need to assess film productions for the nature and quality of their depictions of Hispanics and Hispanic culture, and (2) the need to establish adequate critical modes to most effectively conduct such assessments. In an admittedly preliminary way, this article carries out these processes through its summary of the images of Hispanic women in film and through its proposal of social equity as a legitimate criterion for film criticism. The other two current issues presented in the article pertain to matters of thematic content: (1) the effectiveness of the portrayals of Hispanas in film, and (2) the importance of promoting equity in all phases of film making. These four current issues have become crucial in the present decade defined by political and fiscal conservatism. How they are addressed and, possibly, resolved depends to a large extent on the depth and the insight of the discourse which is stimulated by such means at this special issue of *Agenda*.



Distortions in Celluloid: Hispanics and Film

Photo by Toni Breiter.

by Luís R. Torres

Luís R. Torres is a reporter with KNX, the all-news CBS radio station in Los Angeles. He holds an M.S. in Journalism from Columbia University and has worked extensively in both print and broadcast media. In 1977-78 he was writer and Director of Research for *La Historia*, a project to develop a dramatic television series for the Public Broadcasting Service.

Until this year, major feature films about Hispanics in the United States have invariably been made by Anglos, and as a consequence, Hispanics have been portrayed through Anglo eyes. Predictably, the result has often been an inaccurate and decidedly one-dimensional view of Hispanics in such films. Whether through benign ignorance or malice (and there have been ample doses of each) Hollywood films have depicted Hispanics as either romanticized simpletons or sinister villains.

All too familiar are the swarthy "Latin lovers" and stubble-chinned *banditos* that Hollywood flashed on the screen during countless matinees in the 1940s and 1950s. This blind stereotyping persists to the present. With rare exception, when it comes to Hispanics on the screen, the Cisco Kid has merely been supplanted by the knife-wielding Chicano street gang member, or the unctuous Puerto Rican pimp, or the *barrio* drug pusher. Despite the changes in locale and dramatic situations, the result is the same: Hispanics continue to be seen through Anglo eyes.

It is not even simply a question of positive portrayals *versus* demonstrably negative ones. It is a matter of Hispanic characters and situations being created and exposed by movie makers who are as unfamiliar with authentic Hispanic reality as they are with life on Mars. In the last year or two such Hollywood films as *Boulevard Nights* (produced by Warner Brothers) and *Walk Proud* (produced but quickly withdrawn from movie houses by Universal) held out hope that things might have changed, but the results were crushingly disappointing to anyone who might have hoped for and expected positive—or at least authentic and well-informed—depictions of Hispanics.

When *Boulevard Nights*—a film set within the context of the low-rider phenomenon in East Los Angeles—was released, director Michael Pressman said he felt he had successfully captured the look and feel of life in the Chicano *barrio*. Said Pressman at the time: "This isn't the definitive film on the Chicano. But it is a film that honestly portrays a certain lifestyle and ambience in that community." Based on the reaction of most Hispanics to the film, he was right on the first count, and abysmally mistaken on the second. Pressman's sincerity and good intentions are probably genuine, but his ignorance about the Hispanic experience (together with that of his producers and of the countless "thems" who inevitably comprise the movie-making mechanism of Hollywood) betrayed him.

Walk Proud insensitively—if not foolishly—featured Anglo actor Robbie Benson, complete with brown contact lenses over his baby blues and sienna make-up, as a Chicano gang member. This was Hollywood's cruelly naïve notion of what it takes to make someone a Chicano on the screen. The producers and director said the film wouldn't have been financed without a box-office draw such as Benson being part of the "package." From an Hispanic point of view, it was a package better left unopened.

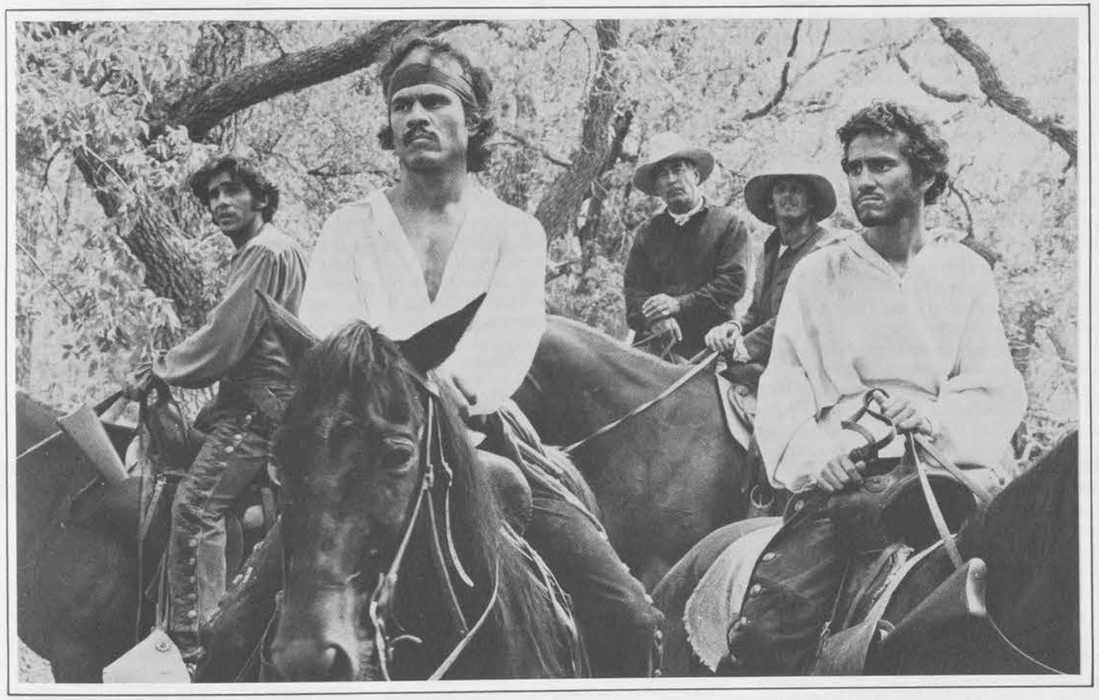
More recently, Time-Life Films' *Fort Apache: The Bronx* made another blind stab at portraying Hispanics sensitively and with compassion. In the view of most Hispanics who saw the film, the depiction of Hispanics was as compassionate as the portrayal of Indians in a John Wayne two-reeler.

The thread in such films as these (and there have been many others recently, as Hollywood apparently tries to capitalize on the growing Hispanic market) is that no Hispanic has ever been involved in one of the crucial creative roles that give vision and texture to a feature film; namely, the positions of writer, producer or director. (It is too easy—and unfair—for concerned Hispanics to lay the blame for negative portrayals on

A.

Two recent films produced by Chicanos are *Zoot Suit* (Luís Valdéz) and *Seguín* (Jesús Treviño). A and B: Scenes from *Zoot Suit* with Edward James Olmos (left) as the character, El Pachuco. C: Pepe Serna, A. Martínez, and Danny de la Paz, and D: Edward James Olmos (center) as General Antonio López de Santa Ana in scenes from *Seguín*.

B.



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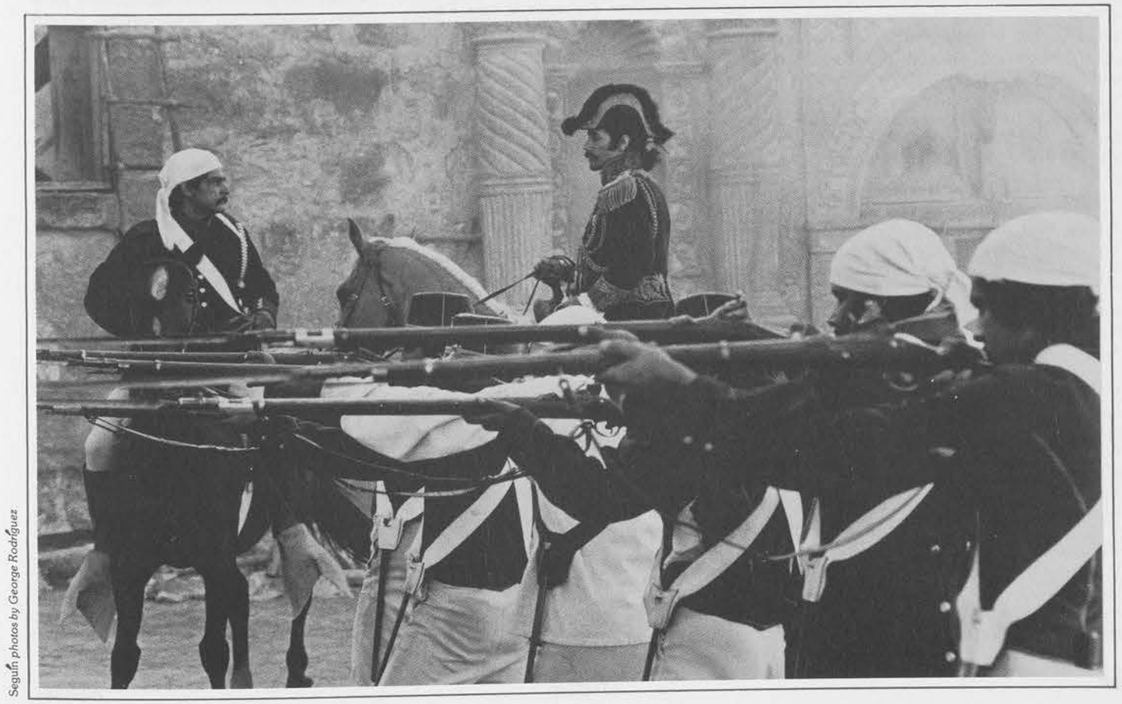

Seguín photos by George Rodríguez

D.

Hispanic actors who take those roles. It is tough to survive as an actor and it is unreasonable to begrudge a struggling Hispanic actor for taking any role that will provide experience and exposure. (To say that just because only Anglos have been in creative control of films about Hispanics is not to say that Anglos are not capable of making honest, realistic, and positive films about Hispanics. They just have not done it yet. Their celluloid products speak for themselves.

An exception to the traditional lack of Hispanic creative control of a major Hollywood film is the forthcoming feature film *Zoot Suit*. Set for release this fall, the film incarnation of the earthy, swaggeringly exuberant stage play, which broke all attendance records on the West Coast, is written and directed by a Chicano. *Zoot Suit* is the creation of playwright Luís Valdéz. Valdéz, who got his basic training in drama as the innovative founder/director and spiritual epicenter of the earth-shakingly brash El Teatro Campesino, makes his debut as a film director with *Zoot Suit*. It is based loosely on the infamous Sleepy Lagoon murder mystery and the attendant "zoot suit riots" in Los Angeles during the 1940s.

More than anything, however, Valdéz' Zoot Suit is a defiant yet jubilant celebration of *chicanismo* in the face of harshly oppressive forces. The film stars Edward James Olmos as the mystical, enduringly peacock-proud character, El Pachuco. And Daniel Valdéz stars as the strong-willed but tormented lead character Henry Reina, a character modeled on one of the defendants in the actual Sleepy Lagoon murder trial. What remains to be seen is whether this artfully wrought examination of the Chicano experience will have sufficient appeal to a mass audience to make the film a viable critical and commercial success. Universal Studios, which pumped about $3 million into the film, hopes so. For different reasons, so do many Hispanics.

On a scale different from that of the big-budget Hollywood movie, Hispanics *have* had creative control of dramatic feature films. For example, Moctesuma Esparza and Alejandro Grattan teamed to create an independently financed feature, *Only Once in a Lifetime*. Made on a paltry (by Hollywood standards) half-million dollars, that film makes an earnest attempt to portray multi-dimensional Hispanic characters who are light-years away from the standard characterizations of Hispanics as pimps, prostitutes, and dope peddlers. However, because of a series of distribution problems and other difficulties, few audiences have had the opportunity to view *Only Once in a Lifetime*.

Another film with a U.S. Hispanic behind the creative controls is *Raíces de Sangre*. Written and directed by Chicano film maker Jesús Treviño, *Raíces de Sangre* was actually made under the auspices of the Mexican movie studio Conacine. After its release in Mexico, the film received wide distribution in Spanish-language theaters in the United States.

Both Treviño and Esparza currently have ambitious dramatic films in the works which are intended for broadcast in the coming months over the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Esparza's project is a feature-length film based on the book, *Gregorio Cortéz: With His Pistol in His Hand*, written by Hispanic scholar Americo Paredes. Treviño's PBS film, which is already completed or "in the can" (in cinema jargon), is titled *Seguín*. It is the story of the Battle of the Alamo told through Hispanic eyes. If successful, both films will lead to PBS series.

Documentary Experience

Like many other Hispanic film makers, Esparza and Treviño began their careers not in dramatic films but in documentaries. In the last dozen or so years there has emerged a rich collection of documentary films about Hispanics, by Hispanics. The emergence of these gritty and revealing (though sometimes technically cumbersome) documentaries about the Hispanic experience coincided with the growth of the social and political *movimiento* of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Such pioneering films as *Cinco Vidas*, *Requiem 29*, *I Am Joaquin*, and *Yo Soy Chicano* broke ground and nurtured the soil for some outstanding documentary films (and film makers) that were to sprout forth in later years. What is particularly significant about this existing harvest of important documentaries is the fact that they are Hispanic—not Anglo—views of *la raza's* cultural and political experience.

The early works of Hispanics on both coasts, which were rooted in and reflective of the turbulent catharsis of the 1960s, helped create the climate which made a watershed television documentary series called *Realidades* possible. *Realidades* was a national bilingual PBS series devoted to documentaries by and about Hispanics. After some hard-fought political battles, *Realidades* was established at station WNET in New York. Its executive producer was Humberto Cintrón. Several Hispanic film makers got their start by producing films for the series. Other, already experienced film makers, such as Los Angeles-based José Luís Ruíz, found in *Realidades* a needed opportunity to showcase their work before a national audience. (Ruíz' powerful documentary about undocumented workers, *The Unwanted*, is arguably still the strongest and most perceptive film made on the subject.)

For all the good that was spawned, however, the *Realidades* series was short-lived, and although there have been some exceptions, public television has shown little commitment to Hispanic film endeavors in recent years. Hispanic film makers—like all other independent film makers—today find that they must be long on personal and compassionate commitment to their film projects, because they are often short on money. One of the Hispanic film makers who honed his skills with the opportunities the *Realidades* series presented is David Sandoval. His struggles as an independent Hispanic film maker are typical of the trials of many Hispanic producers. Sandoval produced two acclaimed films for the old *Realidades* series: *Guadalupe* (a theatrical re-enactment of an agricultural labor strike in California) and *Una Nación Bilingüe* (an examination of bilingual education and voting rights efforts). Currently, he is completing work on his most ambitious documentary project. The film is a feature-length documentary about the cultural traditions of *la raza* in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas. The film is titled *El Corrido del Valle*.

The film is set for national release this winter, but as Sandoval explains, the row for an independent Hispanic film maker is a tough one to hoe. As sandoval explains, an Hispanic film maker starts with a vision of the exploration of an issue important to the definition of what it is to be Hispanic. Then, to embark fully on that exploration, another crucial ingredient is needed to transform the vision into a reality. That ingredient, in a word, is money. "For independent film makers in general," says Sandoval, "it's tough to raise money. If you're Chicano or Puerto Rican, it's even tougher. When you get going on a film—especially if it's a major project—you find you're always struggling to raise the funds you need. You find yourself begging, borrowing, and doing everything else short of stealing in order to raise the money that's required to complete a film."

From the cluttered editing room, stacked high with rolls of 16mm workprints, where he is supervising the editing of *El Corrido del Valle*, Sandoval says, "Making a good film requires a lot of money. That's a fact of life. That can be frustrating, but what sustains me—and what keeps other Latino film makers going—is the belief in the importance of the project. And the cold realization that you know that as a Latino you're the only one who can make that particular kind of film right—to include all the subtleties and nuances that make it an honest statement about our people."

Sandoval, while deferring a salary to himself and most of his colleagues on the project, has spent about a half-million dollars so far. Some of it came from a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Some was raised from other foundations and a bit from individual fund-raising campaigns.

And, Sandoval adds, "We've got to somehow raise just a little bit more money—so we can make the film turn out just right."

U.S. Communication Policy—Catching Up With Spanish-Language Broadcasting

by Jorge Reina Schement

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In 1976, the first regularly scheduled television programs began to be broadcast to the United States via satellite. These satellite broadcasts were not offered by ABC, CBS, or NBC, but by a non-U.S. communications conglomerate interested in furthering its penetration of an American market. Moreover, these programs were not the result of shared arrangements through the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), the most visible source of foreign programming for most Americans. In fact, this programming was originated by Televisa, the largest Mexican television network, and was disseminated throughout the United States by its American subsidiary, the Spanish International Network (SIN). While this dramatic development is important in its own right, it is but a part of a pattern that has characterized the growth of Spanish-language broadcasting in the United States. In turn, the growth of these media has been stimulated by a population explosion among U.S. Spanish speakers (see Table 1).

As the introduction of new communications technologies moves the United States toward a pluralistic communications environment, the formulation of appropriate policy to define this environment will become an increasingly important item on the nation's political agenda. What is significant for those interested in communication policy is that the population explosion mentioned above has laid the foundation for a Spanish-language broadcasting industry that will continue to grow and develop through the 1980s.

The last 20 years have been a period of unprecedented growth for Spanish-language radio. In 1960 there were 163 radio stations in the United States broadcasting some part of their time in Spanish; 11 of these broadcast primarily in Spanish. By 1970, total Spanish-language radio stations had grown to 243 with 25 broadcasting primarily in Spanish. By 1978, there were more than 600 stations broadcasting part-time in Spanish with at least 64 broadcasting primarily in Spanish. (Table 2 provides a list of states which have primary Spanish language broadcasting stations. Data on English-language stations in the same states is provided for comparison in Table 3.)

These stations exhibit distinct patterns of ownership and employment. Of the 64 primarily Spanish-language radio stations currently in operation, 75 percent are owned by Anglos. Almost 90 percent of the primary Spanish-language radio stations in the top ten Spanish-language markets are owned by Anglos. Those Hispanics who do own radio stations tend to be in the smaller, less lucrative markets.

Note, however, that neither Anglo owners nor Hispanic owners provide greater amounts of public service programming. In terms of the types of nonentertainment programming which has been mandated by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), neither Anglo nor Hispanic station owners perform above the norm. This is not to say that neither group of owners is performing in some qualitatively superior manner; it is only to say that there is no quantitative performance difference between the two groups.

While Hispanic and Anglo owners appear to offer the same amounts of public service programming, they do not behave similarly in terms of hiring practices. Eighty-seven percent of the Hispanic-owned stations have management teams in which Hispanics are in the majority, while over half of the Anglo-owned stations have no Hispanic managers at all. Clearly, Hispanic owners do make a difference when it comes to hiring, an important form of industry access for Hispanics interested in careers in broadcasting.

The rapid growth of Spanish-language radio has been accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of television stations offering Spanish-language programs. Though not as great in number or as geographically dispersed, Spanish-language television nonetheless has enjoyed, and will continue to enjoy, significant growth. There are currently 21 television stations offering primary formats in Spanish to Hispanics in the United States. This constitutes 25 percent of all of the independent TV stations in the United States. SIN is now the dominant source of programming to Spanish-language television stations in the United States. By providing programming and selling advertising, SIN has provided an export market for programs produced in Mexico. That market promises to become a major source of revenue for the Mexican corporation, and a boost for the Mexican economy.

SIN itself owns at least five television stations in the United States. While this is well within FCC limitations of station owner-

Much of the data upon which the interpretations in this article are based was gathered by Félix Gutiérrez at the University of Southern California, Loy A. Singleton at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Nicholas Valenzuela at Stanford University, and Elizabeth Mahan at the University of Texas-Austin.

TABLE I
TOTAL U.S. POPULATION VERSUS U.S. HISPANIC POPULATION: 1970 AND 1980

	1970	1980	Increase	
Total U.S.	203,211,900	222,688,100	+19,476,200	+ 9.6%
U.S. Hispanic	9,072,600	14,974,800	+ 5,902,200	+65.1%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE II
STATES WITH PRIMARY SPANISH-LANGUAGE BROADCASTING STATIONS

State	Radio Stations	Television Stations	Total
Arizona	4	1	5
California	24	6	30
Colorado	2		2
Connecticut	2		2
Florida	9	1	10
Illinois	5	1	6
Louisiana	1		1
Massachusetts	1		1
New Jersey	3		3
New Mexico	3		3
New York	2	2	4
Texas	25	2	27

NOTE: The above figures do not include the following Mexican television stations which broadcast from Mexico, but maintain business offices in the United States: XHBC, Mexicali; XEWT, Tijuana; XEJ, Ciudad Juárez; XEPM, Ciudad Juárez; XEFE, Nuevo Laredo.

Source: *Broadcasting Yearbook*, 1979.

TABLE III
ENGLISH-LANGUAGE BROADCASTING STATIONS BY STATE

State	Radio Stations	Television Stations	Total
Arizona	97	14	111
California	479	63	542
Colorado	36	13	49
Connecticut	78	10	88
Florida	341	40	381
Illinois	313	29	342
Louisiana	170	10	180
Massachusetts	155	11	166
New Jersey	95	6	101
New Mexico	94	11	105
New York	336	42	378
Texas	495	58	553

Source: *Broadcasting Yearbook*, 1979.

TABLE IV
PER CAPITA DISTRIBUTION OF BROADCASTING STATIONS IN STATES WITH LARGE HISPANIC POPULATIONS

State	English-Language	Spanish-Language
Arizona	1/22,836	1/106,100
California	1/42,921	1/135,533
Colorado	1/56,612	1/190,350
Connecticut	1/35,738	1/ 53,750
Florida	1/24,317	1/104,760
Illinois	1/33,397	1/111,766
Louisiana	1/22,396	1/ 82,700
Massachusetts	1/34,901	1/ 81,300
New Jersey	1/72,773	1/178,266
New Mexico	1/47,110	1/198,333
New York	1/47,204	1/481,850
Texas	1/29,922	1/130,788

Source: *Broadcasting Yearbook*, 1979.

ship, it represents a sizeable percentage of those stations that are broadcasting in Spanish in the United States. It is not clear what specific effects this ownership pattern has, but the combination of owned and affiliated stations places SIN in a dominant position in the Spanish-language television marketplace.

Moreover, SIN's domination of the market has been no accident. SIN has been a pioneer in implementing major broadcasting technological innovations in the United States since 1976, when the network introduced regular satellite transmissions from Mexico to affiliated stations on a daily basis. Similarly, since 1978 SIN has been locating satellite translators with the ability to transmit independently in certain medium-sized markets, thus avoiding the need for a full-size TV station. SIN has also achieved successful penetration of cable markets by offering SIN programming as an additional cable channel. This creative use of new technologies has given SIN an advantage in the marketplace that it is certain to retain throughout the 1980s.

Clearly, one result of these developments is a heavy dependence on Mexico for programming to Spanish-language television stations in the United States. While it is difficult to specify the extent of this programming dependence, it is likely to have both economic and cultural dimensions. In addition, the dependence on corporate decisions made in Mexico raises some interesting questions for communication policy in the United States.

Communication Policy Issues

Just as the Hispanic population of the United States straddles an important political and economic border, so do U.S. Spanish-language media straddle an important communication border. Spanish-language media, as beneficiaries of the new status enjoyed by U.S. Hispanics, are certain to play an increasingly influential role within the national communications system. The very nature of growing non-English-language mass media in a traditionally English-speaking country is certain to raise policy issues concerning basic social values. The following five communication policy issues are certainly not the only ones that will be raised in the context of Spanish-language media throughout the next 20 years, but these are issues which are likely to increase in importance both within the United States and between the United States and Mexico.

First, Spanish-language media and Spanish-speaking audiences do not appear to be transitory toward assimilation to a dominant culture. Since 1946 when KCOR-AM went on the air in San Antonio as the first all-Spanish radio station, and 1958 when KCOR-TV went on the air as the first Spanish-language television station, there has been a steady growth curve for this industry that has never dipped. While early observers may have been justified in taking a wait-and-see attitude concerning the long-term success of Spanish-language broadcasting, these media are now fixtures on the U.S. broadcasting landscape. Just as the melting pot paradigm has been inadequate in explaining the resistance to assimilation of Hispanics in the United States, the notion of Spanish-language media as transitory has been inadequate in explaining the growth and staying power of Spanish-language broadcasting.

The growth and permanence of Spanish-language broadcasting indicates the need for a rethinking of the traditional U.S. policy response to these media. For example, an agency with limited resources, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), was certainly justified in adopting a benign neglect response to Spanish-language radio and television during these media's formative years. This was especially justifiable since most predictions were that Spanish-language broadcasting would eventually disappear from the broadcasting scene. However, given the failure of that prediction, to persist in a benign neglect strategy has meant the exclusion of these considerations from mainstream policy thinking. While no new strategy is apparent at the present time, the old strategy is clearly no longer viable.

Just as Spanish-language broadcasting was seen as transitory by government agencies, so was the bilingualism of the Hispanic audience assumed to be transitory. However, the continuing presence (indeed growth) of a Spanish-speaking audience is certain to force a politically motivated shift in government policy. In fact, it is possible that the bilingual and Spanish-speaking audience will eventually come to be seen as a special audience with special rights, just as rural Americans, children, and the hearing-impaired are now defined. While this may not be the most appropriate federal response, it does indicate that precedent-setting alternatives exist for determining how to respond to the Hispanic audience.

Second, Hispanics, like all Americans, are moving toward life in an information society. The special linguistic needs of Hispanics, however, create unique obstacles to their achieving effective access to, and participation in, the nation's new communications/information marketplace. While the quality of information on English- and Spanish-language media channels appears to be approximately the same, the greater reliance of Spanish-speaking Americans on fewer media channels places an especially heavy information burden on each of those channels (see table 4). Thus, it is inevitable that some loss of quantity, quality, and diversity occurs when one portion of the population depends on far fewer channels for its critical information. Clearly, communications legislation and regulation have been effective in generating and distributing many mass media information channels throughout the nation, but they do not seem to have been as effective in distributing those channels proportionately among the various groups in the population. As these groups, Hispanics included, gain in economic and political power, these distributional disparities are certain to become controversial issues.

Moreover, it is certain that the introduction of new information technology for consumer use will occur unevenly throughout the 1980s. It is also likely that an advantage will be created for those who gain access to these new information technologies at an early stage. Whether these technologies will produce greater income or status differentials between Hispanics and Anglos is not clear, but as they find their place in U.S. society they will certainly affect the information equity gaps that now exist between various groups and, thus, become a focus in the struggle for information equity which is currently unfolding in the United States.

Minority Entrepreneurship

Third, minority entrepreneurs have been increasingly projected as a vehicle to increase the participation of minorities in U.S. communications industries. The United States has a long history of minority enterprise. While this history tends to appear spotty when one focuses on a specific industry, in the aggregate it is not. The spottiness is due to the fact that those minority enterprises that exist are not evenly spread across all industries. Thus, when one focuses on the telecommunications industry, one finds new minority entrepreneurs. This differential distribution of minority entrepreneurs across industries is the basic crux of the problem of attracting minority entrepreneurs into areas where success has not previously seemed probable.

In fact, it is not that minority entrepreneurs cannot be found, but that they cannot be found with a specific track record—a "problem" that one would predict in newly developing industries, or in industries that have historically been dominated by a few suppliers. In effect, their historical exclusion from a specific industry tends to act as a continuing barrier to their subsequent entry.

This dynamic of present exclusion due to historical exclusion tends to be most critical at the point of financing minority enterprises. The very fact that minorities demonstrate expertise in certain fields encourages banks and lending institutions to canalize minority entrepreneurs into more of the same activities. Although it is difficult to find systematic data, considerable evidence and some support in the literature confirms that Hispanics are more likely to gain financial support for starting a tortilla factory, Blacks

for opening a barbeque restaurant, Asians for opening a laundry, and women for opening a day-care center.

That financial institutions steer minority entrepreneurs in certain directions need not be evidence of a racist conspiracy. Financial institutions, just like everyone else in a free enterprise system, are motivated by both maximizing profits and minimizing losses. Thus, the minority entrepreneur who seems likely to make a profit, and thus guarantee the loan, in a "traditional" industry will consistently look more attractive to a loan officer than the minority entrepreneur who is attempting to make a go of it in an area where few other minority entrepreneurs have gone before. It is this conservatism on the part of financial institutions that gives our entire capitalist system its stability, and it is this same conservatism that keeps minorities in the place that they have historically occupied.

Whether increasing the numbers of minority entrepreneurs will be socially beneficial is an important question. An evaluation of the costs and benefits should consider the following generalizations. First, minority entrepreneurs tend to hire more minorities in positions of managerial responsibility, thus providing a ready means of identifying minority talent for the rest of the industry. Second, they are likely to provide important opportunities for minority subcontractors and suppliers who might find themselves discriminated against in the general marketplace. In this way, minority entrepreneurs seem to be an important means of accelerating minority involvement in related portions of the industry. (This is especially so when considering the structure of the telecommunications industry.) Third, minority entrepreneurs show little evidence of behaving in a more socially responsible manner than do majority entrepreneurs. It is a false hope to expect past inequities in the society to be rectified by the simple expedient of increasing the numbers of minority entrepreneurs.

Mexico–U.S. Communication

Fourth, Spanish-language radio and television in the United States constitute a series of very complex information resource flows between the United States and Mexico. This has direct implications for international communication policy. The Spanish-speaking sector of the U.S. mass media is enmeshed in a web of international dependency relationships between the United States and Mexico. The very measures of U.S. media domination (for example, ownership, program penetration, corporate domination, and employment discrimination) that have been found to occur in developing countries with a media dependency relationship to the United States are also found here at home, at least between U.S. Spanish-language television and Mexico.

Yet, these mass media dependency relationships should not be seen solely as vehicles for cultural imperialism. The resilience of the U.S. Hispanic population in the face of strong assimilation pressures by dominant U.S. institutions, and the striking growth of Spanish-language broadcast media, indicate the potential for these mass media to act as a force for cultural reinforcement as well. Clearly, the information resource dependency relationships described here are not simple. Rather, they operate at many levels. That these dependency relationships seem to be very complex in their dimensions is a signal that the whole issue of international media relationships is not going to be easy to unravel. Sorting out these various information resource dependency relationships is going to take time—time that is increasingly unavailable in light of a rapidly changing global communications environment.

Finally, the question of bilingualism as a national policy will continue to dominate all communication policy discussions of the relationships between Anglos and Hispanics. Any consideration of communication policy as it applies to U.S. Hispanics is certain to focus eventually on the issue of national bilingualism. Moreover, any raising of the question of national bilingualism is equally likely to evoke passionate responses from all interested parties.

The controversiality of bilingualism is likely to continue undiminished through the decade; yet the continuation of Spanish as a dominant language among Hispanics is real. While there are indications that some English is being learned by the majority of Hispanics, there are few, if any, indications that Spanish is being lost as a primary language by the children of immigrants. Indeed, this phenomenon is noteworthy because it has persisted in the face of varying levels of official negligence and hostility (at this point, it is difficult to tell what real effect on linguistic behavior programs such as bilingual education have had).

What can be predicted, however, is that public discourse on the subject will be heated, often based on ideological beliefs, often grounded in strong emotions. Still, it is possible that we have already made the turn that is taking us in the direction of national bilingualism. And that decision, quite possibly, was made not in the public sector where decisions are highly visible, but in the private sector where decisions are often hard to observe. In fact, since the mid-1970s, an increasing number of corporations have made decisions—solely motivated out of a desire for more sales—that have resulted in Spanish-language advertisements, commercials, displays, sales personnel, and entertainment programming. While the primary intent of those efforts is clear, and the outcomes have been successful, it is also possible that they are having the effect of institutionalizing Spanish as the second language of commerce. As such, these commerical efforts may represent the crucial step in the direction of national bilingualism.

It is indeed ironic that national bilingualism may come to the United States through the persistent efforts of U.S. business, since resistance to increased federally supported bilingual programs has traditionally also come from leaders of the business community, acting as individuals. Business leaders are by no means the only ones who have resisted efforts to institutionalize bilingualism, but their actions are indicative of the many contradictions that are plaguing Americans on this issue.

The United States is not yet an officially bilingual nation, though in reality, it *is* a bilingual nation. Nor is the final outcome of the struggle over national bilingualism apparent. What is certain is that the outcome of this struggle will have a fundamental effect on communication policy, and on the development of communications services.

Difficult Issues

The concerns projected in this article will not be easily resolved. For one thing, they are so deeply woven into the fabric of the society that they are not specific to any one sector. Yet the growth of the Hispanic population will have a profound impact on the social and economic development of the United States. To consign all of these issues to the responsibility of government is to close one's eyes to developments that government is ill-prepared to address alone. Moreover, such a position represents a two-faced behavior on the part of the private sector, for example, since the consistent posture of those in that sector has been to demand less government involvement in the affairs of business. These issues are clearly the affairs of business, as well as government.

The social changes that the Twenty-first Century will witness are in their embryonic stages today; their maturity is not far off. Proponents of the new information revolution assert that it will demand a revolution in our thinking and behavior. They should also be prepared to demand a revolution in their own.

As the United States beings to face up to itself as a culturally pluralistic nation, the role of all mass media as distributors of cultural information will change in the public perspective. The traditional sense of U.S. nationalism as one nation and one language is inexorably fading. As it fades, the nation will embark on a search for new definitions and new identities. Perhaps this is the biggest issue of all.

Assessing the CASA Study

by Carmen Avila

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Photo by Toni Breiter

Michael Burgoon at CASA press conference.

A recently completed study on the mass media orientations of Hispanics reports that Hispanic Americans do not maintain negative attitudes toward their local media. Funded by the Gannett Company, Inc., Project CASA (Communications and Spanish Speaking Americans) further concludes that "Hispanics are generally more positive about all forms of media coverage than are Anglos."

These are some of the overall findings of CASA's major research effort conducted through the Michigan State University (MSU). Although other studies have focused specifically on the media attitudes and usage of Hispanic Americans, none have been as extensive as the CASA study. Data was integrated from Hispanic adults, adolescents, children, and community leaders, and from local Anglo media executives.

Project CASA reflects the first systematic and comprehensive media research of the fastest growing minority in the United States—Hispanic Americans. Population figures from 1980 census data report a 14.6 million population for Hispanics. According to a 1980 market profile of Hispanics conducted by the Strategy Research Corporation (SRC) and sponsored by the National Association of Spanish Broadcasters (NASB), if Hispanics continue to experience their present growth rate of 6.5 times that of the general population, they will reach 20 million by 1986, 25 million by the late 1990s, and approximately 41 million by the year 2000.

Although Hispanics have been gradually accepted into the mainstream of society, they have nevertheless been rendered an "invisible" status. Considering their population growth and their potential political and economic influence, it is no longer socially or economically feasible to ignore the Hispanic community. The NASB study reports, "The recent 'discovery' and growing appreciation of the Hispanic population as a distinct market segment reflects the sense of permanence attributed to the Hispanic community by American society."

Project CASA is the first media research of its kind to initiate the public recognition of Hispanics that is long overdue. During a 15-month endeavor, CASA researched the mass media perceptions, attitudes, and overall useage of Hispanic Americans in seven selected sites. In an attempt to continue the research effort, this article will analyze several elements of the methodology and subsequent findings.

Certain limitations were inherent in the methodology, and these limitations resulted primarily from the selection of the sites and differences in data gathering techniques. During a public information and dissemination effort conducted in Washington, D.C., in March, which included a press conference and panel discussion, the CASA research team made reference to some of those limitations. While introducing the report at the press conference, Michael Burgoon, Professor of Communication at MSU and one of the principle researchers on the project, said, "I think it is important to begin by stating what we do have and what we do not have. We recognize that we are primarily talking about Mexican Americans, as their own identification, in those seven Southwestern communities. So it [the study] is limited to that group of people. It is a regional study with some large numbers in terms of interviews, but we're still talking about the Southwestern part of America with this sample and there are different Hispanic populations that we probably cannot generalize to in other parts of the country."

The Advisory Board to the study, composed of five Hispanic media researchers and professionals,* cautioned on the interpretation of the data, adding that they hope this study will generate further analysis of Hispanics in general, and of their media habits in particular. Two limitations—site selection and differences in methodology—are the focus of this analysis. It is by no means an exhaustive analysis; however, it is another step in attempting to present an accurate portrayal of the Hispanic American reality.

To initiate the analysis, it is necessary to introduce the primary objectives of the study and the various methods used to obtain the data. As described in the reports, Project CASA focused on four major objectives: (1) to identify the mass media use of Hispanics, (2) to analyze their attitudes toward the mass media, (3) to examine the news coverage of Hispanics, and (4) to explore the relationships between Hispanic community leaders and their local mass media.

Composed of Hispanic professionals and academicians in media-related fields, the Advisory Board to the study played a reactive role. They were not directly involved in the planning, design, or implementation of the study but were consulted during the initial construction of the methodology and during the process, and made recommendations and suggestions, several of which, according to members of the research team, were incorporated into the study.

The criteria for selection of the sites, in order of importance, included: (a) a the

*Project CASA's Advisory Board was composed of Félix Gutiérrez, Associate Professor, School of Journalism, University of Southern California at Los Angeles; Antonio Guernica, Executive Vice President, National Association of Spanish Broadcasters; Olga Lozano, Deputy Director, Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs, State of Michigan; Jorge Reina Schement, Associate Professor, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Southern California; and Rosa Morales, freelance print and broadcast journalist in Michigan.

existence of a Gannett-owned newspaper in the area to facilitate the study process for the researchers, and (b) the presence of a minimum of 20 percent Hispanic population according to 1970 census data, which at the time was the only data available to the research team. All of the sites selected for study were located in the Southwestern region of the United States, representing three urban and four rural settings. California claimed the four rural sites: Salinas, San Bernardino, Stockton, and Visalia. In New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, the three urban populations were Santa Fe, Tucson, and El Paso, respectively. In selecting these sites, the researchers felt that by concentrating in certain regions, and consequently concentrating on a particular Hispanic subgroup, the data obtained would be sounder and more comprehensive in nature.

Interpreting the Findings

Several factors influenced the decision to deal with only one Hispanic group. According to Bradley Greenberg, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Communication at MSU and one of the researchers, of major concern throughout the design and implementation of the study were budget considerations and attempts at obtaining as representative a body of data as possible from one particular Hispanic group—Mexican Americans in the Southwest. However, although the research team recognizes that the overall Hispanic community was not represented in the research effort, the study does not adequately represent even the media orientations of the Mexican American community in general. Rather, it depicts media attitudes and perceptions of several distinct markets in the Southwest. Although Mexican Americans are the primary Hispanic group concentrated in the Southwestern region, the conclusions reached by the study reflect broad and general assumptions from seven selected markets in the Southwest and not of the Mexican American population in general.

It is necessary for those who would use this study to recognize this fact and to interpret the findings as representative only of the communities selected and not of Hispanics in the United States. Félix Gutiérrez, spokesman for the Advisory Board to CASA, stated it quite clearly at the public presentation of the findings in March: "This is not a national study but a study primarily of Chicano media use in small- and medium-size daily newspaper markets in the Southwest. Data should not be represented as that, nor as representative of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, *and even not of Chicanos in the urban Southwest* [emphasis added]. . . . The results must be interpreted within the medium environments from which they were gathered and from the methods that were used."

TABLE I
TOP 30 HISPANIC ADIs
1980

Rank	ADI*	Hispanic Population (thousands)
1.	New York	2,329.8
2.	Los Angeles	2,256.8
3.	San Antonio	849.6
4.	Miami	767.4
5.	San Francisco	705.8
6.	Chicago	660.1
7.	McAllen - Brownsville	533.8
8.	El Paso	474.3
9.	Albuquerque	465.6
10.	Houston	459.4
11.	Phoenix	311.6
12.	Fresno	298.6
13.	Corpus Christi	293.8
14.	San Diego	274.4
15.	Sacramento - Stockton	274.4
16.	Dallas - Forth Worth	257.0
17.	Denver	232.0
18.	Philadelphia	183.0
19.	Tucson	182.1
20.	Austin	139.8
21.	Tampa - St. Petersburg	133.2
22.	Lubbock	128.7
23.	Salinas - Monterey	108.6
24.	Laredo	106.9
25.	Odessa - Midland	104.2
26.	Colorado Springs - Pueblo	102.5
27.	Washington, D.C.	100.0
28.	El Centro - Yuma	79.5
29.	Detroit	70.8
30.	Waco - Temple	67.7
Total		12,955.6
Top 30 as Percent of Total U.S. Hispanic		86.5%

Source: Strategy Research Corporation, *U.S. Hispanics-A Market Profile, 1980.*

*ADI: Areas of Dominant Influence, as defined by Arbitron, include U.S. counties and exclude non-U.S. areas.

It has been well documented that the Hispanic population is largely an urban population and geographically concentrated in certain regions. In the NASB/SRC study mentioned earlier, 30 U.S. Hispanic markets were identified and ranked according to population estimates (see Table I).

After reviewing the table, one notes that with the exception of El Paso and Tucson, which rank eighth and nineteenth respectively, no other Hispanic market included in the top 30 list was selected for study. When asked at the press conference if the criterion of the presence of a Gannett-owned newspaper in any way influenced the results of the study by excluding some of the largest urban markets, Burgoon explained that the choice of communities was made by the research team and depended largely upon the need for good working relationships with the media in the community. The cooperation of the local media was essential to the success of the project, Burgoon said, and although Gannett guarantees autonomy to its individual media, ownership by Gannett apparently offered some measure of assured cooperation from local newspapers. According to Burgoon, if the researchers had presented Gannett with a compelling reason to include some of the larger markets, such as Los Angeles (which does not have a Gannett-owned product), in the study, Gannett would have had no objections. The reasons for exclusion of large urban areas, then, were not related to Gannett criteria, but rather to the selection process devised by the research team. While the costs of surveying representative markets would probably have been higher, it would seem advantageous to include such markets in any report on the media habits of "Hispanics."

The fact that this study is the first of its kind in scope and ambition presents a number of advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage is the unavailability of similar data to conduct comparative analyses. In studies of this kind, there is a tendency to generalize the results and apply them to the population as a whole. Careful interpretation of the results must be considered before making assumptions of the media habits of Hispanics. The information generated from the CASA effort should be used only as representative of those Mexican American communities surveyed and not as the baseline data for Hispanic media use in general.

Regarding the methodology, data was gathered through a number of different techniques. Telephone interviews were used to obtain the Hispanic and Anglo adult data. Written questionnaires were distributed to Hispanic and Anglo fifth and tenth graders for the adolescent and children responses. Community leaders were surveyed through individual interviews and group discussions. Conferences were held with local newspaper publishers and Hispanic reporters and local newspapers were analyzed for content and style. Local radio and television news programs were randomly selected for content analyses.

Because different methods were used in obtaining the data, variations in the responses appeared. For example, the telephone survey results obtained from Hispanic and Anglo adults dispute the findings derived from the community leader personal surveys. It is important to note this discrepancy since the results of the telephone method report that "Hispanics are relatively satisfied with the local mass media's performance as sources of information. Although Hispanics are concerned about specific kinds of coverage in their community, these concerns do not lead to generalized negative attitudes about the media in America."

According to Judee Burgoon, Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in MSU's Department of Communication and another of the principal investigators,* "We had been led to believe that Hispanics would have a very negative view toward the media, they would feel that the media were racist, they would feel alienated from the media and distrustful of it. Our results are very contrary to this. First of all, on overall satisfaction with the three major media, Hispanics are *more* satisfied than Anglos with newspapers, they are *more* satisfied with television news, and they are *equally* satisfied with radio coverage." Yet responses generated from the community leaders contradict the findings derived from the adult interviews. Community leaders expressed personal dissatisfaction with the local media practices.

*The fourth principal investigator was Felipe Korzenny, Assistant Professor of Communication at MSU.

Varying Techniques

In obtaining these sets of responses, different data gathering techniques were used. For example, the adult responses were obtained through a telephone survey totaling 96 to 98 questions with a duration period of one-half hour to an hour. All of the seven sites were surveyed with a total of 1,703 respondents represented by 820 Hispanics, 765 Anglos, and 118 others, 18 years of age or older.

The disadvantages of the telephone interview process are many. First of all, the interviewer has no opportunity to legitimize his or her position through the presentation of appropriate documentation, be it a letter of introduction or another credential. Consequently, the interviewer is limited in the kinds of questions that can be asked. Because of the limited amount of time that the interviewer is likely to keep the respondent on the telephone, the telephone interview is generally kept short. Usually, 10 to 15 minutes at the maximum is appropriate; any longer is unrealistic in terms of obtaining accurate information.

Another disadvantage of this method of obtaining data is the inability of the interviewer to visually monitor the nonverbal behavior of the respondent. This prevents the kind of subjective impressions which would normally arise during a personal interview. And lastly, the sample cannot be representative of all the persons in the community since not all the residents have a telephone. The fact that all potential community residents are not accessible is a serious shortcoming of the telephone interview.

One of the most appealing factors of the telephone technique is the cost factor, which is relatively lower than for a person-to-person interview, with the call-back procedures being simple and economical. Also, this method allows the interviewer to reach a greater number of persons in a relatively short period of time. Supervising the operation is much easier than in a person-to-person interview where the interviewer has to drive to the location, identify the home, and find the proper respondent. However, because of the problems inherent in this type of approach, it is of limited value in providing a detailed study.

In contrast to the telephone method of collecting data, the person-to-person interview permits a more comprehensive coverage of the audience to be studied. Longer schedules and a wider range of questions are possible with this technique. The interviewer can interpret the questions which are not understood and can document the subjective feelings from the interview. He or she can also encourage further information when such is deemed important. By explaining the questions, the interviewer can increase the respondent's understanding of its meaning.

In conducting the community leader survey, in-depth individual and group interviews were arranged with 88 Hispanic leaders in the seven Southwestern sites. Three four-person group interviews and three individual interviews were conducted in each community with three types of individuals whose occupation or leadership position represented a different perspective of the community, including the following groups: (1) educators and religious leaders engaged in the transmission of cultural information, (2) business persons and professionals with contact with a large number of Hispanics, and (3) grassroots leaders distinguished in community work who closely related to the working class and the most deprived segments of Hispanic Americans.

The names of Hispanic leaders in the community were initially provided by local Gannett newspaper publishers. Those leaders were contacted and in turn were asked to identify other influential individuals in the local Hispanic community. The interviewers were social scientists with multicultural backgrounds and knowledge of the Spanish language and culture. The interview lasted one-and-one-half to two hours and focused on interviewees' judgements of how well the Anglo-owned local media served the Hispanic community.

It is interesting to note that this method provided the most revealing information. Highlights from the community leader interviews express a personal dissatisfaction with their local media's treatment of Hispanics. "The community leaders shared the belief that local media coverage of Hispanics was racist, that it focused primarily on crime and other negative activities, and that it ignored newsworthy Hispanic individual and community events," the report says. "Local media employment practices were also believed to discriminate against Hispanics. . . . Negative media portrayals were blamed for perpetuating a poor self-image and lack of

(Continued on page 60.)

An Interview With Some Experts

by Toni Breiter

In preparation for this special issue on Hispanics and the Media, an interview was arranged with five leading Hispanics in the media to discuss various aspects of the topic. Interviewees were Félix Gutiérrez, Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of Southern California and past Executive Director of the California Chicano News Media Association; Antonio Guernica, Executive Vice President and cofounder of the National Association of Spanish Broadcasters (NASB), and Editor of *U.S. Hispanics—A Market Profile;* Nicholas Valenzuela, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Communications at Stanford University who formerly worked in the Office of Communications Research at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB); Jorge Reina Schement, Associate Professor at the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Southern California and a recent Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Communications Research at Stanford University; and Rosa Morales, a freelance print and broadcast journalist in Lansing, Michigan, who recently returned from one month as a consulting journalist in the Dominican Republic under the Partners of the Americas Journalist Exchange Program. What follows is a condensed and edited version of that interview.

Agenda: Let's start with a discussion of Hispanics and print media. Do print media for Hispanics exist at the local level or the regional level? What is happening with print in the Hispanic community? Where is it going?

Gutiérrez: What we are seeing out in California is more print orientation for our audiences. This takes the form of some of the regional magazines that are issue-oriented—*Caminos, Low Rider, Q-VO, Firme*—which are youth-oriented magazines generally directed at our young people who are into cars or fashion. We still see the carry-over of the newspapers of the late 1960s and the early 1970s, but they have more of a financial base. Their tenor is not as political because the tenor of our community is not, but they still tend to be activist—papers like *El Tecolote* in San Francisco and *El Chicano* in the San Bernardino area. And on campus the Chicano student press is very strong, the alternative newspapers put out by and for Chicano students as an alternative to the mainstream newspapers.

Agenda: How successful are they?

Gutiérrez: They survive. And I think that survival is a measure of success at this point. I don't know of anybody who's getting very rich with them, but the magazines keep coming out. If a magazine folds a new one pops up. If a newspaper goes under another one takes its place. So we have a consistent form of media available to our people.

Schement: It may be important to see the growth of Latino-oriented magazines in the context of the growth of magazines in the United States. There has been a tremendous explosion of titles of magazines in the United States and that may be as much a cause of the space available in the market for more specialized Latino magazines as anything else. My guess is that Latinos had a demand for news and information about themselves a long time ago. And yet, the avenues were not there because of available technology, progress, or whatever. Now we've seen an explosion all across the United States.

Guernica: That's very true, not only in the print media, but also in broadcasting, just in terms of targeting of the audience, or segmentation of the audience. In magazines, there's *Skiing, Road and Track, Photography,* and so on, magazines that go after very specific, very specialized topics. Even the advertisers are already identified because of the content. Economically, it makes a lot of sense to do that. Also, in the case of the *Miami Herald* and its Spanish version, *El Miami Herald,* they cover many of the same stories yet they have two editorial staffs, one for the Spanish version and one for the English version. That's something that you'll probably see more of as people become more aware of the market and the potential.

Agenda: Are most of these printed media bilingual, and should they be?

Gutiérrez: Most of the successful ones have some Spanish. The newspapers, though, tend to use more Spanish than the magazines do, and the Spanish-language magazine content that our people use, at least out where I live, is largely imported from Mexico.

Guernica: I would say more than that. Just about all of the most successful Spanish magazines come from outside the country and not only from Mexico. DeArmas Publications in New York represents a whole series of special magazines, but all of those cover content from outside of the U.S., from the country of origin of the Hispanic population rather than from within the U.S.

Agenda: How do you account for their huge success when Hispanic American publications are floundering?

Gutiérrez: They have a good advertising base. We're still a secondary audience to those magazines and they are mainly replicating with the print media what has already been done with film, television, records. Spanish-language media are largely produced in Latin America for Latin American audiences in Latin American countries and then exported to Spanish-speaking Latinos in the United States as a secondary audience. They can print more cheaply there, produce more cheaply.

Schement: They also cover the cost of broadcasting from the primary audience, than what they receive from the secondary audience is additional profit.

Guernica: The fact is that there are no magazines within the U.S. that provide that type of information. I'm not saying that's the only information that U.S. Hispanics want. But definitely, those magazines are providing content that U.S. Hispanic magazines, or any U.S. magazines, are not.

Morales: Like *Vanidades* for women, which is very popular. I read it whenever I get access to it. But limited as it is in Lansing, it's only when I go to Mexico that I read the copies that my friends or family have. People who do have access to these magazines purchase them and then pass them on, which is one example of how I get it.

Valenzuela: The same type of thing has been going on with the television media. We've said right here, about print, that very little of it has been produced in the U.S. strictly for the consumption of the Latinos here in the U.S. Same thing is happening on television. Very little of the programming that has been in Spanish, or has been aimed specifically toward Latinos, has been produced within the U.S., produced specifically for this group. Much of what we get on television, in fact a large, large percentage of it, is produced primarily for Mexican audiences and then brought to the United States as a secondary audience to recover more profit right off the top. This is the same thing that the U.S. has been doing with other countries throughout the world in the past. Only now, Mexico is doing it. And this is a unique case in the world, where a Third World country is exporting live daily to a First World industrial country. I think that's very important. The point is that there are needs that are not being met for U.S. Latinos. And the programming that is produced for another group, the Mexicans, is trying to fill that need because the need is so great. Yet neither the Mexican producers nor the U.S. producers have recognized the need as unique and only the Mexicans are even willing to talk about the fact that this is the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country, and if you compare the income levels of Hispanics from this group, it's much higher than the other four countries that are in that level. This makes it a very prime market, which only the Mexicans are considering. The U.S. has largely ignored it.

Guernica: Even though Hispanics have a much lower median income than the general population, they are, in fact, the richest Latinos in the world in terms of per capita income.

Agenda: How badly will this proliferation of media from other countries, chiefly Mexico, into the United States affect Hispanic Americans' ability to own media, to operate media? What kind of a damper is it putting on Hispanic entrepreneurship?

Gutiérrez: It cuts us off from certain levels of participation. We are consumers of media, but we are not producers of media. We are distributors of media, but we are not the people making the records or performing on the records. So it cultivates us as a market but little else. We're a second-hand market for the Anglos, and we're also a second-hand market for the Latinos. Now they are starting to produce a little bit more for us, particularly in movies, and there are movies about Chicanos being produced on both sides of the border, but we're still not the people in them.

Morales: It also raises the question: By whose cultural standards are we living? By that I mean, as descendants of Mexicans in this country, is our culture reinforced because we are force-fed, so to speak, whatever it is that is carried on the airwaves and on the printed page? Among women, a concern of mine, are we being reinforced to behave in a certain way, or to believe certain things, or to read certain things that are applicable to the women or men here? Perhaps the lifestyles, the values, the cultures may be changing in this country. By being exposed to certain messages that we get from those publications or those programs, are we just reinforcing our own culture? Are we being denied the access and the possibility of perhaps having our own culture? Are we being denied the access and the possibility of perhaps having our own expression, when it may vary from what the expression is in those countries? I'm talking about editorial statements, values, and those kinds of things that become apparent when we read a story about *la familia,* about birth control, about the Church. All of those things are very strong in our Latin countries, and I'm not saying they're not strong in this country; I'm just laying that out as a question. Do we have that access now to say what it is that we are experiencing as first-generation, second-generation, third-generation descendants of Latinos in this country? That's very important and I don't think any studies have evaluated it to any extent.

Schement: Coming from the other end, looking at the industry, for example, we are really talking about a lot of things. Some of those industries are experiencing very rapid growth, such as the magazine industry and the telecommunications industry. And in those two areas, you'll also see certain small but detectable entries into minority entrepreneurships. My guess is that what is happening in most industries is fast growth. There's more than enough room for the big players and the big suppliers of those products, and that's where we seem to be having a certain amount of growth. In the industries where there doesn't seem to be much growth, because there are too few suppliers or the suppliers are taking up all of the available capital, all of the available distribution, such as newspapers and the television industry, there doesn't seem to be much reflex. There's a long-term effect of that. My guess is the Latinos who are going to supply spare parts through Latino-owned telecommunications industries are going to have work available for some time. And Latinos who are interested in producing television programs which are locked into a system right now are limited by very few suppliers, who probably aren't going to have much demand for their services. For Latinos in the film

industry, it seems to be opening up a little bit in the United States, and they seem to be making tentative contacts with Latin America. To me, the overall lesson is that for the foreseeable future we are going to be secondary participants in these markets.

Guernica: In the same way, in terms of Spanish programming—television, radio, even Spanish print—the market is growing to such an extent that there will be room, and it will become financially profitable for Latinos and for anyone else to get into the process of producing programming. Right now the programming that is being offered is coming from outside the country because it's much cheaper to buy a ready-produced program than to produce one here. While it does make economic sense to do that, the production companies within the United States can, at least on a limited basis, start producing their own programming and catering to the U.S. Hispanic audience in a much more effective way than the programming that is being currently offered. And it should be pointed out that, given the limited national production in the United States, imported Spanish broadcasting is providing a service to the U.S. Hispanic community. I don't think that can be denied.

Morales: But that also raises again the other side of that argument. We have Latino actors in this country who argue that they don't have jobs here because of the imported product. We have this pool of actors who go begging and have to take whatever job they get, regardless of the role. Oftentimes they are roles they would *not* like to take, but because of the scarcity of roles, they are forced to take them in order to survive. I'm not saying all imported product is to be denied, but we have our own pool here, our own talent—the screenwriters, producers, or what have you. Our technical abilities do not go untapped because of this product being cheaper.

Gutiérrez: They get redirected. You get actors and actresses acting in *Boulevard Nights, Walk Proud,* those gang movies that come out. They have to take those roles. If they were appearing in shows that were being shown to our people, then we would have a greater proportion of Latino actors, writers, directors.

Valenzuela: If it does happen in the future, it's going to happen by a creative mix of all these things that we've been talking about. The reason given, many times, as to why there isn't more media produced from the U.S., by U.S. Latinos, for U.S. consumption specifically, is because of the cost of producing it and the economics of the industry, which means that they cannot recover a profit from distributing strictly here in the United States. The way that may be overcome is by having people that are familiar with this area, that can produce material for U.S. Latinos in a cheaper environment, perhaps in Mexico or a country that has the industry developed to an extent that they can produce this sophisticated product. If it does happen, if someone starts producing programming for television, radio, or print media, specifically for U.S. Latinos, it's going to happen in that type of merger—cross- or transnational.

Agenda: Is that something you feel comfortable with?

Valenzuela: I'm not sure I'm commenting on that. I'm simply drawing from what I understand about television industries and the changes that are coming. As it is right now, they have had no reason to have to produce programming for U.S. Latinos. They have had a cheap, easily available product. In the future, because of increasing pressure by advertisers to segment that audience, and because of the changing nature of the television industry—satellite, cable, video disc—they are going by necessity to have to segment the audience further and the advertisers are going to demand that they get more specific about which types of audiences they are attracting: English-speaking Latinos, Spanish-speaking Latinos, women only, men only, children's programs, and so on.

Guernica: We're talking about media going after specific kinds of audiences. But for it to make sense to the advertiser, you have to be able to document the audience. You have to do research in terms of the audience that you are reaching, when you are reaching them, how many you are reaching, and so on. That is an area where marketing information on the U.S. Hispanic population is very, very hard to find. That is one specific area where the Spanish media in this country, for one reason or another, just haven't devoted their resources, and they should, because you have to have a market, you have to be able to prove that you have a market, and confirm the market, and describe it before you have anything to offer to the advertiser. Because that's really what you offer—the audience.

Gutiérrez: Spanish media haven't had to defend their claims because they could just take the census figures for the town or whatever which they serve, and because they are the only Spanish TV station or whatever in the area, they could claim that they were reaching all those people. Now there's going to be a multiplicity of media sources going after our people and they're going to have to justify what share they are getting. As Latinos become a greater proportion of the potential market share of those communities, the Anglo media—the network-affiliated TV stations, mainline newspapers—are going to pay more attention to whether or not they are getting their percentage of our community watching their TV stations, reading their newspapers; or are getting a younger population who are more family-oriented than the Anglo population and are, therefore, a better target for newspapers and mainstream television. We're already seeing the marketing studies that major media corporations are doing. Because they're located in cities in which Latinos are a good-size percentage of the population, they have to start looking at us and deciding what they need to put out to attract us.

Schement: An additional factor here is that in those media where the distribution channel is fixed locally, in other words, in cable whose franchises are local cable as opposed to magazines which are distributed nationally and don't have a specific entrance to any particular city, as a market segment Latinos would become increasingly important. What we will see happening in some cable franchises is that the Latino market segment, when offered a supply of information in Spanish, will buy into the cable very early. What happens then, in the long run, is that those early cable subscribers, who are Latinos, end up subsidizing the cable franchise at the stage when it's getting started. So they end up basically subsidizing all of the Anglo cable buyers who end up buying it later.

Agenda: The telecommunications industry is burgeoning, but there doesn't yet seem to be a lot of Hispanic activity in cable or in any other area of telecommunications. Why do you think that is? We're talking about ownership and control of media. Is there one factor that is keeping Hispanics out of these areas? Is it money? Is it lack of expertise, lack of information, unavailability of technology?

Schement: I have a couple of points to consider. One, I'm not sure that I agree with you that the Hispanic activity in cable is low. My guess, and this is just a guess, is that if you add up the total amount of money invested by Latinos in the U.S. across the different kinds of media, you would find a very sizeable percentage of it being invested in cable. And if we add on to that the traditional sources of video programming coming from outside of the U.S., then we see a terrific growth of cable, faster, in terms of outlooks and amounts of money invested, than in any other of the media segments. But we should differentiate between investors who are basically foreign investors and investors who are domestic entrepreneurs. And the domestic entrepreneurs are investing, but they're not hitting as big a percentage of the pie.

Agenda: If you were to advise Hispanics about the potentially most profitable area to get into, what would you recommend?

Gutiérrez: I'd tell them to get into distribution. Buy the rights to programs and sell them to a multiplicity of sources, because the market is burgeoning right now. With a television show, or a record, or a concert, you can sell it to commercial TV, you can sell it to the local stations, you can sell it to a cable outlet. You could sell the same product over and over again. It is less capital intensive, because you're buying products that are produced by other people and you're offering an alternative to them. We don't see the activity there, though. Most people want to be owners, so they're going after low-power UHF stations, they're going for VHF properties, etc. They're going after technologies that may not be around in 15 years, or they may be. We also see Latinos trying to buy their way into radio stations. With some of the large media corporations, while they're not dropping radio, they're putting their new money into tentative investments. The greatest single place to make money is distribution. Let other people buy the stations, let other people take those risks. People are always going to be buying video discs, video tapes, and things like this.

Valenzuela: It's just as viable to consider the production aspect as well. While I don't think it would be as profitable as the distribution, I think it's a more conservative area and in the long run an area that will be stable, and there will always be a need for it. And because it is producing material, it can then distribute, it can then sell its product to various distributors, and not have to worry about which one of them is going to make it and which one isn't going to make it.

Guernica: It would be fantastic to own a cable system in that the economic connections between the cable company and the program consumers are very direct. You need a relatively small audience not only to support the programming, but also for the cable system to make money. And though the initial investment might be somewhat high, you'd have the potential to hook up, for instance, 30 or more very well-defined audiences that are different, and appeal to each one of them on an individual basis. They're not going to be watching 30 different channels at one time; they are going to be particularly intereted in one channel and they will pay for that channel. So you can reach up to 30 different audiences with the same technology.

Valenzuela: Where are we going to get that programming from?

Guernica: From the distributor.

Valenzuela: They're going to have 30 different channels to distribute on, and they're going to have distributors to get some programming from? Where's the programming going to come from? You have a limited supply. There are only so many movies that are available right now. Mexico's not producing that very many more. Neither is Venezuela, Ecuador, or Argentina. Neither is anybody else for that matter. Where are they going to come from? The American ones are limited as well, and the English-speaking cable companies are going to consume those fast. There's got to be more production.

Guernica: I agree totally with you, and I think right now the avenues of programming are limited. But once the demand is created, then definitely, if it makes money sense for somebody to start producing that programming, then they'll start producing and they'll make it available to you.

Schement: That's good classical economics. It would not surprise me if, once the cable market differentiates itself, and once cable suppliers perceive that there is a demand for more than one Spanish-speaking channel, we will have the growth perhaps of Europe, the same types of industries that they have in Europe, which are dubbing. To dub a program from one language to another is a very cheap way of making that program available. Our experience with Latin American audiences, in Latin America, is that they are perfectly willing to watch dubbed programs, provided they come from certain countries. It's not clear to me what the cultural biases are that make those countries apparently preferred, but there is a market for dubbed programming. We may come to that. We may even come to that in English to the extent that our distribution channels outstrip the supply.

Guernica: Looking into the future, I can even see the possibility of having a computer that would instantly translate into the other language.

Valenzuela: Why is it that we don't have English programs dubbed in Spanish in the United States when there is so much of it in Mexico and in other countries?

Schement: I think for three reasons. One of them is legal. The other one is that up until now the availability of channels has not been very great and those channels that have been available have been able to make more money by providing programming in English than they have perceived to be able to make in Spanish. And then the third reason is that we just haven't been able to invest that kind of money in it. That's why I say *when* the number of channels outskirts the supply, we will start looking for ways to invest our money.

Gutiérrez: We're seeing that already. Some of the non-SIN [Spanish International Network] TV channels in the U.S. are showing reurns of old dubbed versions of *The High Chaparral.* They were probably exported to Latin America back in the 1960s, whenever it came out, and now we have it right back from them.

Schement: My prediction is that when the number of channels outskirts the supply, the suppliers will put terrific pressure on the copyright laws to change, so that a free dubbing system can be developed. We are very likely to see, on Televisa for example, not only just in programming that originates in Mexico but in programming that originates in the United States, that the program was dubbed in Mexico.

Gutiérrez: Also, as more channels open up for distribution, producers and distributors will sell less rights. They will not sell exclusive rights because they're going to want the opportunity to resell their product to the networks, to cable systems, to a video disc manufacturer, to a video cassette manufacturer, to a lot of different other services. So there will be less exclusivity in rights.

Agenda: To what extent does government regulation, FCC regulations, etc., contribute to the lack of proliferation of Hispanic ownership? How much does it stymie the Hispanic?

Schement: In terms of ownership? I would say the FCC and the Office of the President of NTIA (National Telecommunications Information Administration) have stymied minority ownership through deregulation. That is, they've allowed market forces to operate the marketplace, and essentially what they do is make sure that those who are already in the marketplace, and particularly those who are the largest players, are going to dominate the marketplace. What they've done is crystalize the historic developments so the new players have an even harder time than they might have had before.

Gutiérrez: So, they count the gains in the number of minority owners on the fingers of one or two hands. On paper, it looks as though they're making a significant effort, but when you look at the actual numbers of Latinos who are benefiting from these programs, it's really very small.

Agenda: On a personal level, what obstacles did you encounter as Hispanics entering the media as a profession?

Gutiérrez: I couldn't get in. In 1967 I had a Master's Degree in Journalism from Northwestern. In undergraduate school I had been Editor of my school paper and the college won an award for the best student newspaper in the State of California, and I couldn't get a job. It was easier for me to get into a Ph.D. program at Stanford in communications than to get a job with a newspaper in the late 1960s/early 1970s.

Schement: The only way I got hired at the School of Communications at the University of Texas with a Ph.D. from Stanford was when the Mexican American Studies Program offered to pay half my salary, even with a bilingual name, even with a degree from Stanford.

Morales: I got in right after school. I was entering the business while I was in college, and I had done some freelance for the local paper while I was in college in Saginaw, Michigan. It's a very small market. Later I was to learn that the Journalism School at Michigan State University had an internship program and possibly, I might have worked some arrangement out with that. But what I did on my first paying job with the newspaper was walk in off the street, but with an appointment, and just say, I want to work. That's how I got my first job. It was a summer job, and I worked

during Christmas vacation, and at that time I saw my future as returning to that paper and working. But at that point I went into a broadcast journalism program at Columbia. Had I not gone to that program, would I have found a job in TV? Possibly not. Most likely not. But at that time, the deal was you did have an employer waiting for you when you finished that program. Once I did get out to the West Coast, however, I found it much more difficult. I thought I would find work, but how long would it last? San Francisco was OK, but it was public affairs. There's always that distinction. If you're qualified for public affairs, that's one thing. But once you're touched or tainted by that notion, or that category, then to get into news is almost an impossibility. I found that to be quite true. Had I stayed in Michigan, had I stayed somewhere in the Midwest, I probably would have found a nice, cushy job, but I wouldn't have experienced all the highs and lows. I did come away with some disenchantment.

Agenda: Are you saying that minorities are stuck in minority programming a lot of the time?
Morales: Yes, especially if you perceive yourself as a person with the background, and you've gone to journalism school because they said you should, and you start out with the small market and work your way up. I did that, and I found that it hasn't paid off and I have come away with a more realistic picture of the competition, the market, and the politics of the local stations.
Gutiérrez: Most of your experience is not very different from what many of us have experienced in the media in the past decade. We find that we can get in, but we can't get up. The same people who wanted to keep us out of the media in the late 1960s—with the same mentality—are trying to keep us down, and we have not progressed upwardly within the ranks of major broadcasting media in the numbers that you would think our level of experience would indicate.

Agenda: So then Hispanics are not in on the big decisions. Forget ownership—they're not even in positions within the media that dictate what is covered.
Gutiérrez: We become reporters, but not editors. We're on camera, but we're not behind the camera. You find out that everything you've achieved was just a qualifying race for the next race. Then you get to that race, and you win that race, and it should qualify you for the next one. I think a lot of our young people, and a lot of us who are not so young anymore, felt that at a certain point in our life we would be able to have some professional security. That isn't the case with media.

Agenda: Are young Hispanics entering the media fields in more or fewer numbers?
Gutiérrez: As a professor, I sense a much greater interest in media today than when I was a student in the mid-1960s. The role models that we now see—the reporters—are generally secure, both in their identity as reporters and in their identity as Latinos. And the ones who preserve their language ability, their ability to relate to the community, and who are interested in Latino affairs as well as having good journalistic skills, fare quite well. The problem with journalism education, aside from the fact that very few Latinos teach in journalism schools, is that the journalism schools tend to integrate you, to try to make you more Anglo than Latino. Yet when you leave that journalism school and you get a job in a newsroom, the editors will usually want you to report on the Latino community. So you've been trained in one tradition, but the reality of it is quite different.
Schement: There's a special irony here. You kind of lose your enthusiasm, but yet, in order to enter the profession, you have to have that almost mystical kind of belief that some people have. And if you want people to come behind you and enter, you don't want to portray an unrealistic world to them, but at the same time, you don't want to kill enthusiasm.
Guernica: My personal experience has been almost totally within the Spanish media. But even working within the Spanish media, where I think there is much more opportunity for Hispanics than there is in the general audience media, at least at this point, when I made changes, when I went from one thing on to something better, I always had to create it myself. It wasn't a situation in which the structure was already there, and if you followed certain steps you'd move up. It was something that really had to come from yourself. You just had to go out and create it, and if you didn't do that, then you could very well, except for the winds of fate, stay exactly where you've been.

Agenda: What kind of advice would you give to your students, friends, young Hispanics who want to get into media?
Valenzuela: It seems that the bottom line I've been hearing here is that the people are going to have to be professionals and they're going to also have to be adaptable to working both in the Anglo media and in the Latino media, in the English media and in the Spanish media, covering the Anglo beat and community, and the Latino beat and community. They're going to have to be professional and adaptable in both areas.
Schement: You're going to have to be better than everybody else and you're going to have to be more competent than anybody else in order to get the same thing that anybody else is getting.
Gutiérrez: It's the best career in the world to make a contribution. You can reach millions of people. You can make a difference if just one person knows you're there. But nobody's going to hire you on the basis of your ethnicity. You have to be better, and you're in competition with yourself. You have to be better today than you were yesterday in terms of how you write, how you produce, how you develop your particular skills.

THE NATIONAL AGENDA

The National Agenda is presented not only as a present-day calender, but also as an historical record of events.

MAY 1981

1-2 First Annual Conference of the Indiana Association for Bilingual Education (INABE), Sentry Center, South Bend, Indiana. Contact, Jan Sánchez, Bilingual Education Program, Anderson College, Anderson, Indiana 46011, (317) 927-0140.

5-6 Institute for Social Justice Community Organizing Course, Los Angeles, California. This two-day workshop will focus on building and maintaining organizations, models of organizing, actions, campaigns, and leadership development. Contact: Institute for Social Justice, Central Office, 628 Baronne, New Orleans, Louisiana 70113, (504) 524-5034.

13-14 Institute for Social Justice Community Organizing Course. Same as above, in Austin, Texas.

17-20 National Symposium: Community-based Alternatives and Women in the 1980s, American University, Washington, D.C. Symposium will focus on housing, economic development, employment, and other issues from the woman's perspective. Contact: Kathy McDonald, Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., (202) 333-6475.

18-19 Institute for Social Justice Community Organizing Course. Same as above, in Phoenix, Arizona.

JUNE 1981

4-7 1981 National IMAGE Convention, Marriot Hotel, Portland, Oregon. Hosted by IMAGE de Oregon. Contact: Dan Lucero, (503) 243-5746 or Annabelle Jaramillo, (503) 757-4366.

7-11 1981 National Conference on Citizen Involvement, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Sponsored by VOLUNTEER: The National Center for Citizen Involvement. Contact: Kim Rees, VOLUNTEER, 1214 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 467-5560.

18-19 The Institute for Social Justice Community Organizing Course. Same as above, in Jersey City, New Jersey.

25-26 Sex Discrimination in Education: Title IX Training for Lawyers, Cincinnati, Ohio. A two-day training session on litigation to end sex discrimination in schools and colleges, sponsored by Women's Rights Project of the Center for Law and Social Policy. Contact: Susan Wise, Center for Law and Social Policy, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 872-0670.

JULY 1981

15-24 Juvenile Officers Institute, Minneapolis. Sponsored by the Office of Delinquency and Control, Continuing Education and Extension Program, University of Minnesota. Contact: Richard J. Clendenen, Director, Juvenile Officers Institute, University of Minnesota, 119 TNM, 122 Pleasant Street, S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455, (612) 373-2726.

30-31 Second Chicano Mental Health Conference, sponsored by the Colorado Chicano Mental Health Task Force. Contact: Carlos Rodríguez or Yolanda Márquez, Spanish Peaks Mental Health Center, Rural Family Services, 29145 Highway 50 East, Pueblo, Colorado 81006, (303) 948-3346.

30 to Aug. 1 "Chicano Impact on Higher Education: A Redefinition," Seventh Annual Conference of the Texas Association of Chicanos in Higher Education (TACHE), in Dallas, Texas. Contact: Frank Longoria, Texas Women's University, Department of Foreign Language, Denton, Texas 76204, (817) 387-1657.

AUGUST 1981

2-8 and 9-15 Third Annual Summer Institute of the Center for Popular Economics (two separate sessions). Contact: Tom Riddell or Laurie Kellogg, Center for Popular Economics, Box 785, Amherst, Massachusetts 01004, (413) 545-0743.

4-7 "Managing Cost-Effective Prevention," Fourth Annual Convention of the National Association of Prevention Professionals, in Kansas City, Kansas. Contact: Imelda Muñoz, NAPP Secretary, P.O. Box 813, Edinburg, Texas 78539, (512) 383-5611.

12-13 "Networking Together, II," Minority Women's Employment Conference, sponsored by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, in Chicago, Illinois. Contact: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 230 S. Dearborn, Tenth Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60604, (312) 353-6985.

12-15 Second Annual U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Convention in Kansas City, Missouri. Contact: Marcus Rincón, 8585 Stemmons Freeway, Dallas, Texas 75207, (214) 631-3999.

(Continued on page 55.)

by Fernando Chacón Gómez

Fernando Chacón Gómez is an attorney in Lansing, Michigan.

For this issue, *Past and Precedent* provides a status report of federal court litigation affecting Hispanics. The complete legal citation has been provided in the hope that some hardy readers will look up, read carefully, and digest the importance and implications of the cases summarized herein.* It is suggested that the interested reader also refer to *The United States Law Week* volumes published by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., of Washington, D.C., for a weekly update of federal and state court decisions.

García v. Gloor, 618 F 2d 264 (CA 5, 1980)

This term, the U.S. Supreme Court denied *certiorari* (refused to hear) an appeal from a lower federal court's order upholding an employer's right to limit the use of Spanish in the workplace.

Hector García, native born and bilingual, was employed as a sales person by the Gloor Lumber and Supply Company in Brownsville, Texas. Gloor had a rule prohibiting employees from using Spanish on the job unless communicating with Spanish-speaking customers. This rule did not apply during work breaks nor to Spanish-speaking employees who did not come into contact with customers. Seven of eight sales persons and 31 of 39 of Gloor's employees were Hispanic. Seventy-five percent of the population in Gloor's business area was Hispanic.

The sole issue was whether the English-only rule, as applied to Hector García, imposed a discriminatory condition of employment in violation of Title VII of the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act. In arriving at its decision, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals first reasoned that Title VII forbids national origin discrimination but that nothing in that statute equates national origin discrimination with the language one chooses to speak. Further, the Court stated, it knew of no authority which gives a person the right to speak a particular language on the job and that rules of the workplace are the employer's prerogative.

Alternatively, the Court reasoned that even if Gloor had no genuine business need for the rule, and even if the rule's adoption were arbitrary, the EEO Act "focuses its laser of prohibition" upon immutable characteristics such as race or national origin. "National origin," the Court cautioned, "must not be confused with ethnic or sociocultural traits." The Court concluded that the EEO Act does not equate an employee's language of preference with his or her national origin.

The Court placed much emphasis upon the fact that García was bilingual and was allowed to speak Spanish at other times in the workplace. Further, the Court found that the English-only rule "did not forbid cultural expression to persons for whom compliance with it might impose a hardship." Thus, the rule was determined not to impose a burdensome term and condition of employment in violation of Title VII.

It should be noted that in its concluding remarks the Court seemed to limit its decision to the facts of the case and to leave open the question of the propriety of language rules in the work place:

> Our opinion does not impress a judicial imprimatur on all employment rules that require an employee to use or forbid him from using a language spoken by him at home or by his forebears. We hold only that an employer's rule forbidding a bilingual employee to speak anything but English in public places while on the job is not discrimination based on national origin as applied to a person who is fully capable of speaking English but chooses not to do so in deliberate disregard of his employer's rule.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) recently revised its *Guidelines on Discrimination Because of National Origin* (see 29 Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1606). Noteworthy is Section 1606.7, which recognizes that a person's primary language is often an essential national origin characteristic. Even under such guidelines, however, it appears that Gloor's English-only rule would likely not be considered a burdensome term and condition of employment.

Local Union No. 35 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers v. City of Hartford, 625 F 2d 416 (CA 2, 1980)

The Second Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a city affirmative action ordinance providing for a 15 percent level of minority and female participation in construction contracts. The union has appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, raising familiar reverse discrimination arguments. As of April 7, 1981, the Supreme Court had not made a decision as to whether or not it would grant *certiorari* (hear the case).

Chávez-Salido v. Cabell, 490 F Supp 984 (CD Cal 1980)

A California statute provides that one must be a U.S. citizen to be a peace officer or to hold any position which is declared by law to have the powers of a peace officer. A U.S. District Court has held this statute unconstitutional as overbroad in its scope and unconstitutional as applied to probation officers as their duties are defined by California law. At a session on March 9, 1981, the U.S. Supreme Court determined to review and hear oral argument in this case.

Craig v. County of Los Angeles, 626 F 2d 659 (CA 9, 1980)

This was a class action challenging, as violative of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Los Angeles County's use of two written examinations and minimum height requirements for the position of deputy sheriff. On February 23, 1981, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear an appeal from the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals disposing of the issue. Thus, the Appeals Court's decision stands as law.

On the challenge to the written examinations, the Court of Appeals held that (1) evidence showing that 33 percent of Mexican Americans who took a pre-employment selection test for deputy sheriff failed, while only 13 percent of Whites failed, was enough to establish a *prima facie* (on its face, without further examination) case of discrimination; (2) the county-employer thus had the burden of justifying the selection device by showing the device had a manifest relation to the job in question; and (3) since there was a correlation between the selection device and performance at the police academy, if the county showed a correlation between performance at the academy and job performance, the selection device would be valid even if it had an adverse impact on Mexican American applicants.

The 67-inch minimum height requirement for males excluded 41 percent of Mexican Americans and 14 percent of all other males, while the 63-inch requirement for females excluded 74 percent of Mexican Americans and 50 percent of all other females. As with the written test, the Court held that to validate such a selection requirement an employer must do three things: (1) "specify the particular trait or characteristic which the selection device is being used to measure," (2) determine that the trait or characteristic is an important element of the job, and (3) demonstrate by "professionally acceptable methods" that the selection device is correlated with the important job element which has been identified. In this case, the Court found that the height requirements had not been shown to be manifestly related to the job and were, therefore, invalid.

Hidalgo County Grand Jury Commissioners v. Ciudadanos Unidos de San Juan; Caballero v. Prater, 622 F 2d 807 (CA 5, 1980)

These civil actions challenged the Texas system of grand juror selection as applied in Hidalo and Willacy Counties. Plaintiffs alleged that the selection system excluded from consideration four identifiable groups in the community: Mexican Americans, women, young people, and poor people. The U.S. District Court dismissed the suits as not justiciable, that is, as inappropriate for resolution in the federal courts.

Deciding that the actions presented a "justiciable controversy appropriate for resolution in the federal courts," the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the lower court and remanded (sent back) the suits for decision on the merits. In sum, the Court of Appeals held that plaintiffs had the right to try to prove their case. In addition, the Court suggested that institution by the state of a random grand jury selection system "may well provide a key to settlement of these cases, a veritable truce flag."

On March 2, 1981, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear the state's appeal, thus letting stand the decision of the Court of Appeals.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission v. Associated Dry Goods Corporation, 101 SCT 817 (1981)

Section 706(b) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act provides that employment discrimination charges filed with the EEOC "shall not be made public" and that nothing "said or done" during a Commission investigation may be made public or used in a subsequent proceeding without the consent of the persons concerned.

This case arose when the Commission sought information from the employer with respect to employment discrimination charges filed against the latter. The employer refused to provide employment records of the complainant employees, or statistics, documents, and other information regarding its general personnel practices, unless the EEOC agreed beforehand not to disclose such information to the complaining parties. The lower federal courts upheld the employer's position that the complaining employees were members of the public to whom said information could not be disclosed.

On January 26, 1981, by a five to two majority (Justices Powell and Rehnquist taking no part in the decision), the U.S. Supreme Court held that the "public" could not logically include parties to the agency proceeding. The Court reasoned that disclosure to the charging party may aid disposition of the dispute by allowing the parties sufficient information to asses the other party's strengths and weaknesses.

The first number in the citation is the volume number; the letter abbreviation is the set of volumes where the case may be found; the number following the letter abbreviation is the page number on which the first page of the case is printed. The court and year of decision are provided in parentheses. Thus, Garcia v. Gloor, 618F 2d 264 (CA 5, 1980), is located in Volume 618 of the Federal Reporter, Second Series, page 264 and following. The case was decided by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in 1980.

THE NATIONAL AGENDA *(Continued from page 53.)*

13-14 Second Minority Women's Conference of the U.S. Department of Labor's Women's Bureau, in Chicago, Illinois. Contact: Frances Wilkins, U.S. Labor Department, Women's Bureau, 10th Floor, 230 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois 60604, (312) 353-6985.

15-16 1981 Baltimore City Hispanic Festival of the Federation of Hispanic Organizations of the Baltimore Metro Area, Inc. Contact: Aurelio Goicochea at (301) 962-3429, or Antonio Díaz at (301) 247-4756.

19-23 Annual meeting of the National Alcohol and Drug Coalition in Dallas, Texas. Contact: Deborah Woodcock, Driscoll and Associates, 1925 North Lynn Street, Suite 1001, Arlington, Virginia 22209, (703) 522-5202.

28-29 Sixth Annual International Hispanic Film Festival in San Antonio, Texas. Cosponsored by the Oblate College of the Southwest and the Film Festival Committee. Contact: Consuelo Avila or Christine Ortega at (512) 736-1685.

SEPTEMBER 1981

13-16 Hispanics and Local Government in the 1980s: Profession, Politics and Services, sponsored by the International City Management Association, the National League of Cities, the National Association of Counties, the American Society for Public Administration, and the National Hispanic Housing Coalition. Contact: Rubén Mendoza at (202) 828-3618.

15-17 Fourth Annual Dinner and Symposium of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, in Washington, D.C. Contact: Penny Harrison or Susan Herrera at (202) 225-2255.

24-25 Center for Law and Social Policy training session on sex discrimination in federally subsidized educational programs. Contact: Susan L. Wise, Administrative Assistant, Women's Rights Project, Center for Law and Social Policy, 1751 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 872-0670.

24-28 American Psychological Association Convention in Los Angeles, California. Session on "Testing, Assessment and Public Policy" to be held August 25. Contact: Esteban Olmedo (202) 833-7864.

OCTOBER 1981

8-10 Eleventh Annual Conference of the National Black Child Development Institute, in Washington, D.C. Contact: National Black Child Development Institute, 1563 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, (202) 387-1281.

15-18 "Migration from Mexico to the U.S.," Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers, in Buffalo, New York. Contact: Richard C. Jones, Social Science Division, University of Texas/San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas 78285.

30 Minority Business Opportunity Day Trade Fair, in Portland, Oregon, sponsored by the Pacific Northwest Regional Minority Purchasing Council, Portland Chapter. Contact: Scott Foster, Tektronix Inc., P.O. Box 500, Beaverton, Oregon, (503) 627-2702.

HEMISPHERE BULLETIN

by Juan C. Turnure

Prices of basic ***Latin American exports*** continue to fall and the situation is especially serious for sugar and coffee producers, according to a bulletin of the Office of International Trade of the Organization of American States (OAS).

The combined price of coffee, which was $1.88 a pound a year ago and $1.52 by the end of 1980, has dropped to $1.05. Those most affected by the decline are ***Central American, Mexican,*** and ***Colombian*** exporters. To make matters worse, there has been no increase in demand in the principal world markets, while the coffee supply has swelled due to the recuperation of ***Brazilian*** harvests after frosts in 1979.

The world price for sugar exports has dropped from $0.28 a pound at the end of 1980 to $0.14 last month, a situation of particular concern to the ***Dominican Republic*** and other sugar exporters of the Caribbean and Central America. OAS Secretary General Alejandro Orfila expressed concern "about gestures by North American producers to secure the adoption of protectionist measures that could affect the sugar industry of developing countires in the Hemisphere. If we single out this example, it is because we consider it significant, because of the industry's potential as a source of employment and currency, its potential as an alternative energy source, and its contribution to food production."

OAS trade experts also expressed concern over "the alarming decline in consumption" of coffee in the United States. Per capita coffee consumption in the United States, they say, has declined from 18 pounds in 1954 to 13 pounds in 1980. The Office of International Trade bulletin indicates that the price of Colombian *suave* (smooth coffee) fell from $1.92 a pound a year ago to $1.30 at present. *Suave* from other producing countries fell from $1.81 a pound a year ago to $1.15 at present, and the *robustos* (stronger brands of coffee) went from $1.69 a pound last year to $1.15 today.

The report goes on to state that regional exporters of meat to the United States also suffered a decline in prices as a pound of meat dropped from $1.33 in November 1980 to $1.21 in the first trimester of this year.

Among mineral products, tin prices suffered the most dramatic decline, falling from $7.80 a pound in the London market a year ago to $6.18 last month. ***Bolivia,*** the world's second-largest producer of tin, is the poorest nation in South America. Tin accounts for over half of Bolivia's total mineral production.

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The ***Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,*** attached by an economic umbilical cord to the mainland since Operation Bootstrap of the 1950s, is facing strangulation by its own lifeline. Tax exemptions initiated to lure industrial investors to the island were not ignored by enterprising U.S. firms seeing an opportunity to boost profits. The industrial expansion resulting from Operation Bootstrap was indeed impressive, and the standard of living on the island soared as labor-intensive U.S. industries flocked south. But in the 1960s, as these very firms moved further south to take advantage of even lower wage rates, high technology companies moved in. Employing few laborers but accumulating massive profits, pharmaceutical firms flourished in the tax-free environment of Puerto Rico and inexpensively shipped their lightweight products to the mainland. Meanwhile, the island's agricultural economy collapsed from neglect and rural laborers poured into the cities. In 1975, with Puerto Rico mired in a worsening recession, the U.S. government introduced the food stamp program to the island.

Food stamps now are the source of almost 10 percent of the island's income. Almost 60 percent of the population now participates in the food stamp program, and the stamps—*cupones*—are often used as currency in the black market for a wide variety of goods which in no way could be classified as food. After the program was introduced in 1975, demand for food drove up prices. High-priced mainland products became the favored items, contributing to the decline of Puerto Rico's agriculture.

Under the Reagan administration proposals, 25 percent of Puerto Rico's food stamps would be eliminated in fiscal 1982. While virtually no one advocates continued dependence on handouts from the U.S. government, some question the abrupt nature of the cuts. Many of the three million voteless American citizens living in Puerto Rico find it difficult to understand why the United States, after fostering this sort of dependence through 30 years of bewildering policies, will suddenly erase 25 percent from the food budgets of two-thirds of the island's population living well below the poverty line.

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Brazil's *abertura,* a process of civil and political liberalization initiated in recent years by President Joao Baptista Figueiredo and his predecessor, suffered a setback in February when the Second Military Court of Sao Paulo handed down stiff sentences to Luís Inacio da Silva and ten other trade union leaders from the Sao Paulo industrial region. Luís da Silva, known as Lula, is President of the newly formed Workers' Party, the political outgrowth of the metal workers union he previously headed. Lula was convicted of a national security law violation for inciting collective disobedience of the law during a metal workers strike in April 1980, and received a three-and-a-half year jail sentence.

The Workers' Party (PT) was formed after it became legal in 1979 to establish political parties. It is the only newly formed political party that gained legalization by achieving national grassroots support. The success of Lula and the Workers' Party in consolidating the working class into a political bloc has Brazil's national leaders worried enough to say that the *abertura* might be halted if the unions do not tone down their opposition. Lula's conviction on a national security law violation demonstrated skillful manipulation of the law by his opponents since persons found guilty of such offenses are ineligible to run for public office.

The military government is also under siege from former political prisoners released during a political amnesty declared in 1979. Exiles returning from abroad and exprisoners have started a campaign to prosecute military leaders who participated in torture a decade or more ago. Army, Navy, and Air Force leaders have refused to identify and prosecute their colleagues, saying that amnesty must work both ways and that to persist in such a campaign of revenge would only prompt a reversion to outright military rule.

President Figueiredo's promise to return Brazil to democracy in 1984 seemed destined to become a reality when he took office in 1979. Most censorship was lifted, the political parties were allowed to form, labor unions were allowed to operate within certain bounds, and the first fully free state and legislative elections since 1965 were promised. The union strikes and political protests caused a paranoiac backlash by the government's right-wing factions and for a short while rumors of a right-wing coup circulated. It appears, though, that the dissenters have moderated their criticism with the realization that retribution against past abuses is less important than future gains through the *abertura* process. Yet, as Lula said after his trial, "No one can stop new Lulas from appearing."

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Early in his administration, President Reagan placed ***El Salvador*** in a pivotal position in his foreign policy, indicating that the small Central American country was the front-line defense against further Communist incursion into the Hemisphere. When the public reacted against U.S military aid to this troubled nation, Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig tried to draw the curtains on the El Salvador situation for awhile. The attempt has not been entirely successful.

The State Department, under siege from the *Wall Street Journal,* the *New York Times,* and the *Washington Post* who all charged that the condemning White Paper issued by the State Department on El Salvador was in fact riddled with assumption, exaggeration, and outright mistakes, has remained tight-lipped on the subject of El Salvador. The release of a second White Paper on Communist interference in El Salvador prepared by the State Department has been delayed and in a major State Department foreign policy conference for publishers and editors, El Salvador merited only a brief mention.

With the confirmation of the new Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas O. Enders, who was long opposed by Senator Jesse Helms (R—North Carolina), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Reagan administration is preparing to mount a new campaign in favor of military aid to El Salvador. Enders is expected to give a major policy speech before the Washington World Affairs Council by the end of July outlining further U.S. involvement in El Salvador. The State Department is also expected to release the second White Paper on Communist interference in El Salvador just before Congress goes to a floor vote on sending more arms, money, and advisers to El Salvador.

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President Reagan and ***Mexican President José López Portillo*** continued their relationship of "warmth and cordiality" during their Camp David meetings in early June. No agenda was released for these meetings, postponed since Reagan's wounding by a gunman last March. The reason given by the White House was that no agenda had been prepared—this was supposed to be a meeting for Reagan and López Portillo to get to know each other better. According to all accounts, the two Presidents got on famously as Reagan proclaimed *"mi casa es su casa,"* which left López Portillo "deeply moved."

The meeting was more substantive than Reagan's advisers were letting on. The Presidents discussed what is being termed "a Caribbean Marshall Plan" designed to promote stability and economic development in the ***Caribbean*** basin. The Reagan administration has placed great emphasis on the Communist threat in the Caribbean, pointing to ***Cuban*** aid to Central American guerillas, the left-leaning government of ***Grenada,*** and severe economic chaos in ***Haiti*** and the ***Dominican Republic.*** Reagan is also concerned about the great numbers of Caribbean immigrants to the United States, and hopes that such an economic rescue plan would stem the flow. The plan will involve the cooperation of ***Venezuela*** and ***Canada*** as well.

Mexico is also very interested in building up economic security in the Caribbean basin and has already entered into an agreement with the other Latin American oil power, Venezuela, to provide cheap oil and financing to needy Caribbean nations. Mexico, however, is not at all in agreement with the Reagan view that instability in Central America and the Caribbean is largely due to a combined Soviet—Cuban campaign to topple all nonleftist governments in the region. Mexico, perhaps, is more interested in fostering a pan-American unity for solving common problems rather than in preventing a purported Soviet—Cuban takeover of the region.

Faltering economies and tenuous political leadership among the many island nations of the Caribbean have aroused a chorus of concerns from U.S. stratetic planners fearing an expansion of Soviet—Cuban influence in the area. One of the first proponents of the idea, Jamaica's conservative prime minister, Edward Seaga, has been credited with pushing the Reagan administration to start multilateral discussion on the design of the plan.

After Secretary of State Alexander Haig met with the foreign, ministers of Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela in Nassau, Bahamas, many political questions surfaced that will be difficult to resolve. The United States is counting on Mexico to take a leading role in developing and implementing the program which could jeopardize López Portillo's image as an independent leader of the Third World. Any hint of manipulation by Washington would seriously damage his prestige at home and among the Latin American nations. Mexico has insisted that no country be automatically excluded from the program on the basis of its political bent. All four of the sponsoring nations have complex and varied relationships with Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua, the three countries with the most leftist influence in their governments. The United States has agreed in principle to his stipulation, but has made it clear that the plan's framework must be such that the United States would not be obligated to participate in certain instances. Mexico is friendly with all three of these nations; Venezuela cooperates with Nicaragua and Grenada, but is at odds with Cuba; and Canada seems to be partial to the Commonwealth countries of the region.

The fact that Central American nations are being included in the considerations of the plan suggests that the United States is treating the Caribbean basin—Central America, the Caribbean islands, and the Caribbean coastline of South America—as a political, economic, and social entity. Scholars and theorists have long subscribed to this point of view, although there are those who argue that the Spanish- and English-speaking nations of the region are too culturally diverse to be treated as a unit.

In a statement to the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, the congressional delegate from the U.S. Virgin Islands, Ron De Lugo, urged the subcommittee and the Reagan administration to "utilize the U.S. Virgin Islands as an active participant as a new policy initiative is developed in the West Indies." Lugo cited the problems of spiraling oil prices, unstable commodity markets, inflation, uneven growth, and unemployment as having "struck the small countries of the Caribbean with extreme severity."

This American presence in the Caribbean, the Virgin Islands, does seem to be a natural instrument for translating and formulating U.S. policy in the Caribbean. As Lugo said, "...there exist very strong cultural and social ties between the Virgin Islands and the other emerging nations in the Caribbean. In essence, we all speak the same language." Ron De Lugo, a little known presence in Washington, D.C., seems to have hit upon the primary problem of U.S. administrations—that they have always encountered unnecessary stumbling blocks in planning and implementing policies because the language of Washington is so far removed from its not-so-distant neighbors.

IN A NUTSHELL

WASHINGTON, D.C.— Distinguished Hispanics met recently at the first national leadership meeting on civic participation of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). Setting the stage for high-level strategy discussions on the political future of Hispanics, the leaders focused on increasing the political power of the U.S. Spanish-speaking community through voter registration, voter and candidate education, naturalization, and redistricting initiatives.

The participants at the NALEO meeting discussed national and local activities that could be undertaken to increase the political impact of Hispanics. Speakers included State Representatives Polly Baca-Barragan and Richard Castro of Colorado, Matt García of Texas, Alfredo Gutiérrez of Arizona, and Lieutenant Governor Roberto Mondragón of New Mexico. Experts gave presentations on redistricting, specific campaign strategies and voting motivation techniques, the Voting Rights Act, and voter registration efforts directed at Hispanics.

The diverse, national group unanimously adopted a set of recommendations calling for a national Hispanic voter registration effort, research assistance for local campaign organizations, and NALEO support for current reapportionment efforts of local organizations. Special attention for Hispanic youth, use of computer technology, and development of naturalization drive strategies were also recommended. NALEO will reconvene these and other participants for follow-up sessions later this year.

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DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA— In 1973, Dade County, which includes Miami, was designated a bilingual county with Spanish as the second language. A new resolution passed on November 4, 1980, overturned this designation. The new anti-bilingual ordinance includes provisions that "the expenditure of county funds for the purpose of utilizing any language other than English, or promoting any culture than that of the United States, is prohibited."

Nevertheless, according to *Washington Post* and *New York Times* reports, many Spanish-language services have been maintained despite the threats of the new ordinance. Among the most vulnerable services are signs in Spanish and bilingual assistance on emergency (911) telephone calls to the police and on hurricane warnings. Education programs and other federally and state-funded programs are not affected by the measure.

Meanwhile, opponents of the ordinance are taking action to have it declared unconstitutional, claiming that the clause "promoting any culture than that of the United States" is legally confusing and difficult to interpret. Opposition to the ordinance is growing, but it is still unclear just how effective efforts to dismantle the ordiance will be.

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ROCHESTER, NEW YORK— Gannett Company, Inc., the Rochester-based diversified nationwide information company, recently reached agreement to acquire *El Diario—La Prensa*, the largest Spanish-language newspaper on the continental United States, with a circulation of 61,000 daily and 63,000 on Sunday.

The announcement was made in late June to the staff of *El Diario—La Prensa* by Roy Chalk, President of Diversified Media, Inc., which owns 80 percent of the newspaper, and Allen H. Neuharth, Chairman of the Board and President of Gannett. Neuharth said Gannett is acquiring *El Diario* for "two equally exciting opportunities. First, we believe we can use our resources to help *El Diario* reach a larger percentage of the 1.5 million Hispanics in the New York area. Secondly, the combined resources of *El Diario* and GANSAT (Gannett Satellite Information Network) might be used to offer improved news and information services to the rapidly growing Hispanic population in many areas of the country."

Chalk, who has been Publisher and controlling stockholder of the majority owner of *El Diario* for 20 years, said, "Gannett brings a record of integrity and service that will help build further the newspaper's reputation as a voice for progress in the Hispanic community."

La Prensa was founded in 1913. *El Diario* began publication in 1938. The two newspapers were merged into a single morning tabloid in 1962. The Gannett transaction is for cash, but the purchase price was not announced. Closing was expected within 60 days of the announcement and subject to the approval of the boards of directors of both companies and the stockholders of Diversified Media, Inc.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.— The National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education (NACBE) recently released its fifth annual report to Congress. The report urged Congress to continue support for the bilingual education program, which NACBE feels is the best method for teaching limited-English-proficient children.

NACBE further recommended that Congress open bilingual education to every child who wishes to participate. At present, no coherent national policy toward multiple language capability exists, and NACBE urged Congress to make the establishment of such a program a top priority.

NACBE, mandated by 1978 legislation to report annually to the President and Congress on the condition, administration, and operation of bilingual programs in the United States, consists of a 15-member committee. If the NACBE's most recent recommendations are followed, bilingual education can be used to enrich limited-English-proficient children as well as those with an English-language background who wish to learn foreign languages.

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN— The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA) recently opened New Directions, a project of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) which will provide leadership training, technical assistance, and bilingual materials for safety and health on the job.

The announcement was made by Henry Lacayo, LCLAA National Chairman and Director of the project. "New Directions will provide a valuable resource for LCLAA chapter members in safety and health," said Lacayo. "The resources will also be available to national and international unions which can obtain bilingual printed materials, films, and slide programs geared to deal with OSHA-related programs."

A safety and health committee composed of LCLAA national board members was named by Lacayo to assist the program.

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LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA— A reapportionment plan of the California State Assembly that provides equitable representation for the state's 4.5 million Hispanic residents and for all Californians, was recently proposed by Californios for Fair Representation (CFR), a statewide coalition of Hispanic organizations. The CFR plan proposes the creation of one new Hispanic majority seat in Los Angeles County while preserving the existing four. According to Miguel García, CFR chairman, the plan "is designed to adequately keep pace with the 92 percent increase in Hispanic population since 1970 and to provide additional seats in the future. It ends the injustice of gerrymandering that has crippled our communities in the past and limited our opportunity for political advancement."

The 1980 census shows that although Hispanics comprise nearly 20 percent of California's population, they comprise less than five percent of its elected representatives. Hispanics currently hold four seats in the 80-member state assembly. "This plan is realistic in that it does not upset the balance of power between the two political parties and does not unseat an undue number of incumbents, while enhancing the potential for increased Hispanic political representation now and in the future," said García.

On June 22, CFR representatives presented the plan to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Jr., and Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, Chairman of the Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee. The plan will serve as a model for drafting a final plan to be approved by the state legislature and signed by the state governor. "Unless the Legislature presents a plan that is fair to Latinos, CFR is prepared to pursue the issue in the courts," said García.

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NEW YORK, NEW YORK— Hispanics may now constitute New York City's largest minority group, according to city and federal officials. The final 1980 Census Bureau figures for New York City showed a large increase in the Hispanic population, accompanied by a moderate rise in the Black population and a sharp decrease in the White population.

The city claims that thousands of people were missed by the census, and there is controversy over the census procedures for counting different racial and ethnic groups. Thus, some officials believe that Hispanics may have replaced Blacks as the city's largest minority group.

Overall, the city experienced a 10.4 percent decline in population since 1970. Although the city insists that the Census Bureau missed 700,000 people in the count last Spring, the final figures showed only a slight increase (7,015,608 to 7,071,030) over the preliminary figures reported in December 1980. New York City still maintains a larger population than the rest of New York State despite the city's decline in population.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.— Four new task forces designed to analyze issues of major concern to Hispanics emerged from a recent three-day meeting of the Forum of National Hispanic Organizations. The Forum, a coalition of 31 Hispanic organizations representing national constituencies, was founded in 1975 to create a focal point for Hispanic concerns, increase cooperation among Hispanic organizations, and work toward the elimination of discrimination against Hispanics.

The four task forces formed are assigned to monitor the formulation of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) Reauthorization Bill, follow any changes to the Voting Rights Act and redistricting laws, explore a potential coalition between the nation's Jewish and Hispanic interests, and facilitate contact between established Hispanic governments and U.S. Hispanics.

The Forum also decided to request a second meeting with President Reagan to discuss issues and concerns that have not been addressed by the Reagan administration. In February, the President invited Forum members to a luncheon meeting at the White House where he assured the Hispanic leaders that he intended to make a number of Hispanic appointments to his administration.

In addition to the four task force issues, the Forum agreed to keep a close watch on proposed tax cuts, block grants, and immigration policies. Three new members—the Cuban American Legal Defense and Education Fund (CALDEF), the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), and the National Association of Farmworker Organizations (NAFO)—were accepted into the Forum.

CARAS Y NOMBRES

ELECTED: Representative ***Robert García*** (D-New York), as Chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. García succeeds Representative Edward R. Roybal (D-California) as Chairman of the Caucus... Representative ***Henry B. Gonzales*** (D-Texas) as Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development. Gonzales, of San Antonio, Texas, has been a member of the Housing Subcommittee for 19 years... ***Estel Fonseca,*** Director of the National Puerto Rican Forum's Displaced Homemakers Program, as a member of the Executive Committee of the National Displaced Homemakers Network, Inc... ***Manuel Bustelo,*** Director of the National Puerto Rican Forum, as First Vice Chairman of New York City's Employment and Training Council and as Chairman of the Forum of National Hispanic Organizations, a coalition of the major national Hispanic groups... ***Jay Rodriguez,*** Vice President for Corporate Information of the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), West Coast, as Chairman of the Board of the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation for the 1981-1982 term. Rodriguez has had 30 years of experience in the field of community relations ... ***Martha Villalobos,*** as President of Women in Community Service, Inc., a coalition of five major national women's groups representing 27 million people... Representative ***Edward R. Roybal*** (D-California), as Chairman of the Treasury/Postal Service/General Government Subcommittee of the prestigious House Committee on Appropriations.

NOMINATED: ***Michael Cárdenas*** of Fresno, California, by President Reagan, to be Administrator of the Small Business Administration. Cárdenas, a partner with the national accounting firm of Fox and Company since 1979, has been active in various Republican campaigns at the local, state, and national levels since 1967... ***John Hernández,*** a professor at New Mexico State University, by President Reagan, to be Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

APPOINTED: ***Mario Anglada,*** National Director of ASPIRA of America, Inc., to the 12-member Board of Foreign Scholarships of the Fulbright Program, a government-sponsored international education exchange program... ***Raquel Cohen,*** a Harvard University professor, as Scholar of the Spanish Family Guidance Center at the University of Miami. Cohen is also a member of the National Advisory Council of the National Institute of Mental Health... ***Pedro Garza,*** National Director of SER/Jobs for Progress, to the National Commission for Employment Policy... ***Andy Camacho*** of Encino, California, to the National Advisory Community Investment Board, the federal government's prime vehicle for stimulating private business investment in economically depressed communities throughout the country... ***Joe P. García,*** a former Agriculture Department official and former Director of VISTA, as Assistant Administrator of the Bureau of Policy, Planning, and Budgeting at the U.S. Small Business Administration... ***Samuel R. Martínez*** as Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, Agency for International Development... ***Richard Polanco,*** former Vice President of The East Los Angeles Community Union's (TELACU) Community Development Division, as Special Assistant for Community Affairs for California Governor Jerry Brown... ***John H. Rodríguez*** as Deputy Undersecretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs in the U.S. Department of Education... ***Fred J. Villella*** as Deputy Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency... ***Reubén A. Flores*** as Regional Vice President of the National Alliance of Business... ***Antonio Monroig*** as Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

NAMED: ***Rubén DeLeon,*** a former public service employee under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), as Director of the Public Works Department for the City of Farmerville, California... ***Roberto Soto*** of New York City as Executive Director of ASPIRA of New York, Inc... ***Linda Guest-García*** of La Puente, California, as Director of the Office of State and Federal Projects of the Basset School District... ***Abelardo Valdéz,*** former Chief of Protocol of the United States, as a partner in the law firm of Finley, Kumble, Wagner, Heine, Underberg, and Casey... ***José Ballesteros*** of Los Angeles, California, as a finalist in the 1981 Presidential Scholars Program for his folkloric dance presentation. Ballesteros is the only Hispanic finalist in the nation.

HONORED: ***Berta Rey,*** a United Way Goodwill Ambassador from Chicago, for her long service to the Chicago Mexican American community at the Third Annual Women of Achievement Awards Dinner sponsored by the Mexican American Business and Professional Women's Club of Chicago... ***Alejandro Orfila,*** Secretary General of the Organization of American States, with the conferring of a Doctor Honoris Causa in Law from American University in Washington, D.C.... ***Phillip Chacón*** and ***Philip Gonzales*** were presented with New Mexico Distinguished Public Service Awards in the local government category... ***Vicente T. Ximenes*** received a New Mexico Distinguished Public Service Award in the civic and business category.

RESIGNED: ***Candido Antonio de Leon,*** from his position as Director of the National Center for Bilingual Research.

SELECTED: ***Veronica Madrid*** of Texas, for a Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund leadership internship in Washington, D.C. The two-year internship was made possible by a grant from Anheuser-Busch, Inc.

Send items and information for In a Nutshell, Publications Roundup, *Caras y Nombres*, and The National Agenda to:

Juan Turnure
Agenda

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1725 Eye Street, N.W., Second Floor
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CASA

(Continued from page 47.)

cultural pride among Hispanics. Lack of coverage and programming of Hispanics was thought to contribute to inadequate political representation, housing, health care, and access to other social services."

The media industry is a dominant force in U.S. life. "Because of the medium's [television's] capacity for fixing an image in the public mind, its responsibility for avoiding stereotypic and demeaning depictions becomes central to its role," states *Window Dressing on the Set*, a 1977 report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Since the media industry commands a hugh portion of our time, since it has the power to create and distort images, it also has the responsibility to present as accurate a picture as possible of the cultural and racial diversity of this country.

On the other hand, researchers have the responsibility to study as objectively as possible, without assumptions and misconceptions, a particular environment in a selected universe. In examining this study, the intent was to continue the questioning and the research effort and to provide a catalyst for further analyses. It did not attempt to cover the complete study* but instead focused on several important elements of the CASA project design and methodology. It is now up to other interested individuals, organizations, universities, and corporations to build upon this effort and to learn from the CASA study in planning and designing their own research studies.

The CASA study is the first attempt at obtaining as comprehensive a picture as possible of selected markets in the Southwest. An endeavor of this kind speaks very highly of those individuals and corporations that initiated and participated in this study. According to Félix Gutiérrez of the project's Advisory Board, the CASA study represents a look "at more individual types of media use by our community than any single study I am aware of."

One cannot deny that the study is attracting vast amounts of interest and attention from both the media industry and the Hispanic community. It is a very positive step in trying to understand the Hispanic phenomenon, its growth, and its potential. However, it should not be allowed to end here. Researchers should continue studying, questioning, and raising issues on the Hispanic reality. And the media industry should study the research findings and incorporate them into the programming agendas of and for Hispanics. It is their and our responsibility to continue the learning process which was begun by Project CASA.

*A complete set of the research reports can be obtained by contacting Carrie Heeter, Project CASA, Department of Communication, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824.

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AGENDA

National Council of La Raza
1725 Eye St., N.W.
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Washington, D.C. 20006

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Department of Education... ***Fre***
as Deputy Director of the F
gency Management Agency.
Flores as Regional Vice Pre
National Alliance of Busines
Monroig as Assistant Secre
Housing and Equal Opportuni
Department of Housing and
velopment.

NAMED: ***Rubén DeLeon,*** a
service employee under the C
Employment and Training A
Director of the Public Works
for the City of Farmerville,
Roberto Soto of New York

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CASA

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