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**THE CROSS-CULTURAL EFFECTS OF U.S. PROGRAMMING
ON YOUNG CABLE AND NONCABLE TELEVISION
VIEWERS IN BRAZIL**

by

Stephanie A. Kahl

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ABSTRACT

THE CROSS-CULTURAL EFFECTS OF U.S. PROGRAMMING ON YOUNG CABLE AND NONCABLE TELEVISION VIEWERS IN BRAZIL

by

Stephanie A. Kahl

This study examines the differences between young cable and noncable viewers in Brazil. Eight hypotheses were tested in a questionnaire administered to 405 6th- and 10th-grade students in São Paulo, Brazil. The objective was to determine the cross-cultural impacts of imported U.S. television programs via Brazilian subscription television. The variables assessed include the amount of television viewing, preference for domestic and/or imported programming, frequency of viewing domestic and imported programs, frequency of viewing by specific program content, attitudes toward different countries, perceptions of the portrayal of people and situations on television, perceptions of the reality of U.S. programs, and perceptions of the reality of American family values and affluence. While there were several differences between the two subsamples, the overall findings indicated that there were no significant cross-cultural effects of U.S. programming on either cable or noncable viewers.

To my mother and father,
who taught me the road less traveled is worthy of the journey.

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Chapter One

The History of Brazilian Television

The role of television in Brazilian society is more prevalent when compared to that of broadcasting in the United States or most other industrialized countries. With 32 million television households, Brazil boasts the fifth largest television audience in the world and possesses more television sets per capita than any other Latin American nation (235/1000 inhabitants). Out of a population of 160 million, the medium reaches 80-90 million viewers daily. Pay television, in its seventh year of operation in Brazil, is currently composed of 500,000 subscribing households in a market five times the size of that found in Argentina. Brazil is considered the largest potential cable market in the world, and government officials, program distributors, cable operators and advertisers have recently begun to take heed of the potential in this fledgling market.¹ In order to gain an understanding of the importance television plays in the social and cultural aspects of Brazil, an historical analysis of the country's television industry must be studied.

1.1 Historical Overview of Brazilian Broadcasting

The early history of television in Brazil is similar to that of the medium's role in the United States. Introduced in 1950 primarily as an elitist toy, the inception of television came only eight years after its American counterpart debuted in the United States. The structure of the Brazilian industry was modeled after the United States' system in its implementation of private ownership, commercial

¹ Baker, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1995; Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994; Merrill, 1991; Paxman, 1995a; Paxman et al., 1995; Pecegueiro, 1994; Rogers, 1994; World Communication Report, 1989.

advertising revenue, equipment and programming genres (Mattos, 1982). The American commercial model was adopted because of pressures on the Brazilian government, not only from the U.S. broadcasting industry, but also by native entrepreneurs anxious to capitalize on the potential growth of this new medium. Although the U.S. did indeed influence the implementation of commercial broadcasting in Brazil, the ultimate decision to use the American model was made strictly at the local level by domestic investors (Schement & Rogers, 1984; Sinclair, 1994). Technological equipment and programming genres were imported from the United States in the beginning stages as well as the corporate management style characteristic of the American model. As Straubhaar (1984) stated, “the first and most crucial point of indirect American influence on television in Brazil was the adaptation of a commercially oriented system...rather than a public, nonprofit television system” (p. 222). Brazilian broadcasting companies either trained employees in the United States or hired U.S. consultants to provide on-location expertise in developing their system.

According to Mattos' model (1982), the Brazilian broadcasting industry historically falls into five phases: elitist, populist, technical development, international expansion and segmentation. During its first decade, television was a luxury item for the elite social class and limited to broadcasting in two urban areas—São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. TV Tupi, the original broadcast station, aired its first program on September 18, 1950, to an audience which possessed a total of 200 television sets, mainly owned by government officials and associated civilian leaders (Mattos, 1982). Programming during this elitist stage (1950-1964) was characterized by low-budget local productions that attempted to imitate North American variety shows.

It was not until the mid-1960s that television was considered a powerful tool as a disseminator of information. From 1964 to 1975, the populist-sensationalist

phase, television grew into a mass medium in Brazil. The major Brazilian networks were established, and the development of satellite technology and videotape recordings during this time frame enabled transmission to reach virtually all of Brazil. Due to the lack of an internal production industry and the relatively inexpensive cost of importation, vast amounts of foreign programs, predominantly from the United States, dominated the medium during this stage. Concurrently, the authoritarian government of Brazil began utilizing television as a propagandistic tool in promoting economic development and national objectives. Mattos (1982) stated, "...one can only speak of a system of television in Brazil after 1967, when the country began centralizing its cultural and economic policies, and television networks were developing a strong economic base" (p. 13). Thus, television quickly evolved from an elitist medium to that of a means of bringing together the masses in Brazil. It expanded into the most popular vehicle for family entertainment and became the primary component in propagating national development.

The government recognized the need for a national broadcasting infrastructure but did not possess the financial means of establishing one. Hence, the role of foreign capital became an important element in the development of such an industry. Foreign investments, mainly from U.S. transnational corporations, provided the necessary means of developing a telecommunications infrastructure during this second phase. While this was a common practice throughout the world, the Brazilian government strictly forbade foreign investments in most domestic industries at that time. TV Globo, run by the Marinho-family media conglomerate, was financed by the Time-Life Corporation in terms of invested capital, telecommunications technologies, technical instruction and imported programs (Duarte, 1992). Although foreign ownership was not allowed, the Brazilian government permitted Time-Life to invest in Globo in

order to develop the foundation of a domestic broadcasting industry.

Another major factor in Brazil's telecommunications development was the influx of transnational product manufacturers and the advertising agencies representing them in Brazil (Sinclair, 1994). Since the Brazilian broadcasting model was created as a commercial enterprise, the industry relied heavily on advertising revenue. Concurrently, several foreign advertising companies were developing business opportunities throughout the Latin American region. As a result, a bulk of the financial backbone of the broadcasting infrastructure has been attributed to the presence of foreign companies. Sinclair (1982) explained that transnational advertising and communications corporations established subsidiaries in Latin America in order to capture the advertising revenue from the multinational manufacturing companies that were also developing regional subsidiaries during the same period. The majority of these were, and currently are, American-based corporations which work as parent companies for their Latin American subsidiaries.

The three main elements that lay the foundation for the current Brazilian broadcasting industry include the rise of television as the primary reference point for social interaction, the growth of the middle class and the increased importation of U.S. cultural products and television programs. The United States' influence on Brazil's television industry created a hegemonic cultural diffusion throughout the country. The rise of the middle class and the national development efforts of the government after 1964 infused the borrowed technical advancements of the medium, thus perpetuating a foreign cultural ideology. The television industry "...vitalized the national cultural production by expanding the internal consumer market for symbolic goods as well as the external market catering to the consumer needs of other countries on the cultural circuit of international capitalism " (daSilva, 1986, p. 101). Thus, television had become

one of the most powerful, influential social and political forces in Brazil.

During the technological development phase between 1975 and 1985, television became an integral part of the domestic industry of Brazil. Technical improvements and innovations, along with a trend in reverting to domestic production, established the broadcasting industry as a mainstay in the Brazilian economic force (Mattos, 1985). Although imported programs still accounted for 30% of broadcasts aired in 1983, the consumer demands for domestically-produced adaptations of American programming increased tremendously (Merrill, 1991). It was during this period that domestic programs first gained a foothold in the country's consumer market. The powerful role of indigenous programming has been largely attributed to the ability of the broadcasting industry to maintain a strong production component that remained geolinguistic and geographically specific to the Brazilian culture. Although the technology continued to be imported mainly from the United States, the actual programming adapted American themes and genre to the social and cultural aspects of Brazil.

The fourth phase, from 1985 to 1990, was characterized mainly by an increase in the number of networks as well as international expansion. Brazilian programming, particularly that of the telenovela, became a major player in the international arena with the rise of consumer demand in the global market.² This national production center, under the auspices of TV Globo, now exports programming to more than 100 countries (Duarte, 1992). Although Brazilian programming maintains a global audience, the industry's impact is predominately found in its domestic market and that of its neighbors. Brazilian culture, specifically in television, has historically held a strong influence throughout the

² The telenovela is the most popular domestic program genre in Brazil and several other Latin American countries. This genre was initially a replication of U.S. soap operas but has adapted over the years to become an integral component in the Brazilian national and cultural identity.

region. This influence can be found in the exportation of Brazilian programming to neighboring countries as well as in the imitation of program themes, plots and genre in other Latin American markets.

Brazil's domestic industry slowly expanded during the later years of this phase with the inception of new signal distribution systems. Through the introduction of such technologies as direct broadcast satellite (DBS), cable, and multichannel multipoint distribution systems (MMDS), as well as the government's licensing of ultra high frequency (UHF) channels, subscription television was borne in Brazil. The arrival of these systems characterized a transitional stage from the international expansion era to the segmentation phase that is the current environment in the Brazilian television industry (Duarte, 1992; Siqueira, 1994). These technologies had been available for a relatively long time, yet the government's role in the telecommunications field did not, until recently, make it politically or economically feasible for the broadcasting industry to take advantage of these new distribution systems.

As a result of the lack of regulation in the earlier stages of the pay television industry, the philosophy in reaching the domestic audience via new signal distribution systems had been to invest in the technology prior to government approval. Walter Longo, CEO of one of the two largest cable competitors, stated, "Brazil was very late in pay TV development, not because it was behind technologically, but because it was already quite advanced in television...We have learned that it is better to ask for forgiveness than approval" (Longo, 1994, p. 34). Rather than waiting for the government to determine the state's role in the pay television market, the broadcasting industry leaders began paving the road to a competitive, commercial narrowcasting industry which left little room for the government. The state's inability to take a progressive stand on the issue indirectly led to the development of the current marketplace.

Although the industry appears to be following the U. S. model, it is rather unconventional in that the traditional inception of pay television "...has been associated with cable TV, but in Brazil, its origin is more alongside MMDS and DBS television" (Fadul, 1993, p. 74). The dawn of the multichannel television industry arrived via direct broadcast satellite in 1986 with GloboSat, while coaxial cable and MMDS were more recently introduced in 1989 and 1990, respectively. Two of the largest Brazilian communications corporations, Rede Globo and Rede Abril de Televisão, began investing in the distribution systems prior to gaining licenses and government approval in the early 1990s. These two conglomerates are recognized as the founders of the Brazilian subscription television industry. Globo, through its subsidiary GloboSat, invested heavily in direct broadcast satellite, while Abril chose an MMDS system for its subsidiary TVA (Fadul, 1993). At the time of such investments, the government refused to allocate licenses or concessions for the development of a cable system.

One major setback for a cable infrastructure has been the lack of financial resources to invest in the hardware: importing the equipment, laying the coaxial cable and/or optical fiber, and the maintenance involved once such a system is in place. Another problem has been that the largest potential audiences are found in the metropolitan areas of Brazil, in which the costs in development are much higher than in a less urbanized environment. Arlo Rogers (1994), Director of Engineering for Multicanal, argued,

It's a lot easier to lay [underground] cable and develop the system in ...[a region] that's not an over-populated urban area. But what's the point? In one given block of some of São Paulo's wealthier neighborhoods, you have a larger audience than you would in most other cities all together. You have higher costs to develop the system, but the trade-off is well worth it...In the end, you have a market virtually worth millions of dollars...and everybody wants a piece of that pie. When it's all done and said, whoever holds the most pieces [subscribers] wins.

While DBS is not as strictly monitored, the cable industry has been stagnantly controlled in its growth. Under much pressure by various media organizations, the government finally authorized 96 concessions for cable in 1989. In an attempt to create a competitive environment, none of these were distributed to the major media conglomerates that dominate the print, radio and television industries. What the government did not take into account was the lack of capital for investment. With no government subsidies or loans, the small business entrepreneurs who bought the concessions had no means of developing the technology.

The result of this initial oversight was twofold. The primary consequence revolved around ownership of the concessions. With no monetary resources available for development, the small license holders quickly adapted to the situation by selling the concessions. Reportedly, these commodities sold for anywhere from U.S.\$500,000 to U.S.\$5 million (Hoineff and Besas, 1994). Such concessions or franchises became a property worth high value and were sold most often to the media conglomerates that the government initially tried to prevent from entering the market.

The second issue pertained to how the infrastructure was developed in the hands of the private sector, mainly the responsibility of the top three competitors. The costs in creating a foundation for the subscription television industry were extremely high. The marketplace became one in which no specific means of distribution outweighed the others (opposite of that found in most industrialized countries, such as the case with the U.S. cable model) (Baker, 1994b; Rogers, 1994). The result has been a slowly-evolving pay TV market in which all distribution systems continue to play a role but none have yet to show dominance over the others. Considered by some to still be in its infancy, the industry has yet to determine at this point which technological route will set the precedent for

the distribution marketplace. Of the 102 cable concessions and twelve MMDS licenses that had been granted under a 1989 amendment, the two major media conglomerates hold the majority of those. Due to financial constraints, only thirty of these were operating as of March 1994 (Hoineff and Besas, 1994; Globo NET brochure, 1994). The multichannel television industry as a whole does not fall under one specific regulatory framework, but the current federal administration has targeted the telecommunications industry as a priority in substantial change and growth.

Baker (1994b) noted that there are three significant reasons why pay television has been slow in developing: (1) until recently, there was no infrastructure for distribution; (2) there was no real demand for pay television because the audience did not know what it was; and (3) Globo did not want to erode its power base. One concern is that this new industry will not continue as an openly competitive market in which the consumer has several options. Rather, it will become one in which a select few dominate and dictate the distribution system that will eventually lead the industry. In turn, the type of programming made available and the program and advertising content portrayed on the pay channels will be controlled as well. This scenario, of a few conglomerates catering to the needs of the country's elite, had historically been the main criticism of broadcasting until pay television began making slow progress in the early 1990s. More specifically, the potential role of Globo in the young industry has been a point of contention among industry leaders (Baker, 1994b; Straubhaar, 1994).

Globo, the largest of the seven national broadcasting networks, has maintained a 65-70% market share throughout most of its history. However, by the end of 1994, the media conglomerate had lost a hold on ten points of its traditional share of the Brazilian audience, mainly to its competitors in broad-

casting as well as a less significant percentage to the programming on the new channels introduced through the cable industry (Paxman, 1995a). With the largest potential market in the western hemisphere, Brazil is viewed by transnational companies as a relatively untapped resource for programming distribution and the consumption of products and services. Globo has been criticized of not only maintaining a stronghold on the Brazilian television audience but also of creating a barrier to entry for potential competitors. If Globo held a monopoly over the multichannel pay television industry as well as maintained its dominance in the traditional broadcasting arena, competitors argued, the entire television spectrum would be dictated by Globo. Criticism over this potentially hazardous role led many to believe that Globo's strategy in entering the pay television market was to actually prevent the fledgling industry from growing successfully (Baker, 1994b; Straubhaar, 1994).

1.2 The Political Environment of Brazil's Television Industry

Since the adoption of the national Telecommunication Code in 1962 and the 1963 General Telecommunication Regulation, "...the role of the government has stood out as the main custodian of the system" (Fadul, 1993, p. 13). Under the current governing laws, renewable licenses or concessions are granted for terms of fifteen years. Government control is empowered under such a system in that licenses have historically been granted to those who are more favorable to the respective executive political power. With an outdated Constitution that does not define 'narrowcasting', under which the aforementioned distribution systems fall, the government had been hesitant in allocating spectrum space and concessions when these distribution systems were first introduced (Siqueira, 1994).

Discussion of the cable industry has been prevalent since the early 1970s, but the government was reluctant to both regulate and develop the infrastructure to allow for new means of distributing television signals until recently (Baker, 1995; Fadul, 1993). It has been argued that the two motives were political favors: to protect the TV Globo monopoly and to maintain the role of several government officials who hold broadcasting licenses throughout Brazil. Approximately 20% of Brazilian Congress members own either a radio or television station, while others are owned or run by family members of government officials (Fadul, 1993). This protectionist attitude on the part of the government may have been a key factor in the stagnation of pay television's development, but the drastic economic crisis that engulfed the nation throughout the 1980s severely affected the industry as well. Considered a privileged sector for government investment throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Brazilian telecommunications experienced several financial difficulties in the "Lost Decade" of the 1980s.

Another significant problem was found in the ambiguity of legislation. In Article 4 of the legislative Telecommunication Code, telecommunication services have been defined as "the transmission, emission or reception of symbols, characters, signals, writing, images, sounds or data of any nature by wire, radio, electricity, optical facilities or any other electromagnetic process" (cited in Fadul, 1993, p. 13). Article 6 of this code established the differentiation between broadcasting and special services in that broadcasting was "meant for direct and free reception by the public in general, covering radio and television broadcasting", while special services were those "not open to public correspondence and not included in the definitions of the previous paragraphs" (cited in Fadul, 1993, p. 14). Industry leaders and prominent members of the Brazilian academe argued that narrowcasting fell under neither the broadcasting nor the special services categories of the code.

At this time, the political climate revolving around this issue is in a transitional stage. The political platform of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the current president of Brazil, is based in modernization of the state. Cardoso's focus has been a reduction in the state's monopolistic role in such industries as telecommunications and petroleum (Siqueira, 1994). The attitude of the Cardoso government is one in which modernization is synonymous with privatization, a trend occurring throughout Latin America. In order to liberalize the economy, the market must be opened to international investments, stimulation and trade. The current government appears to be progressively moving towards liberalizing the marketplace by removing the state's dominant presence in the various industries.

In the first phase of Cardoso's plans to liberalize the telecommunications industry, a new cable law was signed on January 6, 1995. However, the legislation did not pass until the second vote, as the two-thirds majority needed to pass was not met (Baker, 1995). The cable law went into effect forty-five business days after April 18, 1995. There were over 2,000 new applications for MMDS licenses in first six months of 1995, but a "gentlemen's agreement" was made between government officials and industry leaders to delay the initial steps of processing the applications until government officials determined how to enforce the new stipulations.

The main purpose of the new law is to regulate how the licenses for MMDS and cable operators will be allocated. The premise behind it is to open the pay television market, colloquially referred to as cable, to further competition while maintaining governmental regulation over the future of the industry. As one critic noted, the law essentially provides political legitimacy to what has been taking place since the inception of pay television in Brazil. However, the legislation also supports political reform in the concessional process and pro-

gramming content issues addressed in its bylaws. Sergio Motta, the current Minister of Communications, announced in January 1995 that his department would no longer condone the granting of radio, television and pay television concessions as political favors (Paxman, 1995a). In an historically corruption-plagued political environment, many Brazilians disregard Motta's statement as pointless. However, those with financial stakes in the industry are beginning to take heed to the minister's words as the federal government, under Cardoso's goals of modernization and globalization, is currently campaigning to lend credibility to Brazil's potential economic force in the international arena.

The congressional committee responsible for overseeing the telecommunications sector has been reviewing the concessional process in an attempt to curb political corruption as well as strengthen the government's control over what happens with the licenses once they are granted. The new regulations are based on a point system to hinder the creation of monopolies and oligopolies (i.e., alleviating the concern over Globo's prospective role as dictating the industry) and to stimulate competition (Baker, 1995). For instance, those who already hold a license(s), broadcasting or radio station, newspaper or any other media vehicle lose points. If a bidder agrees to allocate a certain percentage of daily airtime to domestic programming or specific channels for educational programming, that bidder gains points. This does not necessarily mean that all bidders who fit under the former category will be denied a license and all of those in the latter category will receive one. It simply allows for all applicants to start off at an equal level and to either gain or lose points according to stipulations set forth by the committee.

The goal with such a system is to limit cross-ownership and stimulate competition. It is no longer permissible to either sell or change ownership and/or stock of a license. This regulation is conducive to licenses already granted and

those to be distributed in the future. As of May 1995, neither the specific guidelines for the point system nor the number of concessions that are to be issued had been publicly released. Both the industry and the government's attitude toward the subscription television industry has changed in the last year.

The Brazilian government is putting a degree of social consciousness into the concessional process. At the same time, people are realizing that it's a good business to get in to, while in the past they would have sold the concessions (Baker, 1995).

A second targeted area for reform is that of the role of foreign capital. In 1994, the government allowed for 49% foreign ownership (including voting rights) in domestic MMDS operating companies. This move was previously regarded as unthinkable in Brazilian regulation of the television industry. With the new cable law, there is a move to alter the differentiation between a foreign and Brazilian company. In earlier years, foreign ownership was accessible only by means of hiring a Brazilian lawyer to hold ownership of the concession(s). However, the new law not only broadens the allowance of 49% ownership to companies with cable concessions, but it also redefines a Brazilian company as one which maintains a central office and operates within Brazil. This step in opening the industry to foreign capital has largely been attributed to pressures brought on by the three major competitors. As the industry leaders anticipate reaching one million subscribing households by the end of 1995, the government has allowed for foreign investments to legally provide the financial support in the needed development of a cable infrastructure (Baker, 1994b; Baker, 1995).

Another significant change in the pay television market pertains to regulations regarding program content. The cable law allows for cable operators to produce their own programming as well as encourages the use of educational and community programs (Baker, 1995). At this time, the majority of programs available via pay television are imported, predominantly from the United

States. The government appears to be concerned with the potentially detrimental role of imported programming in the social and cultural aspects of Brazil, yet has increased the role of foreign capital in the industry's infrastructure.

The pay television industry has been slow in developing, but the current political administration appears to be making up for lost time. Internally, the political mechanism that has been upheld throughout Brazil's history is gradually changing. This is evident in that the traditional state-monopolized marketplace is moving progressively to privatization, thus changing a value system that is deeply rooted in political affiliations and liaisons. Concurrently, the traditional broadcasting system is being challenged by the pay television industry that, while still in its infancy, is steadily growing and capitalizing on the country's consumer base through the segmentation of niche markets.

1.3 Current Trends in the Brazilian Subscription Television Market

The Brazilian broadcasting and multichannel industry now follows the U.S. model in three specific areas: distribution, programming and advertising. There has been increased development of signal distribution technologies, such as one competitor's use of a direct-to-home digital compression system that provides for more channels at a higher transmission quality than many other systems (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). Programmers continue to follow American fads in their imitation of genre and production styles of U.S. programming, with increased production of talk shows and 'interactive' news programs that enable audience participants to express their views (Michaels, 1994). There has also been an influx in specifically targeted advertising campaigns that no longer attempt to reach the mass populous (Oliveto, 1994). Aside from the above characteristics, there are two current trends shaping the pay television environ-

ment in Brazil. These relate to market segmentation and increased importation of programming.

Segmentation and Niche Markets

When speaking of the current television industry in Brazil, the focal point is market segmentation (Duarte, 1992). As media, particularly television, are moving away from the primary goal of reaching the masses, the objective has become that of successfully identifying and capturing specifically targeted niche markets. Market segmentation first became prevalent in the mid-1980s, as the six minor broadcasting networks were forced to find alternatives in competing with TV Globo. Spearheaded by SBT and Manchete (Fadul, 1994), these networks had to adopt creative strategies in order to capture niche audiences ignored by Globo.

The premise of market segmentation is to capture and maintain the interests of a large share of a relatively small market rather than obtaining a minimal share of the mass market. The strategic technique utilized by the six networks has been to work around Globo's programming schedule in providing targeted programs to niche markets during unconventional time slots (Duarte, 1992). The most successful example to date has been SBT's eleven-hour variety show "Programa Silvio Santos" that runs weekly on Sunday afternoons and evenings. Sunday is the only day of the week in which Globo does not broadcast its primetime-dominating telenovelas. Globo's response to Santos' show was to produce and broadcast a spin-off of the variety show that has not received as much fanfare as SBT's program. Although Globo still holds the largest market share and boasts all ten of the top-rated programs, its competitors have been able to gain their own audiences as well as a portion of the advertising revenue ("SBT Chips Away", 1995).

During pay television's developmental stages, the broadcasting industry was dominated by TV Globo, the network that succeeded in maintaining the majority of market shares with only one channel that reached the entire country via satellite transmission ("SBT Chips Away", 1995). Once the other networks began obtaining niches in the marketplace, the viability of a multichannel environment became more feasible as this marketing strategy proved to be relatively effective. Brazil's cable market is considered one of the best in the world in its potential and, until recently, remained an untapped resource for distributors, programmers and advertisers. Market segmentation proved the final link in developing such an industry.

Currently, subscription television plays a rather significant role in this type of marketing. Reaching niche markets is the strategy upon which pay television in Brazil was initially developed (Baker, 1994a). Often referred to as narrowcasting, pay television relies on reaching narrowly defined audiences and catering its programming and advertising to such target markets. Longo (1994) stated, "...pay TV came to Brazil not to create an alternate signal distribution system as it happened in Argentina or...the U.S., but rather to offer an additional package of segmented premium channels" (p.34). Four major issues have plagued the pay television industry: the previously discussed costs in developing an infrastructure; legislation that had barred cable license holders from producing their own programming; educating Brazilian consumers on what subscription television is and its differences from the traditional broadcasting model; and the lack of domestic programming to fill the available channels.

Until the recent legislation that now allows for foreign ownership, the domestic private sector was responsible for developing the industry's infrastructure. The initial result was that foreign capital was indeed utilized prior to the government officially permitting such investments (Baker, 1995; Rogers, 1994).

Another way around the legislation had been to hire technical consultants from foreign companies, mainly from the U.S. cable industry. This ensured that the hosting Brazilian company was receiving the expertise needed to build the foundation of its infrastructure while following the U.S. cable model in management and development. The technical hardware and equipment continue to be imported, often with a 100% import tax. The incurred costs of developing this industry have been passed along to the consumers. A typical cable package in Brazil costs approximately U.S.\$200-\$250 for installation with a U.S.\$20-\$40 monthly fee. As the subscription television market is currently moving out of its early adopter phase into the emulator stage, these costs are anticipated to decrease within the next two to three years (Baker, 1994b).

The industry must educate consumers on what is meant by multichannel subscription television and the differences between pay television and 'free' broadcasting. Currently, the industry is collectively referred to as cable television. Industry leaders have made a great effort in the last year to refer to it as subscription or pay television. Although consumers know this multichannel industry exists, most of them neither understand nor are concerned with the differences between the distribution systems available. "The person sitting in front of the TV doesn't care how it's coming into the back of the TV. He is concerned with what's on the screen" (Baker, 1995). Within the last year, the consumer awareness of subscription television has increased tremendously. Industry leaders are encouraged by the reception in the mass market. "People are saving up to get it...", as pay television is moving away from simply being an elitist status symbol to a phase of mass awareness and popularity (Baker, 1995).

This increase in mass awareness has also contributed to an influx in advertising revenue. More than U.S.\$1.3 billion is spent on television advertising in Brazil annually. This phenomenon is contributed, for the most part, to the

large television audience, the sophistication of domestic broadcasting and Brazilians' fascination with the medium. On the average, companies selling consumer products in Brazil spend over half of their advertising budget on television ("Brazil's Dynamic TV Sector Entices Advertisers", 1992; Paxman, 1995a; Paxman, Ehrmann and di Nubila, 1995). However, the subscription television companies have seen only a small percentage of such expenditures.

Although cable is a "...great media opportunity for segmentation in advertising," the economic problem of the Brazilian class system creates a lack of desire to segment among advertisers (Oliveto, 1994). Not only has the industry had to educate the mass audiences of Brazil on what is meant by pay television but has had to educate the advertising industry on the benefits of segmentation as well. Within the last two years, the Brazilian marketplace has opened up to more international products that are primarily targeted towards the elitist consumer group, known in Brazil as class A. Thus, it has been the representative U.S. advertising agencies and product managers who have paved the way to market segmentation in Brazil (Oliveto, 1994). It has frequently been argued that the pay television industry is merely a new avenue for the distribution of imported programming and consumer goods to Brazilian audiences. It is this problem of programming which lends itself to the second trend in pay television, that of a reliance on imported programs.

Increased Importation of Foreign Programming

The cable industry began importing foreign programming to fill the time slots made available with the rise of the multichannel capabilities of the new signal distribution systems. Until permitted under the auspices of the 1995 cable law, operators were not allowed to produce their own programming. When the initial legislation regulating the distribution of MMDS and cable concessions was passed, these licenses were defined as distTV (Distribution of TV Signals)

authorizations. “As the name suggests, it [the licensed company] only can distribute programming produced by other stations” (Fadul, 1993, p. 87). The major broadcasting networks have always been responsible for the majority of their programming. Thus, the pay television industry has had to look elsewhere for programming.

It is unclear whether the consumers want imported programming. Little audience research has been undertaken to determine whether audience members subscribe because of the desire for more channel options or merely as a status symbol among the elite. Michaels (1994) noted, “Cable...is blatantly conspicuous consumption. Cable here is a big status and image thing but people also subscribe for access to the programming.” There has been very little marketing research done in the Brazilian pay television industry regarding consumer preferences and viewing behavior patterns. Some industry experts argue that there will have to be an increase in Brazilian content in programming for subscription television to coexist with the high-quality programming made available through traditional broadcasting. “It’s not just a question of being able to afford it. The question is that of a cultural level or interest in such programming” (Siqueira, 1994). The Brazilian Public Opinion Polling Institute (IBOPE: Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística) has been the leading marketing research firm but currently does not study the subscription television industry.

Regarding market segmentation, only MTV Brasil is currently researching its niche audience. Datafolha, a firm that specializes in marketing research for newspapers, magazines and radio, conducts a monthly quantitative analysis of MTV’s São Paulo target audience. The firm administers a monthly telephone survey of questions pertaining to audience demographics and psychographics, lifestyle trends, programming preferences and perceptions of MTV (Cohen,

1994; Venturi, 1995). These measurements are then projected for the rest of Brazil. MTV also conducts in-house research in an attempt to consistently monitor its audience. The cable industry currently utilizes the marketing strategies set forth by MTV. "MTV is a reference for everything today...[it] gives the audience what they want, which is different than other stations here and in the U.S." (Cohen, 1994). Evidently, this is the first attempt ever made in Brazil to study and define such a specifically targeted market. Datafolha and IBOPE have considered expanding their services as market segmentation is projected to increase with the growth of the pay television market (Venturi, 1995).

The debate regarding subscribers' preferences for domestic or imported programming remains to be resolved. Executives in each of the three largest cable operators acknowledge that the primary reason subscribers want cable has not been determined (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994; Pecegueiro, 1994; Rogers, 1994). The major issue is what the future preferences and market demands will be when, and if, the industry reaches the majority of the population. Currently, only the two highest economic strata (A and B) have access to cable due to the high cost and lack of mass appeal to imported cultural products. Industry leaders must remain positive about the potential market but must also be realistic in terms of the interest maintained once the initial excitement dies down. It is evident that there does remain a largely untapped market for subscription television. Imported programming, mainly from the United States, will continue to dominate the multichannel environment, while domestic production will gradually increase as well. Duarte (1992) cited Browne's argument that "the increasing homogeneity of TV programming schedules" is a result of the cost-effectiveness in importing programs (p. 168). Since imported programs are usually cheaper than domestically-produced ones, most of the world's television systems produce less than they import.

At the same time, there is a fear of an American invasion in both programming and capital invested in the subscription television industry. Due to recent regulations mandated by the U.S. Federal Communications Commissions (FCC), several U.S. cable companies are turning to other markets for profits. According to Goncalves and Mendonça (1994), American telecommunications companies are losing approximately U.S.\$4 billion annually due to increased FCC regulations. The Brazilian government and industry leaders, while concerned with the lack of domestic capital to develop the cable infrastructure, are leary of yet another cycle of cultural imperialism in programming and industry dominance (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). This provides one explanation for the conflicting stipulations set forth in the new cable law in Brazil, that of restricting imported programs and concurrently encouraging foreign investments. On the one hand, the message is that of building a stronger domestic production base, while, on the other hand, the government is encouraging the presence of foreign investors. Perhaps government officials view the liberal protectionist attitude as a means of controlling the marketplace while providing it with more resources for development.

Foreign distributors are currently forming alliances and/or joint ventures with the various Brazilian cable operators. Most favor licensing with exclusive rights for either specific programs or programming from specific channels (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994; Rogers, 1994). While one Brazilian operator may hold rights of exclusivity to air "Beverly Hills 90210", for example, a competitor may have an exclusive license agreement for ESPN. The same imported programming packages are often available to Brazilian consumers from more than one operator. As of yet, tiering is not characteristic of the Brazilian model. The only option is to which cable company a consumer can subscribe. Tiering will become a leading component of the industry as both

competition and subscriber bases increase (Baker, 1995).

Another issue revolving around programming and production is that of the Brazilian film industry. There were approximately 100 Brazilian movies financed in the early 1980s per year, but by 1992, only two to three films were being produced annually (Hoineff, 1995). The Brazilian government had been the sole body financing the film industry for over twenty years under the auspices of EMBRAFILME. The annual EMBRAFILME budget had consistently decreased during the 1980s, known as Brazil's "Lost Decade", and was finally cut out of the state's budget altogether under Collor. The effect was increased importation in both the film and television industry. A 1993 law provided tax shelters for foreign companies interested in Brazilian co-productions serving the purpose of increasing private investments in the industry while maintaining indigenous content. However, only one company has committed to a co-production to date. The primary reason behind this is that U.S. distributors receive a tax credit in the United States for the Brazilian remittance tax levied on imported movies, as is often the case with other foreign suppliers in their respective home countries (Hoineff, 1995).

Cardoso, Brazil's current president, has reacted to the situation by providing a \$15 million emergency fund to protect this cultural industry. There are predictions that as many as forty new Brazilian film titles will be available by the end of this year as governmental support is expected to increase up to U.S.\$50 million. The result has been that "...producers are looking to partner with TV companies and devote greater efforts to international sales" (Hoineff, 1995, p. 64). Such partnerships may have a positive effect on the subscription television industry in that more domestic programming may be made available for this multichannel market. While the primary goal of the Brazilian film producers is to increase exportation, the potential for reaching a higher domestic audience

via pay television should not be ignored. The perception of quality among movie attendees in Brazil focuses on highly budgeted, visually appealing movies synonymous with Hollywood rather than the low-budgeted, more content-oriented characteristics of the Brazilian film industry. The majority of films have always been imported, but the theaters provide what the consumers request. Moviegoers fill out request forms at the theaters and those films most mentioned are brought in to the respective cinema houses (Michaels, 1994). U.S. movies received approximately 70% of the top billings in 1994, while 2–3% of the most popular films were imported from other countries (Hoineff, 1994). “There’s a feeling of rejection by Brazilian audiences for local films...The A-class audiences want A films and will avoid the usual low-budget Brazilian fare” (Hoineff, 1994, p. 39). The commercial film industry caters to this social class, since movie audiences are mainly composed of class A members.

While the consumer market currently demands imported movies in theaters, subscription television channels may provide a new outlet for the domestic film industry. Occasionally, a Brazilian movie is showcased on one of the pay movie channels, but U.S. movies currently dominate this market as well. For instance, according to TVA’s monthly cable guide for June 1994, there were 514 movies available to subscribers via five of TVA’s seven channels throughout the month. There were no Brazilian movies, 440 U.S. films, fifty-six non-American imported movies, seven U.S. co-productions and seven non-U.S. co-productions (Revista TVA, 1994).

The new cable law encourages increased domestic production and uses this as an incentive in granting concessions, yet there have been no political solutions provided for the lack of financial means to produce programming. Not only is production more expensive than importation, but companies with no history in production would have to compete with a highly structured, successful domestic

production base found in the broadcasting industry as well. One possible way to alleviate the problem is that of taking advantage of the domestic film industry. Movie attendees will continue to want imported films, but Brazilian filmmakers could potentially reach a greater audience via the multichannel environment.

Imported programming will continue to be an essential component in pay television. As advancements in technology continue to provide more channels available to consumers, programming will continue to be in demand to fill the time slots as well. Since foreign ownership is now permissible and pay television is reaching the point of mass appeal, each of the major Brazilian cable companies is aligning with various U.S. programming distributors and communications conglomerates to ensure that they too will hold a percentage of the rising subscription television audience.

1.4 Major Players in Pay Television

The Brazilian subscription base, as mentioned previously, has more than doubled in the last year. According to Baker (1995), at the end of April 1995, there were between 520,000 and 535,000 subscribers. Of those, about 30,000 to 40,000 overlap in that they receive programming from various operators via an independent company operating in regions in which the main competitors are not present. Industry leaders are predicting that there will be one million subscribing households by the end of 1995 and three million by 1998 (Baker, 1995; Hoineff and Besas, 1994). Business leaders are beginning to acknowledge the potential of this market and are vying for their share of the audience. There are two major competitors in the pay television industry, with a third up and coming contender: Globo NET, TVA and Multicanal. These three recognized the potential of this market long before most Brazilian business leaders even knew what was meant by the term subscription television.

Of the 2000 current applications for cable licenses, most of them belong to newcomers in the market. Several critics contend that those companies which will be granted licenses are eventually going to have to work with one of the three industry leaders. Of the thirty concessions now in operation, the few smaller companies act more as branches of one or more of the aforementioned three dominating contenders. Often, these smaller operators acquire geographical rights to some programming from one competitor while holding rights to another contender's programs as well. This trend will most likely continue for the next few years as these three have acquired the programming rights and technical expertise needed to sustain the pay television industry.

TV Abril (TVA) was the first cable company to heavily invest in a multichannel infrastructure. Globo had been using satellite technology prior to the advent of pay television but was utilizing the technology for the sole purpose of nationally transmitting its regular VHF signal. TVA was the first to actually utilize MMDS and open UHF channels to reach a subscription-based audience (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). Globo soon followed with satellite-delivered pay channels available through its subsidiary GloboSat, and later GloboNet, to ensure its dominance in the television industry. Multicanal, which works closely with Rede Globo in some areas while directly competing with the conglomerate in other regions, was the first to invest in the development of both a coaxial cable and optical fiber network. Thus, the 'cable' infrastructure of Brazil is a hybrid market composed of various signal distribution technologies. What remains to be seen is which means of distribution, if any, will prove to work most effectively. Baker (1995) stated that operators must be aware of their system's limitations and that "any major player has to realize that they will have to work with every and any distribution technology down here and apply them with good sense." Therefore, while the industry as a whole is a hybrid market, each competitors'

distribution system is composed of a multitude of distribution technologies in itself.

GloboSat and Globo NET

Rede Globo has utilized satellite technology to obtain national coverage for quite some time, but the conglomerate did not take advantage of this distribution system as a means for pay television until TVA's entry into the market in 1991 (Fadul, 1993; Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). Although Globo had acquired several of the 102 cable concessions, the company did not begin operations until they were essentially forced into the new industry. Globo initially transmitted four pay channels via direct broadcast from the BrasilSat II communications satellite under the auspices of its subsidiary GloboSat. With basically no competition in the traditional broadcasting industry, Globo entered the subscription-based marketplace with confidence in its marketing expertise.

TV Globo has been considered an innovator in broadcasting marketing strategy with its effective employment of horizontal programming and merchandising (Michaels, 1994). Globo was able to lock in the Brazilian audience during primetime Monday through Saturday by airing its highly reputed telenovelas back to back. Concurrently, the broadcasting network had "...mastered the art of incorporating product advertising into its scripts...Television programming in Brazil is composed of a mix of reality and fiction...", in that advertising is often combined in program content (Michaels, 1994). GloboSat was organized in the same manner as its parent company, borrowing such marketing tactics.

This resulted in various problems for the subsidiary during its first two years of operation. While TVA was slowly growing, GloboSat appeared to be floundering. The company brought in an advertising specialist as its new CEO in 1993, whereupon the company "diagnosed the industry and found a basic strategic mistake...we had put different activities under the same roof"

(Pecegueiro, 1994). The company had followed the model of its umbrella organization in housing its programming and distribution services together. The problem was one both TVA and GloboSat experienced, yet TVA had been able to successfully employ this type of model. As a solution, GloboSat divided into two separate entities: GloboSat and Globo NET. The former is currently responsible for programming, while the latter now handles all distribution activities.

Although this alleviated some of Globo's problems, another substantial mistake was found in the technical options the company was utilizing. While using the DBS system it already had in place, Globo ignored other signal distribution technologies that were available. "There was an awareness and demand for the programming, but the problem was consumers couldn't get the signal" (Pecegueiro, 1994). Problems inherent in the direct broadcast satellite system often led either to interference in transmitted signals or did not logistically lend itself to various geographic regions. Globo NET reviewed the situation and determined that its best option to distribute programming was with a cable system. The company "found the opportunity" to distribute via cable in early 1993 and began to investigate the industry in other countries, such as the United States and Argentina (Pecegueiro, 1994). Currently, its overall distribution network is composed of DBS, MMDS, coaxial cable and optical fiber. The NET system is jointly owned by Globo, Multicanal and Rede Brasil Sul (RBS), but all operative commands are maintained by Globo (NET Brasil brochure, 1994).

Along with importing equipment and technical expertise from the United States, GloboSat relies heavily on the U.S. for its programming. Pecegueiro (1994) argued, "It is impossible for any nation besides France to put up a barrier to American programming...in terms of Latin America, we are very American oriented." The NET system is currently capable of providing access to twenty-

four channels and charges U.S.\$32 per month for such services. As of 1994, GloboSat offered four domestic channels and held exclusive rights to four other programming channels. Unlike its competitors, GloboSat has access to an abundance of indigenous programming through its parent company TV Globo. The four channels that currently provide programming are Telecine, a 24-hour movie channel; GNT, GloboSat News Television; Multishow, an entertainment channel providing cartoons, video clips, classic movies and series, and informative programs on show business; and Top Sport, which provides coverage of international sports and Brazilian soccer championships.

It holds rights of exclusivity for the Fox Latin American Channel, which is the first multinational channel to offer a 100% Portuguese-language signal in Latin America; Teleuno, a joint venture between Spelling International and Mexico's Multivision that provides a multitude of American and Mexican sitcoms; NBC-Canal de Noticias, the 24-hour American news service for Latin America; and the Jockey Club, a channel covering Brazilian horse races that allows viewers to place bets over the telephone (NET Brasil brochure, 1994; Pecegueiro, 1994; Paxman, 1995b). Although GloboSat distinguishes between domestic and imported channels, both offer various imported programs as well as domestically-produced ones. NET also provides some TVA programming in a few geographic regions in which it operates distribution systems.

As of April of 1994, NET claimed to have 90,000 subscribing households (Baker, 1994c). Current subscription information was unavailable, including households passed as well as subscribing households. One industry expert noted that often the statistics are misleading, depending on whom is supplying the information. While one industry 'leader' may state certain numbers, another may provide a different set of data. Although Pecegueiro stated that the Globo conglomerate is conducting extensive research in analyzing the niche markets

in Brazil, there has been no empirical evidence to support this.

NET's philosophy is as follows:

...simply to give the largest number of alternatives possible to the subscriber. Two things we learned this year: while 'open' TV is called 'broadcasting,' subscription television can be called 'narrowcasting,' segmented, with a more closed focus. It's like a smorgasbord; there should be lots of choices, but almost no one eats everything on the table (Pecegueiro as cited in Baker, 1994c, p. 39).

Neither NET nor GloboSat had specific marketing information pertaining to its audience. According to the NET brochure (1994), programming is dictated by consumer demands. It remains unclear how the company obtains subscriber and/or potential consumer information. The company has hired various marketing consultants but has not provided public access to its research. With the current trend in joint ventures and alliances in the industry, more and more marketing research is becoming available to the general public. As NET is anticipating a venture with Mexico's Televisa and PanAmSat, the opportunity to review the company's in-house reports may be in the near future. Until then, the specific markets targeted by NET as well as quantitative support for its subscription data remain ambiguous.

Abril de Televisão (TVA)

Unlike Globo, the communications conglomerate Rede Abril entered the industry with no background in television. After several attempts to acquire a broadcasting license under various administrations, Abril was finally able to obtain an MMDS concession in the early 1990s, reportedly due to political ties to Collor. TVA began operating on September 15, 1991, in the São Paulo metropolitan area. Obviously at a disadvantage to Globo, who was not yet in the pay television market, TVA relied solely on imported hardware and technical advice upon entering the industry (Fadul, 1993; Siqueira, 1994).

Abril's original MMDS system, composed of codified UHF signals transmit-

ted to subscribers' parabolic antennae, consisted of six channels of programming (Fadul, 1993; Hoineff and Besas, 1994). Currently, TVA now offers subscribers seven pay channels and holds the license for the open UHF MTV Brasil channel. MTV started as a closed channel, but it is now offered on both open and closed systems throughout Brazil. TVA currently holds seven operating MMDS authorizations throughout Brazil, eleven cable concessions in operation and fifteen additional concessions that have not yet been developed (TVA brochure, 1994).

Although TVA started in MMDS, it is attributed with paving the way to a hybrid distribution market in Brazil. The company has definitely made up for its novice status upon entering pay television as it has been extremely successful in identifying which technologies are best suited for particular geographic regions (Baker, 1995; Pecegueiro, 1994). TVA is also attributed with leading the industry with technological breakthroughs. The company has recently developed the only digital direct-to-home system. Utilizing the BrasilSat I communications satellite, this distribution system is currently capable of transmitting twelve digitally-compressed channels to the "...more than 1,100,000 existing parabolic antennas already installed in Brasil" (TVA brochure, 1994, p.2). TVA has been very aggressive in competing with Globo and Multicanal. Whenever the other two begin developing their systems in a new neighborhood or district, TVA immediately enters the newly targeted areas, passing the same houses and apartment buildings as its two competitors (Baker, 1995).

One important characteristic of the Brazilian pay television industry pertains to residence. Apartment high rises typify the urban areas, and often residents of a particular building vote on which cable system will be utilized throughout the establishment. Each apartment occupant is still responsible for his/her individual installation and monthly fees, but this means that the

operator who acquires the contract has the benefit of reaching more customers at lower costs. TVA is currently “...*the* one to get if you’re going to get cable,” (Michaels, 1994). Building residents will often wait for TVA to arrive in the area, if it is not already there, rather than subscribing to another company.

TVA’s success in penetrating the market is largely attributed to the company’s ability to effectively promote subscription television to Brazilian consumers. The parent company, Rede Abril, has been in the print media industry for years. Considered the Brazilian leader in consumer journals and magazines, Abril has adopted the United States’ marketing trends in direct mailing and segmentation imported via the U.S. advertising agencies that followed product manufacturers to the Brazilian marketplace (Baker, 1995; Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). Hence, TVA had an advantage over its competitors in pay television. The company did not need to learn the valuable lessons of how to identify and capture niche markets. Rather, TVA has directed its efforts specifically to segmented audiences in Brazil’s class A using the aforementioned marketing strategies.

TVA advertises heavily in its parent company’s *Veja*, the leading Brazilian magazine comparable to the United States’ *Newsweek* or *Time* magazines (Hoineff and Besas, 1994). Almost immediately after beginning operations, the company began publishing its own cable magazine. *Revista TVA* is currently the fourth largest Brazilian magazine in circulation. It is not only sent to subscribers but is also available at newsstands and often mailed out to noncable viewers who subscribe to other Abril publications (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). The effects of this marketing scheme have been phenomenal.

TVA holds the largest subscription audience and has also managed to acquire the largest portion of advertising revenue in the industry. Since it already possessed a client base through advertisers in the various magazines, TVA was successful in convincing several advertisers familiar with the benefits of market

segmentation to buy airtime. Advertisers have the option of purchasing ad space in the monthly cable guide as well. Rede Abril has also been the first to offer cross-media advertising packages with its newspapers, magazines and cable channels (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994). While the Brazilian advertising industry as a whole only grew 9% between 1993 and 1994, advertising on TVA had increased approximately 200% in the same period (TVA brochure, 1994).

TVA has also been the industry leader in marketing research. As previously mentioned, MTV is the only channel that conducts extensive studies of its audience. However, TVA has been rather successful in recording pertinent demographics and psychographics of its subscribers. TVA commissioned Gercomp, an independent research firm, to study its audience in 1993 (TVA brochure, 1994). Some of the findings concluded that 60% of its viewers were between the ages of 15 and 49. Approximately 68% are in the class A strata, while only 8% of the general population is categorized in this social class. While the average number of color televisions per household is 3.4, almost 20% of TVA's audience has five or more in their household. Essentially, TVA subscribers are "...the *creme de la creme* of the Brazilian consumer population" (TVA brochure, p.4). TVA claimed to have 170,000 subscribing households out of a total of 220,000 as of April 1994. While the figures are debatable, depending on each competitor's claims, TVA will most likely sustain its lead in the market as a result of its aggressive marketing strategies (Baker, 1995).

In reaching this upper echelon of Brazilian society, TVA has relied on almost 100% imported programming from the United States. The company holds exclusive rights to MTV (which is now available on open channels, as discussed previously); ESPN, the U.S. sports channel; and the Superstation, a consolidation of the three major American networks (Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994; TVA brochure, 1994). TVA also offers subscribers access to CNN,

Showtime, the Cartoon Network and TNT. Specific programming from Disney, E! Entertainment News, Playboy, Lifetime and Rei are also made available to consumers.

TVA has also experienced its share of problems. Although it possesses the marketing capabilities lacking in its competitors, the company has often had to reconstruct portions of its distribution networks and has had several costly technical maintenance problems (Pecegueiro, 1994). TVA had drastic financial burdens until the end of 1994 but has resolved that problem through various joint ventures and partnerships. Stock in the company has switched foreign hands often prior to the government's permission for foreign ownership. The European subscription television corporation Irdeto claimed to invest heavily in TVA in November of 1993, but there has been no subsequent evidence of such an investment (Perry and O' Rorke, 1994). It was announced in early 1995 that a group of Canadian investors, led by Bell Canada, committed to a joint venture with TVA to provide U.S.\$19.8 million to further build the distribution system (Baker, 1995).

TVA has also recently partnered with Hughes Communications in its DirecTV Latin America satellite project (Paxman, 1995a). Although the government is attempting to curb domestic cross-ownership, with the influx of foreign investment, the future of the Brazilian telecommunications industry as a whole remains to be predicted. TVA appears to be the subscription television company that is creating the market's trends. The company continues to be closely watched by both domestic and foreign investors as it paves the way in marketing and developmental strategies.

Multicanal

The third contender in the pay television industry is Multicanal. Owned by CMA, a Brazilian mining company, Multicanal is currently the largest cable

operator utilizing coaxial cable and optical fiber in Brazil (NET brochure, 1994; Rogers, 1994). This company began operating in 1993, although cable was first utilized for signal distribution in 1991. Cable was primarily used only in the smaller urban regions of Brazil and was not a part of the infrastructure in São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro until Multicanal began developing its systems (Fadul, 1993). Most of the initial operating companies no longer exist, so Multicanal has been attributed with actually developing this segment of pay television amidst the controversy over the history of cable in Brazil.

Multicanal holds eighteen operating cable franchises throughout Brazil and is continuing to expand. The company owns at least thirty concessions that are not yet operating and is currently building cable systems in twenty cities (NET brochure, 1994; Rogers, 1994). The business, still considered small in comparison to TVA and Globo NET, is one the fastest growing pay television companies in Brazil. It also operates a few cable franchises in Argentina under a subsidiary (Rogers, 1994). Multicanal was the first to successfully utilize coaxial cable and optical fiber in its infrastructure, which is the primary reason why its competitors chose to research this distribution technology.

Although the company is fully owned by Brazilian investors, Multicanal also falls under American influence. It is currently adopting the U.S. cable model in its management style, use of hardware, and technical expertise. In an attempt to interpret the previous law that did not permit foreign ownership, Multicanal hired American experts to run the company's operations. According to Rogers (1994), the U.S. model is *the* model that will shape the future of the Brazilian pay TV industry. Under this premise, Multicanal has closely followed the trends in the U.S. cable industry, such as the utilization of optical fiber.

Multicanal had only 2,500 subscribing households as of December of 1993 but is planning to increase its subscriber base (Baker, 1994a). The company's

strategy is that of developing the distribution network first, then concentrating on capturing the market. Essentially, the company's philosophy is that "you have to build it first before you can reach your audience" (Rogers, 1994). The current system is capable of providing consumers with seventy channels, twenty-four of which are already filled with programming (Hoineff and Besas, 1994). The company does not currently hold exclusive rights to any imported channels or programming, but it does provide access to ESPN, CNN, TVE of Spain and Deutsche Welle of Germany. The company also provides a vast amount of domestic programming although does not produce any of its own. Multicanal plans to produce some programming when prices are anticipated to decrease. It has been estimated that approximately U.S.\$16 per subscriber would have to be invested to produce one program. The company intends to continue importing programming, particularly from the United States. "America is the rest of the world's image of prosperity. The most popular programming continues to come from the U.S." (Rogers, 1994). As consumer demands currently support importation, Multicanal is responding by attempting to provide the market with what it wants.

Multicanal owns 30% of Globo NET, however the company directly competes with NET in some geographic markets. Apparently, Multicanal is providing NET with technical advice in the development of the latter's distribution system. Multicanal intends to utilize its own cable operations for interactive television. The system already has the capacity to "...download information from any third party...so that it can be reviewed at the subscriber's leisure...including home banking information, account balances, financial market information" (Rogers, as cited in Baker, 1994a, p. 37). While no partnerships have been announced, other than Multicanal's stake in NET, the company's future will most likely include projects with other business sector leaders.

1.5 Social and Cultural Implications of Brazilian Television

Several researchers are concerned over the potential implications of the subscription television industry in Brazil (Fadul, 1994; Mattos, 1994). Is this one more step in the North's dominance over the South? Or is it merely an inevitable advancement as new technological breakthroughs permit such development? Is this yet another round in the global debate over the power struggle between First World nations and Third World countries? Or is this a sign of Brazil's move to industrialization and democratic liberalization? The industry will eventually determine these issues.

What remains unanswered is the possible effects, both positive and negative, this industry and its characteristics will have on the cultural and social aspects of Brazilian life as it is known today. With a more in-depth understanding of the television industry's past and current stages, the following chapters are dedicated to the primary purpose of this study: to gauge whether or not the pay television industry is indeed affecting the Brazilian society and culture. In a broader scope, it also attempts to determine if this is either indicative of cultural imperialism or an adaptation of what is often referred to as indigenization.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

A multitude of studies address the effects of television on social behavior, yet relatively little research has broached the subject of the cultural and social impact of U.S. programming on other countries. The theme of most research on the effects of United States' television on foreign audiences has been a qualitative overview rather than empirical analyses of such effects (Atwood, 1986). According to Elasmár (1993), from 1962 to 1992, only twenty-eight studies used quantitative measures in analyzing the impact of the transborder flow of television programs. Of those, most pertained to the impact of American programming and/or the advertising of U.S. products on foreign audiences. The overall lack of research may be a result of the difficulty to carry out quantitative studies regarding cultural issues. Nonetheless, the issue of culture and the transborder flow of information via various media vehicles has been a predominant issue in the social science area since the end of World War II.

Although the Westernization of peripheral cultures has been an international debate over the past thirty years, there has been more discussion than research undertaken on whether the U.S. influence does have negative effects on indigenous cultures. In the early 1970s, the cultural issue became the primary target of international attention in forums such as UNESCO. This debate eventually led to the creation of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) (Sinclair, 1994). Several countries from the periphery, including Brazil, are in various stages of becoming semi-industrialized nations no longer solely dependent on the industrialized core for economic development. As a result, an incrementalization in paradigms in social science research has begun to formulate regarding the cultural influences of mass media.

2.1 Cultural Imperialism or Indigenization?

The dependency theory “...was originally suggested as an economic model to explain the underdeveloped process in the Third World” (Oliveira, 1991a). This developmental paradigm originated in the early 1970s in Latin America and eventually culminated into two other theoretical frameworks in social science, that of media imperialism and cultural dependency (Lee, 1980; Oliveira, 1991a; Rogers and Antola, 1984). Cultural dependence, supplanted in the economic dependence theory, “...looks primarily at the ideological role of media as part of the cultural superstructure that results from the economic relations of dependency” (Straubhaar, 1991, p. 40). The focus of media imperialism is the unidirectional flow of power and media from one country into another. The ideology of Americanization derives from cultural imperialism, which emphasizes the influence or infusion of one culture via mass communication on another culture. Essentially, the theories are based on studies of the one-way flow of entertainment, news and advertising from the West, mainly the United States. These have primarily derived from the assumption that the U.S. government has worked closely with American-based transnational corporations and communication industries to ensure that U.S. foreign policy addressed and met the needs of these companies in the international marketplace (Hamelink, 1983; Molineu, 1990; Sinclair, 1994).

Cultural imperialism is rooted in the premise that the United States is the center of global economic and communicative power. It does not take into account the active pursuit of commercial television, via the adoption of the U.S. broadcasting model, by private investors in peripheral countries, such as the case of Brazil. Neither does the paradigm provide for a contextual analysis of individual circumstances in economic development. Rather, it lends itself to a

generalization of the core-periphery model that portrays this unequal one-way flow of cultural products and information from the core to the periphery as a singular model that encompasses all of the Third World with the same overall effects.

Tomlinson (1991) argued that an inherent problem with the cultural imperialism paradigm is that it is a generic concept which attempts to encompass a broad array of similar phenomena. It is too vast and ambiguous of a concept to be applied and interpreted in any one specific manner. In an international symposium regarding the transborder flow of television programming, this term was more narrowly defined to that of communications imperialism, which is unrelated to the broader imperialism schema (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973). Galtung (1979) identified five different types of imperialism: economic, military, political, communication and cultural. Under this premise, imperialism can be introduced in any one of the five then extend to the others. The latter two often go hand in hand, in that "...cultural imperialism is largely a product of communication imperialism" (Galtung, 1979, p. 166). According to Meyer (1988), if such is the case, it would be expected that the recipient developing countries of Western media are those which also possess a tendency to adopt Western sociocultural patterns as well.

Nordenstreng and Varis (1973) conducted a quantitative study of fifty countries in which the international flow of programming was assessed. In their findings, the authors concluded that most of the imported programs derived from the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany. The total amount of programming (in hours) exported from the U.S. was 150,000 hours; Great Britain and France exported 20,000 hours each and Germany 6,000. When specifically targeted to the communications sector, the researchers argued that imperialism was evident. "...Globally speaking, television traffic does flow

between nations according to the 'one-way street' principle: the streams of heavy traffic flow one way only" (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973, p. 52). The authors concluded that new technologies in distribution perpetuated this unidirectional flow of information. Although the study is somewhat outdated, it does lend itself to the current global situation. As more countries continue to privatize their telecommunications sectors and further open their domestic markets to imported products, this one-way flow continues to flourish. Imported programming will continue to play a vital role in the success of cable TV in Brazil. Until the production of domestic programming increases, the pay television industry must rely on imports, mainly from the United States, in order to survive. With advanced technologies allowing for more channels to be accessible using less spectrum space, imports will most likely always be available on one channel or another.

In a more recent study of the introduction of television in six Brazilian rural communities conducted by Conrad Kottak (1991), findings indicated that television's impact on cultural values in Brazil is comprised of a process of stages. Viewers initially are enchanted by the novelty of the medium; they then go through the "...process of selective acceptance and rejection, interpretation, and reworking of TV messages" (p. 83). The third stage is characterized by an increase in home viewing as private ownership of television sets rises. The final phase involves the study of the long-term effects of television on viewers.

The cultural variables assessed in Kottak's study included: trust, fear and danger, reading and literacy, social isolation and external orientation, liberal sex-gender views, and the length and amount of television viewing (Kottak, 1991). Among other findings, the results indicated that as television viewing increased, community members encountered and gradually accepted nontraditional views. The last stage regarding the long-term effects of exposure to

television was not studied in Kottak's research. The author called for further research addressing this issue, particularly that of the effects on the culture and social behaviors (such as consumerism and program preference) of the Brazilian people.

The aforementioned phases appear to typify the current situation with subscription television. The industry is currently moving into its emulation stage characterized by a rise in mass awareness and popularity. Once the novelty of pay television dissipates, it will most likely be reworked into the social system of Brazil. As mentioned previously, the very nature of the Brazilian cable infrastructure will continue to support imported programming. Whether this warrants the label of yet another cycle in cultural imperialism remains to be determined.

Perhaps what is not taken into account in the cultural imperialism ideology is the willingness of the indigenous people to adopt and/or adapt to foreign cultural products. This indigenization process, often referred to as Americanization or Westernization, is based on the premise that a society adopts an imported cultural product and incorporates it into the societal norms and values. While the developing countries must rely on industrialized nations for various products and services, the imported goods would not succeed in the indigenous marketplace if consumer interest did not exist. Schiller pointed out that television is "...a characteristic of the social system that prevails..." and that, when discussing importation of programming, this medium reflects the social relationships between and within societies (as cited in Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973).

From the concept of Americanization, the geographically-specific term of Brazilianization has derived to explain the U.S. influence on this country. The coined phrase represents the infusion of American cultural products via televi-

sion programming into the Brazilian culture such that the indigenous people of this nation have come to view this saturation of the imported culture as a part of their own (Herold, 1988). In reviewing the process of Brazilianization, Herold stated,

(North) American detectives, cowboys, and conniving housewife heroines, in addition to being imported, have now been 'Brazilianized beyond recognition'. That is to say, television programs and programming ideas in Brazil, once imported from the United States, have now been replaced by nationally produced ones (p. 41).

This adaptation process of U.S. cultural products has been one of subtlety and has become rather transparent in Brazilian culture. The influences of the United States are not as evident today as they were in the initial stages of Brazilian television's history. Brazil is one of a handful of semi-industrialized nations that has developed and maintained a strong domestic production industry. This is not to say that the American broadcasting model and its excess 'cultural baggages' no longer influence the Brazilian model. The people of this nation prefer domestic programs to that of imports as a result of the foreign model being adapted into their cultural identity. Whether this will continue with the multichannel environment implicit to subscription television has yet to be determined.

According to Straubhaar (1991) and Sinclair (1994), when Brazilian audiences have the opportunity to choose between imported programs and domestically-produced ones, the majority will choose the indigenous programming because of the cultural relevance of the material. Based on the ideology behind asymmetrical interdependence, Straubhaar's premise holds true in reference to the "...variety of possible relationships in which countries find themselves unequal but possessing variable degrees of power and initiative in politics, economics and culture" (p. 39). However, with the influx of American programs available via the new distribution systems, there is an indication that

preference for the imported shows and advertised products among cable viewers may be on the rise.

Sinclair (1994) argued that the cultural imperialism paradigm must be analyzed from a globalization perspective in that people from different regions “indigenize” the flow of American information into their geographically-specific culture. Rather than creating a homogenous culture that the aforementioned processes imply, the indigenization of information and the mass media vehicles used in dissemination has culminated into a “heterogenization” of cultures. One prime example of this is found in the Brazilian adaptation of soap operas known as the telenovela.

Informational news programs are the most popular type of programming in Brazil, but the telenovela remains the most popular entertainment genre in this South American nation (Fadul, 1993; Rogers and Antola, 1984; Vink, 1988). Telenovelas are domestically written and produced serial dramas which focus on the working middle class with the thematic plot revolving around upward mobility in social class. This genre has maintained its popularity as a direct result of its “reflection” of the Brazilian culture and the portrayal of the middle class, but the effects of its North American predecessor have subtly remained within the telenovelas in the genre's very nature (Coehlo, 1988).

Western cultural aspects from the United States have made their way into mainstream Brazilian culture by means of the evolution of such programming as the telenovela, variety shows and news programs. These genres have been adapted to the point where such cultural icons are now considered by the regions' people as a part of the native culture (Coehlo, 1988; Herold, 1988; Vink, 1988). Essentially, the Brazilian population has indigenized these foreign cultural products to the extent that these goods and services possess characteristics synonymous with Brazilian culture. Such products include not only the actual

television model but the cultural baggage that the U.S. model brought with it (i.e., the ideology of mass consumption, American products for this primary purpose, social and interpersonal behaviorisms).

Hamelink (1983) argued that cultural autonomy is imperative to the development and survival of every society. In defining the culture of a society, the author stated that environmental adaptation is an essential characteristic of any type of human society. In order to adapt, human beings create a series of indirect and direct relationships with their respective environment. The indirect relationships comprise the cultural system of the given society. Under this premise, the influence of foreign media on domestic cultures has played a major role in the indirect relations of Brazilian culture. Telenovelas and other types of Latin American programming are considered cultural goods "...produced by an industry operating inside the field of the production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods" (Vink, 1988, p. 43). The replication of North American cultural products in Brazil in the last four decades has been primarily made possible through the dissemination of information via television. As a result of the imported ideology of capitalism, contend several researchers, a new social pattern has culminated into a transformed environment in Brazil: a larger distinction between the "haves" (elites or upper classes) and the "have-nots" (the lower classes).

daSilva (1986) stated that television "...transformed into the country's hegemonic means of cultural diffusion...[and] vitalized the national cultural production by expanding the internal consumer market catering to the consumer needs of other countries on the cultural circuit of international capitalism" (p. 101). The Brazilian culture has been affected by foreign interests since its days as a Portuguese colony. However, prior to the mass broadcasting of television, the cultural and social identity characteristic of the Brazilian people for four

centuries had never been so heavily influenced by external forces.

This appears to be a pervasive trait found in several Latin American countries. In a study pertaining to the television industry in Mexico, Sinclair (1982) noted that this medium was utilized "...as a 'consumer delivery enterprise'..." in which the Mexican mass audiences were delivered to the American advertisers for consumption of American cultural products (p. 4). He also noted that a sample analysis of Mexican television programs showed that the majority of advertisers were transnationals from the United States, such as Procter & Gamble, General Foods, Ford and General Motors. Many of these companies chose to advertise during prime time hours in which Mexican telenovelas were aired.

Television has become the primary tool for advertising foreign cultural products, including non-American goods and services, in peripheral countries as well. Brazil is no exception to this application (Alisky, 1981). Contrary to Sinclair's evaluation of the cultural imperialism paradigm, Schiller (1991) argued that cultural imperialism continues to function in developing countries. The difference today is that the power has moved from the media into the hands of the transnational corporations (TNCs) which are present in these countries. The author noted, "A total cultural package—film, TV, music, sports, theme parks, shopping malls, etc.—is delivered worldwide by a small number of multi-billion-dollar combines" (Schiller, 1991, p. 13). The mass media, primarily television, is used to advertise such imported cultural goods to the indigenous people. The flow of information from industrialized countries to developing nations via the technologies and presence of TNCs has maintained cultural imperialism from the core to the periphery.

With subscription television, the majority of advertisers are currently transnational companies importing products and services into the Brazilian

marketplace (Michaels, 1994). This may be changing as more and more Brazilian advertisers are realizing the potential of market segmentation and narrowcasting. However, even some Brazilian product advertisers are attempting to create an imported “Hollywood” image. For instance, Hollywood cigarettes, produced and sold only in Brazil, utilizes a “Route 66” campaign with a scenario that looks American with a dubbed jingle sung in English (Oliveto, 1994). This brand was the second highest selling in the world, behind Marlboro, yet is sold only in Brazil. Oliveto (1994) stated that, according to research that his advertising agency has conducted, television viewers, particularly young people, have a certain image of life in the United States and try to emulate such a lifestyle.

Several studies have indicated a direct link between exposure to western television and consumerism in developing countries. In Sinclair’s research on taste transfer, he found that there was a correlation between the advertising of foreign products and consumerism among the different social classes of Mexico. The most significant of his findings was that “junk foods”, primarily of U.S. origin, “...being relatively low-priced, widely distributed and heavily advertised, have the most rapid penetration of the low-income market” (Sinclair, 1982, p. 10). The increase of consumption of foreign products was “...putting at least 19 million already undernourished Mexicans in danger of what has become known as ‘commerciogenic malnutrition’” (1982, p. 11). These unhealthy foods were found to be displacing traditional diet supplements. Sinclair argued that the heavy influx of advertising for “junk foods” played a major role in such dietary displacement.

According to Oliveira (1991 a/b), mass media growth and dependency are integral components in Brazil. Brazilian television relies most heavily on advertising from transnational corporations for revenue and dedicates 25% of its

airtime to the advertising of cultural goods and the Brazilian government. The products advertised to the masses via television are affordable by only the 15% of the Brazilian population which make up the elite and upper-middle class. In a 1986 study of the correlation between consumption and television viewing, Oliveira (1991a/b) found that television was not the medium most closely associated with consumerism in Brazil. The media used most widely by the upper classes—newspapers, magazines and FM radio—were linked closest to consumption. However, Oliveira argued that individuals of lower socioeconomic status (SES) do not consume advertised products because they cannot afford the items. The desire for consumption is fostered through excessive exposure to television advertising, thus leading to frustration and dissatisfaction among the low SES audience members (Oliveira, 1991b).

With approximately 60 million of its 140 million citizens living near starvation levels, Brazil is home of communications systems which do not address the needs of the mass population. Beltran and Cardona argued:

...the messages conveyed by the mass media are directed toward the wealthy minority with the means for elite consumption. Thus the media do not consider the ethnic, cultural, social, and mass-oriented informational needs of Brazil or of most of Latin America (cited in Oliveira, 1991b, p. 211).

The transfer of cultural values and beliefs from the United States to Brazilian culture appear to possess few commonalities with the daily realities of this nation's people (Oliveira, 1991b). The result is not only dissatisfaction among those who cannot afford the cultural products and lifestyles associated with them but a widening gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" as well. The disparity between the elitist and the masses is based on what Oliveira contends is a desire for materialistic goods and the ability, or lack thereof, to purchase such items.

This leads to the point of cultural relevance. The term culture brings forth many different interpretations and carries varying connotations. In analyzing the American influence on social behavior in Brazil, the meaning of culture must be addressed.

2.2 What is Culture?

According to Cai (1994), culture is “a group of inhabitants of a geographical region under a single government with a primary language”. daSilva (1986) defined culture as “...the set of values and beliefs through which members of a social formation explain their experience, express their artistic creativity, and motivate society as a whole to act” (p. 90). While the former places emphasis on the people who make up a culture, the latter focuses on the shared systems and actions of a group of people. While there is a multitude of definitions for culture, the operational definition for this research is based upon the aforementioned: a culture is composed of a group of inhabitants living in a geographic area under a single government with a primary language. The inhabitants, or in-group, possess shared systems which may be transmitted across generations by means of verbal and nonverbal communication. The members of a given culture are perceived by outsiders to maintain a common identity and/or solidarity upheld by these shared systems. The shared systems may include world views, processes of cognition, behavioral patterns, social structures, media influences and motivational resources (Cai, 1994).

As the world is moving towards an intricately linked global network of communication, the mere definition of culture may swiftly be changing. Stock (1993) stated that traditional lifestyles and cultural identities are disintegrating around the world as more individuals become exposed to cultural diversity. The

author argued that television, film and radio are the three primary components leading to a global common culture. Rosengren (1981) stipulated that the central focus of any culture is that of value. Communication plays an essential role in how values are learned and shared within a culture. From interpersonal communication to mass media, the dissemination of information is vital in understanding the relationship between a culture and its society.

The imposition of one culture's values system on another is a primary concern in the rhetoric on the cross-cultural flow of media. Smythe reported that cultivation is the purpose of a social system, while television's function is the propagation of perceptions of social reality. "...the TV 'world' reflects...[and] changes the 'real' world...the cultural products of all kinds in the 'real' world are equally to be understood as propaganda for the social system which produces them" (cited in Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973, p. 50). It has been argued that the TV world of imported programming alters the perceived reality of receiving audiences.

The cultural imperialism theory postulates that cultural invasion leads to a change in the symbolic meanings of a society along three dimensions (Lee, 1980; Wells, 1972). The symbolic meanings are structures of "taste, values, preferences, views about the society, human relations, and life" (Lee, 1980, p. 104). The first change, based on studies conducted by Lerner, is that of rising frustrations. Exposure to information about the 'outside world' via media vehicles, particularly television, creates rising aspirations. Consumers become frustrated when these expectations and aspirations are unmet. According to Lee, research data on the social effects of mass media do not support this theory. The second stipulated change is the creation of a "conspicuous consumption" culture. Imported television programming brings with it consumer products that (1) are economically unsuitable to developing countries; (2) damage various

domestic industries; and (3) “create a ‘conspicuous consumption’ pattern” (Lee, 1980, p. 104-105). Brazil is already considered by many to be a culture of conspicuous consumption, in that it is often referred to as a country of economic disparity. The majority of products advertised on pay channels are either currently imported or are originally from other countries but now manufactured in Brazil. Under such terms, subscription television will most likely cause further disparity between those who have access and those who do not (Longo, 1994; Michaels, 1994; Oliveira, 1991 a/b).

The final change that Lee (1980) suggested is that of an alteration in the structure of indigenous values. Under this premise, it is argued that the content of the imported programs often does not portray a realistic view of life in the representative country. The effect is that these misperceptions are “absorbed in the recipient cultures” in which the portrayed beliefs, consumer goods and tastes become symbols of status among viewers (p. 106). This infers that the more exposure to imported cultural products, the more receiving audiences will come to identify with the values system of the imported culture. In his study of imported programs throughout Central America, Beltran (1978a) argued that such “neo-colonialism” is a process of social influence through which one country imposes on other nations its values, beliefs, behavioral patterns and overall lifestyle. However, the majority of research that supports this implication is based on political and/or economical analyses rather than empirical surveys focusing on the social and psychological effects on foreign viewers.

2.3 Quantitative Research on Media Effects Across Cultures

Tsai (1970) conducted one of the first empirical cross-cultural studies that addressed social and/or psychological impacts of foreign television programming

on an indigenous audience. The study was composed of an analysis of the effects of U.S. programs on children in Changwa and Taipei, Taiwan (formerly known as Formosa). Although the author did not establish a theoretical framework from which the research derived, four of Kluckhohn's five variations of value orientation were used to index the fundamental attitudes toward the American and Formosan cultures. The orientations of man and nature, relation, time and activity were utilized in determining if those children viewing U.S. programs on Taiwan TV possessed a more pro-American attitude than the students not exposed to the imported TV shows. There was evidence that viewers held "different taste patterns and specific attitudes" than their nonviewing counterparts but maintained a consistent identification with the Formosan "fundamental outlook" on life (Tsai, 1970, p. 37, 39). However, the author concluded that there were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of value orientations regarding their traditional culture as well as the American culture represented in the imported programs.

Following Tsai's initial study, two research projects concurrently analyzed the flow of U.S. programming over the Canadian border. Neither project specified a media effects theory upon which their research was based. Coldevin (1976) assessed the differences between TV viewers and nonviewers in two Eskimo communities. The measured variables included knowledge about national and international issues, employment aspirations and information sources. The findings showed either limited or no significant differences between the two groups, with the exception of socio-economic aspirations among the children of TV viewers and the level of information pertaining to international issues. Essentially, Coldevin indicated that further research would have to address the cross-cultural effects of American programming. Sparkes (1977) conducted a study that looked at Canadians' exposure to U.S. programs as well

as American viewers' access to Canadian shows. The researcher concluded that there were no attitudinal differences between heavy and light viewers on either side of the border. Sparkes also noted an insignificant impact stemming from agenda setting of the respective imported news programs.

In 1977, Payne and Peake attempted to analyze the effects of American programming on youth in Iceland under the auspices of the cultural imperialism paradigm. The researchers focused on the knowledge of U.S. political information and perceptions of the United States. The study also assessed three attitudinal variables regarding sadness, anger and fear. Findings indicated "minimal evidence that watching U.S. TV is associated with favorable attitudes toward the U.S." (p. 527). There was no significant support for the hypothesized positive relationship between the aforementioned attitudes and the viewing of American imports.

In another research project which provided no theoretical context, Payne (1978) studied the impact of Canadian TV shows on American viewers in rural Minnesota. The sample of 414 adults and 280 students was subdivided according to exposure to either Canadian programs only, strictly American programs or a combination of the two. While measures indicated a notable difference in cognitive assessments between the three groups, attitudinal effects varied. The results also displayed evidence that the student and adult audience of American television held a more favorable attitude toward Canada than those viewers only exposed to Canadian television. Aside from Payne and Peake's research on Icelandic and American audiences, three other studies attempted to measure the cross-cultural effects of U.S. programming.

Werner (1981) conducted a cross-sectional survey of Scandinavian children regarding their most influential information sources. The author noted that television was named the primary source for information among those

students who displayed a preference for living in the United States. However, the implications of a relationship between attitudes toward the U.S. and television viewing was not addressed.

More recently, Veii (1988) and Zhao (1989) tested the imperialism theory in studies on Namibian and Chinese viewers, respectively. Both authors measured exposure to foreign programs, particularly imports from the United States. Veii (1988) concluded that this medium is merely one of several vehicles in promoting a more favorable attitude toward the U.S. Zhao (1989) more narrowly defined imperialism in terms of the effects of foreign media. His research on the influence of imported programming on the values of Chinese women indicated a strong correlation between exposure to foreign news and entertainment shows and the adoption of nontraditional values. Zhao contended that if foreign media effects were found in the value system of China, stronger effects would be found in countries possessing less restricted media systems.

While these studies provide useful information on cross-cultural media research, few broach the subject of the psychological effects of foreign programming. Often, such effects were either assumed or not substantially addressed in specific terms (i.e., cognitive, behavioral or belief-centered effects). Since cultural imperialism stemmed from the economic dependency model, researchers have also conducted empirical cross-cultural analyses based upon this broader scope. Skinner (1984) utilized the dependency framework for his study of foreign TV shows in Trinidad and Tobago. The author based his findings on Galtung's model of dependency and underdevelopment. The conclusions supported "...the position that U.S. television viewing is positively related to U.S. values, appeal, dependency and appreciation" (Skinner, 1984, p. 174). However, such dependency was found to be indirect in its effects on the participants' values.

Oliveira (1986) tested the dependency theory regarding the flow of imported programming via satellite in Belize. In his assessment of the effects of U.S. and Mexican programs on Belizean audiences, Oliveira found that higher exposure to U.S. television was positively associated with the consumption of U.S. products while negatively linked to the consumption of Central American consumer products. Oliveira (1986) also found the opposite relationship with exposure to Mexican television. The viewing of such programming did not perpetuate the consumption of imported Mexican products.

Granzberg (1982) conducted a longitudinal study testing the modernization theory in which he attempted to gauge the psychological impact of television on the receiving Algonquin audience in Canada. Similar to Kottak's study of the introduction of television in a rural Brazilian community (as previously discussed), Granzberg researched the implications of television viewing in a rural Canadian Algonquin Indian community to determine both the short- and long-term effects of this medium. The project compared individuals' stress levels, feelings of aggression and victimization, in- and out-group identity, self-conceptualization and feelings regarding personal relationships. The researcher measured participants' responses according to the length in time of their orientation with television. Among other findings, Granzberg concluded that "the evidence suggests strongly that there was increasing out-group identity" after the introduction of television and that participants' stress increased when integration within the community was low (p. 341).

This theory was only moderately supported in its stipulation that the advent of television creates a modernization effect within a receiving community. Granzberg noted that modernization occurred only in certain aspects of development while the arrival of television appeared to have the opposite effect on other variables measured. The logic behind this theoretical model is that of

a “bullet” effect of modernity. “Through the introduction of modernizing institutions [such as schools and mass media], one could develop modern personalities in countries of the Third World, individuals who for their part were to be in a position adequately to play professional roles in modern institutions” (Kunczik, 1984, p. 46). The premise behind this is that modernizing institutions would yield modern personalities and create other institutions of modernity, such as factories. This mode of development, in turn, would increase economic growth and political stability. Rooted in economics, the modernization paradigm emphasized the introduction of mass media to disseminate the West-centered [or North] beliefs to further stimulate economic growth. The end result would then be the indoctrination of democracy (Kunczik, 1984).

Another school of research regarding media effects is that of socialization (Beattie, 1967; Barnett and McPhail, 1980; Chaffee, Ward and Tipton, 1970). Socialization has been defined as the means of “acquiring social norms that produce socially acceptable behavior which permits interaction with others” (Barnett and McPhail, 1980, p. 220). In accordance with other social institutions such as the family, education and peer-oriented influences, mass media have been shown to play a fundamental role in the socialization process (Chaffee, Ward and Tipton, 1970). Testing this theoretical model, Barnett and McPhail (1980) examined the effects of American programming on Canadian national identity. The researchers measured participants’ attitudes and perceptions of culture utilizing a metric multidimensional scale. Canadian viewers’ attitudes toward the U.S., Canada, national identity and exposure to Canadian and U.S. programs were investigated along this scaling method. The participants were categorized in terms of distance from the United States’ border, exposure to Canadian TV shows and access to U.S. programming. As socialization often analyzes the concept of self, the authors operationally defined self in terms of

national identity with the United States, Canada and concepts of each country as portrayed through television. The most significant finding was that there was a negative relationship between heavy viewing of American television and Canadian identity.

Two other important approaches used in the study of media effects are modeling and social learning. Modeling refers to the process in which viewers, particularly children, attempt to emulate their favorite television characters (Cullingford, 1984; Fruch and McGhee, 1975; Maccoby and Wilson, 1957). According to Greer et al. (1982), there are only two models or approaches that effectively assess television's impact on audiences: modeling and arousal. While the former implies behavioral changes in the viewers, the latter infers that viewers' behavior is merely aroused by model characters and not necessarily altered. Cullingford (1984) contended that the modeling theory assumed that children do indeed model their behavior on what they see portrayed on the screen. The author argued that "...it is much easier to analyze the content of television than the nature of children's responses...their reactions are far more complex than a matter of simple modeling or even identification with the characters..." (p. 38). Although this theory has been utilized in studying the effects of television, it has not been used in any cross-cultural research. In order to do so, a concrete understanding of the social aspects and behavioral norms would be needed for both the imported culture and that of the receiving audience.

Another theory often addressed is social learning. This model postulates that individuals learn behavioral patterns, values, beliefs and stereotypes through observation (Bandura, 1977). One cross-cultural study analyzed the relationship between imported American programming and the perceived social stereotypes of Americans (Tan, Li and Simpson, 1986). The researchers administered surveys to 788 Chinese respondents in Taiwan and 150 college students

in Mexico. The authors stated, "...it is not unreasonable to expect that the pictures in our heads of racial and national groups can be influenced significantly by the pictures we get of them in television" (p. 810). The study measured the use of TV and exposure to U.S. programs in determining if there was a correlation between viewing and the perpetuation of American stereotypes. Findings indicated that there was modest evidence that the relationship exists, but the results also demonstrated that "Dallas" and "Dynasty," two programs which held international popularity at the time of the study, "may be cultivating an image of Americans among foreign viewers" (p. 814). This study pertained only to social stereotypes being learned via imported programming.

While socialization pertains to learned behaviors and norms, enculturation posits that the "acquisition and reinforcement of values" is the fundamental base of any given culture (Gross and Morgan, 1985, p. 232). The theory of enculturation has provided a somewhat different explanation for the social effects of imported programming. Enculturation is defined as a process in which a culture is modified or altered as a result of either direct or indirect contact with another culture (Tan, Tan and Tan, 1987). Gross and Morgan (1985) stipulated that television acts as the primary creator of "synthetic cultural images, the stories it tells to people most of the time may have implications for the deeper, invisible, rarely questioned assumptions... [that] help inform the meaning of what we think, say, and do" (p. 223). Thus, television is an integral component of the enculturation process.

Coldevin (1979) utilized the enculturation theory in his study of satellite television and the replacement of culture among Canadian Eskimos. The term used throughout his research was acculturation, which has since then been interchangeably referred to as enculturation (Elasmar, 1993). Coldevin's project examined exposure to foreign programming among Eskimo adults and students

to determine whether such exposure had an effect on language, employment and travel preferences as well as dominant information sources and knowledge levels of international and national issues. Coldevin found significant differences between the group of students who were heavy viewers of the U.S. and English-language Canadian programs and the group of students and adults who reported relatively little exposure. In assessing these three groups, Coldevin concluded that the heavy exposure to television plays a fundamental role in viewers' rate of acculturation.

Tan, Tan and Tan (1987) reported similar findings in their study of access to American television programs in the Philippines. The authors more specifically measured the value systems of high school systems to gauge the potential cross-cultural effects of television. The researchers surveyed 225 Filipino high school students to determine if higher exposure to these imported shows was related to the displacement of traditional values held amongst the general Filipino population. Results indicated that there was minimal evidence that heavy viewers found the nontraditional values emphasized in U.S. programming to be more important while the indigenous values of salvation and wisdom were found to be unimportant among this subset of viewers.

These two studies have displayed some indication that the cultures under investigation demonstrated signs of being acculturated by the presence of foreign programming, in that both indicated erosion of the indigenous value systems of the receiving cultures. Various researchers have argued that imported U.S. programs play a catalytic role in the adoption of foreign lifestyles, behavioral patterns and values. However, Kang and Morgan (1988) reported mixed results in their study regarding the impact of the American Forces Korean Network on Korean viewers. AFKN TV, which aired only U.S. imports in English (with no subtitles or dubbing involved), was created primarily for

American service employees stationed in Korea. The station was also viewed by Koreans living in the region. The authors stated that the station's programs provided "a relatively 'pure' and unrestricted source of non-Korean images and messages" (p. 433). The findings were that female viewers held a more liberal perspective that did not function as a part of the Korean value system, while male viewers were more prone to uphold traditional views. One interesting conclusion was that "For males, greater AFKN viewing goes with (and may heighten) an intensely protective attitude toward Korean culture" (Kang and Morgan, 1988, p. 437). The authors showed support for an alteration in traditional values and beliefs among heavy female viewers, but also stated that the findings "vividly suggest that 'hypodermic' models of cultural imperialism are inadequate" at measuring the impact of the transborder flow of television (p. 438).

The majority of the research reviewed thus far has shown little support for the argument of imported television programming's effects on receiving audiences. Most of these studies demonstrate either a minimal or moderate impact on indigenous populations. There is neither a cohesive conclusion on the potential cross-cultural effects nor any consistency in the theoretical frameworks used. Kang and Morgan (1988) maintained that American television's effects are not consistent from one culture to the next. They argued that other contributing factors make it impossible to generalize uniform impacts of U.S. television across diverse cultures.

2.4 Cultivation Analysis as a Media Effects Theory

The theoretical approach utilized by Kang and Morgan (1988) was that of cultivation analysis. This type of assessment has been the most widely used

measure in cross-cultural impacts of television. Stemming from a national concern over the potential correlation between televised violence and viewers' perceptions of real violence, the cultivation hypothesis was introduced as an explanation for the role of television in viewers' social construction of meaning (Signorielli, 1985). George Gerbner's Cultural Indicators Group developed this measure of media effects in 1967. The project was originally sponsored by the National Commission on the Cause and Prevention of Violence and partially funded by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee. These researchers postulated:

Socially constructed 'reality' gives a coherent picture of what exists, what is important, how things are related, and what is right. The constant cultivation of such 'realities' is the task of rituals and mythologies. They legitimize actions along lines which are conventionally acceptable and functional. Television is the mainstream of that cultural process (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, Morgan, and Jackson-Beeck, 1979, p. 179-180).

Traditional media effects research has mainly been based upon the measure of exposure to specific programming and/or advertising by immediately comparing exposed viewers with others with no exposure. Cultivation analysis pertains to total immersion in the TV "world" as opposed to selective viewing. It is based on the assumption that viewers are passive participants and non-selective in their viewing habits (Gerbner et al., 1976; Hawkins and Pingree, 1990).

The initial use of the cultivation model was to study violence as portrayed on television and its effects on the social reality of viewers. Gerbner's group conducted a long-term content analysis of U.S. television programs in which the study of violence was the predominant issue. The research began in 1967 and continued with annual violence profiles throughout the 1980s (Gerbner et al., 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1986). The researchers proposed that television not only influences viewers' values and beliefs, but, often times, also constructs the social reality of heavy viewers. The premise of the model stipulates that television has

taken the place of other social institutions, such as religion, education and the nuclear family, in constructing social meaning, particularly among children.

The theory, in its original formation, was based upon two assumptions: (1) unlike other media, commercial television “presents an organically composed total world of interrelated stories produced to the same market specifications”; and (2) TV audiences are non-selective in their viewing habits and watch according to the clock rather than by the program (Gerbner et al., 1979, p. 180). The Cultural Indicators group used the analogy of religion regarding the ritualism involved in television viewing but argued that television, unlike its spiritual counterpart, appears to be attended to more regularly. Historically, religious and educational institutions have functioned primarily as demonstrating “how society works by dramatizing its norms and values” (Gerbner et al., 1976, p. 173). Gerbner (1982) contended that television has become the “new religion” of contemporary society in which members are born into such a system without questioning its symbolic environment. Several other common frameworks contest this ideology (i.e., uses and gratifications) because the model assumes nonpassivity rather than selectivity in audience members.

The framework for this model is comprised of three integral components. The first prong is composed of an institutional process analysis. This component acts as an investigative tool in the formation of policies that guide the flow of messages via various media vehicles (Gerbner et al., 1986). Although it is important to analyze such policies, the Cultural Indicators project has focused mainly on the second and third prongs. The second phase, message system analysis, is made up of content analyses of both primetime and weekend-daytime programs. This aspect serves the purpose of identifying patterns of character profiles and actions to determine if such details could potentially be viewed as symbolizing other social meanings.

The third component is cultivation analysis, in which the “conception of social reality television viewing tends to cultivate in different groups of viewers” (Signorielli, 1985, p. 241). The presumption is that heavy viewers will adopt aspects of the social reality portrayed on television into their social construct of behavior, values and norms. This approach attempts to isolate symbolic structures and patterns in television programming rather than interpreting individual programs or productions. Since the three-pronged technique was originally prescribed to the study of violence on television, the Cultural Indicators group created violence indices to measure and compare the levels of violence found in various programming genres. They then developed surveys based on these findings to assess the effects of TV content on participating viewers.

The general findings from this longitudinal project indicate that television serves to “maintain, stabilize, and reinforce” conventional beliefs, values and behaviors (Gerbner et al., 1979, p. 180). The annual studies consistently showed a pattern in the cultivation of fear of violence among viewers. While the initial study in 1967 showed that the rate of portrayed violent acts was 4.8 per program, this average had increased to 5.7 in the 1979 season. The average percentage of programs containing violence was 79.9 between 1967 and 1978, with the dramatic program genre dominating this inclination (Gerbner et al., 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980).

In this project, the extent of cultivation among demographically matched light and heavy viewers was measured by analyzing the viewers’ response patterns to questions determined by the aforementioned indices. These cultivation differentials, or margins of difference, were then assessed to determine if heavy viewers had incorporated the biases and images portrayed on television into their social construct of reality (Gerbner et al., 1979, 1986). The Cultural

Indicators group noted that the findings consistently revealed associations between patterns of television program content and the perceptions of social reality held by heavy viewers (Gerbner et al., 1979). The researchers concluded that there was a positive relationship between heavy viewing and conceptions of social reality. According to two cultivation researchers, this long-term analysis has demonstrated that television “has become our nation’s (and increasingly the world’s) most common and constant learning environment” in which the medium acts as “the wholesale distributor of images and forms the mainstream of our popular culture” (Morgan and Signorielli, 1990, p. 13). Unlike other institutional vehicles, television is capable of streamlining and amplifying common cultural norms with every member of contemporary society.

2.5 Cross-Cultural Cultivation Analyses

The original application of the cultivation theory, as mentioned previously, was to assess the effects of television’s portrayal of violence on viewers. The analysis has also been used extensively regarding other topics as well, such as audience conceptions of age-role stereotypes, educational achievement, family portrayals and issues, health, politics, religion, and sex roles (Hawkins and Pingree, 1982). In terms of cross-cultural and/or international studies, Gerbner (1980) indicated that there may be differences from one cultural setting to the next as well as across subcultures. Thus, several cross-cultural studies have adapted and utilized this framework regarding imported television’s potential impact on foreign audiences. One such study was conducted by Wober (1978) in his research on British TV viewers’ fear of crime. Based on a “security scale” consisting of several items factored together, Wober concluded that there was no concrete relationship of causality between television viewing and respon-

dents' perceptions of interpersonal mistrust and crime victimization. The study showed no proof of a paranoiac effect of television on British viewers.

Doob and MacDonald (1979) also attempted to utilize Gerbner's cultivation analysis in their study of Canadians' perceptions of violence. The researchers surveyed viewers living in four regions of Toronto, Canada: an urban and suburban district characterized by high crime rates and an inner-city neighborhood and suburb which both maintained low rates of local crime. Once the authors controlled for local crime in the different environments, television viewing demonstrated no effect on respondents' perception of vulnerability to crime, with the exception of viewers inhabiting the districts characterized by high crime rates. The research also indicated that high rates of local crime often directly led respondents to remain indoors more often than those dwelling in low-crime areas. This, in effect, led to increased television viewing among those who stayed indoors (Doob and MacDonald, 1979).

Pingree and Hawkins (1981) adapted the Cultural Indicators analysis to assess students in Australia. In this study, a questionnaire was administered to 1280 students in Perth, Australia. The questions pertained to the respondents' attitudes toward television and their perceptions of reality. A four-day TV diary was then collected from the majority of the sample. The authors utilized a variation of the Cultural Indicators Mean World Index to determine the youths' "television bias" in their perception of violence in society and the world as a mean place. The indices separated the participants' beliefs regarding the United States and Australia. The findings demonstrated that viewing U.S. programs did not relate to a television bias in beliefs regarding the U.S. but did correlate more strongly with beliefs about Australia. The researchers suggested that the effects of television were found to be more relevant when analyzed by program content rather than non-selective exposure to television. They argued that TV's

effects “on conceptions of social reality extend beyond the culture that creates the programming,” in that mean world beliefs were found to be cultivated by the viewing of crime/adventure U.S. programs only (Pingree and Hawkins, 1981, p. 104-105). This suggests that content is more relevant to the cultivation issue than length of viewing time and/or exposure.

Gabriel Weimann (1984) conducted another study using the cultivation framework. In his survey of 461 secondary and undergraduate Israeli students, the researcher compared the perceptions of heavy and light viewers regarding the relationship between imported U.S. program content and images of American reality. The questionnaire assessed the differences between participants’ average estimates and real statistical measures along different aspects of American life. These included occupational structure, personal and family income, personal wealth, housing, and personal consumption. Essentially, Weimann concluded that heavy viewers of U.S. programs tended to “paint a rosier picture of life in the U.S.” than their light-viewing counterparts (p. 185). This held constant when controlling for other potential variables (i.e., travel experience, age and gender).

Tan and Suarchavarat (1988) found that the frequency of viewing U.S. programs among university students in Bangkok, Thailand, was positively related to the perceived social stereotypes of Americans. The researchers also identified a correlation between heavy viewing and the desire to travel to the United States, when demographic characteristics were controlled. Choi (1989) tested the cultivation hypothesis in a study about Korean viewers of AFKN-TV. The variables measured pertained to perceptions of world meanness, crime victimization and vulnerability, sexual permissiveness, drug abuse problems and affluence in the United States as well as perceived negative portrayals of Korean culture. Choi argued that television did affect viewers’ construct of social

reality, but perceptions of self-images were primarily “contingent upon numerous situational factors other than AFKN-TV viewing itself” (p. 172). This conclusion was supported when the author controlled for gender, age, exposure to U.S. cultural products other than imported programming, and knowledge about the U.S. gained from either personal travel to the U.S. or travel experiences of friends and family members.

Wu (1989) also found significance in controlling for other variables in the assessment of U.S. TV viewing among Taiwanese respondents. The author concluded that imported American programming appeared to represent only “liberal messages for females and students of higher parental education” (p. 242). Viewing of American television did not appear to be associated with perceptions of aging, crime victimization or a mean world index.

Ahn’s study (1990) of the relationship between U.S. television viewing among Korean adolescents and perceptions of American reality utilized cultivation analysis as well. The results of this research also indicated the influential role of other variables on viewers’ perceptions of social reality. The study measured the impact of U.S. television on respondents’ perceptions of violence, affluence, the use of advanced technologies, family life and images of minorities in the United States. Ahn evaluated these variables according to participants’ non-mediated and mediated American experiences. The author also analyzed the total amount of viewing American programs as well as content-specific adventure, detective and family programs. The variables controlled for were age, gender and region of residence. The author found that heavy viewers held a perception of “harmonious American family interaction” in general viewing but not along content specificity aspects (p. 68). Overall, the researcher concluded that U.S. television viewing had a minimal to moderate effect on respondents’ perceptions of social reality in the United States. Ahn also argued that further

research must investigate the role of imported programming on indigenous cultures as advanced signal distribution systems will only provide for an influx in such importation.

Geiger conducted a survey of 605 adults in Venezuela in order to determine the cultivation effects of imported U.S. television on receiving audiences in 1988 (Elasmar, 1993). The researcher measured responses to factors that addressed participants' orientation toward Venezuelan and U.S. values. The factors included traditional values of the indigenous culture, social stratification, social inequality and family orientation. Using a revision of the cultivation analysis in terms of viewers' construct of social reality, Geiger indicated that only the first factor –traditional values– demonstrated a relationship between U.S. TV viewing and a preference for American values. This infers that heavy viewing of such imports appears to be displacing traditional Venezuelan values among heavy viewers of U.S. programs. The author noted, "It may be fruitful to think of mass media effects between cultures as a process of acculturation, where the mass media function to transfer symbols and meanings between cultures" (cited in Elasmar, 1993, p. 176). Hence, television acts as the disseminator of imported cultural icons, including values, beliefs, behaviors and attitudes among indigenous recipients.

2.6 Criticism of the Cultivation Theory and Its Current Role in Media Effects Research

The cultivation theory, although used in a multitude of domestic and cross-cultural research, has often been criticized for its underlying assumption that television is the primary agent in constructing the social reality of viewers. The Cultural Indicators group has interpreted correlational evidence as proof of

a causal relationship between heavy TV viewing and constructs of social reality (Gross and Morgan, 1985; Hirsch, 1980, 1981; Hughes, 1980; Morgan, 1983; Potter, 1991a/b; Wober, 1978). In various studies that addressed this causal interpretation, several demographic characteristics that have been shown to influence attitudinal behavior and the amount of TV viewing were simultaneously controlled. Some findings demonstrated a curvilinear pattern in the association of viewing and perceptions of crime, while others indicated a reversed relationship that showed no support for the cultivation hypothesis (Hirsch, 1980, 1981; Hughes, 1980; Weaver and Wakshlag, 1986).

While studies discussed in the previous section attempted to replicate or revise the cultivation analysis with other samples, some critics reassessed the data set forth by Gerbner's Cultural Indicators group. Hughes (1980) reanalyzed research conducted by Gerbner et al. in 1975 and 1977 for the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). Hughes argued that Gerbner's group failed to control for different variables that could have potentially affected both television viewing and the measured dependent variables. In his reevaluation, the author controlled for several variables to determine their effect on the related independent and dependent variables assessed by Gerbner et al. These included the mean number of hours of television watched daily by gender, age, income, education, race, hours worked, population of viewers' city of residence, church attendance, and involvement in voluntary associations. Hughes utilized multiple classification analysis to adjust the effect(s) of each variable for all other listed variables. In doing so, the author concluded that most of the individual variables showed a strong relationship with television viewing before controlling variables were applied.

Hughes found that only one out of the five relationships indicated by Gerbner et al. remained consistent after controls were introduced. While three

continued to show significant differences, two of the three did not maintain the pattern postulated under cultivation analysis. For instance, the variable Gerbner et al. used in supporting the hypothesis regarding the relationship between TV viewing and the perception of environmental menace “reversed direction after controls, and while...not statistically significant, it suggests that those who watch television heavily are *less* likely to be afraid of walking alone at night in their neighborhoods” (Hughes, 1980, p. 295). Hughes also argued that Gerbner’s group ignored additional items of analysis. Aside from controlling for socioeconomic variables, the researchers failed to indicate relationships between the 1975 and 1977 NORC data. The annual research is important in indicating viewers’ perceptions, but, according to Hughes, such analysis becomes irrelevant if not compared across time. Another problem lies in the NORC survey’s questions using “television answers” and “real-world responses”. Gerbner et al. defined the two sets of responses clearly for some items according to television content and crime statistics provided by the FBI. However. On other survey items, the researchers did not clearly delineate what the “television answers” should have been.

Hirsch (1980) found relatively little support of the cultivation hypothesis in his reanalysis of the NORC data as well. This researcher attempted to review the original data by adding two other viewing groups to the light and heavy viewing categories established by Gerbner et al.: extreme viewers and nonviewers. The major finding was that, once divided into these four categories, the hypothesis was not supported along eighteen surveyed items. Hirsch indicated that nonviewers were “consistently more fearful, alienated and favorable to suicide” than light viewers” (p. 405). Extreme viewers were less prone to be perturbed and/or perceive the real world as threatening than their heavy viewing counterparts. The reevaluation also showed that the bivariate relation-

ships reported by Gerbner et al. were “negligible at best” when simultaneously controlled for education, gender, age and employment (p. 408). The researcher concluded that television viewing, when analyzed as an independent and separate effect, was nonexistent in the NORC data. Therefore, the cultivation hypothesis has merely set the stage for expanding research frameworks rather than developing a new media effects paradigm (Hirsch, 1980).

Nonetheless, cultivation analysis continues to be used and refined by other researchers. Gerbner et al (1986) reformed their original cultivation thesis to include resonance and mainstreaming as explanations for various differences among viewers. Resonance pertains to the possibility of a population’s subsample to hold salient views of reality as those depicted on television. Mainstreaming deals with the “homogenization of divergent views and a convergence of disparate viewers” (Gerbner et al., 1986, p. 31). According to this concept, heavy viewers in any given demographic group will hold common views, while light viewers of the same group will maintain a divergent set of views. The mainstream effect postulates that common perspectives are cultivated by television in its very nature of organization, its competitive environment to capture audience shares and the consistency of its portrayed images and messages.

Awareness of problems within the theoretical framework has led to revisions and further explications by Gerbner et al., but the predictive power of the cultivation hypothesis continues to be criticized (Hawkins and Pingree, 1982; Hirsch, 1981; Tamborini and Choi, 1990; Weaver and Wakshlag, 1986). According to Weaver and Wakshlag (1986), the range of evidence compiled by cultivation research has thus far indicated that the relationship between the amount of television viewing and respondents’ fear of crime remains to be contingent upon other variables, if not completely spurious. The authors contended that researchers must recognize that television’s influence on social

perceptions “occurs within a complex process, along with a ‘great variety of environmental forces and institutions” (p. 143). Resonance and mainstreaming do provide justification for differences among and between viewing samples. Some critics argue that cultivation analysis merely provides correlational evidence rather than indicates a causal relationship between TV viewing and the construction of television-biased perceptions of social reality. There has also been substantial evidence indicating that viewers distinguish between three experiential modalities or sources of information relevant to the perception of personal vulnerability to crime. These include direct, personal non-mediated experiences; interpersonal, non-mediated experiences of others (family and friends) conveyed in a factual manner; and mediated-only experiences conveyed through the mass media as either factual or fictional information (Hawkins and Pingree, 1982; Potter, 1991a/b; Weaver and Wakshlag, 1986). Based on this division of experiences, it appears that the formation and reinforcement of social perceptions is contingent upon the highest order modality available. If lacking direct experience, the social perceiver is often more susceptible to information obtained indirectly at the interpersonal or mediated level. For instance, direct experience appears to heighten the estimates of and concerns for future personal victimization and vulnerability. Such experience, in turn, affects the perceptions of credibility and/or reality of further obtained information. In the absence of direct experience, interpersonally conveyed experience elevates “individuals’ perceptions of both their own and others’ vulnerability to negative events, whereas individuals without such experiences (i.e., dependent upon mass media depictions alone) rate themselves as less vulnerable” (Weaver and Wakshlag, 1986, p. 144). As a result, the impact of mediated experiences on the construction of social reality is influenced by experiences in the other two modalities.

Hawkins and Pingree (1981b, 1982) stressed the importance of analyzing the differences in cultivation effects rather than viewing the relationship between TV viewing and social reality construction in its consistency of direction. The authors suggested that there are five processes that may be involved in the construction of social reality based on television content. The first is that individual information-processing capabilities and various cognitive constraints could potentially affect the cultivation process among respondents. Included are such probable factors as age, gender, socioeconomic status, and levels of academic achievement. The cultivation effect of television may also be either facilitated or inhibited by the degree to which viewers pay attention to TV programs as well as the perceived credibility of program content. Hawkins and Pingree (1981b) suggested that “critical consumer” processes of awareness and active participation in TV viewing may affect the degree to which television cultivates social reality. “While young children cannot focus on central information, perhaps many adults can but do not focus, and thus are more open to television influence on their social reality when they do not focus” (p. 335). This second process, regarding the level of “activity” or involvement in television viewing, has been supported by various studies that demonstrated a positive relationship between content reality and the construction of social reality.

The third factor is that direct and interpersonal experiences have been shown to affect the degree of cultivation among viewers. “For any given television message, some minimum degree of confirmation from real-world experience, other sources, or even preexisting beliefs about social reality may be necessary to validate the television content” (Hawkins and Pingree, 1981b, p. 355). Concurrently, conflicting messages from other sources of dependence may disconfirm the cultivation effect of TV viewing as such sources act as filters for television’s depicted images. A fourth process pertains to social-structural

influences. The degree of viewers' social interaction, in terms of the social groups surrounding individuals, may act as a filtering agent of television's influence on the construction of social reality.

The final process involves content specificity. Gerbner et al. (1979) stated that two underlying assumptions of the Cultural Indicators research were the non-selective characteristic of television viewers and their ritualistic attendance to the medium. Hawkins and Pingree (1981b, 1982) argued that viewers vary in their selection of programs based on content type. Such content differences may influence the cultivation effect across types of content. Therefore, the authors contended that content-specific TV viewing was shown to indicate a significantly higher degree of cultivation than habitual viewing in their research on TV's effects on Australian youth (Hawkins and Pingree, 1981a). "The implication of isolating different cultivation relationships for different types of television content is that the symbolic messages...vary from content type and are not uniform across commercial television" (Hawkins and Pingree, 1981a, p. 299). Delineation of viewing by program type was found to be more beneficial in assessing television's cultivation effects as well. Critics have noted that the cultivation inquiry must accommodate for audience selectivity of programs and the diversity of available program types (Hawkins and Pingree, 1981a/b; Shapiro and Lang, 1991; Tamborini and Choi, 1990). According to Shapiro and Lang (1991), research on the role of television in social reality constructions has mainly focused on the potential "contamination" effects of TV information and the size of the resulting influences. The psychological mechanisms that viewers use to process TV images and incorporate such information into their worldview have not been substantially addressed in cultivation research. Despite these criticisms, the framework does lend itself to analyses regarding the cross-cultural effects of imported program consumption among indigenous viewers.

Pingree and Hawkins (1981) noted that the cultivation framework is one of the most significant approaches used in studying the effects of television on any given culture. The authors summarized the importance of cross-cultural cultivation research as follows:

...information learned from the mass media is incorporated into individuals' conceptions of social reality and presumably guides further learning and behavior. If a careful analysis finds a relationship between television viewing and these conceptions, then we can begin to make a case for television's contribution to our shared values and assumption (p. 97).

In this realm, the cultivation process has been divided into two categories, that of first-order cognitive and second-order attitudinal influences of TV viewing. The first-order cultivation of conceptions and beliefs, in turn, affect the second-order cultivation of behaviors, value orientations and/or attitudes of viewers (Hawkins and Pingree, 1982, 1990; Gerbner, Morgan and Signorielli, 1982; Potter 1991a). Tamborini and Choi (1990) contended that it is also imperative to study the first- and second-order impacts of foreign programming according to respondents' perceptions of both the host and imported cultures. This is important in determining the role of foreign television in shaping viewers' beliefs about their own culture as well as that of others portrayed on the imported programs. The elasticity of the cultivation inquiry, when adapting to the aforementioned refinements, may further enable researchers to gauge the degree to which imported television cultivates perceptions of social reality.

2.7 The Theoretical Approach Used in Examining the Effects of Brazilian Subscription Television

The role of television in Brazil has been under investigation since the late 1960s, but very little empirical research has been undertaken in the medium's potential effects on viewers (Browne, 1968; Coehlo, 1988; Fadul, 1993; Herold,

1988; Kottak, 1986; Mattos, 1982; Oliveira 1991a/b; Straubhaar, 1984, 1991; Vink, 1988). Greenberg et al. (1992) conducted an analysis of young Brazilians' orientation to mass media as one component of an international research project spanning four continents. The researchers administered a survey to sixth- and tenth-grade students in the metropolitan São Paulo area. The sixteen variables addressed were as follows: personal access to ten media, family access to twelve media, media usage in different dayparts, parental mediation of media usage, purchases of different media, dependence on news sources, credibility of news media, content preferences in various media, family rules regarding media usage, media usage as rewards and punishment, gratifications with different media, perceived reality of television content, advertising consumption, usage of a videocassette recorder, computer usage and demography.

Among several other findings, Greenberg et al. noted that 76% of male respondents and 78% of female participants reported that they had personal access to television, with 30% of males and 17% of females indicating access to cable. The average amount of daily TV viewing was four hours, while younger respondents reported higher television time than older participants. Of the four different media measured along three dayparts, television was the medium used most often. Television was also the medium most often involving parental mediation. The respondents not only maintained the greatest degree of belief in television news as well as depended on this medium as the primary news source, but their overall belief in advertising also favored television over other media advertising.

Perceived reality of television content was divided into three categories: characters, behaviors and locales. Sixth-graders perceived more realism in every character type and locale and behavioral items than their tenth-grade counterparts. There were very few significant differences by gender, therefore

grade proved to be a more efficient variable “locator variable of perceived reality differences” (Greenberg et al., 1992, p. 38). In terms of content preferences, the most favored on television were comedies, rock music shows, telenovelas, TV movies and action adventure programs. The most frequently viewed program types included variety shows, sports, game shows, television news and Brazilian music shows. Responses pertaining to gratification from media usage were delineated by escape, relaxation, learning, excitement, habit and company. Essentially, television was deemed the most appropriate satisfier of the media, averaging five of the sixteen gratifications assessed.

The brief synopsis of the Greenberg et al. research indicates that television is one of the more heavily utilized media among young people in Brazil. Fadul (1993) also reported that children compose the largest viewing audience throughout Brazil. Television in Brazil has been noted by several members of the broadcasting industry and academe as being extremely different than most broadcasting models in its use of factual content in fictional programs (Fadul, 1993, 1994; Herold, 1988; Leslie, 1992; Mattos, 1982, 1994; Michaels, 1994; Siqueira, 1994; Straubhaar, 1994). As noted in the discussion of TV Globo in the previous chapter, Brazilian program content is often a combination of fiction and reality. One blatant example of this was found on one of the more popular telenovelas during the 1994 World Cup soccer championship. One of the characters won a World Cup promotional lottery that was actually taking place throughout Brazil at the time of the program’s airing. Several viewers contacted the responsible network to determine if the “character” had actually won (Michaels, 1994). This distortion of what is real and what is fiction may lead viewers to different perceptions of reality than their counterparts in other nations, particularly among children. This may, in turn, affect the ways in which Brazilian audiences view foreign cultures introduced through television.

The recent introduction of such distribution technologies as direct broadcast satellite, cable, MMDS and the use of open and pay UHF channels in Brazil have enabled the U.S. television industry new means of access to the Brazilian population. It has been acknowledged that television is extremely important to children, yet cable television has just recently begun to be researched. "Cable presents a different television environment for children than the heavily studied broadcasting environment" (Baldwin and McVoy, 1988, p. 170). One study that compared cable and noncable children in Plymouth, Michigan, found that cable children spent the same amount of time watching the regular broadcast channels as the noncable viewers, but the cable children also watched the accessible cable channels as well. Thus, the cable viewers indicated a higher total TV viewing time than noncable children (Greenberg et al., 1985).

As mentioned previously, the introduction of these new technologies has led to increased availability of foreign shows to at least some Brazilians. Several pertinent questions arise regarding the impact of the transborder flow of American programming on Brazilian audiences via cable. Does access to cable correlate with a preference for American programming? Does this vary according to different program content types? Does watching pay television versus regular television lead to more pro-American attitudes? Does it lead to different perceptions of reality? Essentially, what are the current trends in Brazilian audience viewership since the inception of cable television?

This study attempts to answer these questions. The goal of the original cultivation analysis was "to determine whether differences in the attitudes, beliefs, and actions of light and heavy viewers reflect differences in their viewing patterns and habits" (Morgan and Signorielli, 1990, p. 17). The primary purpose of this study is to examine such differences between young Brazilian cable and noncable viewers to determine the potential impact of imported programming

via subscription television on the culture of Brazil. This project is that of a first step in gauging whether new means of signal distribution correlate with a preference for American programming among Brazilian audience members. It attempts to bridge the gap between the cultural imperialism paradigm and the hypothesized cultivation effect of television.

Hur (1982) contended that the union of these two realms of research are important, in that "findings available in systems analysis and processes and effects analysis are fundamentally related, despite the differences of research focus and research technique in past international mass communication research" (p. 549). At the macroscopic level, this study utilizes the structural analysis characteristic of media imperialism studies while focusing on the various effects analyses postulated under revisions of cultivation research. Based upon the aforementioned theoretical frameworks and their respective supporting research, predictions were made about the impact of U.S. programming via cable on Brazilian recipients.

2.8 Predictions in the Study

As mentioned previously, this is the first attempt to study the potential effects of American programming via new signal distribution systems in Brazil. Due to a lack of resources, a content analysis of the available cable programming in Brazil was not undertaken. It has been acknowledged that approximately 85% to 95% of the programs are imported from the United States (Baker, 1994b, 1995; Goncalves and Mendonça, 1994; Pecegueiro, 1994; Rogers, 1994; Straubhaar, 1994). All program genres accessible in the United States are available by means of one or the other cable systems in Brazil. This study attempts to determine if there are indeed significant differences between cable and noncable viewers,

and, if so, where such differential patterns lie.

The research attempts to determine if viewers prefer American programming over domestically-produced TV shows when given the choice. This is based on the argument brought about by both media imperialism and cultural proximity research. The study also investigates the effects of U.S. program viewing on social reality construction in terms of viewers' orientation to various situations, behaviors, people and values. This stems from the theory of cultivation analysis but derives mainly from revised versions of the original cultivation thesis. The focus of this research is on the effects of cable accessibility and the programming made available through this multichannel environment. Rather than utilizing the above frameworks to distinguish between heavy and light viewers of open television broadcasting, the following hypotheses are based on access to cable television.

The first prediction is rooted in the aforementioned study on cable television conducted by Greenberg et al. (1985). As the researchers reported, the young cable viewers in their study watched more television in terms of total viewing time. Cable respondents were less often told not to watch certain programs by mediating parents. These viewers also reported fewer parental viewing restrictions and/or guidance than their noncable counterparts (Greenberg et al., 1985). According to Piirto (1995), children in cable households watch five hours of cable programming compared to only three hours of noncable programming per week.

One researcher reported that youth who grow up in cable households tend to view this service as a basic necessity in life, and most often, become habitual "lifetime" cable viewers (Gissen, cited in Piirto, 1995). This is based on the premise that they not only watch more television but rely on the medium as their primary source for news and entertainment. According to Williams et al. (1985),

cable viewers watch more television primarily because of the wider selection of program choices and the ability to control or manipulate the viewing process in terms of the flexibility of programming. Derived from these findings and the assumption that cable viewers watch more television because they have more choices in programming, the data will be analyzed to determine if Brazilian cable viewers watch more television than noncable respondents.

Hypothesis One:

Cable viewers will indicate heavier television viewing than their noncable counterparts.

The second prediction stems from the research on the transborder flow of television programming. Under the auspices of cultural imperialism, it has been stipulated that viewers will watch imported programs, when provided with such an option (Lee, 1980; Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973; Sinclair, 1994). Contrary to this argument, Straubhaar (1991) contended that viewers will choose domestic programming over imported shows as a result of the cultural relevance of the content. Since there is little empirical evidence supporting either side of this debate, the issue remains to be resolved. However, with the high cost of pay television in Brazil, it has been assumed that subscribers want the imported programs. Otherwise, the industry would not be able to survive in a country that maintains such a strong domestic production base (Baker, 1995).

Brazilian industry researchers have reported that cable viewers prefer American programming (Baker, 1994b; Michaels, 1994; Pecegheiro, 1994; Rogers, 1994). Since the Brazilian cable model is commercially based and currently depends primarily on subscription revenue, consumer demands dictate programs made available over the various cable channels. It is under this assumption from which the following hypothesis was derived.

Hypothesis Two:

Cable viewers will demonstrate an overall preference for U.S. programs rather than domestically-produced television shows.

The third prediction also is rooted in the rationale stipulated above for the second hypothesis. Since the majority of programs aired on open broadcasting channels are mainly domestic shows, it can be argued that cable viewers will watch more imported programs on closed subscription channels than open broadcasting channels. This is not to say that cable viewers will indicate a lack of imported television viewing via open channels. Rather, these respondents will merely exhibit heavier viewing of imported materials on the multichannel cable system than on the domestic networks. According to Greenberg et al. (1985) and Piirto (1995), cable viewers demonstrate heavier viewing of the cable channels than open broadcasting channels.

Hypothesis Three:

Cable viewers will demonstrate heavier viewing of imported programs available on cable channels than on open broadcasting channels.

The following hypotheses are based on adaptations of the cultural differentials postulated by Gerbner et al. (1976, 1979, 1986). According to Hawkins and Pingree (1982), measures across program content specificity are better predictors than the habitual viewing of television measured by a composite of television viewing time. As discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, several studies have utilized this tool in examining the cultivation effects of television. This study attempts to interpret a useful device in one realm of media effects research and employ it in a second arena of television's impact on viewers.

While Hawkins and Pingree (1982) intended for this type of measure to be used in determining cultural differentials, the current research project will use the measure in analyzing what cable viewers are watching. Since an overview of the specific U.S. programs available to cable viewers was not accessible, an hypothesis was not developed regarding the relationship between program specificity and the cultivation of social reality. However, this tool will be further explored regarding its potential predictive power once it is determined what cable viewers are watching. In the adoption of this device as a measure of preferences in programming by means of country origin, the data will be investigated to see if viewers indicate heavier viewing across specific content categories rather than by total length of viewing time. The goal is to examine the delineation of specific program types as a determinant in participants' predilection for imports.

Hypothesis Four:

Cable viewers will demonstrate heavier viewing patterns of U.S. programs in specific program content categories than noncable viewers.

TV viewers' attitudes toward foreign countries have also been addressed in media effects research (Payne and Caron, 1982; Snyder, Roser and Chaffee, 1991; Sparkes, 1977). In their study on the influence of American mass media on Quebecois adults, Payne and Caron (1982) concluded that viewers of U.S. programming held more positive attitudes toward the U.S. and American culture than viewers of Canadian television. Beattie (1967) found that exposure to U.S. television indicated a more negative attitude toward national viewpoints among Canadian college students. Based on these findings and the results of other studies, respondents' attitudes toward other countries was also assessed

in this study. Since cable viewers are exposed to more imported programs, thus are more frequently exposed to television characters from different countries, the stipulation that cable viewers maintain a more positive attitude toward other countries than noncable viewers logically ensues.

Hypothesis Five:

Cable viewers will exhibit more positive attitudes toward other countries than noncable viewers.

Based on various cultivation studies, evidence has indicated a positive relationship between heavy TV viewing and belief in the social reality conveyed on television. According to Greenberg et al. (1992), the Brazilian youth who participated in their study showed relatively little belief in the reality of television content, particularly with “weaker realism assessments” regarding the reality of locales and behaviors portrayed on television (p. 38). However, the study did not distinguish between cable and noncable viewers, as that was not the purpose of the research. Other studies demonstrated that heavy viewers of foreign shows have indicated beliefs in either the overall reality of television, the perceived reality of the host culture or the reality of television’s depiction of the imported culture (Coldevin, 1979; Pingree and Hawkins, 1981; Tan, Li and Simpson, 1986; Tan and Suarchavarat, 1988; Tsai, 1967). With increased exposure to imported programming via cable, it could be argued that heavier viewers of foreign shows will be more likely than their noncable counterparts to believe in the perceptions of social reality portrayed on television, particularly that of imported programs.

Two predictions were made about the judgment of the reality of television programs. Since various studies have indicated that cable viewers watch more

television than noncable viewers, the following predictions were based on this distinction between heavy (cable) and light (noncable) viewers (Greenberg et al., 1988; Greenberg et al., 1985; Williams et al., 1985). The first one is based on the contention that cable viewers will demonstrate a stronger belief in the overall perceived reality of the images portrayed on television. The second stems from the argument that heavy viewers of foreign programs will demonstrate a stronger belief in the perceived reality of that imported culture as portrayed on television (Barnett and McPhail, 1980; Beattie, 1967; Kang and Morgan, 1988; Oliveira, 1986; Payne and Caron, 1982).

Hypothesis Six:

Cable viewers will exhibit a stronger belief in the perceived reality of television content than noncable viewers.

Hypothesis Seven:

Cable viewers will exhibit a stronger belief in the perceived reality of American shows than noncable viewers.

While the original cultivation analyses undertaken by the Cultural Indicators group pertained mainly to perceptions of violence, several of the aforementioned studies utilized the cultivation framework in assessing non-crime related perceptions of viewers. In his study of students in Israel, Weimann (1984) indicated a positive correlation between American television viewing and perceptions of affluence in the United States. Ahn (1990) reported a positive relationship between Korean adolescents' exposure to U.S. programs and perceptions of personal-level affluence. Based on these inquiries and the conceptual limitations of the original cultivation formulation, the perceptions of American

affluence and family life were selected for investigation in this research. Under the precept that increased exposure to imported programs leads to more positive perceptions of the imported culture, this prediction stipulates that cable viewers will demonstrate such positive perceptions as a result of their exposure to U.S. programs via subscription television.

Hypothesis Eight:

Cable viewers will exhibit more positive images about American family life and affluence than noncable viewers.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Survey Sample

The original sample for this study consisted of 436 sixth- and tenth-grade students residing in the metropolitan area of São Paulo, Brazil. This sample was chosen for three main reasons: accessibility, viewership and the potential impact of television on social reality construction. The targeted group was more convenient to reach than a random selection of participants from the general population, in terms of both time constraints and language barriers. Secondly, as mentioned previously, youth are the primary viewers of cable television. Most importantly, this age frame is crucial in the construction of social realities. Unlike adults, youth are more vulnerable to extraneous influences, since they have not yet fully developed a concrete social reality from which their world view is constructed (Gerbner et al., 1986; Hawkins and Pingree, 1981 a/b; Meyer and Hexamer, 1985). São Paulo was chosen because cable is presently only available in the major urban areas in Brazil, with the São Paulo region holding the largest subscribing population. In order to obtain a substantial sample, this area was chosen for the initial investigation of cable television's impact.

Four schools were selected as representing the socioeconomic stratification of cable and noncable viewers. Since cable subscribing households are comprised of mainly class A and B viewers (high SES), one private middle and one private high school were chosen to represent those students more likely to have access to cable television. One public middle and one public high school were selected to represent the lower SES sample. The access to and participation of these schools was established under the direction of Dr. Fred Litto, University

of São Paulo, School of the Future. A parental permission letter was provided if necessary. Student participation was determined by Dr. Litto and the respective school's administrators, due to cultural differences in the Brazilian administrative process. Individuals' participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous. This was stated on the questionnaire as well as explained prior to the administration of the surveys. Questionnaire administration was supervised by Professor Maria Jose' Maia, University of São Paulo, School of the Future. Respondents were given approximately forty minutes to complete the surveys during regular class sessions in May 1995.

3.2 Methodological Procedures

The methodology chosen for this research was that of a self-administered survey. This method was selected due to the language barriers of the researcher as well as being the most viable option in securing honest, anonymous responses from the sample. A twelve-page questionnaire was utilized to test the hypotheses (see Appendices A and B). The questions were primarily derived from the survey used by Greenberg et al. (1992) in the researchers' Brazilian component of an international study of young people's orientation to mass media. After the first draft was completed under the guidance of Dr. Joseph Straubhaar, it was directly translated into Portuguese at Michigan State University. Revisions were made based on recommendations of Brazilian graduate and doctoral students at MSU. The questionnaire was then assessed by Dr. Litto and Professor Maia in Brazil to determine cultural relevance and appropriateness of the language level. Further revisions were made upon their recommendations.

Five doctoral students and university employees of the School of the Future, University of São Paulo, helped in the administration of the surveys at

the four schools. The volunteers were trained on how to introduce the questionnaire and how to respond to participants' questions and behavior during the administration to ensure identical procedures were followed at each of the schools. Students were told they were participating in a study on what they liked to view on "regular" and "cable" television and how they felt about what they watched. The meaning behind the collective use of "cable" for the various signal distribution systems available was explained to the participants to make sure they understood the difference between open broadcasting and cable television. They were then asked to read the voluntary compliance statement on the front of the questionnaire and told that participation was optional and anonymous. If they had any questions, they were to ask for help from the supervisor or the teacher, without talking to their classmates, to ensure honesty in each participant's individual responses.

3.3 Variables Assessed in the Study

Independent Variable

The independent variable of relevance in this study was access to cable television. Respondents were first asked to indicate if they had access to television, in general. This was measured by asking respondents to circle how many television sets they had in their home. The responses were indicated on a seven-point scale (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, more). Participants were then asked how many channels they had access to at home. Responses were indicated on a four-point scale (1-10, 11-15, 15-20, 21 or more). In determining access to cable television, participants were asked if they had cable TV via wire (yes or no), and, if so, how many television sets were connected to the cable (on a seven-point scale: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, more). They were also asked if their home or building received satellite

TV (yes or no). The students were then asked if they had any of the following cable systems in their home or apartment: TVA, GloboSat, Multicanal and GloboNet. Responses were indicated by circling “yes” or “no” for each system. Based on participants’ responses to the above questions, they were then divided into two categories for assessment: cable and noncable viewers.

Dependent Variables

The primary dependent variables investigated were: (1) amount of television viewing; (2) preference for domestic or imported programming; (3) frequency of viewing domestic and imported programs; (4) frequency of viewing domestic and imported programs based on program specificity; (5) dependency on television news; (6) advertising consumption; (7) attitudes toward different countries; (8) perceptions of the portrayal of people and behaviors on television; (9) perceptions of the reality of American programs; and (10) perceptions of the reality of American family values and affluence.

Amount of television viewing (4 items). This was measured by asking respondents how much television (in hours) they watched across three dayparts the previous day. Responses were indicated on a seven-point scale (0, .5, 1, 1.5, 2, 2.5, 3 or more). These were then coded according to daypart, and as a total amount of television viewing time.

Preference for domestic or imported programming (2 items). This was measured by asking respondents two questions: “When given the choice, which shows on regular TV do you prefer to watch?” and “When given the choice, which shows on cable TV do you prefer to watch?”. Respondents were then asked to circle one of five choices: Brazilian, American, Mexican, Japanese, Other. The answers were coded according to which response was circled for each question.

Frequency of viewing domestic and imported programs (10 items). Three sets of questions were used to determine the frequency of program viewing. The

first measured how often respondents watched regular and cable television (2 items). The second set, consisting of four items, asked participants how often they watched Brazilian, Japanese, Mexican and U.S. programs on cable. The final set, also composed of four questions, asked the students to indicate how often they watched Brazilian, Japanese, Mexican and U.S. programs on “regular” TV. Each response was measured on a four-point scale (never=1, sometimes=2, often=3, very often=4) and coded accordingly.

Frequency of viewing by specific program content (68 items). This was measured by asking respondents to circle how often they watched certain types of programs, according to country origin, on cable TV and on regular TV (never=1, sometimes=2, often=3, very often=4). The following genres were assessed for Brazilian programming (26 items, 13 each for regular and cable TV): detective/crime, adventures/action/hero, westerns, rock music/videos, variety, comedy, sports, game shows, talk shows, telenovelas, news/public affairs, movies, and cartoons. The categories for American shows on cable and regular TV (26 items) were the same as those for Brazilian programs. For Japanese shows, the categories were as follows (8 items): adventure/hero, movies, cartoons, and children’s shows. For Mexican programs, the categories included (8 items): telenovelas, movies, cartoons, and children’s shows. Cable viewers were asked to respond to all of the questions, while noncable viewers were asked to answer just those pertaining to shows on “regular” television or open broadcasting channels.

Attitudes toward different countries (6 items). This was assessed according to a set of questions which asked participants to provide their general opinion of six countries– the United States, France, Mexico, Brazil, England and Japan–according to a five-point scale (very bad=1, neutral=3, very good=5).

Perceptions of the portrayal of people and situations on television (12

items). The perceived reality of such portrayals in TV content was measured by two types of questions. The first set was about behaviors and situations on television. Respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: romance, marriage, and problems on TV were like their counterparts in real life. The second set of questions pertained to the portrayal of people on television. Participants were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following people-oriented statements: parents, men, women, Americans, Brazilians, Mexicans, and policemen are like their real-life counterparts. These were then coded according to responses on a five-point scale (strongly agree=1, neutral=3, strongly disagree=5).

Two value judgments were also measured in this section. These two statements included “women and men should have equal pay at work” and “violence can sometimes be the solution to a problem”. Based on the same five-point agree/disagree scale, these were then assessed for differences between noncable and cable viewers.

Perceptions of the relative reality of American programs (2 items). Two questions were used to assess this variable regarding the perceptions of Brazilian and American programs. Participants were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “Brazilian shows are more like real life than American shows” and “American shows are more violent than Brazilian shows.” Responses were indicated on a five-point agree/disagree scale and coded according to more positive perceptions of either American or Brazilian TV shows.

Perceptions of the relative reality of American family values and affluence (4 items). Family values and affluence were measured according to a different set of questions. Respondents were again asked if they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: “American women have better jobs than Brazilian women;” “Brazilian men have better jobs than American men;” “American

families have more money than Brazilian families;" and "Brazilian families do more things together than American families." These questions were all measured along a five-point scale (strongly agree=1, neutral=3, strongly disagree=5) then recoded and indexed according to respondents' more positive perceptions of either the U.S. or Brazil.

3.4 Data Analysis

One-tailed t-tests were utilized for statistically examining the differences between cable and noncable viewers. The alpha level for all variables assessed was set at .05 to test the significance of those differences. Regarding reliability, two issues are at hand. The first pertains to the degree to which the instrument involved is an accurate means of testing the hypotheses. For this study, the majority of the questions utilized were adapted from a questionnaire previously used in Greenberg et al.'s study (1992). The instrument for this study was not pre-tested for errors due to time and financial constraints. However, the survey utilized in the Greenberg et al. study was pre-tested in the United States and administered in Brazil to a sample similar to that which was used in this research. The questionnaire was also critiqued by several researchers at MSU as well as the University of São Paulo for cultural relevance and accuracy. The second issue is that of accuracy in coding participants' responses to the questions. Three coders initially entered the data according to a codebook provided by the researcher. This file was then reviewed by the researcher. Corrections were recoded accordingly. The final step in this process was carried out by a third party, whom reviewed 43 questionnaires (approximately ten percent of total surveys collected) for accuracy.

Chapter Four

Findings

4.1 Sample Characteristics

Thirty-five surveys were withdrawn from the study due to incompleteness of at least ten percent of the questions. Of the remaining (N=405), 113 were cable viewers and 292 were noncable viewers. Following are composites of the two subsamples.

Cable Viewers

This subsample (N=113) was composed of 39 sixth-grade males, 22 tenth-grade males, 23 sixth-grade females and 29 tenth-grade females. All of the respondents reported that they were fluent in Portuguese. Fifty-six percent reported that they spoke and understood English well, with 19% indicating such skills with Spanish and 12% reporting the same for another language not specified. The majority of these students indicated that they were from two-parent families with one to two siblings. Approximately 89% of these respondents demonstrated that they lived with both their mothers and fathers in either an apartment or house owned by their parents. Seventy percent reported that their fathers held a university degree, while 65% indicated that their mothers graduated from college as well. The majority of participants' fathers were employed, composed of 79% full-time and 19% part-time. While most reported that their mothers worked as well, only 23% indicated full-time employment and 40% part-time.

Regarding access to television, every participant reported that their families owned at least one color television set, with the average of four sets per household. Cable viewers indicated that one or more TV sets were cable accessible in their homes. The average number of television channels available

was 21 or more. Sixty-four percent reported that their families subscribed to TVA. GloboSat and/or NET held 41% of this audience, and 37% indicated access to Multicanal. Several of the participants indicated access to more than one of the above cable companies.

Noncable Viewers

The noncable subsample (N=292) consisted of 54 sixth-grade males, 72 tenth-grade males, 68 sixth-grade females and 98 tenth-grade females. All but one reported fluency in Portuguese. Twenty-three percent indicated that they understood and spoke English well, while 5.5% reported similar skills in Spanish and 5.5% for an unspecified language. Eighty-six percent reported two-parent households, with 77% having one or more siblings. Seventy-eight percent reported that their families lived in either an apartment or house owned by their parents. Thirty-six percent of the noncable participants indicated that their mothers had obtained university degrees, and 47% reported the same for their fathers. The majority of participants' fathers were employed, with 76% working full-time and 17% part-time. Forty-six percent indicated that their mothers worked full-time and 19% part-time.

All but one noncable viewer demonstrated access to color television, although that respondent did indicate access to black and white television. The average number of color TV sets per household was two, with the amount of channels accessible reported as one to ten. The demographic characteristics of the two groups are shown in table one.

**Table 1: Demography of Cable and Noncable Viewers
(in percentages)**

Demographic Characteristics		Cable Viewers	Noncable Viewers
Education:	Private school	87	40
	Public school	13	60
	6th grade males	34	19
	10th grade males	20	25
	6th grade females	20	23
	10th grade females	26	33
	Speak English well	56	23
	Speak Spanish well	19	5.5
	Speak other language well	12	5.5
Parents:	Two-parent household	93	85
	<i>Father:</i>		
	College graduate	70	47
	Full-time employment	79	76
	Part-time employment	19	17
	<i>Mother:</i>		
	College graduate	65	36
	Full-time employment	23	46
	Part-time employment	40	19
Economic Status:	Live in apartment	23	38
	Live in house	77	62
	Own	81	78
	Rent	19	22
	2-3 bedrooms	56	75
	4 or more bedrooms	42	19
	1-2 bathrooms	33	67
	3 or more bathrooms	66	32
	0 vehicles	4	15
	1 vehicle	19	38
	2 or more vehicles	77	47
Access to television (not in percentages):	Average # of TV sets	4	2
	Average # of TV channels	21 or more	1-10

4.2 Findings on Television Viewing Behavior and Frequency

Differences in Television Viewing: H1

One-tailed t-tests were utilized to determine the differences in the two subsamples' reported viewing time (in hours) in three dayparts. A total viewing time was then compiled for the two groups and compared for differences. The results are displayed in table one. Essentially, noncable viewers indicated more frequent viewing of television in two of the three dayparts as well as overall time spent watching television. The only significant difference ($p < .05$) between the two groups was indicated in the morning prior to the beginning of the school day, in which noncable viewers reported more time spent watching television.

In the first daypart, cable viewers reported less than one hour of viewing time, while noncable viewers demonstrated between forty-five minutes to one hour of watching TV. The after-school block, whence cable viewers' watched approximately one and one-half hours of television and noncable respondents viewed for about one hour and twenty minutes, was the only daypart in which the former indicated longer viewing time than the latter. Noncable viewers reported one hour of viewing after dinner, and cable participants indicated about fifty minutes in the same category. Overall, cable respondents watched about three hours of television throughout the day. Noncable viewers watched approximately four hours during the day. Divided into the three separate dayparts as well as in overall viewing time, cable respondents indicated that they were watching television less frequently than their noncable counterparts. Therefore, the results were not found to be significant enough to support the expectation that cable viewers would demonstrate heavier television than noncable viewers. One possible limitation of this was that the respondents were asked to report viewing time for the previous day only. Perhaps the differences

**Table 2: Amount and Time of TV Viewing
by Cable and Noncable Viewers**

Daypart	Cable	Noncable	t
In the morning, before school	.5381	.8699	•-2.00
After school, before supper	3.3584	3.0301	1.47
After supper, until bedtime	3.0248	3.1901	-.76
Total	6.9212	7.0901	-.37

•p< .05

between the two groups would have been more significant and/or reversed if findings indicated habitual or weekend viewing behavior.

Findings on Programming Preferences among Cable and Noncable Viewers: H2 and H4

As shown in table three, when given the choice between domestically-produced programs or imported shows, both subsamples reported a preference for Brazilian programming on broadcast-only channels. Cable viewers did indicate a stronger preference for American programming on cable-only channels. Overall, noncable viewers' preferences were as follows: Brazilian, American, Japanese, Other and Mexican. Cable viewers order of preference entailed American, Brazilian, Other, Japanese and Mexican on cable-only channels. On broadcast-only channels, cable viewers indicated the following preferences: Brazilian, American, Other, Japanese and Mexican. While it may appear that both groups preferred American TV over other imported shows, this was not analyzed as that was not the focus of this project.

It was postulated that cable respondents would demonstrate a stronger preference for U.S. programming over Brazilian television than noncable viewers, when provided with such an option. While cable viewers reported more frequent viewing of Brazilian programs on broadcast-only television, this could very likely be indicative of the type of programming available on broadcast television. Since these viewers have access to more channels, thus more options from which to choose, it appears that they prefer American programs via subscription television. While not found to be significant at the .05 level, the indications may be of a slowly growing interest in American programming when more choices are provided.

Table four denotes the subsamples' television viewing habits in terms of how often they watched the imported and Brazilian programs. Noncable viewers' responses to broadcast-only questions were compared to that of the cable respondents along the categories of cable-only, open broadcast and all available channels. Both groups reported heavier viewing of Brazilian programs than imports from the other three countries on broadcast-only channels. While not significantly different, cable viewers indicated that they watched television less frequently than their noncable counterparts when analyzed as a composite of all available channels. These findings were in accordance with the results found in comparing the subsamples' responses to how often they watched television (H1). When asked how often they watched cable television and "regular" TV, noncable participants indicated overall higher viewing patterns than cable respondents. This may be the result of increased accessibility to other media and/or entertainment forms on the part of the cable respondents.

When comparing the differences between cable-only viewing and noncables' responses (broadcast only), the cable group indicated a lower frequency of viewing Brazilian, Japanese and Mexican programs. However, only the difference between the groups' responses to viewing domestic programs was sufficient enough to indicate significance. When comparing the cumulative viewing patterns of cable viewers to that of noncable participants, the latter exhibited heavier viewing of Brazilian and Japanese programming. Cable viewers demonstrated a higher frequency of viewing American TV shows on cable-only and broadcast-only channels as well as the cumulative average of the two channel groupings. They also indicated that they watch less Brazilian programming on cable-only channels and as a cumulative average of all available channels. This difference is important when noting that cable respondents indicated a significantly lower frequency of overall television viewing.

**Table 3: Preferences for TV Programs
by Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=watch; 2=do not watch)**

Programs by Country Origin:	Cable Viewers		Noncable Viewers		
	Broadcast	Cable-Only	Broadcast	t_1	t_2
Brazilian	1.2832	1.7611	1.3801	•-1.83	•3.42
American	1.5310	1.1593	1.4966	.62	•-3.74
Mexican	1.9823	1.9823	1.9486	1.52	1.52
Japanese	1.9823	1.9646	1.8973	•2.87	2.15
Other	1.9646	1.9558	1.9144	•1.67	1.33

• $p < .05$

NOTE: All t-values are represented by t_1 , t_2 , t_3 , et cetera on each table, in which the first cable viewers' category compared to the noncable viewers' broadcast responses is represented by t_1 and so on. For instance, in Table 2, t_1 is the value for cable viewers' broadcast mean compared to noncable viewers' broadcast mean. T_1 symbolizes the t-value for the comparison of means for cable viewers' cable-only category and noncable viewers' broadcast category.

**Table 4: Frequency of TV Viewing
by Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=never; 2=sometimes; 3=often; 4=very often)**

Programs by Country Origin:	Cable Viewers			Noncable Viewers			
	All	Broadcast	Cable-Only	Broadcast	t_1	t_2	t_3
Brazilian	3.0398	2.6283	3.4513	3.0589	-.21	1.27	•4.11
American	2.4243	2.4027	2.4460	2.3281	1.06	.78	1.2
Japanese	1.3230	1.3274	1.3186	1.4493	•-1.79	•-1.73	•-1.64
Mexican	1.9850	1.8726	2.0973	1.9151	.70	-.42	•1.68
Overall Viewing	2.8894	3.3938	3.3938	3.2973	•-4.78	•-5.04	1.06

• $p < .05$

NOTE: In Table 4, "ALL" category represents combined viewing of cable and open broadcast channels for the cable subsample.

NOTE: All t-values are represented by t_1 , t_2 , t_3 , et cetera on each table, in which the first cable viewers' category compared to the noncable viewers' broadcast responses is represented by t_1 and so on. For instance, in Table 2, t_1 is the value for cable viewers' broadcast mean compared to noncable viewers' broadcast mean. T_2 symbolizes the t-value for the comparison of means for cable viewers' cable-only category and noncable viewers' broadcast category.

When divided into specific content categories, findings partially supported the prediction set forth in hypothesis four (H4). Tables five through eight delineate the differences between the two groups' responses to questions pertaining to program content specificity. Noncable viewers' responses were compared to those of cable participants along three categories: cable-only responses, open broadcast reportings and the mean of the sum of cable and broadcast viewing frequencies. In regards to Brazilian programming, cable viewers demonstrated significantly heavier viewing of sports programs on open broadcast channels ($p < .05$). While cable viewers did not indicate that they watched significantly more American programming than noncable participants in an overall assessment, they did demonstrate less viewing of the main Brazilian genres. The most frequently viewed Brazilian programs include telenovelas, varieties, game shows, news and talk shows (Straubhaar, 1995). As noted on table five, in each of these popular content categories, cable respondents viewed less than noncable participants ($p < .05$). The cable viewers may not have increased their overall time spent watching television, yet less of their viewing time is dedicated to the primetime Brazilian programs in comparison to noncable viewers. When comparing the two groups by means of cable-only viewing and open broadcast, six differences between the subsamples are evident: detective/crime, adventures/action/hero, westerns, rock/music videos, sports and movies. Within this realm, cable viewers significantly watched more Brazilian sports and movies than noncable respondents ($p < .05$).

In comparing cable and noncable viewers' frequencies in which they watched American programs on open broadcast channels, cable viewers reported more frequent viewing than their noncable counterparts along all but the detective/crime genre. They demonstrated significantly stronger viewing habits in the categories of sports, talk shows, telenovelas (soap operas), news/public

affairs and movies ($p < .05$). When comparing cable viewers' cable-only responses to that of noncable viewers' responses to how often they watch American TV on open broadcast, cable participants displayed heavier viewing patterns in nine of the thirteen genre categories. These included adventures/action/hero, westerns, rock/music videos, variety, comedy, sports, news/public affairs, movies and cartoons. Those which showed significantly different viewing patterns were the sports, movies and cartoons categories ($p < .05$).

Although there were differences found intermittently between the two subsamples along various genres of programming, the results were not substantial to support the expectation that cable viewers would demonstrate heavier viewing patterns in specific program content categories. A potential problem with these results may lie in confusion over what is meant by the labels defining each genre. For instance, very few U.S. game shows, variety programs and soap operas are aired over open broadcast channels (Straubhaar, 1995). Some participants may have erroneously reassigned different values to the descriptive labels utilized for each category (i.e., a U.S. children's program may have been perceived as a variety show).

Tables seven and eight show the findings for the responses to Japanese and Mexican programming. For the most part, the two subsamples indicated overall that they never watched imported programs from either of the respective countries. The only genre in which noncable respondents reported viewing "sometimes" was that of Japanese children's shows (i.e., "Power Rangers").

**Table 5: Program Content Preferences for Brazilian Shows
among Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable Viewers			Noncable Viewers			
	All	Broadcast	Cable-Only		t ₁	t ₂	t ₃
Detective/crime	2.1465	2.1788	2.1142	2.0969	.60	.95	.20
Adventures/action/hero	2.6447	2.5761	2.7133	2.5955	.52	-.20	1.20
Westerns	1.3031	1.2522	1.3540	1.2966	.11	-.78	.94
Rock music/videos	2.6854	2.5858	2.7850	2.6678	.18	-.80	1.17
Variety	2.9018	2.9982	2.8053	3.0705	•-1.84	-.77	•-2.81
Comedy	2.9150	2.9540	2.8761	2.9452	-.30	.09	-.66
Sports	3.0478	3.0637	3.0319	2.8240	•2.11	•2.21	•1.91
Game shows	2.3739	2.6513	2.0965	2.7171	•-3.69	-.67	•-6.37
Talk shows	2.0332	2.2257	1.8407	2.2849	•-3.01	-.68	•-5.13
Telenovelas	2.2575	2.9982	1.5168	3.0014	•-7.20	-.03	•-13.76
News/public affairs	2.3115	2.6425	1.9805	2.6623	•-4.05	-.22	•-7.49
Movies	3.1858	3.0991	3.2726	2.9658	•2.25	1.32	•3.05
Cartoons	2.4615	2.4938	2.4292	2.6151	-1.41	-1.08	•-1.66

•p< .05

NOTE: In Table 5, "ALL" category represents combined viewing of cable and open broadcast channels for the cable subsample.

NOTE: All t-values are represented by t₁, t₂, t₃, et cetera on each table, in which the first cable viewers' category compared to the noncable viewers' broadcast responses is represented by t₁ and so on. For instance, in Table 2, t₁ is the value for cable viewers' broadcast mean compared to noncable viewers' broadcast mean. T₁ symbolizes the t-value for the comparison of means for cable viewers' cable-only category and noncable viewers' broadcast category.

**Table 6: Program Content Preferences for American Shows
among Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable Viewers			Noncable Viewers			
	All	Broadcast	Cable-Only		t_1	t_2	t_3
Detective/crime	2.1500	2.1814	2.1186	2.2483	-.98	-.66	-1.18
Adventures/action/hero	2.6420	2.6239	2.6602	2.5873	.55	.36	.45
Westerns	1.3522	1.3381	1.3664	1.3356	.25	.04	.57
Rock music/videos	2.6960	2.6770	2.7150	2.6493	.42	.25	.35
Variety	2.5788	2.5699	2.5876	2.4815	.98	.88	.86
Comedy	2.7527	2.8097	2.6956	2.6684	.61	1.13	.72
Sports	2.7150	2.7257	2.7044	2.1637	•4.78	•4.79	•4.51
Game shows	1.9389	2.0442	1.8336	1.9945	-.55	.47	-.94
Talk shows	1.9398	1.9912	1.8885	1.7997	•1.70	•2.26	1.43
Telenovelas	1.7146	2.0177	1.4115	1.7541	-.35	•2.14	•-2.23
News/public affairs	2.0199	2.1018	1.9381	1.9168	1.08	•1.85	.50
Movies	3.2934	3.2434	3.3434	3.0829	•2.29	•1.68	•2.97
Cartoons	2.4783	2.4558	2.5009	2.3134	1.52	1.27	•1.69

• $p < .05$

NOTE: In Table 6, "ALL" category represents combined viewing of cable and open broadcast channels for the cable subsample.

NOTE: All t-values are represented by t_1 , t_2 , t_3 , et cetera on each table, in which the first cable viewers' category compared to the noncable viewers' broadcast responses is represented by t_1 and so on. For instance, in Table 2, t_1 is the value for cable viewers' broadcast mean compared to noncable viewers' broadcast mean. T_2 symbolizes the t-value for the comparison of means for cable viewers' cable-only category and noncable viewers' broadcast category.

**Table7: Program Content Preferences for Japanese Shows
among Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable Viewers			Noncable Viewers			
	All	Broadcast	Cable-Only		t_1	t_2	t_3
Adventures/hero	1.3407	1.4088	1.2726	1.4555	-1.42	-.56	•-1.65
Movies	1.3009	1.3115	1.2903	1.4301	•-1.83	•-1.63	•-1.69
Cartoons	1.3531	1.3788	1.3274	1.6767	•-3.42	•-3.04	•-2.91
Children's shows	1.1611	1.1611	1.1611	1.1949	-.60	-.60	-.60

• $p < .05$

**Table 8: Program Content Preferences for Mexican Shows
among Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable Viewers			Noncable Viewers			
	All	Broadcast	Cable-Only		t_1	t_2	t_3
Telenovelas	1.2150	1.3009	1.1292	1.3630	•-2.23	-.89	•-2.67
Movies	1.3115	1.3097	1.3133	1.3151	-.06	-.08	-.25
Cartoons	1.2982	1.2920	1.3044	1.3240	-.37	-.46	-.40
Children's shows	1.4150	1.4903	1.3398	1.4301	-.19	.73	-.56

• $p < .05$

NOTE: In Tables 7 and 8, "ALL" category represents combined viewing of cable and open broadcast channels for the cable subsample.

NOTE: All t-values are represented by t_1 , t_2 , t_3 , et cetera on each table, in which the first cable viewers' category compared to the noncable viewers' broadcast responses is represented by t_1 and so on. For instance, in Table 2, t_1 is the value for cable viewers' broadcast mean compared to noncable viewers' broadcast mean. T_2 symbolizes the t-value for the comparison of means for cable viewers' cable-only category and noncable viewers' broadcast category.

Findings on Programming Preferences among Cable Viewers: H3

Tables nine through twelve present the differences in viewing patterns among cable viewers between open broadcast and cable-only channels along content-specific programs from the four countries studied. Under the category of Brazilian programming, cable viewers demonstrated heavier viewing of adventures/action/hero, rock music/videos and movies on cable channels. Of those three, these respondents showed positive, significant differences in their viewing patterns of Brazilian movies between cable and broadcast channels ($p < .05$). In terms of their viewing patterns of U.S. television shows, this subsample indicated that they watched more on cable channels in six genre categories: adventures/rock/music videos, variety, movies and cartoons. While the respective values are insufficient to reject the null hypothesis, the differences reported do indicate increased viewing along specific content categories. Interestingly, the differences found to be significant at the .05 level are those which indicate less frequent viewing on cable channels. Contrary to what was expected, the negative values associated with the remaining seven suggest that cable viewers may watch more American programming on open broadcast channels than on the subscription channels. In fact, when compared to how often these viewers' reported that they watched Brazilian programs on cable, nine of the thirteen genre categories exhibit more frequent viewing of Brazilian over American programs.

Regarding Japanese and Mexican programming, cable viewers' reported that, as a whole, they rarely watch programs associated with either of the two nations, if at all. Of those who indicated watching Japanese programs "sometimes", they reported heavier viewing on open broadcast channels than cable in each genre category (excepting children's shows, which had the same results). Such was also the case for Mexican programs in the categories of

**Table 9: Cable Viewers' Program Content Preferences
for Brazilian Shows on Broadcast and Cable-Only TV Channels
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable-Only	Broadcast	t
Detective/crime	2.1142	2.1788	-.77
Adventures/action/hero	2.7133	2.5761	1.60
Westerns	1.3540	1.2522	•2.24
Rock music/videos	2.7850	2.5858	•2.33
Variety	2.8053	2.9982	•-2.64
Comedy	2.8761	2.9540	-.85
Sports	3.0319	3.0637	-.43
Game shows	2.0965	2.6513	•-5.73
Talk shows	1.8407	2.2257	•-5.02
Telenovelas	1.5168	2.9982	•-12.97
News/public affairs	1.9805	2.6425	•-7.26
Movies	3.2726	3.0991	•2.23
Cartoons	2.4292	2.4938	-.74

•p< .05

**Table 10: Cable Viewers' Program Content Preferences
for American Shows on Broadcast and Cable-Only TV Channels
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable-Only	Broadcast	t
Detective/crime	2.1186	2.1814	-.98
Adventures/action/hero	2.6602	2.6239	.41
Westerns	1.3664	1.3381	.63
Rock music/videos	2.7150	2.6770	.52
Variety	2.5876	2.5699	.27
Comedy	2.6956	2.8097	-1.39
Sports	2.7704	2.7257	-.28
Game shows	1.8336	2.0442	•-2.35
Talk shows	1.8885	1.9912	-1.31
Telenovelas	1.4115	2.0177	•-6.19
News/public affairs	1.9381	2.1018	•-2.40
Movies	3.3434	3.2434	1.34
Cartoons	2.5009	2.4558	.55

•p< .05

**Table 11: Cable Viewers' Program Content Preferences
for Japanese Shows on Broadcast and Cable-Only TV Channels
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable-Only	Broadcast	t
Adventure/hero	1.2726	1.4088	•-2.22
Movies	1.2903	1.3115	-.42
Cartoons	1.3274	1.3788	-.70
Children's Shows	1.1611	1.1611	.00

•p< .05

**Table 12: Cable Viewers' Program Content Preferences
for Mexican Shows on Broadcast and Cable-Only TV Channels
(1=never watch...4=watch very often)**

Program Genre	Cable-Only	Broadcast	t
Telenovelas	1.1292	1.3009	•-3.66
Movies	1.3133	1.3097	.07
Cartoons	1.3044	1.2920	.32
Children's Shows	1.3398	1.4903	•-2.39

•p< .05

telenovelas and children's shows.

The same problem as described in the preceding section may have also affected respondents' answers to the selections presented in tables eight through eleven. Participants may have been confused over what was meant by some of the categories, thus responding incorrectly to the questions regarding these topics.

4.3 Findings on Attitudes Toward Different Countries: H5

The results for the set of questions pertaining to respondents' opinions of various countries indicated partial support for H5. While cable viewers demonstrated more positive attitudes toward the United States and England, their attitudes toward France, Mexico and Japan were lower than the noncable respondents. Table thirteen presents these results. The two which were found to maintain positive, significant t-values were the cable subsamples' opinions of the U.S. and England ($p < .05$). While noncable viewers maintained low thresholds of positive or "good" attitudes toward these two countries, the cable participants held higher opinions for both nations.

**Table13: General Opinion of Countries
by Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=very bad....5=very good)**

Country:	Cable	Noncable	t
United States	4.1965	3.9312	•3.11
France	3.8673	3.9106	-.47
Mexico	2.4531	2.6699	-2.17
Brazil	3.6372	3.6394	-.02
England	4.1327	3.8688	•2.82
Japan	3.4204	3.5705	-1.11

•p< .05

4.4 Findings on Perceived Reality of TV Content, Viewers' Beliefs and Values

Perceptions of the Reality of TV Content: H6 and H7

This variable was assessed by evaluating the differences between cable and noncable viewers' responses to statements regarding the portrayal of various people in different roles on television as well as depicted behaviors and situations. Table fourteen presents the differences between the subsamples. On all four statements in the "people/roles" category, cable viewers perceived the televised depictions as being more realistic than responses indicated by noncable participants. Based on a five-point scale (disagree/agree), both groups reported to agree with each of the statements. The cable respondents were more likely to agree with the statements than their noncable counterparts. The noncable group indicated a stronger affirmation that Americans on television are like Americans in real life. Contrary to that difference, cable viewers indicated a higher degree of belief in the depiction of Mexicans on television ($p < .05$). Cable viewers agreed that romance and marriage on television were realistic but remained neutral on the statement pertaining to television violence. Noncable viewers maintained a stronger accord with the realistic portrayal of television romance than cable participants. While the expectations anticipated under the auspices of H6 were not significantly supported, the positive values represented for all but three of the questions should not be ignored. Although slight in differences, these values may be indicative of a trend still in its early stages.

Regarding the perceptions of realism in American programming, noncable respondents were more likely to remain neutral regarding the realism of American programs in comparison to Brazilian shows, whereas the cable group

**Table 14: Perceived Reality of Television Content
among Cable and Noncable Viewers
(1=strongly disagree...5=strongly agree)**

...on TV are like real life:	Cable	Noncable	t
Police	4.1788	4.0486	1.29
Women	3.6584	3.6387	.18
Men	3.8664	3.7171	1.31
Parents	4.0460	3.9589	.84
Americans	3.6876	3.8171	-1.19
Mexicans	3.7681	3.5921	•1.84
Romance	3.8761	3.9589	-.78
Marriage	3.9735	3.8664	1.00
Problems	3.6257	3.4572	1.46
Violence	3.2265	3.0664	1.33
American shows are more realistic than Brazilian shows	2.9062	3.1815	•-2.41
American shows are more violent than Brazilian shows	2.8212	2.7192	.96

•p< .05

was in between disagreement and neutrality ($p > .05$). Findings pertaining to the perceived reality of U.S. programs did not support H7. While the statement involving the depiction of violence on American TV compared to that of Brazilian programs was positive, the mean difference between the groups was not marginal. Both subsamples indicated slight disagreement to minimal neutrality in responding to this statement. The second issue addressed in the perceived reality of U.S. programming compared to that of Brazilian shows maintained a negative, significant difference between the two groups. While the value for one statement failed to reject the null hypothesis, the other demonstrated a negative difference. Hence, findings were insufficient in confirming the expectations established under H7.

While the noncable viewers indicated less frequent viewing of American programs, they demonstrated a higher degree of belief in the reality of American shows. On the contrary, the cable viewers who have access to more American programming indicated a lesser degree of belief in the images of life in the United States as portrayed on television. One possible explanation could be that those who typify the Brazilian cable strata may have had extraneous exposure to American culture, products and lifestyle values through personal travel, shared experiences of others' who have travelled to the United States, and through other media vehicles. While the issue of other means of exposure to American culture was beyond the scope of this project, it lends itself to such an explanation.

Images of U.S. Family Life and Affluence: H8

As shown in table fifteen, the results indicated little agreement with pro-American attitudes and values for the variables addressed under hypothesis eight. While both cable and noncable students disagreed with the statement that American families have more money than Brazilian families, cable viewers maintained a higher mean. The opposite was found for perceptions of American

familial activities. Noncable viewers were more likely to respond neutrally than cable viewers, while the difference remained insignificantly negative.

Cable viewers responded significantly differently than noncable participants regarding the statement that American women held better jobs than Brazilian women. However, both bordered between disagreeing with the statement and indicating neutrality. Noncable viewers demonstrated a higher value for the statement pertaining to employment of American men versus Brazilian men, although the two groups' representative means were lower than the employment statement pertaining to women. One plausible explanation for the different perspectives on men and women in the respective countries is that of a reflection of cultural differences and current goings-on in Brazilian social movements (i.e., women's liberation). Out of the six value statements, the only one for which the two groups indicated agreement pertained to equality of pay for men and women. With media attention on trends in the work environment, such as an increase in women in the Brazilian workforce and the inequities between men and women's employment opportunities, this may have skewed the cable respondents' answers. Since the social group represented is considered more affluent than the social classes represented by the noncable viewers, the former may have been exposed to other media vehicles' reportings of these trends. Another potential explanation is that of cultural differences in the traditional roles of men and women in Brazilian society. While women may be perceived as holding the role of family caretaker, men perhaps are viewed as the providers for Brazilian families, more so than this perception in the United States.

Both groups disagreed with the statement that violence can sometimes be the solution to a problem. Cable and noncable responses were juxtaposed between disagreement and neutrality for that statement as well. Essentially,

the differences between the two groups were not significant in supporting the postulation that cable viewers would exhibit more positive images about American family life and affluence.

Chapter Five

Discussion

Under the auspices of the debate over the unidirectional transborder flow of television, the objective of the present study was to analyze the cross-cultural impacts of U.S. television programming on Brazilian cable audiences. The primary purpose was to determine if there were significant differences between young Brazilian cable and noncable viewers. The focus was that of analyzing such differences along the dimensions of the cultivation hypothesis and cultural imperialism in an attempt to bridge the gap between two arenas of mass communication theory. The research heretofore attempted to gauge if the increased importation of U.S. programming in the Brazilian cable industry was indeed affecting the recipients through exposure to external cultural products, as contended by advocates of the imperialism school of thought (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973; Lee, 1980). The research also attempted to adapt certain variables of the cultivation hypothesis set forth by Gerbner et al. (1979) and Hawkins and Pingree (1981a) in order to assess such cross-cultural effects. Following is a synopsis of expected outcomes and obtained results as well as limitations within the scope of the project.

5.1 Summary of Results

Based on secondary research pertaining to the history of Brazilian television and the two media theories discussed above, certain predictions were made regarding the outcome of the data analysis presented in the preceding chapter.

The first hypothesis, in which it was predicted that cable viewers would

report heavier television viewing than noncable participants, was not sufficiently supported. Of the three dayparts evaluated, cable respondents demonstrated heavier viewing in only one category, as mentioned previously ($p > .05$). The total viewing time of both groups indicated that noncable viewers watched television more frequently than their cable counterparts. Essentially, this measure failed to reject the null hypothesis for three of the four items tabulated. One potential intervening variable not assessed in this study was that of access to other media. As noted earlier in this text, cable households are more likely to be composed of the higher income-based strata of Brazil. Since print media are extremely expensive in Brazil, such vehicles are often only affordable to those with higher socioeconomic status. Therefore, cable viewers may utilize other media, such as newspapers, books and magazines, as sources for entertainment. This may result in less television viewing when compared to those who would have fewer opportunities of accessing these vehicles (Fadul, 1994; Straubhaar, 1994).

The measure of total viewing time is regularly used throughout studies utilizing both the macroscopic cultural imperialism theory and that of the cultivation hypothesis, yet it has been argued that this measure merely indicates correlations rather than causal relationships between watching television and social behavior, perceptions of reality as well as other variables. According to some critics, measures of viewing by program content are more indicative of viewing behavioral patterns rather than an aggregate of television viewing (Ahn, 1990; Hawkins and Pingree, 1981a/b; Tamborini and Choi, 1990). In order to determine which was a more powerful predictability measure, content specificity was also utilized in the scope of this research.

As indicated in tables five through eight in the previous chapter, the results partially supported the hypotheses regarding these variables. Findings

were inconsistent with those reported for the first prediction, in that cable viewers demonstrated heavier television viewing along this dimension than when broken down into time increments. Whether content specificity acts as a better indicator of television viewing frequency than aggregate viewing time was not completely determined. When analyzed according to individual content categories, cable viewers reported heavier viewing for most American programming and less viewing of Brazilian programs than their noncable peers. The differences between these two groups remained to be insignificant along most dimensions. While cable viewers did not demonstrate a significantly higher reporting of American program viewing, they did indicate a significantly lower frequency of viewing Brazilian programs. In a country considered to have one of the strongest domestic production bases and highest national TV ratings, this reported decrease in Brazilian program viewing among cable participants may be an indication of an adverse effect of American programming availability. With more programming from which to choose, cable viewers may be watching multiple programs at one time. This, in turn, may have affected their indications of viewing specific content categories. While they may not be watching a program in its entirety, they may be switching back and forth between a variety of programs.

Findings also indicated some support for the expectations that cable viewers would demonstrate a preference for U.S. programs when given the choice between such imports and domestically-produced television shows. Both cable and noncable participants indicated stronger preferences for Brazilian programming on broadcast-only channels when asked which type they preferred by country origin. Cable viewers indicated a significantly stronger preference for American shows on cable channels than noncable respondents reported for broadcast-only channels.

Regarding the postulation that Brazilian cable viewers would demonstrate increased viewing of imported programs on cable-only than open broadcast channels, findings indicated that cable viewers are watching more imports on subscription stations than via broadcasting television. Results for this assessment were also varied in supporting this prediction. While cable respondents indicated differences in watching some content-specific programs on cable and open broadcast, the majority of these were either insignificant or demonstrated a negative difference. This may have been the result of the problems stated in the previous discussion in chapter four, yet may also be indicative of the lack of consumer awareness of cable television in Brazil (Baker, 1995). Some respondents may not have been able to distinguish between what they watched on "regular" TV compared to their viewing patterns for cable channels. There was an indication of heavier viewing of American programming among cable viewers. When broken down into frequency of viewing programs by country origination, cable participants demonstrated a higher frequency of American shows on broadcast-only, cable-only and a composite of both types of channels than noncable respondents. Cable viewers indicated less TV viewing overall and less time spent watching Brazilian shows when comparing all available channels. Essentially, cable viewers have demonstrated that, while they watch less TV than noncable participants, they watch more American programming and fewer Brazilian programs.

When evaluated by preferences for programming, the cable participants demonstrated a stronger preference for American programs than Brazilian shows on cable-only channels. Coupled with their indication of less frequent viewing of Brazilian programs than their noncable counterparts on broadcast channels, this factor may be an indication of a slowly growing interest and/or preference for American programming. Since the cable market is in its early

adoptive marketing phase, further investigation of such preferences should be assessed once cable becomes an integral product of Brazilian society in its mass consumption cycle.

The expectation that cable respondents would demonstrate more positive attitudes toward different countries than noncable participants was only partially supported. Cable viewers maintained more positive attitudes toward the United States and England but failed to display such attitudes toward the other three countries assessed. Since American cultural products are often perceived as higher quality than the domestic counterparts and there is a strong desire for assimilation to perceived American lifestyles, cable viewers may hold a higher opinion of the U.S. when compared to their perception of other countries (Fadul, 1994; Oliveto, 1994). Imported products are somewhat of a status symbol in Brazilian society. With American products composing the majority of imports in most Brazilian product markets, cable viewers' perceptions of the U.S. may be of a more positive opinion than their views of other countries (Oliveto, 1994). They may feel more ambivalent toward other nations due to a lower knowledge base of those countries and the respective cultures.

The three hypotheses pertaining to participants' perceptions of the reality of television content also failed to be completely supported. While cable viewers indicated stronger degrees of belief in the reality of TV content for the majority of variables assessed, they exhibited more negative images of American family life and affluence than their noncable peers. They also indicated a lesser degree of belief in the perceived reality of U.S. programs than the noncable respondents. Such findings could possibly be caused by access to other information sources. Cable viewers may be exposed to information about the U.S. through tertiary sources such as imported and domestic books, magazines, newspapers and educational materials. They are also more likely to have gained exposure

through such secondary sources as relatives or friends who have visited the United States or, perhaps, through personal travel abroad (Ahn, 1990). This exposure, when compared to mediated-only experiences, may have affected cable participants' belief in the perceptions of U.S. lifestyles and respective TV portrayals. While discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, it should be stressed that, although the differences in perceived reality were found to be insignificant, they may be indicative of a trend that is slowly taking root. Since cable television is just beginning to be fully understood by consumers as well as reaching mass popularity, the slight degrees of difference may widen significantly as more television audience members begin to tune into cable channels.

Overall, there were relatively few differences of significance found between the two subsamples. While each hypothesis showed some degree of support, however minuscule, none of them succeeded in being fully substantiated. Rather, most differences reported between cable and noncable viewers were found to be insignificant, if not negative in direction. This is not to say that the findings are any less important. Rather, the differences may be attributed to other variables, such as educational level, gender, age, socioeconomic status, or traveling experiences as opposed to mediated-only experiences. Another contributing factor may be the lack of consumer awareness of the differences between cable and open broadcast channels. On the other hand, since every prediction was rejected, it could be argued that the cultural imperialism theory as well as the revised cultivation hypothesis also failed to hold bearing in this particular case. Since the majority of cross-cultural studies similar to this one have also indicated minimal effects, it could be rationalized that the present study also falls under this category, thus rejecting to support the aforementioned theories upon which the research was based. However, the current study was intended as an initial investigation into the realm of the potential cross-

cultural effects of television. To generalize in such a way is not within the scope of this project. Further investigation is needed as more and more Brazilian television viewers are exposed to subscription television.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

At the macroscopic level, one limitation may be found in the theoretical basis of the study. As mentioned previously, cultural imperialism attempts to incorporate a multitude of similar phenomena into one general concept (Tomlinson, 1991). It does not take into consideration contextual analyses of independent events or situations. While it has been quantitatively demonstrated that there is a unidirectional flow of mass media, very little empirical evidence supports the assertion that such imported cultural products affect members of the receiving culture. The present study was a rudimentary attempt to contextually analyze one aspect of the transborder flow of a mass media vehicle. While there are flaws in the original imperialism school of thought, when modified contextually, it can be argued that there is slight evidence to support the imperialism paradigm. However, it may be too soon to predict whether viewers will choose the imported products or those of domestic cultural relevance. The novelty of cable in Brazil is evident. Whether this medium will flourish remains to be determined.

The cultivation hypothesis, while utilized heavily for intercultural mass media studies, may not lend itself to analyses of the transborder flow of media. The majority of studies which have utilized cross-cultural cultivation analysis indicated relatively few significant findings (Ahn, 1990; Pingree and Hawkins, 1981; Weimann, 1984). Other variables, such as non-mediated American experiences, socioeconomic status and educational background, may play a

larger role than accounted for under the cultivation hypothesis. While television may act as a disseminator of imported cultural icons, other variables may determine whether such icons will be adopted by viewers. The underlying assumption of cultivation is that television is the primary component in the construction of the social reality of viewers. It does not take into account the aforementioned demographic and psychographic variables. Individual differences are also unaccounted for under the auspices of cultivation. As Hawkins and Pingree (1982) contended, individuals experience varying cultivation effects, such as information-processing capabilities and cognitive restraints.

An inherent limitation of the study itself may have been its broadness in scope. As an initial step in gauging differences between cable and noncable viewers, the variables examined may have been too generalized to specifically target differences between the two subsamples.

Another possible limitation may have been in the design of the instrument used. Although analyzed for cultural relevance, there may have been questions that may not have been compatible to the cultural or age level of the participants. There may have been some confusion about various questions and the way in which these were addressed. The product cycle of cable television may be a limitation as well. Since subscription television is still considered a relatively new concept in Brazil, cable respondents may not have been cognizant of the differences between "regular" and cable television.

Validity constitutes yet another limitation. There was no control for such extraneous variables as age and gender, therefore internal validity may be limited in its applicability. Since the primary purpose of the study was to analyze differences between cable and noncable viewers, other variables were not evaluated at this time to determine the degree to which they may have affected the differences. The topic of differences between Brazilian cable and noncable

viewers should continue to be addressed, yet intervening variables such as exposure to other media vehicles, educational differences, mediated-only and personal experiences, uses and gratifications differences and socioeconomic factors should be evaluated to determine possible effects on the two groups. Regarding external validity issues, there are several differences between adults and youth, not only in their levels of cognizance but also in their television viewing patterns and behaviors. Therefore, the findings from this research can only be generalized to youth in Brazil and, more specifically, may be limited to youth inhabiting urban areas within the country. While the demographics of the two groups were delineated in chapter four, one potential problem was that of a lack of cases from the lower socioeconomic strata. The facilitators attempted to distribute the questionnaires between those of higher and lower economic status. However, due to resource availability, the public schools used for the study were composed of a population of moderate economic background (Maia, 1995). Further studies should attempt to encompass young cable viewers from various regions throughout Brazil and of varying socioeconomic status to determine if there are geographic and/or economic differences impacting TV viewing patterns.

A final limitation pertains to the data analysis. As mentioned previously, the analysis was limited to basic differences between cable and noncable viewers. While originally intended, higher-order statistics were not utilized for two major reasons. The first is the minimal degree to which differences between the two subsamples were found to be significant. The second involves the limited number of cable participants in the study. The reliability of creating a constructed sample in which the cable and noncable groups would be equally composed severely limited the number of cases applicable for such uses.

5.3 Implications for the Future

While this investigation indicated relatively few significant differences between cable and noncable viewers in Brazil, the findings remain relevant. There were indications of increased viewing of imported American programs among cable viewers. These participants also demonstrated less overall viewing of television as well as less frequent viewing of Brazilian shows than their noncable counterparts. These findings may be indicative of a shift in television viewing patterns. With increased exposure to imported programming and advertised products, Brazilian society may be in a transitive period. While it may be too early to predict, interest in foreign cultural icons may be on the rise in Brazil.

Subscription television is still a fledgling market in Brazil. As the country continues to open its markets further to imported products and services, including television programs, the cross-cultural effects of such icons cannot be dismissed. Cultural integrity and relevance remain to be issues of international debate as the globalization of today's media plays a vital role in shaping tomorrow's world. The importance of studying the effects of the transborder flow of television and other media needs to be further addressed in understanding how that world will be created. As Brazil appears to be in a pivotal phase of societal, economic and political development, the role of television in this stage must not go unheeded. It is this medium, compounded with other social and economic factors, that may further open Brazil's doors to the rest of the world, while shutting the windows on the country's own cultural history. What the end result of this cycle in Brazil's development will be has yet to be determined.

Appendix A: English Version of Questionnaire

Questionnaire on Television Viewing Habits

What Do You Like To Watch?

Filling this questionnaire out is optional.

Your participation will provide useful information about how people your age use various types of media (radio, television, etc.). Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. All information is confidential and kept anonymous, so you can be perfectly honest when answering questions.

You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this study by completing and returning this questionnaire.

If you have any questions, please ask either your teacher or the person administering the questionnaire for guidance.

- 17. How often do you watch American shows (like *Melrose Place*) on cable TV?**

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

- 18. How often do you watch Japanese shows (like *Godzilla*) on cable TV?**

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

- 19. How often do you watch Mexican shows (like *Chaves*) on cable TV?**

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

- 20. How often do you watch shows on regular TV?**

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

- 21. How often do you watch Brazilian shows on regular TV?**

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

- 22. How often do you watch American shows (like *Melrose Place*) on regular TV?**

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

23. How often do you watch Japanese shows (like *Godzilla*) on regular TV?

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

24. How often do you watch Mexican shows (like *Chaves*) on regular TV?

NEVER **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

How often do you watch the following types of Brazilian shows?

Detective/crime

1. On regular TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

2. On cable TV **NEVER** **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

Adventures/action/hero

3. On regular TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

4. On cable TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

Westerns

5. On regular TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

6. On cable TV **NEVER** **SOMETIMES** **OFTEN** **VERY OFTEN**

Rock music/videos

7. On regular TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

8. On cable TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

Variety

9. On regular TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

10. On cable TV NEVER SOMETIMES OFTEN VERY OFTEN

Comedy

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 11. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 12. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Sports

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 13. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 14. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Game shows (Faustão, for example)

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 15. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 16. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Talk shows

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 17. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 18. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Telenovelas

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 19. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 20. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

News/public affairs

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 21. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 22. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Movies

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 23. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 24. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Cartoons

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 25. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 26. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

How often do you watch the following types of American shows?**Detective/crime**

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 1. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 2. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Adventures/action/hero

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 3. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 4. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Westerns

5. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
6. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Rock music/videos

7. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
8. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Variety

9. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
10. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Comedy

11. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
12. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Sports

13. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
14. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Game shows (Faustão, for example)

15. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
16. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Talk shows

17. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
18. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Telenovelas

19. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
20. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

News/public affairs

21. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
22. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Movies

23. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
24. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

Cartoons

25. On regular TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
26. On cable TV	NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

How often do you watch the following types of Japanese shows?

Adventure/hero

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 1. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 2. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Movies

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 3. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 4. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Cartoons

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 5. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 6. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Children's shows

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 7. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 8. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

How often do you watch the following types of Mexican shows?

Telenovelas

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 1. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 2. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Movies

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 3. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 4. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Cartoons

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 5. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 6. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

Children's shows

- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|
| 7. On regular TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
| 8. On cable TV | NEVER | SOMETIMES | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |

How do you watch **AMERICAN** shows? (PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER.)

1. I NEVER WATCH AMERICAN SHOWS
2. IN ENGLISH WITH SUBTITLES
3. IN PORTUGUESE
4. IN SPANISH
5. IN ENGLISH WITHOUT SUBTITLES
6. IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE NOT LISTED

How do you watch **JAPANESE** shows? (PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER.)

7. I NEVER WATCH JAPANESE SHOWS
8. IN JAPANESE WITH SUBTITLES
9. IN PORTUGUESE
10. IN SPANISH
11. IN JAPANESE WITHOUT SUBTITLES
12. IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE NOT LISTED

How do you watch **MEXICAN** shows? (PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER.)

13. I NEVER WATCH MEXICAN SHOWS
14. IN SPANISH WITH SUBTITLES
15. IN PORTUGUESE
16. IN ENGLISH
17. IN SPANISH WITHOUT SUBTITLES
18. IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE NOT LISTED

Which **ONE** of these do you **depend** on the most for news about what's happening in the world?
(PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE OF THE FOLLOWING RESPONSES.)

1. NEWSPAPER
2. TELEVISION
3. RADIO
4. FRIENDS
5. FAMILY
6. MAGAZINE

How much can you believe the news you find in

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------|------|-----------|
| 7. Television | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 8. Radio | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 9. Newspapers | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 10. Magazines | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 11. Friends | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |

How much can you believe the advertising you find in

- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------|------|-----------|
| 12. Television | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 13. Radio | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 14. Newspapers | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 15. Magazines | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |
| 16. Friends | VERY LITTLE | LITTLE | MUCH | VERY MUCH |

From which of the following do you learn the most about products you are interested in buying.
YOU CAN CHOOSE MORE THAN ONE. CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER(S).

17. Newspaper ads
18. Radio Ads
19. Billboards
20. Catalogs
21. Cable TV ads
22. Magazine ads
23. Regular TV ads

How much **do you pay attention to:**

24. Ads when watching TV

VERY LITTLE LITTLE MUCH VERY MUCH

25. Ads when reading newspapers

VERY LITTLE LITTLE MUCH VERY MUCH

26. Ads when listening to the radio

VERY LITTLE LITTLE MUCH VERY MUCH

27. Ads when reading magazines

VERY LITTLE LITTLE MUCH VERY MUCH

Please let us know if you **agree or disagree** with these statements. **PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER.**

1. Most of the ads I read, see, and hear tell the truth.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

2. I like most of the ads I read, see, and hear.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

3. Ads give me a lot of good information.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

4. I am often unhappy with things I buy from ads

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

5. I often ask a parent to buy something I have seen advertised.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

6. A parent often buys me something that I asked for from an ad.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

7. There is too much advertising.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. The people in ads really use the products.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

9. When I want something I look for it in ads.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

10. I often see things in ads I can't afford.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

11. I often get frustrated when I see something in an ad I can't afford.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

12. Women and men should have equal pay at work.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

13. Parents on TV shows are like parents in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

14. Americans on TV shows are like Americans in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

15. Policemen on TV shows are like policemen in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

16. Romance on TV is like romance in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

17. Brazilian shows are more like real life than American shows.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

18. Mexicans on TV are like Mexicans in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

19. Men on TV shows are like men in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

20. Marriage on TV is like marriage in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

21. Problems people have on TV are like problems people have in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

22. American families have more money than Brazilian families.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

23. Brazilian families do more things together than American families.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

24. TV shows are more violent than real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

25. Women on TV shows are like women in real life.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

26. American women have better jobs than Brazilian women.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

27. Brazilian men have better jobs than American men.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

28. American shows are more violent than Brazilian shows.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

29. Brazilian shows are more like real life than American shows.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

30. Violence can sometimes be the solution to a problem.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NEUTRAL DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

When given the choice, which TV shows on **regular TV do you prefer to watch?**

1. Brazilian
2. American
3. Mexican
4. Japanese
5. Other

When given the choice, which TV shows on **cable TV do you prefer to watch?**

6. Brazilian
7. American
8. Mexican
9. Japanese
10. Other

Where would you prefer to live?

11. Mexico
12. Brazil
13. France
14. England
15. USA

What is your general opinion of the following countries?

16. U.S.	VERY BAD	BAD	NEUTRAL	GOOD	VERY GOOD
17. France	VERY BAD	BAD	NEUTRAL	GOOD	VERY GOOD
18. Mexico	VERY BAD	BAD	NEUTRAL	GOOD	VERY GOOD
19. Brazil	VERY BAD	BAD	NEUTRAL	GOOD	VERY GOOD
20. England	VERY BAD	BAD	NEUTRAL	GOOD	VERY GOOD
21. Japan	VERY BAD	BAD	NEUTRAL	GOOD	VERY GOOD

1. Are you **MALE** or **FEMALE** ? (CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER)
2. What is your age? **10-12** or **14-18** (CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER)
3. What is your grade in school? **6th Grade** or **10th Grade** (CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER)

What was the last year of school that your father (or guardian) had?

4. _____ Less than 8th grade
5. _____ Finished 8th grade
6. _____ Went to high school, but did not finish
7. _____ Finished high school
8. _____ Went to college, but did not finish
9. _____ College degree
10. _____ Master's degree or Ph.D.

What was the last year of school your mother (or guardian) had?

11. _____ Less than 8th grade
12. _____ Finished 8th grade
13. _____ Went to high school, but did not finish
14. _____ Finished high school
15. _____ Went to college, but did not finish
16. _____ College degree
17. _____ Master's degree or Ph.D.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 18. Does your father have a job right now? | YES | | NO |
| 19. (IF "YES" TO #18) Does he work | all day | or | part of the day |
| 20. Does your mother have a job right now? | YES | | NO |
| 21. (IF "YES" TO #20) Does she work | all day | or | part of the day |

Which parents live with you now? **CIRCLE ALL THAT LIVE WITH YOU RIGHT NOW.**

22. MOTHER

23. FATHER

24. STEPMOTHER

25. STEPFATHER

How many of each of these people live with you right now?

26. Brothers 0 1 2 3 MORE

27. Sisters 0 1 2 3 MORE

28. Grandparents 0 1 2 3 MORE

29. Others 0 1 2 3 MORE

Where you live, is it an.... (CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER)

1. APARTMENT or a

2. HOUSE

Do your parents... (CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER)

3. OWN IT, or

4. RENT IT

5. How many bedrooms are there? 0 1 2 3 MORE

6. How many bathrooms are there? 0 1 2 3 MORE

7. How many cars does your family have? 0 1 2 3 MORE

PLEASE CIRCLE WHICH LANGUAGES YOU SPEAK WELL.

8. Portuguese

9. English

10. Spanish

11. Other

Appendix B: Portuguese Version of Questionnaire

Questionário Sobre Hábitos de Assistir Televisão

O que você gosta de assistir?

O preenchimento deste questionário é opcional.

Suas respostas nos ajudarão a entender melhor como pessoas da sua idade consomem os vários tipos de mídia (rádio, televisão, etc.).

Você não precisa colocar seu nome neste questionário, assim as respostas serão anônimas. Nós não iremos mostrar seu questionário para ninguém, portanto pode responder as perguntas com toda honestidade.

O preenchimento deste questionário significa que você quer participar voluntariamente neste estudo.

Se você tiver alguma pergunta, consulte a sua professora ou fale com uma das pessoas que está administrando este questionário.

CIRCULE A SUA RESPOSTA EM CADA UMA DAS PERGUNTAS ABAIXO.

Em sua casa, qual o número de:

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-------|-------|------------|---|-----|------|
| 1. Televisão à cores | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | MAIS |
| 2. Televisão preto e branco | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | MAIS |
| 3. Quantos canais de TV você tem em casa? | 1-10 | 11-15 | 15-20 | 21 OU MAIS | | | |
| 4. Você tem TV à cabo instalada em sua casa? | SIM | | | | | NÃO | |
- (Se "SIM" para Nº 4, responda Nº 5) 5. Quantos aparelhos de TV são ligados no cabo em sua casa?
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|---|---|---|---|-----|------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | MAIS |
| 6. O seu prédio ou sua casa recebem TV via satélite? | SIM | | | | | NÃO | |

Em seu apartamento, você tem algum dos seguintes? (Circule todos os que você tem)

- | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|
| 7. TVA | SIM | NÃO |
| 8. GloboSat | SIM | NÃO |
| 9. Multicanal | SIM | NÃO |
| 10. MTV | SIM | NÃO |
| 11. GloboNet | SIM | NÃO |

Lembre do dia de ontem. Por quanto tempo você assistiu TV (em horas)?

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----|---|-------|---|-------|-----------|
| 12. De manhã, antes da aula | 0 | 1/2 | 1 | 1 1/2 | 2 | 2 1/2 | 3 OU MAIS |
| 13. Depois da aula, antes do jantar | 0 | 1/2 | 1 | 1 1/2 | 2 | 2 1/2 | 3 OU MAIS |
| 14. Depois do jantar, até quando você foi dormir | 0 | 1/2 | 1 | 1 1/2 | 2 | 2 1/2 | 3 OU MAIS |

SE VOCÊ TEM TV À CABO, FAVOR RESPONDER AS PERGUNTAS Nº 15 a 19. SE VOCÊ NÃO ASSISTE TV À CABO, FAVOR IR DIRETO PARA QUESTÃO Nº 20.

15. Com que frequência você assiste shows na TV à cabo, UHF ou TV via satélite?

NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

16. Com que frequência você assiste programas brasileiros na TV à cabo?

NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

17. Com que frequência você assiste programas americanos na TV à cabo (como *Melrose Place*)?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
18. Com que frequência você assiste programas japoneses na TV à cabo (como *Godzilla*)?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
19. Com que frequência você assiste programas mexicanos na TV à cabo (como *Chaves*) ?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
20. Com que frequência você assiste a TV normal?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
21. Com que frequência você assiste programas brasileiros na TV normal?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
22. Com que frequência você assiste programas americanos na TV normal (como *Melrose Place*)?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
23. Com que frequência você assiste programas japoneses na TV normal (como *Godzilla*)?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
24. Com que frequência você assiste programas mexicanos na TV normal (como *Chaves*)?
 NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

Com que frequência você assiste os seguintes tipos de programas brasileiros?

Detetive/crime

1. TV normal NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
2. TV à cabo NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

Aventura/ação/heróis

3. TV normal NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
4. TV à cabo NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

Cowboy

5. TV normal NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
6. TV à cabo NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

Rock/música/vídeos

7. TV normal NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
8. TV à cabo NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

Diversos

9. TV normal NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE
10. TV à cabo NUNCA ÀS VEZES FREQUENTEMENTE SEMPRE

Comédia

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 11. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 12. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Esportes

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 13. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 14. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Jogos na TV (Faustão, por exemplo)

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 15. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 16. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Entrevistas

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 17. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 18. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Novelas

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 19. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 20. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Notícias

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 21. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 22. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Filmes

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 23. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 24. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Desenho animado

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 25. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 26. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Com que frequência você assiste os seguintes tipos de programas americanos?**Detetive/crime**

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 1. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 2. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Aventura/ação/heróis

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 3. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 4. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Cowboy				
5. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
6. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Rock/música/vídeos				
7. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
8. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Diversos				
9. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
10. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Comédia				
11. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
12. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Esportes				
13. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
14. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Jogos na TV (Faustão, por exemplo)				
15. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
16. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Entrevistas				
17. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
18. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Novelas				
19. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
20. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Notícias				
21. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
22. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Filmes				
23. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
24. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
Desenho animado				
25. TV normal	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE
26. TV à cabo	NUNCA	ÀS VEZES	FREQUENTEMENTE	SEMPRE

Com que frequência você assiste os seguintes tipos de programas japoneses?

Aventura/ação/heróis

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 1. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 2. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Filmes

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 3. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 4. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Desenho animados

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 5. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 6. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Programas infantis

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 7. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 8. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Com que frequência você assiste os seguintes tipos de programas mexicanos?

Novelas

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 1. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 2. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Filmes

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 3. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 4. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Desenho animado

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 5. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 6. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Programas infantis

- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|----------------|--------|
| 7. TV normal | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |
| 8. TV à cabo | NUNCA | ÀS VEZES | FREQUENTEMENTE | SEMPRE |

Como você assiste **programas AMERICANOS**? (Circule a sua resposta.)

1. EU NUNCA ASSISTO PROGRAMAS AMERICANOS
2. EM INGLÊS COM LEGENDA
3. EM PORTUGUÊS
4. EM ESPANHOL
5. EM INGLÊS SEM LEGENDA
6. EM OUTRA LÍNGUA NÃO LISTADA

Como você assiste **programas JAPANESES**? (Circule a sua resposta.)

7. EU NUNCA ASSISTO PROGRAMAS JAPANESES
8. EM JAPONÊS COM LEGENDA
9. EM PORTUGUÊS
10. EM ESPANHOL
11. EM JAPONÊS SEM LEGENDA
12. EM OUTRA LÍNGUA NÃO LISTADA

Como você assiste **programas MEXICANOS**? (Circule a sua resposta.)

13. EU NUNCA ASSISTO PROGRAMAS MEXICANOS
14. EM ESPANHOL COM LEGENDA
15. EM PORTUGUÊS
16. EM INGLÊS
17. EM ESPANHOL SEM LEGENDA
18. EM OUTRA LÍNGUA NÃO LISTADA

Qual dos meios de comunicação listados abaixo você utiliza mais para se manter informado sobre o que acontece no mundo? **(CIRCULE APENAS UMA OPÇÃO.)**

1. JORNAL
2. TV
3. RÁDIO
4. AMIGOS
5. FAMÍLIA
6. REVISTAS

Quanto você pode acreditar nas notícias da/do

7. TV	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
8. Rádio	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
9. Jornal	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
10. Revistas	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
11. Amigos	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE

Quanto você pode acreditar nas propagandas da/do

12. TV	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
13. Rádio	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
14. Jornal	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
15. Revistas	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE
16. Amigos	BEM POUCO	POUCO	MUITO	BASTANTE

Dos listados abaixo, qual lhe fornece mais informação sobre produtos que você está interessado em comprar. **VOCÊ PODE ESCOLHER MAIS DE UMA OPÇÃO. CIRCULE A(S) RESPOSTA(S).**

17. Propagandas no jornal
18. Propagandas no rádio
19. Outdoor (Cartazes na rua)
20. Catálogos
21. Propagandas na TV à cabo
22. Propagandas nas revistas
23. Propagandas na TV normal

O quanto você presta atenção em:

24. Propaganda quando assiste TV

BEM POUCO POUCO MUITO BASTANTE

25. Propaganda quando lê jornais

BEM POUCO POUCO MUITO BASTANTE

26. Propaganda quando ouve rádio

BEM POUCO POUCO MUITO BASTANTE

27. Propaganda quando lê revistas

BEM POUCO POUCO MUITO BASTANTE

Agora, diga se você concorda ou discorda com estas frases. **CIRCULE A SUA RESPOSTA.**

1. A maioria da propagand a que eu leio, vejo e ouço diz a verdade.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

2. Eu gosto da maioria da propaganda que eu vejo, leio e ouço.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

3. Propaganda me fornece boa informação.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

4. Frequentemente fico desapontado(a) quando compuo produtos anunciados.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

5. Sempre peço para meus pais comprarem produtos que vi em alguma propaganda.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

6. Meus pais sempre compram algo que vi em alguma propaganda.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

7. Há muita propaganda.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

8. As pessoas que fazem propaganda realmente usam aqueles produtos.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

9. Quando eu quero algum produto eu procuro em propagandas.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

10. Sempre vejo produtos em propaganda que não tenho dinheiro para comprar.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

11. Sempre fico desapontado(a) quando vejo algo numa propaganda que não tenho dinheiro para comprar.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

12. Mulheres e homens recebem pagamentos iguais no trabalho.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

13. Pais na TV são como pais na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

14. Americanos na TV são como americanos na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

15. Policiais na TV são como policiais na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

16. Romance na TV é como romance na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

17. Programas brasileiros são mais parecidos com a vida real do que os americanos.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

18. Mexicanos na TV são como mexicanos na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

19. Homens na TV são como homens na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

20. Casamento na TV é como casamento na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

21. Os problemas das pessoas na TV são como os da vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

22. Famílias americanas têm mais dinheiro do que as famílias brasileiras.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

23. Famílias brasileiras têm mais atividades em família do que as americanas.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

24. Programas de TV são mais violentos que a vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

25. Mulheres na TV são como as mulheres na vida real.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

26. Mulheres americanas têm melhores empregos do que as brasileiras.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

27. O homem brasileiro tem melhores empregos que os homens americanos.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

28. Programas americanos são mais violentos do que os brasileiros.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

29. Programas brasileiros são mais parecidos com a vida real dos que os americanos.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

30. Violência pode ser solução para algum problema.

CONCORDO PLENAMENTE CONCORDO NEUTRO DISCORDO DISCORDO TOTALMENTE

Havendo escolha, quais programas na **TV normal** você prefere assistir? (CIRCULE SUA REPOSTA)

1. Brasileiros
2. Americanos
3. Mexicanos
4. Japoneses
5. Outros

Havendo escolha, quais programas na **TV à cabo** você prefere assistir? (CIRCULE SUA REPOSTA)

6. Brasileiros
7. Americanos
8. Mexicanos
9. Japoneses
10. Outros

Aonde você preferiria morar? (CIRCULE SUA REPOSTA)

11. México
12. Brasil
13. França
14. Inglaterra
15. EUA

Qual é a sua opinião sobre os seguintes países?

16. EUA	BEM RUIM	RUIM	NEUTRO	BOM	MUITO BOM
17. França	BEM RUIM	RUIM	NEUTRO	BOM	MUITO BOM
18. México	BEM RUIM	RUIM	NEUTRO	BOM	MUITO BOM
19. Brasil	BEM RUIM	RUIM	NEUTRO	BOM	MUITO BOM
20. Inglaterra	BEM RUIM	RUIM	NEUTRO	BOM	MUITO BOM
21. Japão	BEM RUIM	RUIM	NEUTRO	BOM	MUITO BOM

1. Você é **HOMEM** ou **MULHER ?** (CIRCULE A RESPOSTA)
2. Qual é a sua idade? **10-12** ou **14-18** (CIRCULE A RESPOSTA)
3. Em que ano você está na escola? **6º ANO Ginásial** ou **2º ANO Colegial**

Qual o nível de educação do seu pai (ou guardião)?

4. _____ Ginásial incompleto
5. _____ Terminou o ginásio
6. _____ Colegial incompleto
7. _____ Terminou o colegial
8. _____ Faculdade incompleta
9. _____ Obteve diploma de faculdade
10. _____ E' professor universitário

Qual o nível de educação da sua mãe (ou guardião)?

11. _____ Ginásial incompleto
12. _____ Terminou o ginásio
13. _____ Colegial incompleto
14. _____ Terminou o colegial
15. _____ Faculdade incompleta
16. _____ Obteve diploma de faculdade
17. _____ E' professor universitário

18. O seu pai trabalha no momento? **SIM** **NÃO**
19. (Se "SIM" para Nº 18) **DIA TODO** ou **DO TEMPO**
20. A sua mãe trabalha no momento? **SIM** **NÃO**
21. (Se "SIM" para Nº 20) **DIA TODO** ou **DO TEMPO**

Quais pais moram com você atualmente? (CIRCULE TODOS QUE MORAM COM VOCÊ NO MOMENTO.)

22. MÃE

23. PAI

24. MADRASTA

25. PADRASTO

Quantas destas pessoas moram com você atualmente?

26. Irmãos	0	1	2	3	MAIS
27. Irmãs	0	1	2	3	MAIS
28. Avós	0	1	2	3	MAIS
29. Outros	0	1	2	3	MAIS

Você mora em um/uma... (CIRCULE SUA REPOSTA)

1. APARTAMENTO ou

2. CASA

Seus pais, (CIRCULE SUA REPOSTA)

3. SÃO PROPRIETÁRIOS ou

4. PAGAM ALUGUEL

5. Quantos quartos tem na casa/apto?	0	1	2	3	MAIS
6. Quantos banheiros tem na casa/apto?	0	1	2	3	MAIS
7. Quantos carros a sua família tem?	0	1	2	3	MAIS

CIRCULE AS LÍNGUAS QUE VOCÊ FALA BEM.

8. Português

9. Inglês

10. Espanhol

11. Outros

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