Cosmopolitics, media and the virtualization of Latin America

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Abstract

This text describes the rise of discursive forms in Latin American society since the so-called Washington Consensus until today and their implications for the national cultural industries field. The paper is divided into two sections. The first discusses the category of *cosmopolitics*, a neologism that seeks to emphasize the economic and political models of actions and their connections with contemporary sensibilities. The second is focused on debates about media and the virtualization of Latin American, a sort of reorganization process involving institutions and identities that surpasses a former system of representation based on national *cronotopos,* seeking to achieve new cognitive patterns in the media. It deals with physical immigration and the migration of tastes, as well as new structures of cultural agency and production, and new modalities of consumption and symbolic reproduction.

Keywords

Cosmopolitics. Media. Latin America.

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1 Introduction

This study presents a framework for the large-scale discursive formations brought to Latin American society by what has come to be called the Washington Consensus and continuing until today, with implications for national cultural industries. To this end, the paper addresses two general themes. The first is based on the category of *cosmopolitics* (CHEAH; ROBBINS, 1998) – a neologism that developed in North American discussions of models of political and economic action – and its relationship to contemporary sensibilities, but here limited to certain levels of production and reproduction in the media. The second part of the paper reflects over the role of the media and what will be referred to as the "virtualization" of Latin America, in other words, a process of reorganizing regional institutions and identities that resulted from the emergence of parameters of recognition, in which signs and verosimilitude conditioned to the local historical and geographical *cronotopos*, so dear to modes of representation since the nineteenth century, were forced to acclimate to cognitive patterns that arose with new media. This part

of the paper analyzes a series of social changes, from geographical immigration to the migration of tastes, as well as the rise of new structures of cultural stimulation/production, modes of consumption and symbolic reproduction.

In discussing cosmopolitics, the paper will also allude to the period in which nationalist policies were implemented by elites across Latin America, with the goal of constituting national States and participating in international articulation, which Immanuel Wallerstein has referred to as the world system (1984) or European universalism (2007) and which I will ironically term the universalization of nationality. It should be remembered that the cosmopolitan predicate came before the creation of nation-states, thus preceding the notion of nationalism, and in principle marking the end of more progressive meanings, when understood from the perspective of citizens' rights and responsibilities, that is, when one contemplates the array of enunciations that govern relations in societies with high degrees of complexity. But in examining media representations, the question becomes a more intricate one.

The paper also demonstrates that these nationalist programs, at least as far as literary or mediatic representation (mimesis) and the illusion of local reference are concerned, lose their pedagogical and strategic character, in inducing a single national identity and affirming themselves as global, beginning in the last two

decades of the twentieth century, perhaps due to the guiding principles of the Washington Consensus. Cosmopolitics is also related to current discussions on the need to form regulatory standards for social practices that extend beyond national boundaries, including those that are concerned with the production and reception of symbolic content. Representations are here considered to be social practices and the current regime of representations – of which those of regional cinema over the past 20 years will be alluded to – corresponds to a kind of culture that can be considered global.

With regard to reflections on media and the term "virtualization da Latin America," this paper describes the growing role of the media in validating the meanings that surround social practices and their inflection in the region, where the bourgeois public sphere that arose in the nineteenth century, rooted in print media, especially journalism, benefited from a small but actively involved interpretive community; in contrast, the contemporary public multimedia space already seems to largely include the tastes and intellectual skills of the majorities. Its scope goes back to the emergence of political party democracy during the nineteenth century along with mass journalism, and, in the twentieth century, transnational economic currents and the electronic and digital modalities of *poiesis* and communication, and their codification in certain platforms for immediate vehiculation to large audiences. Indeed, the very term *Latin*

America, an ethereal notion that took shape from its inclusion in the roster of geopolitics in nineteenth-century Europe, currently seems to be disintegrating as the result of the myriad processes of what has come to be called *deterritorialization* – of capital, of people, with regard to their places of origin, and, especially, of the new information and communications media in virtual domains (BIGNELL, 2000).

2 Cosmopolitics

The mundialization of the idea of multiculturalism, at the level of public policies, merely rubberstamps the more figurative than factual formula for comprehending the other via the idea of miscegenation that was invented by nineteenth century cosmopolitan thinkers, liberals and *criollos* in Latin America, readers of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and later radicalized by their ideologically more complex twentieth-century epigones, such as José Vasconcelos, José Carlos Mariátegui, Fernando Ortiz and Gilberto Freyre. In Brazil, what was taken as a politics of progressive nationalization (miscegenation) and valorization of the races, ethnicities, and local customs, that is, a politics of strong but hybrid identities, was reduced to acceptations associated with multiculturalism, and not with politics of heteroglossic identities, or heteroglossic politics of identity, consubtantiated, perhaps, in the category of cosmopolitics. In effect, multiculturalism functions as an aseptic euphemism based on the bourgeois taste for the

exotic in the field of entertainment, one that, in political economy reveals a new division of labor and a new kind of segregation. On the other hand, but not contradictorily, it also manifests the decline to superficial convergence of values in capitalism that "transforms social activities into property" (YÚDICE, 2002, p. 21, our translation).

Two examples of the operationality of multiculturalism in the contemporary liberal scheme can be identified in America. The first is the absence of any clause alluding to permission for the circulation of individual citizens in the founding document of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, the United States and Canada. When the treaty went into effect in 1994, there were around 12 million Mexicans living illegally in the United States. The other is the paucity with which products from the cultural industries of other countries circulate in the United States, notably in the area of cinema. In the film market, more than 90% of the works screened were produced within the United States, or at least with copyrights registered by U.S. companies.

From the beginning I did not agree with the much-vaunted idea that contemporary politics is the *politics of media,* created by and for the media (CASTELLS, 2009, p. 320). Nor did we conceal the fact that, having reached such a level of influence, the media collaborated in presenting and guiding the public arena in which class action litigation of common interests

were reenacted, whether at local or global levels. In any event, it is evident that the media has acted as an instrument of social practices under legal conditions predicated on the ideas of intellectual *property* and the copyright, two spatial tropes propagated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a rubric that is more and more in demand in the economic system. In this scenario of contradictions, characterized by deterritorization, property and virtualization, the understanding of cosmopolitics in Latin America is guided by the

> [...] transformation of the systems of communication through neoliberal processes (privatization, deregulation, elimination of services of well-being offered by the State for political and economic reasons) results in a re-composition and re-signification of territories and audiences. The transnationalization and (neo) liberalization of cultural industries impose (1) the need to take part in a supranational economy and (2) restructurings that facilitate this place, in response to 'a dialectics of uniformization and differentiation' (YÚDICE, 2002, p. 21-22, our translation).

The machine of modern liberal argumentation processes heterodoxy in convergence and, in this case, its inversion results in a sophism that only unveils itself when it is perceived that the obtention of profits from transnational companies, emblems of deterritorialized globalization, derive from the possession of rights to properties that previously were publicly owned and referred to as universal public patrimony, property of the nation-states. This may be a new form of territorialization, what

David Harvey terms *spaces of global capitalism* (2006). No moral judgment is intended by the previous statement; its sententious tone merely corresponds to the surprise caused by this fact. Already in 2002, nearly 12% of the Gross Domestic Product of the United States stems from the creation of this mode of patrimony, intellectual property (SÁNCHEZ RUIZ, 2006, p. 21).

In order to clarify the arena in which cosmopolitics is applied, Bruce Robbins' commentary regarding the *culturalist* character of the term (1999), without the pejorative sense, is relevant. In that situation, it can be affirmed that today's cultural policies are not merely the prerogative of the States, despite the fact that the latter remain powerful regulators of identities, but manifest themselves cloaked in the attitudes of politicized groups in favor of the recognition of unidentified signs, at least in the way as we were taught to believe, with the nation projected only by its territory, its vernacular and its population. The marks of nationality, which remain in the language one speaks or, even when speaking another language, in one's accent, in the customs represented, etc., now are disguised as supposedly intangible aspects, such as sensibility, taste and the symbolic exchanges that result from the geographic migrations of people and tastes, of the reception and utilization of gadgets, audiovisual devices and other multimedia textualities, especially those that digital technologies favor. In this sense, they appear in the production and consumption of goods of global culture.

More than 20 years ago, during Argentina's transition to democratic government, Óscar Landi already suggested, in his commentary to the *Plano Nacional de Cultura* (1984-1989*), that* "the state is far from being a desirable source of meaning about contemporary life, work, and artistic and scientific creativity" (1987, p. 147, our translation), and, paraphrasing the same document, he called for the "installation of a new order of communication and information," which perhaps could have the same importance relative to "the debates over the educational system from the end of the last century" (p. 163, our translation). In the mid 1980s, the existence of a new sensibility was already being recognized, one that brought about convergences between the hegemonic economic order, political limitations, and the displacement of cultural paradigms. Thus, today these groups or interpretive communities are considered agents of cosmopolitics (RADWAY, 1984) and because of this they are part of new public spheres whose spatiality and marks of reference navigate through transnational imaginaries and virtual environments that give birth to intercultural experiences.

In any event, when we observe the characteristics of interventions by the vast majority of Latin Americans in these spaces, in which an imaginary predicated on nationalist politics gave rise to essays, novels, films, music, theater and visual arts with an accentuated local flavor, or at least a certain system of regional representations,

which does not seem to have been diminished by the entry of new actors and new rationalities onto the stage of history. There are still tropes of contestation, along with a certain *miserabilismo populista* (GRIGNON; PASSERON, 1991), even in discursive spheres that permit, in addition to representation, a digital simulation of identities and an interactive narrativity occurring in *real time.* These activities are taken to be entertainment, which in some way disguises the economic roots of their intellectual and aesthetic aspects, to the point that we are unable to realize that we are consuming a product, something that is created as the result of a certain process (HARVEY, 2006), whether it be when we are using the Internet, for example, merely as a device for communication or information, or when it is utilized as a means for conducting research or as a support for artistic productions. More than 30 years ago, Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood noted, in *O mundo dos bens* (1979), that consumption makes culture visible and stable (1996, p. 38).

Even so, in Latin America the institutions of the production of meaning and social validation that new communities activate via consumption consubstantiate a kind of unconscious political project (JAMESON, 1981), since many of these expressions tend to be alternative (piracy, informal labor, the vindication of social rights) and seem to move towards the market-driven logic of the society of information, even though there may not be irrelevant issues to the media,

whose discursive parameters, once again sheltered by the assumptions of the Washington Consensus, soon naturalize nearly all dissent. The Internet is full of sites belonging to political associations without there being, up to this point, any ready social response for their arguments, except in the virtual theater of actions, where communities connect in order to exchange experiences, among other exceptions.

Certainly hyperbolic, contemporary conjectures about the attributes of communications media, whether traditional or recent, and their interference in the characterization of identities and subjetivities in the so-called information society (CASTELLS, 2009) are a tendency that grew first as a theory about the influx of technique onto the subject in mass society (INNIS, 1951; McLUHAN, 1987; BAUDRILLARD, 1988) and has an extensive precedent that easily goes back to the *arte retórica* of the Middle Ages and perhaps even further back, to the Sophists. To limit human exchanges to what can be transmitted by technological parameters is rather deterministic, as is submitting symbolic exchanges to the capitalist market and the experience of power to class relations. At the same time, none of these simplifications is totally unrelated as has been demonstrated by the Benedict Anderson's omnipresent study, *Comunidades imaginadas* (1990), whose central thesis of the invention of nations by the discourse of the press is questioned today (GUERRA, 2003).

I therefore avoid, in this paper, engaging in a unilateral reflection that in this case would be equivalent to consigning, for example, cosmopolitics to political economy rather than to the progressive administration of local and national values and negotiations between them and a global order. In order to get around this sententious propensity that extracts truths as observed via a certain epistemological lens, I will raise a series of questions about the role of the media in social processes that pervaded and pervade public discussions and I will emphasize a discussion based on their role in a multidimensional dynamic, not as an autonomous structure for creating signs that dictate social relations under the pretext of representing them, but as one that points to the interdependence among the different factors comprising society. The goal is to gather together and reflect on data related to the advent of values propitiating a culture or civilization of the media and their manifestation in what tend to be called contemporary sociabilities (AGULHON, 1984; GUERRA, 2003; MOREL, 2005).

3 Media and the virtualization of Latin America

It is incontrovertible that the media have taken on growing influence as legitimators of social ties, notably in painting the portrait of a tangible nation, to the configuration of national identities throughout the 1800s and up to the middle of the twentieth century, and to the composition

of cultural identities in the contemporary world. Notions such as politics, society, public space, constitution and national State, novelties that rose to prominence with the French Revolution and influenced the vocabulary used in the debate on human relations in community, maintain proximity with the advance of techniques for registering and emitting contents, as suggested by the expression *print capitalism* coined by Benedict Anderson to describe the role of the press in legitimizing the social paradigm. Articulated as messages in a discourse that dilutes its specific proposition, these concepts are still prominent today, being cornerstones of our perception of social reality, apparently naturalized and, as Roland Barthes says, *depoliticized* (1993, p. 163).

The continuous renewal of modes of elaborating and circulating intersubjectivities resulted in the technical platforms that perform the task of teaching civility, acquiring the statute of processors of economic, political and cultural enunciations and gaining ample social ascendance, substituting State institutions. Thus, the dependence of contemporary citizenship on the handling of the technical tools of mediated communication and on access to its contents destabilizes the previous paradigm, in which a good part of the civilizing decisions of the institute of the parameters of collective taste (nationalist iconographies) to corporative organizations (labor unions) and even the inclusion into the world of knowledge and of

work (school contents, registration in teaching centers, job searches) seemed to be in the hands of the State.

This profile was even more accentuated in the case of Latin America, where the State arose before the nation and forged its place more through authoritarian positions than by encouraging solid modern institutions, the myth of the strong State. Likewise, nineteenth century newspapers, from the beginning, utilized new elements of vocabulary, as we have seen (constitution, homeland *[pátria],* nation etc.), disseminating reflection over these issues, which today have mutated into political and economic topics such as globalization, multiculturalism, tolerance for so-called differences, ecology, human rights, etc. These terms dominate the imagination of publicists and advertisers, producers of the content of news programs and newspapers, television programs, movies, and internet sites.

This convergence of narratives is made possible by the discursive structures of mediatic platforms, which operate using the same protocols anywhere in the planet, despite the possible heterogeneities of the content. This effort to reach a consensus of the imagination, achieved by means of a technical standard of communication and information is not a recent fact. Much attention has been given to the quarrels between Google (the company whose slogan is *Don't be evil*, today is the biggest media

giant in the world) and the Chinese government, over controlling access to certain subjects in the search program. The original censoring of searches related to Taiwan, the events of Tianamen Square or the Dalai Lama, all sensitive subjects for the Chinese political regime, as well as the current exhortations to renegotiate the terms of the contract, bring to light the existence of global economic (and political) actors that are not clearly encompassed by the format of the national State. It is worth repeating that this kind of investment is nothing new.

For example, George Yúdice (2002, p. 20) points to the recent opinions of the World Bank and the World Trade Organization about audiovisual policies in Latin America. If we go back farther, we find the actions of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, between 1940 and 1946, under Nelson Rockfeller, which played a similar role. This orientation toward homogeneity may have arisen in 1918 with the passing of the Webb-Pomerene Law by the U.S. Congress, which prohibited media trusts within the United States, but encouraged their growth in other countries (MILLER; MAXWELL, 2006, p. 35).

These mobilizations, in one way or another, reveal a state of affairs in which the technique for recording, transmitting and receiving contents (knowledges, information, numerical data, etc.) is naturalized, importing from that point an order of relations between second-degree formats, such as programs, contents, types of messages, etc.

This indication of cultural homogeneity, as if the only kind of culture were media culture, resulted in peremptory diagnostics about the role of the State or of the national State in conducting the associative practices that are most influential in determining contemporary social relations. Néstor García Canclini affirms that the cultural policies of national States in Latin America should not be the guardians of traditional cultural heritage (visual arts, theater, music, dance, etc.) but formulate clear management for the cultural industry, which, in his opinion, paraphrasing James Clifford, emphasizes post-identity politics (1999, p. 37). For Jesús Martín-Barbero (2005), the new media lack the kind of status conferred on public services, such as health and education. To anthropologist Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, "The contemporary 'structure of feelings' [...] currently are much more based on media." (2005, p. 10).

Policies oriented toward the ordaining of traditional communications media, especially with regard to television, demonstrate the myth of the strong State in Latin America and the irrelevance of normalizing laws, which may be reflected in the dilettantism of regional institutions in the face of the encroachment of mediatic corporations and the absence of updated legislation. Although the laws always confer the status of public concessions on media such as radio and television, their development was previously in the hands of businessmen, not the State, following a North American

management tendency, as demonstrated by the innumerable ties between the Inter-American Association for Radio Broadcasting, founded in 1945, and the North American NBC and CBS, in addition to the fact that it was inspired by the U.S. Office of Inter-American Affairs.

Othon Jambeiro (2001) has shown that the creation of the Brazilian Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), in 1939, by the Estado Novo regime, consolidated censorship of radio and TV programming as well as the content of films and newspapers, while also making it obligatory to transmit "a nationalist ideology dedicated to the construction of an urban-industrial capitalism [...] oriented toward [Brazil's] own culture and traditional values" (2001, p. 44). With regard to this authoritarian, pro-State posturing, the mass communications media "have always been predominantly controlled and operated by private interests. They have thus been financially sustained by the sales of advertising and sponsorship" (2001, p. 46). Indeed, in Latin America businessmen played an extensive role in founding local television networks, such as Goar Mestre, who was Cuban and Emilio Azcárraga, a Mexican. Both became established media impresarios, the former in Argentina other South American countries, and the latter in his home country, where he founded *Televisa,* on the radio, in 1923, branching out to television in 1951, and more recently into telephone services. The case of Brazil's Rede Globo is well-known:

The Rede Globo TV network was born in the 1950s, during the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek, when a broadcasting channel was conceded to the Roberto Marinho group, whose communications holdings also included the newspaper *O Globo*, in circulation since 1925, the publishing house Rio Gráfica Editora (producer and distributor of comic books, *fotonovelas* etc.) and the radio network Rádio Globo, founded in 1944. But it was only later that the TV network came into being; in 1962 it became associated with the American media giant Time-Life, which had an interest in occupying strategic media space in Latin America. In Rio de Janeiro, Channel 4 began to operate in 1965 and the following year a station was opened in São Paulo, with the purchase of TV Paulista. However, it was in 1969, as the company was consolidated, its network expanded and its audience increased, that Globo came to prominence in Brazilian audiovisual space. With the implementation of the Embratel telecommunications system, Globo's TV network grew, coming to cover a significant part of Brazilian national territory [...]. In 1983, Globo began to utilize the Intelsat satellite, thus increasing the stability of its national signal (JAMBEIRO, 2001, p.22-44).

The modern State (capitalist, liberal, bourgeois) wove tapestries of collective meanings with the goal of sustaining its underpinnings, which, in turn, gained autonomy and replicated themselves, giving rise to new signifying practices and sociabilities. The role of the media in the early years of this universalization of the form of the State (capitalist, liberal, bourgeois) seems to have been its representation through rhetorical bases in which verisimilitude recalled a sublimation of physical reality, also evoking the historical resources of a specific representative, stabilized in what is known as the Occidental

tradition, although these political and aesthetic schema have permeated societies as distant as India. Arjun Appadurai (1996) even formulated a series of dimensions in which non-Occidental peoples absorb the purported stimuli of modernity such as *ethnoscapes*, *financescapes, mediascapes* and *ideoscapes* (1996, p. 37). The media, following capitalist principles, carried out a process of internationalization already foreshadowed by Marx and Engels in 1848 (1981), when they said that the expansion of markets is inherent to the nature of capitalism.

Under these conditions, it can be said that the modern State cultivated and also became the object of representation, allusion, evocation, both direct and indirect, of these textualities. In the process of mythmaking that was necessary in naturalizing this representative tradition and its discursive underpinnings, the impression of undifferentiated classes (another integral factor of the system) currently divulges the greatest possible racial tolerance, human rights, multiculturalism, etc., so that its information reaches the maximum number of people. It could be concluded that if in principle the State still represents itself in the media, at this point it is the media that represents itself in the State.

In universal history, Latin America was always the object of utopian gazes; it suffices to consult the repertory in which, among the most preeminent of the 20th century, are *La invención de América*, published in 1958 by a Mexican,

Edmundo O'Gorman, and *Visão do paraíso*, published in Brazil in 1959 by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. Due to Latin America's experience of colonization, migrations, extermination, slave trading, etc., itcould perhaps be said to consist of territories that, in the words of James Clifford, exist "only in fiction" (1988, p. 98). The elites that constructed the region's national States maintained a reflexive attitude with regard to European institutions, mimicking countries such as France and more recently the United States. Positivist theories and other "sciences" were officially adopted, which, at the same time that they threw the institution of slavery out the window also made a series of negative associations between race, climate and modernity. In the twentieth century, civil wars, military regimes and other events still shaped our history. Before its consequences had been completely faced, this phase gave way to a new series of techniques and values, which define contemporary sensibility. I will refer to this transition as a period of virtualization of Latin America.

My goal here, to conclude, is to point to the existence of a decline in the more solid models and motives in the representation of national identity in Latin America. The inconstance and volatility of political and economic institutions, in relation to Occidental standards, and the tendency to cling to the land and its traditions, great local *topoi*, are in the process of reorganization of their roles as descriptive figures of the region. In fact, there are innumerable

elements that at least apparently are in the process of deterritorialization or virtualization. An important fact, in this respect, has been the phenomenon of migrations and immigrations. Events in Latin American history led part of the region's population to opt for leaving their native lands, in favor of places such as Spain, the United Stated and Japan. According to Marta Nubia Bello (2005, p. 69-92), who reproduces conservative estimates from 2005, there are more than 650,000 Latin Americans in Spain, mainly Ecuadorians and Colombians. In the United States, there are 12 million Mexicans living in the country illegally. In Japan, around 300,000 Brazilians went in search of the Oriental dream.

The pulse of this process can be measured via representations created by the cultural industries. The internet is full of sites belonging to the most prominent social movements of the region, such as the pages of the *Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca* (asambleapopulardelospueblosdeoaxaca. blogspot.com), as well as the *Zapatista National Liberation Army* (www.enlacezapatista.ezln.org. mx) and the Argentinian group www.cacerolazos. com. There are also sites catering to aesthetic reflection rooted in nationalism, including some where short films can be viewed online, such as www.tech-mex.mx.org, www.solocortos.com and www.tuminuto.com, in Mexico, or www. videometraje.com.ar, in Argentina. In standard fare such as feature films, for example, the heritage of *Nuevos Cines Latinoamericanos* was

rejected by the production regime as well as by the representation of the films.

According to Fredric Jameson (1998, p.65), "the free movement of American movies in the world spells the death knell of national cinema everywhere, perhaps of all national cinemas as distinct species". This situation resonated with regional cinematography at almost every level. In Latin America, the measures taken by the first democratic governments, in the beginning of the 1990s, included the elimination of the state agencies that supported national fim efforts, such as Embrafilme in Brasil (1990), and *Películas Nacionales* and COTSA (1992), in Mexico. Argentina was where these sectors were the most severely affected, and today foreign companies control seventy percent of the sector. In terms of production, it was necessary to promote channels for institutional partnerships, such as the *Ibermedia* program, which encourages co-productions among countries in Latin America and in the Iberian peninsula, the *Sundance Institute* and the *Hubert Bals Project,* with support from the Rotterdam Festival.

Various independent production companies were created in the region, such as the Argentinian *Patgonik* (producer of *Nueve Reinas,* 2000, and *Kamchatka,* 2002), the Mexican *Altavista* (*Amores perros,* 2000) and the Brazilian *Videofilms (Cidade de Deus,* 2002, and *Madame Satã,* 2002*).* In distribution, multinationals such as *Buena Vista International*, *Sony*

Pictures, *Miramar Films* and *20th Century Fox* predominate. It is important to point out that this reorganization of forces in the regional cinema system, according to Deborah Shaw (2007, p. 03), has meant that "there are more Latin American films than ever before on screens in big cities in Europe, the United States [...] There has never been such visibility for films from the region." However, the framework of representation has been noticeably modified. Art direction, photography, editing, and the types of films produced all give credence to Tamara Folicov's (2004, p. 335) assessment of Marcelo Piñeyro's *Nueve Reinas* (2000): a North American film with dialogue in Spanish.

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Cosmopolítica, mídia e virtualização da América Latina

Resumo:

O texto descreve as formações discursivas na sociedade latino-americana desde o denominado Consenso de Washington até nossos dias e suas implicações no âmbito das indústrias culturais nacionais. Integram-se dois blocos de proposições, o primeiro adscrito à categoria de cosmopolítica, neologismo que intenta dar conta dos modelos de atuação política e econômica relacionados a níveis e instâncias de produção e reprodução midiática e seus vínculos com as sensibilidades contemporâneas. O segundo é norteado pela reflexão sobre a mídia e a virtualização da América Latina, um processo de reorganização das instituições e identidades em face da emergência de parâmetros de reconhecimento em que os signos e a verossimilhança condicionados aos cronotopos nacionais tiveram de se aclimatar aos padrões cognitivos das novas mídias. Trata-se desde a imigração física até a imigração do gosto, bem como das novas estruturas de fomento e produção cultural até as modalidades de consumo e reprodução simbólica.

Palavras-chave:

Cosmopolítica. Mídia. América Latina.

Cosmopolítica, medios y la virtualización de Latinoamérica

Resumen:

El texto describe las formaciones discursivas en la sociedad latinoamericana a partir del denominado Consenso de Wasghington hasta la actualidad y sus implicaciones en el ámbito de las industrias culturales nacionales. Se integran dos bloques de proposiciones, uno adscripto a la categoría de cosmopolítica, neologismo que trata de dar cuenta de los modelos de actuación política y económica relacionados a algunas instancias de producción y reproducción mediáticas y sus vínculos con las sensibilidades contemporáneas. El otro es orientado por la reflexión sobre los medios y la virtualización de América Latina, un proceso de reorganización de las instituciones e identidades en relación a los parámetros de reconocimiento en que los signos y la verosimilitud son condicionados a cronotopos nacionales que tuvieron de adaptarse a los patrones cognitivos de los nuevos medios. Se consideran aquí desde la inmigración física hasta la inmigración del gusto, además de las nuevas estructuras de fomento y producción cultural, y las modalidades de consumo y reproducción simbólica.

Palabras clave:

Cosmopolítica. Medios. Latinoamérica.

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