

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE TELEVISION IN SAN DIEGO: A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY



by
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According to the 2000 United States Census, Latinos are the nation's largest minority group, comprising 13.5 percent of the U.S. population with close to 9 million television households.¹ The continuing growth of the Latino population has led to the development of Spanish-language mass media, including radio, film, television and newspapers. San Diegans, living close to the border of Mexico, have long been able to access such media due to the efforts of Mexican entrepreneurs. As a result, San Diego has become a particularly important site for researchers interested in understanding what continues to draw an increasingly wealthy and English-speaking Latino population to Spanish-language media.

This article explores the development of Spanish-language television in San Diego focusing, in particular, on the history of Univisión and its competitors, including Telemundo. It describes the audience for Spanish-language programming and suggests reasons why dual English and Spanish speakers continue to prefer to get their news from television stations XETV, KBNT or XHAS. Finally, it looks at the economic factors, particularly advertising, that have fueled the growth of Spanish-language media in the U.S.

Spanish-language radio and television programs appeared in Southern California as early as the 1930s and 1940s. Pedro Gonzalez, a Mexican singer, began broadcasting in Los Angeles during the 1930s. However, when his program began to include protests about the treatment of Mexican farm workers during the Depression, he was sent to prison on falsified charges. Released in 1940, his group, "las Madrugadores" (early risers), began broadcasting from XERU in Tijuana. On December 16, 1984, an ambitious five panel mural celebrating Gonzalez's life and times was installed on a 60-foot support pillar of the Coronado Bridge in San Diego's Chicano Park. Two additional Hispanic radio stations – XEMO-AM and XEAZ-AM – date to the 1940s.²

In the 1950s, the response to the presence and growth of Latinos in the population spurred action by television entrepreneurs who saw not only a Spanish-speaking minority, but also an untapped market available to sell to advertisers. Essentially, Spanish-language television was born out of the desire to reach Spanish-speakers in a way that would entice them to buy and become loyal to products advertised on these stations.

Like most television industries, the Spanish-language industry was created from the foundation of Spanish-language radio, which had been dominated by the

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Voz Libre, 1984. Dedicated to Don Pedro Gonzalez, a Mexican singer on an early Spanish radio station in Los Angeles during the 1930s. Chicano Park, San Diego. Artists Michael Schnorr, Victor Ochoa, Guillermo Rosete, Yásue Doudera, Carlos Esparza. Personal collection of author.

Azcárraga family of Mexico. Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta and his son Emilio Azcárraga Milmo have held majority ownership of Televisa since its formation in 1972 that developed out of Azcárraga's Telesistema Mexicano.³ Televisa, the most watched television network in Mexico, has grown into an international multimedia corporation and is the second largest exporter of television programming worldwide. For U.S. televi-

sion investors, the Spanish-speaking market in the United States was so small and poor during the 1950s that it was not even considered a viable audience to sell to advertisers through television programming. From the point of view of the Azcárraga family, however, “the millions of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans living in the United States were one of the largest and wealthiest Spanish language markets in the world.”⁴ Therefore, as a result of Mexico’s geographical proximity and Azcárraga Vidaurreta’s assumption that Mexicans living in the United States would watch Mexican produced programming, the development of a Spanish-language television industry began in the 1960s.

The Spanish International Communication Corporation (SICC) became the umbrella corporation under which a string of U.S. Spanish-language stations began in areas that had significant numbers of Spanish speakers. The first cities with Spanish-language television stations owned by SICC were San Antonio (1961), Los Angeles (1962), New York (1968), and Miami (1971). Because of FCC regulations stating that “aliens” or persons acting for them can own no more than 20 percent of stock in a television station, Azcárraga Vidaurreta officially owned only 20 percent of SICC. The other investors were U.S. citizens, including Rene Anselmo, who later became president of the corporation. Anselmo had a close relationship with Azcárraga Vidaurreta and essentially acted on his behalf in all aspects of the business.⁵

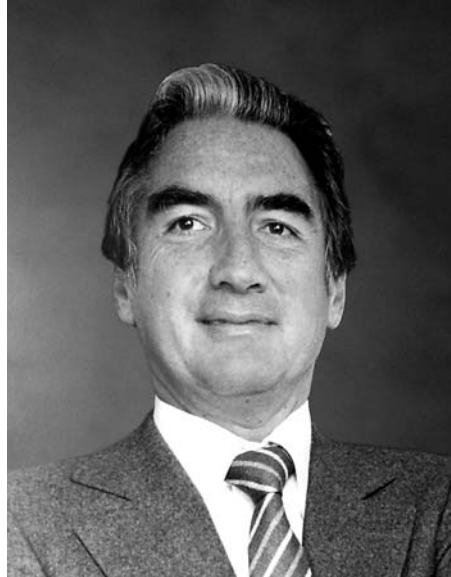
As the stations were purchased, the need arose for programming to fill the airwaves. Thus, the Spanish International Network (SIN) was formed in order to supply programming, exclusively produced by Telesistema Mexicano and to sell airtime to advertisers.⁶ Azcárraga, through SIN, supplied SICC with telenovelas, news, and other entertainment programming.⁷ By the end of 1972, Televisa was created in Mexico as a result of the consolidation of the two most powerful networks, Telesistema Mexicano and its competitor, Televisión Independiente de México. Televisa continued to support the Spanish-language market in the United States.⁸ SICC and SIN were operating together under Rene Anselmo but were not financially successful, and even though the Televisa Corporation was supplying programming, SIN did not make a profit for its first seven years of operation.⁹

By 1975, American investors, including Frank Fouce, Jr., a majority stockholder in SICC, grew tired of the growing debt, which by this time was nearly \$2 million.¹⁰ Fouce brought a civil lawsuit against Anselmo and SICC that exposed the relationship between SIN, SICC, and the Azcárraga. As a result, in 1980 the Spanish Radio Broadcasters’ Association filed a charge with the FCC claiming that SICC was under foreign control, triggering an investigation into the corporate structure of SICC and SIN. The investigation concluded that the corporate structure violated section 310b of the Communication Act of 1934 because Anselmo was acting indeed on behalf of “aliens,” resulting in defacto foreign ownership of American airwaves. Thirteen of SICC stations and all of SIN’s stations had to be sold to U.S. citizens.¹¹

SICC and SIN interests were acquired by two major players. The Reliance group, which acquired enough Spanish-language stations to form the Telemundo network in the mid 1980s, and Hallmark Cards Inc., acting with First Capital Corporation of Chicago, out-bid other interested parties to acquire control over SIN and their individual stations. The 1987 Hallmark takeover was considered “friendly” since the cozy relationship continued between the Azcárraga family, Televisa, and the American network. The new Hallmark network was named Univisión. For the first ten years, Univisión had the first option to purchase Televisa-produced programs, giving



Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta. Courtesy of XETV.



Emilio Azcárraga Milmo. Courtesy of XETV.

Televisa a distribution outlet in the USA. Televisa had free advertising time on the Univisión stations for its products and services.¹² Because of the advantage of its relationship with Televisa, Univisión quickly rose in popularity and gained notoriety in the USA as *the* Spanish-language network.

The straight importation of Mexican news and entertainment on Univisión began to create frustration among some Latino groups in the U.S. who claimed that the programming did not reflect the experiences of Spanish-speaking Americans. They wanted to be more than a dumping ground for Mexican imports. Since the Telemundo network could not buy products from Televisa because of its arrangement with Univisión, it began producing programming in the U.S., in Spanish, to reach Latinos who were looking for an alternative to Mexican television. Because Telemundo was headquartered in New York, it tried to appeal to Puerto Ricans, Cubans and people from Central and South America. When Telemundo moved its operations from New York to Miami, it began producing a U.S. news program in 1987, *Noticiero Telemundo*, and even a telenovela that integrated stories of Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban immigrant families. Univisión was quick to respond and by 1991 had set up its own production studios in Miami and began airing shows such as *Sábado Gigante*, a live variety show and *Cristina*, a talk show, both became popular with Spanish-speaking audiences.¹³

In 1992, Spanish-language television entered a new era marked by significant changes in the industry. Telemundo filed bankruptcy. The network could not compete with Univisión, which had successfully cornered the market with its exclusive dealings with Televisa. Nielsen Media Research began tracking “Hispanic Audience” media use and therefore provided a more accurate account of the audience share devoted to Spanish-language television. At Univisión there was a shift in ownership that brought Televisa back into the management structure.¹⁴

Hallmark Cards Inc. sold its interest in Univisión to A. Jerrold Perenchio, a Hollywood television producer who acquired 50 percent of the Univisión Network

Partnership and 76 percent of Univisión Television Group, which operates individual stations. Careful to remain in compliance with FCC regulations, Televisa acquired 25 percent of the Network Partnership and 12 percent of the Television Group. Venevisión, the most influential television network in Venezuela, which also produces telenovelas, purchased the remaining portion of the corporation. For both Venevisión and Televisa, access to the U.S. market was increasingly important especially as Nielsen Media Research was taking notice of the Spanish-language market.¹⁵ The power of Univisión to attract the Spanish-speaking audience has continued to grow, especially in the 7-9 p.m. time-slot during which time the most popular Mexican telenovelas are aired. According to the Nielsen ratings, nearly every week, the top-ten most watched programs by Latinos are on Univisión.¹⁶

The A.C. Nielsen Company is the most recognized audience research firm in the world. Mass media industries including television, radio and more recently the Internet rely on Nielsen to gather data about who is using a particular medium at a particular time. In addition, Nielsen provides demographic information about the audience including age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class. The mass media industries use this data to set advertising rates as they sell airtime to advertisers who hope to reach a particular segment of the audience. When Nielsen began collecting information about the Hispanic audience, it legitimized the presence of the Spanish-language media market.

Bill Grimes, who became president of Univisión in 1986, was eager for Nielsen to revamp its data collection system in order to gather more accurate information about the Hispanic audience. In 1992, Univisión and Telemundo paid \$20 million to develop new ways of assessing the Hispanic audience.¹⁷ The old methodology used by Nielsen, for example, showed that 8 percent of the population in Los Angeles watched Spanish-language programming. The new system showed that the viewership was actually 13 percent. After this methodology was implemented, nation-wide figures showed 40 percent more households tuning into Spanish-language programming than were reported under the old system.¹⁸ The new methodology was called the National Hispanic Television Index.

The more accurate estimates of viewers did not help Telemundo, however, which was coming in a distant second to Univisión. Telemundo was forced to file bankruptcy in 1992. Telemundo restructured the corporation and, by 1994, became a public company controlled by Apollo Advertisers, as a U.S. firm but backed by Europe's largest bank, Crédit Lyonnais and Bastion Capital, a U.S.-based firm.¹⁹ Even with a new corporate structure, Telemundo continued to struggle without access to Televisa or Venevisión telenovelas, the most-watched programs among Latinos. Telemundo turned to TV Azteca, a Mexican network started in 1994, and arranged to purchase their telenovelas, although these had not been as popular with audiences. Telemundo, purchased by NBC Universal in 2001, is the second largest provider of Spanish-language television in the United States.

Univisión continues to be the leader in attracting the Spanish-speaking audience and has consolidated its power over the marketplace by merging with the Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation (HBC), the largest Spanish-language radio network. As a result of this 2003 merger, one corporation now controls more than 70 percent of the national advertising dollars spent on Hispanic media.²⁰ Some Latino activists have voiced concern about the limited voices representing the Latino community, especially



KBNT, Univisión, Telemundo Studios San Diego. Personal collection of author.

since the chief executive officers of Univisión and HBC are not Latino. Nevertheless, concentration of ownership in the media sector has led to economic success.

Spanish-language Television in San Diego

According to the 2000 census, 28.1 million American households speak Spanish in the home. Of those, over half reported speaking English “very well.” In the State of California, there are 8.1 million Spanish-speaking households. In the city of San Diego, nearly 27 percent of the population is Latino and this figure is projected to increase in the future. There are 719,000 Latinos living in San Diego County and of those, 53 percent speak predominantly Spanish.²² As a result of the number of Latinos in the area, Spanish-language television has always had a home in San Diego. But it was not until recently that San Diego became a coveted market for Univisión and Telemundo, the two main networks that produce Spanish-language television.

A full 21 percent of San Diego’s television households are Hispanic,²³ accounting for over 800,000 potential Spanish-language television viewers in San Diego County. The combined Hispanic population of the San Diego and Tijuana region equals over 2 million, an audience too large to be ignored by the U.S. Spanish-language television industry. The median age of Latinos in San Diego is 26; 65 percent are under 35 while 33 percent are between the ages of 2 and 17. Of the Hispanic TV households, 67.1 percent subscribe to cable.²⁴ Young consumers are particularly attractive to advertisers because of the perception that young people are easily persuaded to “try new things” and have not yet become brand loyal.

Spanish-language television began in San Diego as a result of its geographic location and television broadcast signals’ ability to cross international borders. XETV, channel 6, was San Diego’s second television station and the first to broadcast programs in Spanish. The call letters were designated because of its transmitter in



Lourdes Sandoval. Courtesy of KBNT

Tijuana, which allowed the station's owner to get around the FCC's television licensing freeze from 1948 to 1952. Partnering with Mexican television entrepreneur Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta, the station was licensed by the Mexican government and began broadcasting in 1953.²⁵ Programs in English and Spanish could be seen on both sides of the border. XETV affiliated with mainstream U.S. networks, first with ABC until 1973 and currently as San Diego's FOX affiliate choosing to broadcast exclusively in English. Because XETV is licensed in Mexico, officially it does not have to follow FCC regulations, although it does remain in compliance with U.S. policies.²⁶

In 1960, XEWT, channel 12, began broadcasting programs exclusively in Spanish. Although it was a station owned and operated in Tijuana, it served Spanish-speaking households in the San

Diego region. XEWT, a Televisa affiliate, was popular with Spanish-speaking San Diego audiences who had direct access to Mexican television.

Univisión in San Diego

San Diegans have long been able to access entertainment programming and national news in Spanish through cable and Tijuana stations, but local Spanish-language media, specifically news, is relatively recent. KBNT, channel 17, a Univisión affiliate, went on the air in San Diego in 1990 and has grown in popularity. Just with in 2004, audience ratings increased over 200 percent in the coveted 18-34 year-old market.²⁷ The station is owned by Entravisión Communications. Its local news broadcast and entertainment programming have been successful in reaching the Spanish-speaking audience throughout the city and county.

Lourdes Sandoval, the news director of KBNT since 1998, is committed to making the news broadcast relevant to the Latino audience by focusing on issues that are salient to them. Sandoval grew up in San Angel, a district in southern Mexico City, and moved with her family to Toronto, Canada, at age 13. Her family then moved to San Diego. Sandoval attended Southwestern College in the mid-1980s, studying mass communication and photography with an emphasis on journalism. Her increased interest in border issues led Sandoval to work for Mexico's Televisa network in 1990 at Tijuana's XEWT, Channel 12, reporting stories on both sides of the border. In 1996 she left that position to become press attaché for the Mexican consulate. Then, in 1998, she joined KNBT news, which went on the air in 1997.²⁸

According to 2000 Nielsen ratings, KBNT's 11 p.m. news broadcast averaged a 1.3 rating and 3.0 share of the total viewing audience. A share is equal to the number of TV households tuned-in to a particular program divided by the total number of TV households with the television set turned on. In 2004, among viewers between the

ages of 18 and 34, KBNT news received 3.7 rating. Nielsen ratings are collected through a sampling process to assess the number of viewers for each program aired as a way to determine advertising rates.²⁹ In San Diego County, one rating point equals 10,292 TV households.³⁰

Spanish-speaking audiences in San Diego have supported KBNT local news broadcast. Even when they speak English, they will watch local news in Spanish because it offers an alternative to English-language news. In San Diego, there are definite differences in the types of stories that are aired on KBNT and the local English-language news channels. The general trend points to a more varied newscast on KBNT, emphasizing stories that are more relevant to the Latino community. For example, KBNT airs more stories related to immigration, immigrant rights, Latino politics, and other stories that resonate with Latino viewers. The English-language broadcasts tend to give spotty coverage to these topics. When immigrants are covered, they tend to be in stories related to illegal border crossings and other crimes.³¹

San Diego audiences can access all of Univisión's national programming via KBNT, which includes morning talk shows, children's programs, afternoon talk shows, national news, and telenovelas during the prime-time evening hours. For those families accessing cable, Galavisión, Univisión's cable network, offers national news, movies, and other entertainment programming.

Alternatives to Univisión in San Diego

Telemundo's cable stations are available in the San Diego market, providing an alternative to Univisión's Televisa-dominated programming. Telemundo continues to have access to programming from Mexico through TV Azteca, but still is second to Univisión in terms of national television ratings. In 1998, Telemundo was bought by the Sony Corporation and Liberty Media Inc., and in 2001 was purchased by NBC/Universal. The sale marked a new beginning for Telemundo. Writing for the Mergers and Acquisitions Journal, Brent Shearer stated: "One Spanish media specialist is cautiously optimistic that NBC will be able to increase Telemundo's market share...NBC didn't get a struggling business in Telemundo but rather one that needs support and an infusion of capital."³² NBC's takeover marked the first time in history that one of the top three U.S. networks will operate a Spanish-language network.³³

XHAS, channel 33, a Tijuana station affiliated with Telemundo, began broadcasting local programming to San Diego audiences in 2002, while competitors, KBNT and XHAS are both owned by Entravisión Communications Corporation. To circumvent FCC regulations that prohibit one corporation owning more than 35 percent of a given television market, XHAS is licensed through the Mexican government, while KBNT receives its license from the United States. The shared corporate structure makes the relationship between the Univisión affiliate and the Telemundo affiliate a bit peculiar since both stations are housed in the same facility on Ruffin Road in San Diego. Rather than having two distinct news outlets, these two stations that are supposed to compete with each other share facilities and resources making the broadcasts less unique.

XHAS broadcasts its local news *Noticiero 33* from San Diego, but it is relayed through a transmitter in Tijuana. The mission of the newscast is to appeal to audiences on both sides of the border. The general manager, Carlos Sanchez, explained: "Our goal is to open the borders of local communication with a global vision living up to our slogan *Abriendo Fronteras* (Opening Borders)."³⁴ In addition to its local news

broadcast, Channel 33 provides national Telemundo programming, including telenovelas and its national news program *Noticiera Telemundo*.

On April 8, 2005, San Diego got its first local and independent Spanish-language television station, *Mi San Diego*, channel 43. The station developed from an interesting corporate structure. The relationship between NBC, TV Azteca, Telemundo began when NBC bought an interest in TV Azteca based in Mexico City in 2000.³⁵ TV Azteca sells programming to Telemundo, which NBC bought in 2001. Because of FCC regulations, Telemundo cannot have an affiliate in San Diego because of the agreement with Santa Monica-based Entravisión, which owns KBNT the Univisión affiliate. XHAS is the Tijuana-based Telemundo affiliate that broadcasts in San Diego.³⁶ NBC therefore started channel 43, *Mi San Diego*, as an independent station operated by Channel 7/39, the San Diego NBC affiliate. But it is not a Telemundo affiliate even though all operations are under the NBC/Universal corporate umbrella.

The purpose of *Mi San Diego* is to offer alternative programming to Univisión and Telemundo, including the live broadcast of Padres baseball games in Spanish and other original programming. The station draws its programming from KWHY, Channel 22, in Los Angeles, including shows such as *12 Corazones*, a dating show, and *De todo un poco*, a variety show. In addition, *Mi San Diego* has access to KWHY's film library that includes classic Mexican cinema.³⁷ Channel 43's broadcast signal reaches most of southwest San Diego County, which includes about 51 percent of the Spanish-speaking households in the county. Its availability on Channel 143 on Cox Communication's digital cable package increases its reach.³⁸

The Spanish-language Audience

The desire for Spanish-language programming stems from the desire of U.S. audiences to stay connected to Latino culture. Scholars Diana Rios and Stanley O. Gaines, Jr., describe Latino mass media use as part of a dual cultural process for social integration and sustained ethnic differentiation.³⁹ In other words, ethnic groups use ethnic media as a way to stay connected to what is familiar – their native culture. Those in the process of assimilation find that access to news and entertainment in their own language helps them to understand their “new” home. Connection to a Latino heritage and proficient Spanish-language ability leads to more frequent Spanish-language media use. Often as families grow, older members will encourage younger members, who may have never lived in Latin America, to access Spanish-language media. This serves as a way to maintain cultural awareness and to ensure that younger members feel connected to a Latino heritage while integrating into the larger Anglo culture. According to Diana Rios, “Latinos may use media for selective acculturation to gain dominant cultural knowledge and learn cultural interaction and survival skills necessary in an Anglo American world.”⁴⁰

In addition to cultural maintenance and identity formation, the desire to access Spanish-language mass media comes from the under-representation of Latinos in English-language mainstream media. The trend has been relatively consistent throughout the years with regard to the representation of Latinos on English-language television. Latino characters make up between 4 to 6 percent of all characters on television, far below their actual numbers in the population.⁴¹ In 2003, the most recent published data from the Screen Actors Guild, which collects diversity information annually, found that Latino actors were cast in 10.5 fewer roles (including television and theater) in 2003 than in 2002. Latino actors made up only 5.4 percent of working actors

in 2003, which is far below the Latino communities 13.7 percent representation in the general population.⁴² The lack of representation of Latinos in the mainstream, English-language media leads Latinos to Spanish-language programming where they can see entertainment and news that is relevant to their reality.

Historically there has been frustration not only with the lack of representation, but also with the fact that Latinos have been portrayed in stereotypical ways. From the early days of cinema to the present, Latinos have been categorized as the “Latin lover,” relegated to domestic work like housekeeping or gardening, or more recently as drug traffickers/dealers.⁴³ These stereotypical images do not represent the reality of most Latinos, and the lack of variety in the representations causes Latino audiences to turn to Spanish-language programming.

Another reason people may be turning to Spanish-language media outlets is because Latinos and Latino issues are virtually absent from English-language entertainment programming and mainstream network news. The National Association for Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) has been tracking national network coverage of Latinos and Latino issues since 1995 and has consistently found that these topics make up less than 1 percent of the stories aired each year.⁴⁴ When Latinos are featured, it is commonly in stories about crime or immigration issues. During 2003, of the more than 16,000 stories aired on the national news broadcasts of ABC, CBS, CNN and NBC, 131 (0.82 percent) were about Latinos. Latinos had even a poorer showing in 2004 when only 0.72 percent of the stories focused on Latino or Latino issues.⁴⁵ It is no wonder that Latinos look to the Spanish-language networks to learn about their community. It seems clear that English-language television does not satisfy Latino audiences.

“Hispanics” as a Market

While the lack of representation and stereotypes lead Latinos to Spanish-language television, the more concrete reason for the boom in Spanish-language television results from a market-driven agenda. Major corporations in the United States view the Hispanic market as a viable segment of the population with money to spend on products. Since Latinos are not watching English-language television, the best way to advertisers to reach them is through Spanish-language outlets. According to John Sinclair, “. . .the Spanish-language television industry has been one of the most active agents and also beneficiaries of the mode of capitalist ethnography with which a Hispanic audience has been constructed for sale to advertisers.”⁴⁶ San Diego is no exception.

In the United States, there are roughly 35 million Latinos with a potential buying power of \$458 billion, a market too big for most advertisers to ignore. The Spanish-speaking market is the fastest growing in the country, both in population and purchasing power. These facts make advertising in Spanish a necessity. By 2010, purchasing power is projected to double to \$9 billion and by 2025 it is estimated there will be 60 million Latinos nationwide, surpassing the Anglo population in California and San Diego County. Dean Calbreath, writing for the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, stated: “Walter Meneses, who runs Meneses Research & Associates in San Diego, said that in San Diego County, many third-or fourth generation Hispanics flip between English and Spanish stations on their televisions. But, according to his research, as many as 85% prefer to communicate in Spanish.”⁴⁷

In addition, Spanish-speakers recall advertisements more often when the ads are

presented in their native language. Hispanic audiences have a 61 percent better ad recall when the ads are in Spanish and a 57 percent better comprehension rate when the ads are in Spanish.⁴⁸ In San Diego, 89 percent of Hispanics speak Spanish. Therefore, Spanish TV advertisements are 4.5 times more likely to influence purchasing decisions than English-language ads. The recognition that Latinos prefer to watch programming in Spanish will continue to persuade corporations to make advertisements in Spanish. This, in turn, will support the Spanish-language media industries in the United States.

Conclusion

The creation of Spanish-language media has been shaped by dual forces: first, the desire of Latinos to access programming that is relevant to their experiences and, second, the need of corporations to reach an audience segment of the U.S. population that has been relatively untapped. The two forces are not mutually exclusive and work together to push the networks to provide more and more outlets for the Spanish-speaking audience.

Evidence of this is obvious in San Diego County where the television industry recently expanded to provide programming for San Diegans who want to access news and entertainment in the Spanish language. Considering the growth of the Latino population and its resulting impact on the media industry, the knowledge of the development of Spanish-language television will enhance our understanding of San Diego as a whole. This opportunity has broadened the San Diego community in a way that makes residents more aware of their proximity and relationship to Mexico. It projects a unique San Diego identity that incorporates an Anglo majority with a rapidly growing Latino community.

NOTES



1. U.S. Census Bureau, www.uscensus.gov; Nielsen Media Research, www.neilsenmedia.com; América Rodríguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999), 2.
2. Matt Damsker, "Corrido for don Pedro, An Unsung Hero," *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1984.
3. Emilio Azcárraga Viduarreta, known as "el Leon" died on September 23, 1972. His son Emilio Azcárraga Milmo, called "el Tigre," immediately took over operations that year and built the international and national empire, Televisa. For more information see Caudia Fernández and Andrew Paxman, *El Tigre: Emilio Azcárraga y su imperio Televisa* (Editorial Grijalbo, Miguel Hildalgo, Mexico, 2000). See also John Sinclair, *Latin American Television: A Global View* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 38-39. In 1997, grandson Emilio Azcárraga Jean inherited the principal ownership of Televisa. Rodríguez, *Making Latino News*, 45.
4. Rodríguez, *Making Latino News*, 36.
5. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 97-101.
6. Rodríguez, *Making Latino News*, 36.
7. Often compared to American soap operas, Latin American telenovelas are drama serials that have a duration of 150-200 episodes. Prime-time telenovelas appeal to a broad general audience and have gained international popularity. For more information on telenovelas see E. McAnany and Antonio La Pastina, "Telenovelas Audiences: A Review and Methodological Critique of Latin American Research," *Communication Research*, 21 (1994): 828-849, and Diana Rios, "U.S. Latino Audiences of "Telenovelas," *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 2 (2003): 59-65.
8. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 38-40.
9. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 98-99.

10. Fouce's father, Frank Fouce Sr. of Fouce Amusement Enterprises (a chain of Spanish-language movie theaters) had been associated with the Azcárraga family since the early 1960s in Los Angeles and San Antonio.
11. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 99-101; Rodriguez, *Making Latino News*, 61-62.
12. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 102.
13. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 104-105.
14. Spanish International Network Timeline, www.sintv.org/timeline.
15. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 109-111.
16. Nielsen Media Research, www.nielsenmedia.com.
17. Rodriguez, *Making Latino News*, 52.
18. Rodriguez, *Making Latino News*, 53.
19. Sinclair, *Latin American Television*, 111.
20. Alison Gregor, "What's Spanish for Big Media?" *Columbian Journalism Review*, 5 (September/October 2003), <http://www.cjr.org/issues/2003/5/voice-gregor.asp>.
21. US Census, www.uscensus.gov.
22. Preston Turegano, "Clout of Hispanic Media: News Director Uses Her Job to Fulfill a Mission," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, 2002.
23. Most marketers and industry professionals use the term Hispanic to refer to people of Latin American or Spanish heritage, although members do not usually refer to themselves as Hispanic and tend to identify with a specific national identity, i.e. Mexican, Cuban rather than panethnic imposed identity. Hispanic is used when referring to the audience as a market, not as a diverse group of individuals. See América Rodríguez, "Creating an Audience and Remapping a Nation: A Brief History of Spanish language Broadcasting, 1930-1980," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 16 (1999), 3-4.
24. "San Diego Hispanic Market," www.KBNT17.com.
25. Azcárraga Vidarrueta, son of Spanish immigrants from Navarra, was born in Tampico, Mexico, and began working at age 17 in a shoe store in Veracruz. He later acquired sole distributorship of a shoe manufacturer in Boston, Massachusetts, and expanded a chain of shoe stores throughout Mexico. In 1917 he founded a Ford agency and distributed the first Ford automobiles in the country. By 1923 he had turned to the Victor Talking Machinery Co. (His Master's Voice) and began radio station XEW in 1930 with participation from NBC. Eight years later he founded XEQ associated with CBS. His television acquisitions are discussed below. See Fernando Escandon, "Breve historia de la televisión en el oeste de los Estados Unidos del Norte," www.escandon.net.
26. Fear that a lack of FCC regulations would allow channel 6 to air programming that would not appeal to San Diegans proved unfounded. Its San Diego headquarters moved from Park Blvd. to Kearney Mesa in 1976.
27. Preston Turegano, "Spanish-language KBNT Touts Growth in Young Adult Viewers," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 9, 2004.
28. Preston Turegano, "News Director uses her job to fulfill a Mission," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 13, 2002.
29. Nielsen Media Research, www.nielsenmedia.com.
30. Turegano, "Spanish-language KBNT Touts Growth."
31. Kristin Moran, "Capturing the Border through the Camera Lens: A Comparison of Spanish-language and English-language Broadcast News in San Diego" (Paper presented at the Western Historical Association, Las Vegas, NV, 2004).
32. Brent Shearer, "NBC Stakes Its Claim on Hispanic TV With the Telemundo Acquisition," *Mergers and Acquisitions Journal*, December 1, 2001.
33. Roberto Iglesias, "US-Hispanics/Television NBC Gets Go-Ahead to Purchase Telemundo," *Financial Times*, November 23, 2001.
34. Preston Turegano, "Two Spanish-language Stations Go Head-to-Head Across Border," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, October 28, 2002.
35. "NBC Competes Purchase of 2 Million Depositary Shares of TV Azteca" *Financial News*, March 24, 2000.
36. Hiram Soto, "NBC to Debut Local Spanish Channel" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, March 25, 2005.
37. Soto, "NBC to Debut Local Spanish Channel."

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