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A PROFILE OF BRAZILIAN TELEVISION (1950-1992)¹

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Abstract: This paper draws a profile of Brazilian television, showing its development within the country's social economical and political contexts in the period from 1950 to 1992. The development of the Brazilian Television is divided in four stages: The elitist phase (1950-1964); the populist phase (1964-1975); the technological development phase (1975-1985), and, the transition and international expansion phase (1985-1992).

Resumé: Ce travail cherche donner le profil de la télévision brésilienne, tout en démontrent son développement dans le contexte sócio-économique e politique du pays pedent les années 1950-1992. Le progrès de la télévision au Brésil est divisé en quatre étapes: la phase élitiste(1950-1964); la phase populist(1964-1975); la phase de la développement technologique(1975-1985); et celle de la transition et de la expansion internationale(1985-1992).

Resumo: Este trabalho traça um perfil da televisão brasileira, apresentando seu desenvolvimento dentro do contexto socioeconômico e político do país no período de 1950 a 1992. O desenvolvimento da televisão brasileira é dividido em quatro etapas:a fase elitista(1950-1964); a fase populista(1964-1975); a fase do desenvolvimento tecnológico(1975-1985), e a fase de transição e da expansão internacional(1985-1992).

Resumen: Este trabajo esboza um perfil de la televisión brasileña, mostrando su desarrollo dentro del contexto socio-economico y político del país, durante el periodo de 1950 a 1992. Este desarrollo se divide en cuatro etapas: la fase elitista(1950-1964), la populist(1964-1975), la fase del desarrollo tecnológico(1975-1985) y la fase de transición y de expansión internacional(1985-1992).

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INTRODUCTION

Brazilian television was officially established on September 18, 1950, on precariously settled studios in São Paulo, thanks to the pionerism of journalist Assis Chateaubriand. The Tupi-Broadcasting TV appeared on a time when radio was the most popular communication medium in the country, reaching the Brazilian population on almost every state. Opposing to the North-American television, whose development was based on the strong cinematographic industry, the Brazilian one had to submit itself to radio influence, initially by using its structure, the same programming shape, as well as its technicians and artists.

Ever since its beginning, Brazilian television has kept a characteristic: all 183 TV stations broadcasting today are established in urban areas. Their programming are aimed to urban population, oriented for profit (except for the broadcasting stations owned by the government) and work under direct and indirect control of the official legislation of the sector. The Brazilian radio-broadcasting model, traditionally private, developed into what one may call a mixed system, where the state occupies all the emptiness left by free initiative, operating channels reserved to educational programs.

The Brazilian radio-broadcasting system is considered to be a public service and the companies that integrate it have always been under direct governmental control. These was a time when State was the only one that had the right to grant or to cancel licence and to permit the usage of radio or television frequencies. This was changed in October 5, 1988, when the new Brazilian Constitution was promulgated.

The initial growth of Brazilian television may be attributed to political favoritism, which called for the concession of television channels without any preconceived plan. The proliferation of television stations, however, began before the 1964 military regime's takeover, during the administration of President Juscelino Kubitschek, and lasted until the administration of President José Sarney, during the period known as the New Republic. The Constitution of 1988 established norms and rules that nullify the casuistical judgement used until then.

The 1988 Brazilian Constitution imposes some rules concerning the concession of radio and TV channels. The new rules are stated at the social communication chapter. Ever since its promulgation the concession act of renovation or grant of a broadcasting channels depends on the National Congress approval and not only of the personal decision of the president of the Republic. The cancelation of the

concession or permission, before the ten-year time for radio and fifteen-year time for television, also depends on juridical decision.

The state continuously impose a strong control over Brazilian cultural industry, partly due to the dependence of the mass media to the official subvention. That dependence grows in importance when one has the knowledge that the national bank sector (to which all the communication companies appeal for obtaining financing, aiming the routine function or expansion plans) is conducted or directly supervised by the government, which is also the one that keeps on establishing the country's financial and economical policies through decrees and "provisories measures".

Brazilian television model, besides being dependent on software and hardware importation, is also dependent on advertising support, its main income source. According to *Meio & Mensagem* group, in 1988, Brazilian television received 60.9% of all advertising investments made on that year, representing a total of US\$ 2.7 million (McCann-Ericson, 1990). **Table I** presents a retrospective of the media's budget distribution on percentage.

The Brazilian television model follows, therefore, the dependent development model. It is culturally, economically and technologically dependent (Mattos, 1982a). So, besides entertaining and instructing, television favours the capitalist objectives of production, as well as gives opportunity to new alternatives for capital like when it works as a medium of valuing the consumption goods produced by advertising them. Besides amplifying the consumer market of the cultural industry, television acts as an instrument to maintain the dominating class and the ideology (Caparelli, 1982).

Recent studies about the development of the Brazilian communication system have identified the government as:

- 1) The main economic force compelling the increasing of the mass media communication (principally the television), besides proportioning them with technical and advertising support.
- 2) The main political force, exercising control and influenciating the mass media.

Since the 1950s, Brazil has been looking forward to find the development ways suggested by national entities, like the Superior War School, or international, like UNESCO. Therefore, it was during the 1964 military regime that a economic development model was adopted in which the State emerged as the great propelling force behind the increase of cultural industry (Amorim 1979; Mattos 1982a; Mattos 1985).

Among the uncountable governmental measures that influenced the growth of the mass media communication, during the 21 years of military government (1964-1985), three exercised a specially relevant role:

1) The choice for the economic development policies, which based themselves on a process of fast industrialization, centered on the largest Brazilian cities. This industrialization process has been associated with the increase of the mass media communication because the industrial centers or districts influenciated for a bigger urban concentration. This contributed to facilitate the printed media distribution and circulation and a greater penetration of the electronic media, raising the total invoicing of those media with the advertising budget provenient of the consuming industries.

2) The construction of new highways, airports, modernization of the telecommunication system and the telegraph services (all into the development of the national system of transports and communications), increase of media by the opening of new distribution channels, for the printed and electronic media.

3) The adoption of measures viewing specifically the control and modernization of the printed media parallel to the expansion of the country's grafic capacity.

Numerous other factors also exercised a decisive role on the development process of television, standing out among them, the advertising. The influences on this sector of Brazilian television may be analyzed on two patterns:

1- Importation of products

a) The advertising agencies as well as the advertisers, principally the multinational corporations, encouraged and patronized the importation of North-American programs during the first 20 years of our television.

b) The advertising agencies continue to use imported values, as American pop-music, in the soundtracks of its advertising campaigns shown in television.

2) Commercial injunctions

a) The agencies as well as the advertisers support the deviation of programs directed to the mass culture.

b) The income provenient from the foreign advertisers continue to fortify the commercial nature of Brazilian television system (Mattos, 1984).

Since its beginning, Brazilian television was characterized as an advertising medium. To prove it, one might point out the warrant of the first year of publicitary invoicing of Tupi-Broadcasting TV by four big sponsors: Sul America Insurance Company, Antartica, Laminação Pignatari and Moinho Santista.

As in the beginning television was not able to achieve a large audience, it would not attract advertisers. But foreign advertising agencies, settled in Brazil, that already had experience on this medium in their homeland, soon started to use Brazilian television as an advertising medium, getting to decide also the programs subject matters. On the first few years the advertisers established the programs that should be produced and broadcasted, farther on they directly hired the artists and producers. "Novelist Glòria Magadan, as well as Boni (Josè Bonifacio de Oliveira Sobrinho), from Globo Network, for exemple, were employees of Colgate-Palmolive, through Lintas advertising agency. The sponsor made decisions over everything and to the broadcasting company remained the obligation to hand over studios and equipment and to air the program on"(Priolli,1985).

Exactly because of that, during the first two decades of our television, programs were identified by the sponsors' names. In 1982, and for some subsequent years, the TV News programs were named like: "Panair TV News"(Telenotícias Panair)," Exxon Report"(Repòrter Esso), "Bendix TV News"(Telejornal Bendix)," Ducal Report"(Reportagem Ducal), or "Pirelli TV News"(Telejornal Pirelli). The other programs also had their sponsors' names such as: "Kibom Competition"(Gincana Kibon), "Maizena Examination"(Sabatina Maizena) and the "Trol Little theater"(Teatrinho Trol).

According to *Veja* magazine, in the year of 1969, it was still possible to notice that 16 out of the 24 soap-operas produced and broadcasted in the country, had the sponsorship of multi-national companies: Gessy-Lever, Colgate-Palmolive, Kollynos-Van Ess. Moreover, in 1985, on an article about the 20 years of Globo Network, published on Status magazine, the success of that network was registered on the following way:

"the fourth largeste commercial network television in the world(only topped off by the North-Americans ABC, CBS and NBC); the first on production volume(80%), covering 98% of the national territory(five owned broadcasting stations and 51 affiliated stations); 12 thousand employees(1500 linked to the production of daily 2h and 40 min of fiction); withholding 70% of the audience(82% around 8 o'clock p.m.) and almost half of our advertising market budget, estimated on

US\$ 550 millions, Globo Network reaches the brink of its 20th birthday exporting programs to 128 countries"(Bizinover,1985: 47).

1-PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

For the effectiveness of this work, it was decided that the origin and historical development of Brazilian television must be showed on four stages, in order to construct a global picture of its evolution. Each stage has a defined period starting from the happenings that direct or indirectly can be used as a reference point for its beginning. The establishment of each phase was determined by observing the development of Brazilian television into our social, economic and cultural context. Therefore, we have: 1)The elitist phase(1950-1964); 2- The populist phase(1964-1975); 3) The Technological development phase(1975-1985); 4)The transition and international expansion phase(1985-1990).

1.1.The elitist phase(1950-1964)

Four months after having established the first TV station of Brazil and South-America - The Tupi Broadcasting Television in São Paulo- Chateaubriand initiated a new enterprise on the city of Rio de Janeiro. On January the 20th 1951, was established the TV Tupi/Rio , also provisorily settled on the dependences of the Tamoio Radio Station, near the Mauá Square. Besides the fact that the installations were precarious, the new station faced problems related to the localization of the antenna/retransmissor. The Diários Associados Group, who established Tupi TV, wanted to put it up to the Corcovado, near to the Cristo Redentor Image. That idea faced strong opposition of the local priesthood and the solution was to put it on the top of the Pão de Açucar's hill.

Despite its deficiency, television was considered by the printed media as a "new powerful instrument". During the first two years, television was nothing but an electronic toy for Brazilian elites. At that time the price of a television set was three times the price of the most-sophisticated phonograph and a little bit less than a car (Mattos 1982; Priolli, 1985).

Brazilian television began broadcasting to an audience limited to 200 television sets. To transform it into a popular medium, Assis Chateaubriand ordered to settle some TV sets on public squares so that people could watch the broadcasted programs. Table II presents the evolution of the numbers of TV sets being used in the country. Inimá Simões (1985) reports that, with the objective of stimulating the audience growth, an advertising campaign started to be broadcasted, promoting the selling of TV sets. The message transmitted was this one:

"Do you or don't you want the television? To make television a reality in Brazil, a radio-journalistic consortium invested millions of cruzeiros! Now it is your turn - What will be your contribution to support such a big enterprise? From your support, will depend the progress, on our land, of this wonder of the electronic science. To clap and claim admirably is loudable, but it is not enough- Your help will only be effective when you buy a TV set".

It should be noted that, in 1951, the industrial production of "Invictus" TV sets was started in the country. This fact contributed to broadcasting, at the same year, the chapters of the first Brazilian soap-opera: "Your life belongs to me" (*Sua vida me pertence*). This soap-opera was written by Walter Foster and broadcasted on the period between December 21st of 1951 and February 15th of 1952. This program was broadcasted twice a week due to the lack of technical conditions. The videotape came up only on the sixties and it was one of the decisive factors for the development of that kind of program in Brazil.

It was also in 1952 that one of the most famous TV news of Brazilian television was aired for the first time, with the name of its sponsor: "Exxon Report" (*Repórter Esso*). The "Exxon Report" was adapted by TV Tupi/Rio from a radio news program of great success broadcasted, at that time. Its success on television is attributed to the international newsreels, once it was totally produced out of Tupi, by United Press International (UPI), under the responsibility of an advertising agency that handed over the program done. "The Tupi TV limited itself to air it on. The agency used much more international material, imported films from UPI and CBS (supplying agencies of film services), than national material (Nogueira, 1988:86).

"The Exxon Report" was broadcasted for the first time on April 1st, 1951, remaining on the air until December the 31st 1970, when advertisers started to buy spaces between programs instead of sponsoring the whole program.

It is true the fact that the first few television stations of the country started on a precarious way and filled with improvisation. Many years were necessary so that an undertaking scheme like Globo's could be implanted, making easier the development of television industry as we know it. Although, it's worthwhile to print out, that the Excelsior TV, founded in 1959 and repealed in 1970, was considered as the first broadcasting station to be administered into the undertaking patterns of today. Excelsior was responsible for the first soap-opera production with daily chapters and it was also the one who produced the largest soap-opera of all times "Redusption" (Redenção), with a total of 596 chapters (Furtado 1988:62).

By the end of the fifties, there already existed 10 television stations broadcasting in the country. In 1962, the Brazilian Telecommunications Code, promulgated by the law no.4.117/62, which, besides laying up sanctions, offered greater warranties to the concessionaires. The Code innovated the juridical appraising of radio and television concessions, but it was mistaken to continue attributing to the executive, authority to judge and decide, unilaterally, on the applying of sanctions or on the renewing of concessions.

On the matter of fact, the National Telecommunications Code, approved by the National Congress on August 27th of 1962, is a project of military inspiration. It is completely identified with the thesis of national integration, security and development settled on ESG(Priolli, 1985:31).

It was in the same year that happened the first experiences of educative TV, when TV Continental from Rio de Janeiro and TV Tupi from São Paulo launched, simultaneously, basic classes of the Madureza Course. Two years before that, in 1960, the Cultura TV, from São Paulo, had already created and broadcasted the first Brazilian telecourse destined to prepare the candidates to the admission exam for secondary school.

At the beginning of the sixties, television had an impulse or was impulsed with the arrival of video tape recorder (VTRs). It was the usage of VTR on Brazilian television that enabled not only the daily soap-opera, but also the implantation of a horizontal program strategy. The broadcasting of the same program on various days of the week enable to create the habit of watching television,

routinely, keeping the viewers' attention and substituting the type of programming used until then, of vertical character, with different programs every day.

It was on that time that Record TV, founded in 1953, lived its golden period with the musical programs and the success of the music festivals, that revealed the singers and composers that still today dominate the Brazilian popular music: Roberto Carlos, Chico Buarque de Holanda, Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, Elis Regina, Gal Costa, Rita Lee and many others. Record TV got to occupy the first place among the most watched broadcasting stations of the country(Furtado,1988:62) until, due to a series of fires occurred between 1968 and 1969, the station entered in decadence. By the half of the 70's it recovered financially, and today it occupies the fifth place among the television networks with more chained stations.

Yet in 1963 was promulgated the decree that regularized the broadcasting of programs live. On the next year, 1964, which marks the beginning of the second phase of television development, Brazil observed the military revolution and watched the transmission of the one that would become the most famous soap-opera ever transmitted: "The Right to be born" ("O Direito de Nascer").

In syntheses, one may say that television came up on a decade marked by the "reorganization of Brazilian market with the irruption of monopolist capitalism"(Caparelli,1982). On the first phase television is characterized, mainly, by the broadcasted programs were produced, exclusively, on the areas where the stations were settled.

Caparelli (1982:25) distinguishes three basic happenings that occurred in the transition period between the first and second television phases:

"One of them is the deal made between the Globo Television and Time/Life and, the second, the rising and fall of Excelsior TV from São Paulo. A third happening may be distinguished, but on a certain way it is included on the first phase: the decline of the Diários Associados Group. On the other hand, all those occurrences have a lot to do within themselves.

Decline of the Associados, Excelsior's primacy and the Time/Life dealing have a common link, represented by the creation of a Brazilian model of development, supported on foreign capital, allied to national groups, in what was agreed upon to call the Globo-Time/Life scandal."

1.2. The populist phase(1964-1975)

The revolution of 1964 affected the mass media communication directly because the political system and the country's social and economic situation were totally changed by the definition of an economic model for the national development. The country's economic growth was centered on the fast industrialization based on imported technology and foreign capital, while the mass media, principally television, had to exercise the role of broadcasters of durable and non-durable goods production.

The post-1964 military governments stimulated the promotion of a fast economic development, based on a tripod formed by the state companies, national companies and multinational corporations. Promoting bank reforms and establishing specific laws and regulations, the state, besides rising its participation on economy as a direct investor of a series of public enterprises, it got to have on its disposal, besides the legal control, all the conditions to influence the mass media communications through the economic pressures(Mattos,1985).

In Brazil, during the 21 years of the military regime(1964-1985), the financing of the "mass media" was a powerful state control vehicle, because of the entailing between the banks and the government, the concession of licenses for importation of materials and equipment and the provisionment, by the government, of subsidies for each importation have influenced until the point when they take the mass media communications to adopt a position of supporting to the government measures (Mattos,1982a).

Examples of how the government controls, politically and economically, the mass media may be found on the printed media as well as on electronic media. On the case of the electronic media this control was more direct and evident, during all this second phase because, on the radio stations as well as on television stations, there are channels working conceded by federal administration, which can be canceled, while the print media just need a simple registration. From 1964 to 1988 the concession of license for exploring frequencies reinforced the control exercised by the state, for the simple fact that those permissions were just fast conceded to groups that originally supported the actions adopted by the state.

It was during this phase that the state exercised a decisive role on the development and regulation of the mass media communication, creating, inclusively, various regulatory agencies, distinguishing the Ministry of Communications. The creation of this Ministry in 1967, contributed not

only for the implantation of important structural changes on the telecommunications sector, but also for the reduction of the interference of private organization over the regulatory agencies and, on the other hand, the growth of official influence on this sector. This facilitated the political intervention on the mass media, evidenced even on the broadcasted matters and always under the justification of being exercising a technical control (Mattos, 1985).

In the year of 1967, based on the Institutional Act no. 4, the military government, through the Decree-law no.236, of February 28 of 1967, completed and modified law no. 4.117 of August,1962(Brazilian Telecommunications Code), establishing new norms that got to guide the exercising of radio and television channels concessions. Decree law no.236 established that foreign enterprises and foreign people could not participate of society and/ or direct radio broadcasting companies. It yet determined that the origin and amount of financial resources of the interested in using concessions should be proved. It also put under dependence of previous approval of Contel, and after the Ministry of Communications, all the modifying acts of society, as well as contracts with the foreign enterprises. It was also established, by the same Decree, that each entity is limited as to the total number of television stations it may run. Each communication enterprise may own a total of 10 stations, owned-and-operated, in all of the national territory. Of that total, only 5 may be in VHF. It should be noted that after the Decree law no. 236/67 no substantial change was promoted on the juridical regime of broadcasting sector until the year of 1988.

During the period held between 1968 and 1979, the mass media had to operate under restrictions established by Institutional Act no.5 of December 13,1968,when the president could make secret laws, and when Brazilian institutions were controlled by strong censorship, which was exerted in accordance with the censor's criteria. During that time the military president had the right to censure mass media, besides stimulating the practice of self-censure, avoiding so, any publication or transmission that could get them to be framed and sued upon the National Security Law (Mattos,1985).

The period of 1964 to 1975, which corresponds to the second stage of Brazilian television development, is characterized as being a phase in which television became more professional. The implantation, on the first half of the 1970's, of a better structure undertaking/industrial scheme, facilitated the appearance of the great idols worshiped by thousands of TV watchers.

"This second phase of Brazilian television has as the most important characteristic the absorption of the administrative patterns, of programming production by Brazilian television. Corresponds to the north americanization of national television. The television companies of Rio-São Paulo reinforced their role of mediators between the multinational cultural industry and the Brazilian market and , on the other hand, put together, through the networks, a captive market for their products. With a more solid administrative and financial structure, adapted to the stage of Brazilian capitalism expansion with a concentration of capital, without the disturbance that pioneerism put on the way of Tupi Network and with an industrialization firmly settled in Brazil, directed to consumption, the Globo Network started to win the audience war. About programming, it was based on the auditorium programs. But from that moment on all the actions lost spontaneity to be inserted on the marketing plans"(Caparelli,1982:36).

From 1964 on, when the country was trying to find the development and modernization ways, television was considered to be a symbol of those same ways. It was during that period that the country started the accomplishment of the works to enlarge and modernize the telecommunication system, what permitted the appearance of the television networks, that came to have a national embracing influence on the promotion and selling of consumption goods on large scale. The greater television network in Brazil, Globo, appeared in 1965, having initially, the financial and technical protection of the American group Time/Life. The American involvement on Globo TV was, subsequently, eliminated, although that would only come to happen after it had already usufructed of dollars advantages and of the foreign management experience(Tunstall, 1977:182).

Globo also imported new commercialization strategies that were of fundamental importance for its success. It passed from the "way of the radio" commercialization to much more advanced technics, creating sponsors, breaks, and other innovations that continue to be used until today(Furtado,1988).

At the end on the 60's, after a beginning filled of problems, Globo already had a large audience because it directed its programs to the big mass audience.. But only from 1969 on it difinely firmed itself. The fact of being able to retransmit its programs through microwaves to various cities contributed for its consolidation on national terms. According to Artur da Tàvola(1985:45)

"one of the factors of Globo Network's growth was that it never had disdained its relation with the real market. If the C class constitutes the base of the audience, on that the majority decision is had; also on its function must be settled the patterns of production and of market. Just after this amalgam is obtained one can cogitate on thee reaching of the artistic and cultural patterns."

It was during this phase that the cost reduction of the TV sets, as a result of the rising of the production scale, exercised a big influence over television, contributing to enlarge the market attracting more and more the advertising investments. To attend the demands of the new audience the matters of the programs got more and more popular. During the second half of the 60's, the programming of the television were basically settled on the triad: soap-operas/ canned films/ and auditorium shows. Globo just initiated the quest for technical quality of its programs with the called "Globo Pattern", from the 70's on.

At the end of sixties, thanks to the inauguration of the tracking station of Itaboraí, the country could watch, by television the arrival of man to the moon. At the beginning of the 70's, the construction of National Television Network, from Embratel, gave the necessary support for the programs to come to a big part of the national territory and the networks to get to have national characteristics. In 1972, the grape party, in Caxias do Sul, was stage for the first official transmission on colors of Brazilian television.

During this second phase of its development, television consolidates the soap-opera line, starts the centralization of production and take the profile of a national audience medium, capable of attracting a great part of the advertising cake. On this phase, besides using the North-american administration technics, 50% of its programs are made of foreign canned programs and its local production is very popular, reaching near to the grotesc. It was still on that phase that journalism got to occupy more space on television. The advance on the film developing process and the mobility of the sound cameras gave more agility to the news programs. Until then, "television had little news because in competition with radio is lost related to instantaneously" (Furtado, 1988:60). This phase is characterized, finally, by the beginning of the technological advance, by the creation of the substructure for the TV expansion on nation level and by the appearance of a new oligopoly, the Globo Network, that got to occupy the place that the Diários Associados occupied during the first phase of television development.

1.3. The technological development phase (1975-1985)

During the former phase, the soap-operas were responsible for attracting mass audience to television. The soap-opera was a kind of a compensation for the population, which until 1975 only had a TV program that was castrated by censorship.

On the President Emilio Garrastazu Médici's administration (1969-1974) innumerable pressures were exercised over the television stations, working as a corrective measure, through punishment with fines and even suspension of some programs. This aiming to low was officially justified as a "live of aggression to sensibility and of roughness". From that time on, television started to show programs of high technical sophistication, developed on colors and that fully attended the kind of television that government wanted: A beautiful and colored television, on the same structure of "Fantástico- o Show da Vida"(Fantastic- life's show)

In order to soften the real picture of the situation lived in the country, it was exercised on the TV news programs such a hard control that, in March of 1973, President Medici made the following statement: "I feel happy by myself, every night, when I turn the television on to watch the news. While the news report the strikes, agitations, attempted assassinations and conflicts on several parts of the world, Brazil marches in peace on the direction of development. It is like if I had taken tranquilizer after a day of work".

This distortion was broadcasted by TV stations' news programs, already established on national networks and that, in 1974, with 43% of the houses equipped with TV sets in the country, made the situation more alienating.

Some facts determined the outlines of this phase: the electoral failure suffered by the official political party in the elections of 1974, when MDB, the opposing political party, elected 16 senators against 6 from Arena, the official party; The shutting of the National Congress; The promulgation of judicial and political reforms in 1977; the begging of the distension and political opening. This stage of political transition was initiated by President Ernesto Geisel and by general Golbery do Couto e Silva. Fell to president João Baptista Figueiredo, under pressures of the society and of its constituted civilian entities, to sign the amnesty, promote direct elections for the state governments and legalize the

clandestine political parties. The culmination of all this process - the indirect election of his successor, on the electoral college disputed by two civilian candidates- was broadcasted live by television networks for all the country.

During the former phase, the government created new conditions for the expansion of the transmission service, but established the controlling agencies. Only from 1970 on, although, the government started to express its preoccupations concerning the influence of the matters contained on the broadcasted programs over population.

The governmental recommendations exercised a very strong influence on the television networks. Continuously reminded of its responsibilities to culture and national development, television started to nationalize its programs. This nationalizing process of the programs counted with the government support, that wanted to substitute the violence of the American canned programs for softer Brazilian programs. That support was made viable through credits conceded by official banks, fiscal exemptions, co-productions of official organs(i.e. Educative TV, Embrafilme, among others) with commercial stations besides of the official advertising concentration in some TV and radio enterprises(Mattos.1982b). As a result of governmental orientations, which started on Medici's term in office and continued through Geisel's, it was outlined what would be the third development phase of TV: the largest networks, principally Globo Network, started to export the program they produced.

The first Globo's program that obtained an expressive receptivity out of the country was the soap-opera Beloved Man ("O Bem Amado"). It was sold, already dubbed into Spanish, to several Latin-American countries and to Portugal on the original. In 1977, Globo's invoicing with external selling was around US\$ 300 thousand. In 1981 the invoicing reached the total of US\$ 3 million, what would be tripled in 1983(US\$ 9.5 millions) reaching US\$ 14 million in 1985.

After solidifying its expansion on domestic market, Globo intensified the conquest of the foreign market. In August of 1980, the direction of Globo Network decided to organize an international division that culminated with the buying of Monte Carlo TV.

The growth of Brazilian television in this phase can be measured through the number of houses equipped with TV sets. The 1980 national census evidenced that 55% of a total of 26.4 million residences were already equipped with TV sets. The growth of the number of residences with TV sets between 1960 and 1980 was of 1.272%. In 1980, according to data from ABINEE, existed about 20 million TV receptors on the country. These data become even more expressive when it is known that

68.3% of the Brazilian population of the time lived on urban areas, and that 73.1% of all the urban residences were equipped with television sets (Mattos,1982a,1984 and 1985).

It is worth to point out that, according to Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration ("Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal-IBAM"), Brazilian population has been concentrating more and more. Taking as a base the population projections, elaborated for the year of 1989 by the IBGE's Population Department ,a document entitled "The most populous Brazilian Towns", produced by the IBAM's Data Bank, one can reach the conclusion that the own characteristic of urban concentration of the Brazilian market will continue, for a lot of time, to facilitate the growth of Brazilian television.

On this document, IBAM analyses cities with population bigger than 50 thousand habitants, reaching the following evidences: The number of those cities was of 243 in 1970, passing to 382 in 1980 and reaching 470 in 1989. According to François de Bremaeker, coordinator of the IBAM's Municipal Data Bank-IBAMCO,the population concentrated on these points of the territory reached 42.5 million habitants in 1970, raised to 69.1 millions in 1980 and got to the total of 92.5 million in 1989. Get together with the IBAM's data, the McCann-Erickson related to the number of residences equipped with TV sets in the year of 1989: from 34.860.700 houses, 64.5% have TV sets.

Based on its potential audience, the medium television have been absorbing 60% of the total advertising investments spendend in the country. Due to its capacity to reach almost all Brazilian population and the fragility of the Brazilian theater and film industry, television defines "who is who" on the star world, constituting itself as the central pole of that process(Ortiz and Ramos, 1989:181).

The third phase is characterized, so, by the standardizing of the television program in the whole country and by the solidification of the television network concept in Brazil. On October 16th of 1977, the director of Dentel at the time, Coronel Idalécio Nogueira, affirmed that the "government is against the monopoly in television because it results in the fall of the quality and, as a result of this, he will stimulate the concession of new channels in order to increase the number of national TV Networks"(Silva and Monteiro, in Comunicação.no.31) During this phase there were 83 concessions of television channels, being 47 authorized by Geisel's government and 36 by Figueiredo's.

In 1980, the government cancelled the concessions of all channels of TV Tupi Network (owned by Diários Associados Group). Afterwards the government distributed the cancelled channels between the groups of Sílvio Santos and Adolfo Bloch. On the competition for the Tupi's spoil, which had been detained as a form of compensation for the debts to the social welfare, strong enterprising groups ended

by being avoided. On the opportunity the government did not hide its preference for undertakers "more trustworthy and friendly". Between the pretermited were Henry Maksoud, the Abril Group, the *Jornal do Brasil* group(Caparelli,1982:52).

In 1982 starts a real "boom" of domestic VCR and the expansion of the independent production on video. In 1983 Manchete Network is aired on, at the same time that the independent producers, such as Abril Video, are solidified and start to fill in a space in the market.

This phase is also characterized by the suspension of the previous censorship to the news and to the television programs, what leads to the ending of the period in which mass media communication operated under roughness of the Institutional Act no. 5.

At the end of this third phase it is noticed the existence of four commercial television networks operating on national scale (Bandeirantes, Globo, Manchete and SBT), two regional networks (Record,in São Paulo, and Brasil Sul, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul) and a state Educational Television network.

The ending of this phase coincides with the political campaign for the direct elections, which took place in 1984, and posterior election of Tancredo Neves as the President and Josè Sarney as Vice-President, by indirect way. At this moment,the political transition, which started on Geisel's government, reached its highest point. The fourth phase of Brazilian television development starts ,therefore, with the Tancredo Neves' and José Sarney's elections.

1.4. The transition and international expansion phase(1985-1990)

As in the military regime, the New Republic government used also the electronic media to obtain popular recognition. The Globo Network, for example, continued to serve to the new government in the way it served the military regime.

On this phase the main changes that happened on the communication sector derived from the promulgation, on October 5th of 1988, of the new Constitution, that presents, on chapter V, a specific text about "social communication". On the article 220 the new document reaffirms that the manifestation of thought would not suffer from any restriction and, on the 1st and 2nd paragraphs, prohibits, totally,

the censure, impeding, inclusively, the existence of any legal device that "can constitute embarrassment to the complete freedom of journalistic information, on any social communication medium" On the 5th paragraph of that same article there is the prohibition to form monopoly/oligopoly on the social mass media communication (Mattos,1990).

The new Brazilian Constitution determined also norms for the production and programming of the radio and television broadcasting stations. According to the article 221, the stations should attend the following principles: promote programs with educative, artistic, cultural and informative purposes, looking forward to stimulating the independent production, aiming the promotion of national and regional culture.

Another important innovation was the text of the article 222 , which is about the property of mass media communication. This article revokes the restrictions of the former Constitution, that limited the property of communication enterprises to born Brazilians. Now, any person "born Brazilian or naturalized for more than 10 years" can assume a responsibility for his/hers administration and intellectual orientation".

The article 223 is about granting and renewing of concessions, permissions and authorizations for using radio and television channels in Brazil. Now, the concession or renovations done by the executive power will be appreciated by the National Congress and the canceling of the concession or permission will depend of judicial decision.

However, before the promulgation of the Constitution there was a real festival of concessions of radio and television channels in Brazil. On the period of 1985 to 1988 there were sanctioned exactly 90 concessions of television channels, distributed in this way: 22 in 1985, 14 in 1986, 12 in 1987, and 47 in 1988.

Despite the competence of the concessions continue to be by the executive power, the Collor de Mello Government have not conceded any yet(May of 1992), because the Constitution's exigence, on article 175, unique paragraph, establishing the realization of public bidding at an action for all the concessions of public service, it was not yet regulated (Table III presents the numbers of TV channels concessions by president's term in office).

In this fourth phase of Brazilian television development, what is observed is a greater competitiveness among the big networks, and a continuous advance on the direction of the international market, with Globo Network planning, since 1985, its systematic expansion on foreign countries. This

Globo's determination is justified in function of the high profits that it has obtained on the last few years with its exportations. The edition of the Business Week magazine, of December 16th of 1986, says that in 1984 the Globo Tv obtained operating profits of US\$ 120 millions over an income of US\$500 millions.

In this phase television has been reached a greater technical and undertaking maturity, and has been laying hold of its own former production, rerunning its success to fulfill the time. The potential of Brazilian television influence can be proved during the last presidential elections(1989), when the political parties, using resources from the advertising agencies, used the costless time on television to make public their propositions on very well produced plays. The debates among the candidates, transmitted by the television networks, reached the highest audience levels, decisively influencing on the results. It should be noted that after being installed in office, Fernando Collor de Mello started to make use of the electronic media to find recognition and help for his economic and political policies, on the same way that military presidents and the president of the New Republic had used it (Mattos,1990).

Into the administrative reform undertaken by Collor's administration, in March 1990, the 23 ministries existing until then, were reduced to 12, some of them being extinguished and others transformed in secretaryships. It was the case of the Ministry of Communications, which was transformed in the National Secretaryship of Communications (Secretaria Nacional de Comunicações), integrated to the Infrastructure Ministry. The first measures adopted by the new ministry on the broadcasting sector were liberalizing, once they eliminated the rest of the residues of the censorship. In August 1990, minister Ozires Silva, from Ministry of Infrastructure, revoked the governmental Decree of the extinct Ministry of Communications that attributed to the National Department of Telecommunications ("Departamento Nacional de Telecomunicações-DENTEL) power to maintain "double vigilance about the matters contained on the broadcasting programs, especially when it comes to the offense to the family and public moral, incitation to the disobedience to the laws or judicial decisions and collaboration on the practice of disorder, rebellion or prohibited manifestation"(Mattos,1990).

On August of 1990, the Collor's government also changed the Decree no.52.795, of 1963, permitting, from then on that radio and television stations may transmit programs in foreign languages. On May 14, 1992, President Collor de Mello promoted, through Law no. 8.422, another administrative reform, creating four new Ministries: Transportation and Communications ("Transportes e

Comunicações"); Labor and Administration ("Trabalho e Administração"); Social Security ("Previdência Social"); Mines and Energy("Minas e Energia"). The National Secretaryship of Communications ("Secretaria Nacional de Comunicações") is now under the structure of the Ministry of Transportations and Communications").

For being recents, these changes do not permit yet to avaluate which kind of influence it will exercise on the mass media communication on a general way and on television specifically.

Although, basing on the development tendency, one can forsee: the structured appearance of cable TV, on the American models; a growth, even bigger, of the VCR sector, what in consequence, will be able to stimulate the rising of the independent television producers; a greater regionalization and utilization of alternative television channels.

TABLE I

Percentage of Advertising Expenditures by Medium

YEAR	Television	Newspaper	Magazines	Radio	Other(*)	Totals
1962	24.7	18.1	27.1	23.6	6.5	100
1963	32.9	16.6	21.9	23.0	5.6	100
1964	36.0	16.4	19.5	23.4	4.7	100
1965	32.8	18.4	25.6	19.5	3.7	100
1966	39.5	15.7	23.3	17.5	4.0	100
1967	43.0	14.5	22.0	15.5	5.0	100
1968	44.5	15.8	20.2	14.6	4.9	100
1969	43.1	15.9	22.9	13.6	4.5	100
1970	39.6	21.0	21.9	13.2	4.3	100
1971	39.3	24.8	17.0	12.7	6.2	100
1972	46.1	21.8	16.3	9.4	6.4	100
1973	46.6	20.9	15.6	10.4	6.5	100
1974	51.1	18.5	16.0	9.4	5.0	100
1975	53.9	19.8	14.1	8.8	3.4	100
1976	51.9	21.1	13.7	9.8	3.5	100
1977	55.8	20.2	12.4	8.6	3.0	100
1978	56.2	20.2	12.4	8.0	3.2	100
1979	55.9	20.1	13.0	8,5	2.5	100
1980	57.8	16.2	14.0	8.1	3.9	100
1981	59.3	17.4	11.6	8.6	3.1	100
1982	61.2	14.7	12.9	8.0	3.2	100
1983	60.6	13.3	12.2	10.5	3.4	100
1984	61.4	12.3	14.3	6.8	5.2	100
1985	59.0	15.0	17.0	6.0	3.0	100
1986	55.9	18.1	15.2	7.7	3.1	100
1987	60.8	13.2	16.3	6.2	3.5	100
1988	60.9	15.9	13.9	6.6	2.7	100
1989	55.44	26.56	12.84	2.74	2.42	100

SOURCES: Mattos, 1984; Mattos,1990.

(*)Other such as cinema, point-of-sale, and outdoor advertising.

Note: The data in this table on advertising expenditures were obtained only from advertising agencies, and does not include advertising that was purchased directly by the advertiser from the media.

TABLE II
TV Sets Purchased in Brazil

YEAR	Number of TV SETS(*)
1950	200
1952	11.000
1954	34.000
1956	141.000
1958	344.000
1960	598.000
1962	1.056.000
1964	1.663.000
1966	2.334.000
1968	3.276.000
1970	4.584.000
1972	6.250.000
1974	8.781.000
1976	11.603.000
1978	14.818.000
1979	16.737.000
1980	18.300.000
1986	26.500.000
1989	28.000.000
1990	30.000.000

SOURCES: Abinee and Mattos 1990.

(*)Numbers of TV sets (Black & White and Color) in use in Brazil.

TABLE III
Number of TV Stations Licenses by Period and President

Year/ Administration/ Period	PRESIDENT	Number of Licenses
1956-1964	J.Kubitschek (1956-61) Jânio Quadros (1961) João Goulart (1961-1964)	14
1964-1969	Castello Branco (1964-1967) Costa e Silva (1967-1969)	23
1969-1974	Emilio G. Médici	20
1974-1979	Ernesto Geisel	47
1979-1985	João B. Figueiredo	
1979		07
1980		04
1981		11
1982		08
1983		04
1984		12
1985-1990	José Sarney	
1985		22
1986		14
1987		12
1988		42
1989		--
1990	Fernando Collor de Mello	(*)

SOURCES: Mattos 1990.

(*) Until May 1992, Collor de Mello have not sanctioned any concessions of television channels.

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