

# Dossier | The press, political history, and public opinion in the XX century

Presentantion of the dossier "The press, political history, and public opinion in the XX century"

Presentación del dossier "Prensa, historia política y opinión pública en el siglo XX"

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## 1. Historiographic coordinates

This special issue arises from the interest in developing a platform for proposing inquiries, designing approaches, and exploring research themes. It brings three fields into dialogue: political history, historical studies of the press, and public opinion. The interactions between these three domains have been notorious and meaningful in recent decades, renovating the interdisciplinary work of different disciplines.

In the meantime, we have witnessed a revolution in political history and the involvement of new research repertoires that present events, the political culture analysis, and the redimensioning of power as a vast, ideological, and, therefore, not exclusively material element. And its counterpowers are nurtured by symbolic and narrative aspects, which, today, are explored and analyzed with new lenses.

In addition, the interest in public opinion is a way of understanding the phenomena of opinion, construction, and tension in shaping agendas and topics of broad interest, not just in this present marked by intense media coverage but in historical periods in which participation in the public sphere was guided by circulation, discussion, and socialization of political, social, and cultural ideas, particularly in the printed media. Likewise, the so-called "historical studies of the press,"<sup>1</sup> complex versions of the concept of "the press as a source of research," based on different research contributions, are an opportunity to reconstruct historical processes using the questions what, how, and with what arguments the printed media —news-papers, periodicals, magazines, newsletters— have sought to inform, influence, participate, legitimate or question the behavior of other actors and institutions of the sociopolitical life.

In this sense, the invitation to contribute to this dossier offered the researchers the possibility of contributing to the abovementioned field by questioning press interactions and the construction of public opinion within the framework of problems and approaches highly relevant to political history. We start from the conviction that the proposed relationship would allow us to find new historiographic ways of reading social and political actors, such as Guerra suggested some time ago<sup>2</sup>, when he showed that printed media is crucial for understanding itineraries such as collective action, political events, the different forms of political sociability, the development of languages, and the political discourses used to spread ideas, projects and visions of power groups and the social resistance movements, among other fronts.

In addition, we considered it essential to limit the study to the 20th century. We made this methodological decision for two reasons. The first concerns the idea that new political history and public opinion have been studied in an integrated manner in Latin America for the 19th century, on the occasion of the central publications by François-Xavier Guerra, Annick Lemperiere, Hilda Sabato, Gilberto Loaiza Cano, Javier Fernández Sebastián, Jordi Canal, and many others. This scholarship is a prolific discussion about the independence period,

1 Anderson Paul Gil Pérez, «Estudios históricos de la prensa. Fuente primaria, objeto de investigación y actor político», *Fuentes Humanísticas* 34, No. 64 (2022), <http://fuenteshumanisticas.azc.uam.mx/index.php/rfh/article/view/1070/1249>.

2 François Xavier Guerra, «Hacia una nueva historia política. Actores sociales y actores políticos», *Anuario de Estudios Histórico Sociales*, No. 4 (1989): 201-12.

the building of nations, civil wars, and the construction of national political cultures.<sup>3</sup> Thus, this temporal and conceptual scenario has presented editorial bets, books, compilations, and special issues of journals and continues to be a current topic in contemporary historiography. The second reason stems from our interest in axes of discussion that respond to our research programs as guest editors, especially around the press and political socialization in the first half of the 20th century, the press and repression discourses, and the dynamics of public legitimization in the context of social mobilization and authoritarianism, and the press and the different forms of collective action in the second half of the 20th century.

Conversely, the invitation to consider the relationship between the press, public opinion, and political history in the 20th century has to do with research advancements in Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia, among other countries—where scientific production that turns around the political press has shown significant growth.

The central question in Argentina is political participation in traditional and alternative presses. Marina Franco's contributions are noteworthy, allowing us to delineate the construction of the idea of the political enemy in the years before the military coup in 1976, based on the circulation of radicalized discourses that identified military participation as the only way to put the country on the right track,<sup>4</sup> the process of attrition of the dictatorship, and the distancing of the political press through the tenuous insertion of human rights debates.<sup>5</sup>

A similar perspective is developed by Cesar Luis Díaz, who explains the coup as a journalistic construction and asks about graphical journalism.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, in their compilation, Marcelo Borrelli and Jorge Saborido include the position of newspapers, magazines, and the political press in the dictatorship between 1976 and 1983.<sup>7</sup> Borrelli focuses on analyzing developmentalism as a political and economic alternative during the dictatorship, the image

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3 François Xavier Guerra y Annick Lemperiere, *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica: Ambigüedades y problemas. Siglos XVIII-XIX* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica - Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, 1998); Hilda Sabato, *La política en las calles: entre el voto y la movilización* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1998); Javier Fernández, *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano. La era de las revoluciones, 1750-1850. Iberconceptos I* (Madrid: Fundación Carolina, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales y Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2009); Pedro Rújula y Jordi Canal, *Guerra de ideas. Política y cultura en la España de la Guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid: Institución Fernando el Católico y Marcial Pons Historia, 2011); Javier Fernández, *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano. Conceptos fundamentales, 1770-1870. Iberconceptos II* (Madrid: Universidad del País Vasco, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2014); Isidro Vanegas Useche, *Todas son iguales. Estudios sobre la democracia en Colombia* (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2010); Gilberto Loaiza Cano, *El lenguaje político de la república. Aproximación a una historia comparada de la prensa y la opinión pública en la América española, 1767-1830* (Medellín: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2020).

4 Marina Franco, *Un enemigo para la nación. Orden interno, violencia y subversión, 1973-1976* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012); Marina Franco, «La 'campaña argentina': la prensa, el discurso militar y la construcción de consenso», in *Derecha, Fascismo y antifascismo en Europa y Argentina*, ed. J. Casali de Badot y M. V. Grillo (Argentina: Universidad de Tucumán, 2002), 195-225.

5 Marina Franco, *El final del silencio. Dictadura, sociedad y derechos humanos en la transición (Argentina, 1979-1983)* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018).

6 César Luis Díaz, *La cuenta regresiva: la construcción periodística del Golpe de Estado de 1976* (La Crujía Ediciones, 2002); César Luis Díaz, *El periodismo gráfico durante la dictadura* (Argentina: Universidad de La Plata, 2017).

7 Jorge Saborido y Marcelo Borrelli, eds., *Voces y silencios: la prensa argentina y la dictadura militar 1976-1983* (Argentina: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 2011).

of the military forces, and the figure of the dictator Jorge Rafael Videla.<sup>8,9</sup> A complement of this perspective was the interdisciplinary research of Micaela Iturralde, who analyzes journalistic discourse and the language formulas used to represent social and insurgent actors and concentrates on reviewing newspapers.<sup>10</sup> Generally speaking, the academic production of the Argentine case is an example of how to problematize a broad period—before, during, and after the 1976 dictatorship— and shows how newspapers, both those of the mainstream political press and those of the alternative, opposition or dissident press, were directed towards justifying the military coup or questioning the armed forces. This historiography offers a panoramic view but also focuses on newspapers and magazines, favoring the analysis of the newspaper *Clarín* due to its relevance.

The study of the press in Mexico has a broad scope regarding the history of politics and public opinion in the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> This research includes political debates on democracy and re-election during the transition from the Porfiriato to the Mexican Revolution, as reported in the international, national, and regional presses.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, significant conflicts over state repression and political violence in the 1960s and 1970s,<sup>13</sup> and other processes that have been interpreted from the perspective of the Mexican press.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the themes, events, and problems, Mexican historiography broadly treats journalism as a history-related field. According to this school, the press has moments, characteristics, tensions, and articulations with political power, among others.<sup>15</sup> The Mexican

8 Marcelo Borrelli, *Por una dictadura desarrollista. Clarín frente a Videla y Martínez de la Hoz, 1976-1981* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblios, 2016).

9 Recently published, Borrelli delves into the political magazines from the Peronist period. Marcelo Borrelli, *Las revistas políticas argentinas* (Argentina: Prometeo, 2021).

10 Micaela Iturralde, «El diario Clarín y la construcción discursiva del golpe de Estado de marzo de 1976 en Argentina», *Quórum Académico* 10, No. 2 (2013): 199-223; Micaela Iturralde, «El terrorismo de Estado en noticias. Las operaciones de "acción psicológica" en Clarín durante los primeros años de la dictadura», *Pasado Abierto* 3, No. 5 (2017): 137-53; Micaela Iturralde, «El Operativo Independencia en Clarín. Una primera experiencia de comunicación masiva del terrorismo de Estado», *Sociohistórica*, No. 41 (2018): e045, doi:10.24215/18521606e045.

11 For example, in Mexico, research programs dedicated exclusively to press studies have arisen, led by researchers such as Celia del Palacio Montiel, Oliva Solís Hernández, Elizabeth Jaime Espinoza. Cfr. Gil Pérez, «Estudios históricos de la prensa. Fuente primaria, objeto de investigación y actor político».

12 María Elizabeth Jaime, «Periodismo femenino antirreeleccionista, 1909-1910» (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala, 2007), 1-12; Rosario Sevilla, *La revolución mexicana y la opinión pública española: la prensa sevillana frente al proceso de insurrección* (Madrid: Editorial csic, 2005); Joaquín Beltrán, *La Revolución Mexicana a través de la prensa española (1911-1924)* (Monterrey: Consejo para la Cultura y las Artes de Nuevo León, 2008); Ricardo Cruz, *Nueva Era y la prensa en el maderismo* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013); Arturo Ríos, *La prensa como arena política. El polémico retorno de Leonardo Márquez a México* (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 2015); Bernardo Masini, *Un caudillo y dos periódicos. Álvaro Obregón como modelo de la relación entre la prensa y el poder en la revolución mexicana* (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 2016).

13 Rodolfo Gamiño, *Guerrilla, represión y prensa en la década de los setenta en México. Invisibilidad y olvido.*, Primera edición (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 2011); Sergio Arturo Sánchez, «El Sol de Sinaloa y la violencia política en México en el año de 1972», *Ciencia Nueva. Revista de Historia y Política* 1, No. 1 (2016): 185-209, doi:10.22517/25392662.14421; Sergio Arturo Sánchez, «El Sol de Sinaloa y las guerrillas en México durante 1972», *Conjeturas Sociológicas* 5, No. 14 (2017): 39-68; Sergio Arturo Sánchez, «El movimiento estudiantil del 68 en la prensa sinaloense. El caso de El Sol de Sinaloa», *Anuario de Historia Regional y de las Fronteras* 21, No. 1 (2016): 51-74, doi:10.18273/revanu.v21n1-2016002.

14 Nora Pérez, «La revolución cubana en la prensa mexicana (1964)», *Fuentes Humanísticas*, No. 41 (2010): 49-68; Anderson Paul Gil y Sergio Arturo Sánchez, «¿Democracia o dictadura? Visiones de la revolución cubana en la Cadena García Valseca, 1959-1969», *Secuencia. Revista de Historia y Ciencias Sociales*, No. 112 (2022): 1-24.

15 Ana María Serna, «Se solicitan reporteros» *Historia oral del periodismo mexicano en la segunda mitad del siglo xx*, first

scholarly production makes it possible to review the diversity understood as a historiographical option, from studying events and processes to their influence on other scenarios, from observing specific actors and dynamics to developing newspapers as journalistic firms.

In the case of Colombia, readers encounter a historiographical tradition that, at times, acquires great vitality and then declines in the face of the rise of other subjects. Since the pioneering work of Enrique Santos in the New History of Colombia, the thesis of the close relationship between the press and party politics in Colombia, as well as its influence on the political behavior of citizens, has been validated.<sup>16</sup> However, there is a gap in studies that explore this partisan relationship in depth, either with the emergence of newspapers that support presidential campaigns at specific junctures or that enhance different kinds of partisan factionalism and other publications that set themselves the task of systematically opposing their political opponents.

The perspective of historian Eduardo Posada Carbó, who highlighted the press as a pillar of Colombian democracy throughout history,<sup>17</sup> remains unaddressed. Today, however, the impact of the national and regional press in exacerbating sectarian political passions is abundantly clear. Carlos Mario Perea meticulously demonstrated this phenomenon in his analysis of the political culture of the 1940s. Perea highlighted a series of political imaginaries disseminated in the country's leading media, stimulating political antagonism to the point of life and death.<sup>18</sup>

However, in recent years, readers could read a series of studies on the dimensions of the press and political power in the first half of the twentieth century. The transition between Conservative Hegemony and Liberal Republic, both at national and regional levels, strongly influenced this research. Liberal and, on some occasions, conservative newspapers have been analyzed, covering topics ranging from the behavior of the press in the electoral landscape to the application of the national policies of Liberal governments in local contexts.<sup>19</sup> In these first

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edition (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 2015); Armando Zacarías, «El papel del papel de PIPSA en los medios mexicanos de comunicación», *Comunicación y Sociedad* Septiembre-abril, No. 25-26 (1996): 73-88; Silvia González, *Prensa y poder político: la elección presidencial de 1940 en la prensa mexicana. Mexico* (Siglo XXI Editores, 2006); Elisa Servín, «Propaganda y guerra fría: la campaña anticomunista en la prensa mexicana del medio siglo», *Signos Históricos*, No. 11 (2004): 9-39.

16 Enrique Santos, «El periodismo en Colombia. 1886-1986», en *Nueva Historia de Colombia: literatura y pensamiento, artes y recreación*, ed. Álvaro Tirado, vol. VI (Bogotá: Editorial Planeta, 1989), 123-24.

17 Eduardo Posada, «Prensa y democracia en la historia de Colombia», *Banrepcultural*, 2012, <https://www.banrepcultural.org/exposiciones/un-papel-toda-prueba/prensa-y-democracia-en-la-historia-de-colombia>.

18 Carlos Mario Perea, *Cultura política y violencia en Colombia. Porque la sangre es espíritu*. (Medellín: La Carreta Editores, 2009).

19 Álvaro Acevedo y Jhon Jaime Correa, *Tinta Roja, Prensa, política y educación en la República Liberal (1930-1946)*, *El Diario de Pereira y Vanguardia Liberal de Bucaramanga* (Universidad Industrial de Santander, 2016); Oscar Javier Zapata, «Atraer el pueblo a las urnas: la campaña electoral de Enrique Olaya Herrera», *HiSTORELo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local* 3, No. 6 (1 de julio de 2011): 193-230, doi:10.15446/historelo.v3n6.20193; Álvaro Acevedo y Luis Fernando Bernal, «Prensa y orientación política y educativa en la República Liberal (1930-1946). La imagen fotográfica de los presidentes de la República Liberal en los periódicos regionales Vanguardia Liberal de Bucaramanga y El Diario de Pereira», *Revista Temas* 3, No. 8 (2014): 79-94; Álvaro Acevedo y Jhon Jaime Correa, «Modernización, prensa y educación ciudadana en Pereira y Bucaramanga durante la República Liberal», *Reflexión política* 16, No. 31 (2014): 132-43; Rodrigo Hernán Torrejano, «Algo más que piedra y consignas. Agitación social vista desde la prensa durante el gobierno de la concentración nacional (1930-1934)», *Civilizar. Ciencias Sociales y Humanas* 9, No. 16 (2009): 105-26.

decades of the twentieth century, the perspective of the workers' press has also been explored in depth. For example, Luz Angela Núñez showed that these newspapers were central in constructing and circulating ideas and forms of trade union organization.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, the figure of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán and his media platforms for political socialization deserved some historiographical attention.<sup>21</sup> Also, some papers have studied the role of the press in the 1960s and 1970s, especially during the period of the National Front, questioning the role of a newspaper as influential as *El Tiempo* or exploring the potential of the political cartoons by Chapete and Peter Aldor, among others, as a correlate of consociational politics.<sup>22</sup> Enrique Santos and Olga Acuña made modest contributions to the relationship between journalism and power and the practice of censorship and persecution. These authors were interested in media control during the government of military leader Gustavo Rojas Pinilla.<sup>23</sup> In sum, the Colombian case shows that the study of the political press revolves around issues such as the electoral dimension, the application of policies in regional scenarios, and a look at specific processes and specific journalistic companies.

Although points of reference can be identified in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, Ecuador, and Spain, at least to address the Ibero-American idea, the three cases mentioned briefly, Argentina, Mexico, and Colombia, allow for establishing the fundamental analytical coordinates for this dossier. This choice represents a commitment to exploring new questions in political history, addressing public opinion's controversial, deliberative, and processual dimensions. They also help establish the political press as the source, object, political actor, and journalistic enterprise.

## 2. Dossier's contributions

The contributions finally approved during the internal and peer review process allow us to speak of a research field in constant evolution. The articles express an interest in the role of the press in the construction of public opinion concerning political processes in different countries. At the same time, they show us that public opinion transcends to constructing situated

20 Luz Angela Núñez, *El obrero ilustrado: prensa obrera y popular en Colombia (1909-1929)* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2006).

21 Carlos Andrés Charry, «Unirismo y Pluma Libre. Expresiones y transformaciones de la prensa gaitanista de los años 30», *Sociedad y Economía* 38 (2019): 64-88, doi:<https://doi.org/10.25100/sye.v0i38.7134>; Adriana Rodríguez, «Jornada sin Gaitán. Prensa, política y gaitanismo (1948-1953)», *Historia y Sociedad*, No. 33 (2017): 313-50; Adriana Rodríguez, «El diario del pueblo gaitanista: Jornada (1944-1949)», *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* 52, No. 94 (2018): 93-115.

22 César Ayala, *Exclusión, discriminación y abuso de poder en El Tiempo del Frente Nacional. Una aproximación desde el análisis crítico del discurso (ACD)* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2008); Jaqueline Estévez, «Prensa y poder político durante el Frente Nacional en Colombia, 1958-1974» (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2013), <https://eprints.ucm.es/19940/1/T34291.pdf>; Álvaro Acevedo y Martha Pinto, «Contienda electoral durante el Frente Nacional (1958-1974). Las caricaturas de Chapete sobre Rojas Pinilla y la ANAPO en Colombia», *HiSTOReLo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local* 7, No. 13 (2015): 295-343, doi:<https://doi.org/10.15446/historelo.v7n13.44129>; César Augusto Ayala Diago, *Colombia en la mira. Peter Aldor y el anticomunismo gráfico* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2021).

23 Santos, «El periodismo en Colombia. 1886-1986»; Olga Acuña, «Censura de prensa en Colombia, 1949-1957», *Historia Caribe* 8, No. 23 (2013): 241-67; Alberto Valencia, *La invención de la desmemoria. El juicio político contra el general Gustavo Rojas Pinilla en el Congreso de la República (1958-1959)* (Cali: Universidad del Valle, 2015).

public spheres, contextualized and in constant tension. To this extent, Guerra and Lemperiere's<sup>24</sup> contributions in problematizing the idealization of the Habermasian deliberative public sphere have profoundly echoed our research in Latin America. Furthermore, they highlight the specificity of the regional approach, the analysis of local press sources, and the exploration of the ties between the political and economic powers of cities, departments, and states. Likewise, the relationship proposed in the dossier engages with fields such as parliamentary history, intellectual history, history of photography, and science.

First, the researcher Maria Isabela da Silva Gomes is the author of the article “Cultural journalism and professionalization of the writer: an analysis of the chapter “The forging of the professional writer (1900-1930)” by Jorge B. Rivera.” This article analyzes the construction of audiences in the first decades of the 20th century concerning cultural journalism as a space of emergence and problematization for the approach of topics of general interest, such as politics, economy, and culture in Argentina. To this extent, it presents Jorge Rivera as a critical reference to understand the links between cultural and literary journalism as a developing field, with the professionalization dynamics of journalism in general.

Subsequently, the researcher Carlos Geovanny Duarte Rangel presents a comparative proposal entitled “Literature, books, and literary magazines in Times of Violence: Colombia and Mexico in the mid-twentieth Century.” In there, he analyzes the importance and role of printed matter and authors in constructing images of violence. Among his primary sources are essential magazines such as *Semana*, *Espiral*, *Crítica*, *Sábado*, and the cultural supplement of the newspaper *El Tiempo*. The article shows us that cultural and investigative journalism encounter numerous difficulties when circulates in increasing censorship, authoritarianism, and government control of the media, as was the case of Mexico and Colombia in the second half of the 20th century.

The third and fourth contributions from Mexico emphasize the relationship between the press and political power from a regional perspective. Researcher Jorge Meléndez Fernández, in his article “Daguerran’ impulses in Chihuahua, Mexico. Links between photography and the anti-reelectionist press during the Revolution of 1911”, analyzes the newspapers *El Correo* and *El Padre Padilla* as a delivery channel of local photographs on the first revolutionary stage in the city of Chihuahua, demonstrating the tensions between photographers and professional journalists.

The fourth contribution is Francisco Iván Méndez Lara’s work: “Between Pacts and Censorship. The Fourth Power and the Sonora Group (1920-1924)”. This text indicates the strategic censorship that the Sonora Group of the Mexican Revolution —Alvaro Obregón and Plutarco Elías Calles— imposed in the press to limit the presence of Carranza’s ideas and interests, even after his assassination in May 1920.

There is a continuity between the fourth and fifth articles of the dossier concerning the problem of censorship in contexts of political transitions. The article “Parliamentary speech

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24 Guerra y Lemperiere, *Los espacios públicos en Iberoamérica: Ambigüedades y problemas. Siglos XVIII-XIX*.

on press censorship during the Chaco war (1932-1934)" by researcher Oliver Alvarado suggests this topic. It seeks to describe the political positions of the Chamber of Deputies of Bolivia with respect to press censorship during the conflict with Paraguay for the control of the Chaco Boreal. Alvarado shows that the parliamentarians had two precise positions: on the one hand, they defended censorship based on principles such as sovereignty and national defense, licentiousness, and treason. On the other hand, they condemned censorship because it violated the rights of freedom of expression consecrated in the constitution.

We arrive at the sixth article by historian Liliana Libertad Tarango Rodríguez, titled "The Student Association of the Institute of Sciences of Zacatecas and its Struggle to Obtain Their Liberties." Tarango's analysis starts with the change generated by the autonomy of the UNAM in 1933 and the effect of the transformation of the educational models of the educational institutions of the States, with a particular situation in Zacatecas. The transition to new educational models was influenced by President Lázaro Cárdenas's socialist education policy, as well as the demands and organization of students at the Institute of Sciences of Zacatecas.

The last article was written by the historian César Ayala Diago, which, due to its hemerographical scope, seemed to us that it would be a great addition to Annals and Memories of the New Science Section. It invites us to consider a wide variety of printed materials, newspapers, and magazines that can contribute to the research of future generations of scholars.

### 3. The progressive construction of new problems

As we noted in the first section of this presentation and as the contributions of our colleagues also show, there is a field of studies structured around the relationship between political history, public opinion, and historical studies of the press, with a particular interest in the twentieth century. Suppose we put historiography and contributions in dialogue. In that case, we find new fields of analysis with enormous potential on which we can focus, in part, present and future concerns about politics, democracy, and citizenship in Latin America.

First, the comparative and synthetic analysis approach is critical to building a set of historiographical premises about the relationship between the press and the political powers in different contexts. One of the questions in this perspective is how we can take advantage of the broad historiographic progress of Argentina and Mexico to know, connect, and compare with the other countries and, in turn, with the regional and local media industry. An urgent task is to determine how to develop synchronous and asynchronous frameworks for analyzing similar periods in countries categorized according to previous parameters. Regarding questions, it is valid to consider the relationships between press, political power, censorship, and repression in the Andean countries, the Southern Cone countries, and Central America. As an objective, we seek to understand whether the disputes over the construction of public opinions and public spheres follow the same paths in Latin American countries.

Secondly, the approach of *actor analysis* delves into the plurality of ways in which rep-



representations and images of political figures are constructed and the effects they may have had in each historical context. Suppose biography as a historiographic genre is gaining strength again. Why not take advantage of this revitalization of political leadership to dig into the effects that the historical and journalistic construction of characters in our countries and regions may have had? In Mexico, for example, the figure of Porfirio Díaz connects the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As such, it offers opportunities for analysis, as does tracing the Mexican Revolution's leadership if we consider Emiliano Zapata's case and the so-called Zapatismo.<sup>25</sup> Some works that explore Jorge Eliécer Gaitán and the newspapers connected to his political project between the thirties and forties have shown similar results. Also, the contradictory figure of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla and all his set-up in the journalistic media to promote his political achievements, his idea of pacification, and his consolidation as a populist political alternative in Colombia in the fifties are good examples.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, the journalistic construction of Juan Domingo Perón and his persona in different magazines could be approached. Such a historiographic window of opportunity allows us to establish historical panoramas in Colombia from other sources. For example, there will always be bipartisan tension that should be explored according to the political leadership. In this perspective, as Maria Isabela da Silva Gomes shows in her article, we must also consider the journalistic field and its representatives in the historical analysis.

Thirdly, the field analysis approach, that is the dynamic and relative ways in which political and journalistic actors interact and compete for the various contested powers, such as relevance in the construction of opinion, significance in the configuration of public legitimacy, the relative autonomy of journalism as a profitable business or its dependence on governments for inputs or subsidies. From this perspective, we could see journalistic fields as historical scenarios constituted by the leap from amateurism to professionalization and its constant interaction with the so-called “perks” or “setbacks” of political power. This position would go hand in hand with a situated understanding of the variable ways governments instrumentalize the legal apparatus to operationalize press censorship and the reactions of other actors in the political system, as the researcher Oliver Alvarado argues in his contribution to the dossier.<sup>27</sup>

Fourthly, it is possible to *analyze the interaction between the press and other media* using Jorge Meléndez Fernández's roadmap of the tensions between journalists and photog-

25 Bernardo Massini suggests an exciting path—in the text already cited—on the figure of Álvaro Obregón concerning two newspapers of different affiliations with the Sonora Group. Francisco Iván Méndez's contribution to the dossier complements this line of thought.

26 Jhon Jaime Correa *et al.*, *Botas militares para salvar la democracia: miradas a las acciones de pacificación en la gobernación de Caldas, 1953-1964* (Pereira: Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira, 2020), <https://repositorio.utp.edu.co/items/4cd463f3-027e-4a86-bba2-f317ae5645b3>.

27 In another study, we have demonstrated that in a country like Colombia, we can identify different sub-periods of this relationship by analyzing the time frame of 1948 to 1982. From 1948 to 1957, there was direct censorship, followed by a period of self-censorship and a political pact from 1958 to 1974. From 1978 to 1982, confrontation arose between the bipartisan press. In Mexico, we can divide the period between 1930 and 1980 into two parts: from 1930 to 1964, characterized by field construction and interdependence, and from 1964 to 1980, marked by a demand for public legitimacy and governmental defense. Anderson Paul Gil, «Prensa política y opinión pública: análisis del papel de la prensa en la represión estatal en México (1965-1976) y Colombia (1970-1982)» (doctoral thesis in Social Sciences, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, 2022).

raphers regarding the dynamics of coverage of different social processes. Historically, we can understand that the past forms of shaping public opinion were also a subject of controversy, a struggle for power, and symbolic truths. As Meléndez argues, as one of the leading formats of the twentieth century, photography will be in dialogue, but sometimes in contradiction, with the press. In the same way, we can explore the polarity between the press, radio, and television in the second half of the twentieth century, where the three converged in many ways, sometimes harmonious and collaboratively, but also confrontationally.

Fifth and lastly, *printed materials can be objects of study*. This perspective, which we have proposed on other occasions and is absent in the dossier, is still very appropriate to fulfill several purposes. One has to do with preserving the existence of newspapers and magazines as data sources, which should be cared for and made available to researchers—if tools allow it, hopefully digitally—advancing in dialogues in different locations using local sources. Another is the progressive and deep exploration of these newspapers and magazines beyond their printed pages, from observing the printed material's administrative archives and journalistic trajectories.

These five places, or axes, on which we believe we can continue to carry out research are leaves that we drop on a dense forest in what we believe is a constantly evolving field, with researchers who show great creativity, solve local problems, and advance their other lines of research, contributing historiographically, theoretically and methodologically. This achievement requires the press to articulate fields with deep theoretical debates, such as political history and public opinion.

Finally, we express our gratitude towards colleagues who collaborated on this dossier. Although some exciting proposals were left out due to the blind peer review process, we hope the authors will make the necessary adjustments, and we will be able to read their papers in this or other publications soon. Likewise, we thank the editorial team of *Ciencia Nueva, Revista de Historia y Política*, for trusting us with this initiative. In addition, the dossier was published thanks to Sebastián Martínez Botero and Michael Steven Valencia Villa's work, director, and editorial assistant, who helped the authors and us at every step of the way. We are honored to lead this issue and await any news about *Ciencia Nueva* in terms of editorial and indexing.

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