

En la conclusión de su libro *Culture and society*, Raymond Williams hace la siguiente observación: "Masa fue una palabra usada para sustituir multitud. De hecho, no hay masas; existen apenas maneras de ver a las personas como masas"¹. Su proposición deriva, evidentemente, de un análisis anterior, en el cual considera el modo en que el término está penetrado por mandatos ideológicos. Nacido en el campo político conservador, se aplica sobre todo, en el siglo XIX, a las aglomeraciones urbanas, al designar las clases peligrosas, cuya exclusión de la sociedad industrial es manifiesta. En verdad, Williams expresa una reticencia compartida por varios intelectuales respecto de la idea de "cultura de masas" —noción híbrida, imprecisa, forjada recientemente en el dominio de las ciencias sociales—². Creo que tiene razón en sus críticas. Analíticamente, es difícil concebir una sociedad en términos de masa. Entre tanto, aun cuando se parta de esta certeza, queda la pregunta: ¿por qué un concepto inconsistente goza de una vida y una credibilidad tan largas? ¿Por razones exclusivamente ideológicas? ¿Debido a un equívoco teórico de aquellos que lo usan? Pienso que no. Los conceptos nunca son puros, están marcados por la historicidad que se suma a su existencia categorial. Por eso es importante la reflexión acerca de su génesis y su implicaciones. Permite aclarar un conjunto de significados implícitos en su interior, y nos ayuda a entender ciertas cuestiones aún presentes en el debate contemporáneo.

El término cultura de masa es nuevo, surge en los Estados Unidos, probablemente entre el final de la década del

* Traducción: Ada Solari.

1. Williams, R., *Culture and society*, Nueva York, Columbia University Press, 1983, p. 287.

2. Sobre este aspecto, véase Cohen, G., *Sociología de comunicación: teoría e ideología*, San Pablo, Lumen Prometea, 1973.

OTRO TERRITORIO

treinta y la terminación de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Digo probablemente, pues la literatura especializada prestó poca atención al hecho. No obstante, sabemos que como las palabras son vitales y capciosas, nombran objetos, pero también revelan el estado de ánimo de aquellos que las emplean. Si consultamos un manual de sociología de la época, Ogburn y Niskoff (1940), veremos que la noción no es aún utilizada³. Hay, por cierto, una sección referida a la multitud y el público, asunto debatido entre los americanos, desde la escuela de Chicago. También la ignora Adorno en sus escritos sobre música popular, fruto de las investigaciones en equipo con Lazarsfeld (1938-1941)⁴. Ahora bien, en *Dialéctica del iluminismo*, publicado en 1944, el panorama es otro. En la década del cuarenta, las denominaciones "comunicación de masa", "medios masivos" y "cultura de masa" se tornaron de uso corriente. Este es el momento en el que se desarrollan las investigaciones sobre comunicación, que intentan comprender el impacto de los mensajes junto a las audiencias y el público⁵.

El hecho de que esos estudios florecieran en los Estados Unidos es sintomático. Mientras que los países más industrializados de Europa se encontraban movilizados por la

CULTURA, COMUNICACIÓN Y MASA

de auditorio), la publicidad, etc. Pujanza que llevará a muchos autores, americanos y extranjeros, a identificar equivocadamente "cultura de masa" y "americanismo". La verdad es que los Estados Unidos conocen, antes que otros países, la "revolución" tecnológica-comunicacional, así como sus implicaciones en el dominio cultural. La sociedad americana expresa un momento de radicalización de la modernidad, aún inconsistente dentro de los estándares europeos o latinoamericanos.

Pero, antes de entender la especificidad de esta sociedad de "masas", es necesario retornar al pasado, pues el concepto tiene un antecedente ilustre: la multitud. A partir de la revolución industrial, y de las transformaciones políticas ocurridas durante el siglo XIX, las ciudades europeas sufren un crecimiento sin precedentes. Tanto en las capitales (Londres o París), como en las ciudades fabriles, circula un número cada vez mayor de personas. Mendigos, trabajadores, marginales, prostitutas, inmigrantes y obreros, componen esta "multitud". El pensamiento burgués los percibe como una amenaza, un foco permanente de disturbio. Como acertadamente observa Louis Chevalier, esas clases peligrosas son vistas como integradas por "bárbaros", "salvajes", grupos enteramente ajenos al ordenamiento de la civilización urbana⁶. En palabras de Williams, "la multitud

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