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## Netflix, Wasp Network and the Cuban exile settled in Miami

**Rafael Ángel Salazar Martínez**

Holguin University-Mayari Municipality Center  
[rafaelangelasalazarmartinez@gmail.com](mailto:rafaelangelasalazarmartinez@gmail.com)

**Rayza Portal Moreno**

Havana University  
[rayza@fcom.uh.cu](mailto:rayza@fcom.uh.cu)

**Abstract.** Since its premiere, “Wasp Network” film has been object of intense activism against the Cuban exiles settled in Miami. In that sense, this paper aims to determine the incidence of this activism on the film’s trajectory on Netflix. Document review and content analysis are used as techniques. The main finding shows that, in face of pretense that film was not seen, there was an opposite impact, with particular emphasis on the Cuban community itself in United States and, to a lesser extent, in Spain and Latin American countries..

**Keywords.** Netflix, Wasp Network, Cuban exile, Miami.

### Introduction

Almost a year after its world premiere, Netflix materialized, in June 2020, the inclusion of “Wasp Network” in its catalog. Film criticism, before and after, has been harsh with the film directed by Frenchman Olivier Assayas. A luxury international cast, made up of the Venezuelan Edgar Ramírez, the Mexican Gael García Bernal, the Brazilian Wagner Moura, the Argentine Leonardo Sbaraglia, the Spanish Penelope Cruz and the Spanish-Cuban Ana de Armas, predicted a better reception, especially for the captivating and real story that tells, collected in the book “The last soldiers of the cold war”, by Fernando de Morais.

Havana, early 1990s. René González, a Cuban pilot, steals a plane and flees Cuba, leaving behind his beloved wife and daughter. Start a new life in Miami. Other Cuban defectors soon follow him and start a spy ring. Its mission is to infiltrate violent anti-Castro organizations responsible for terrorist attacks on the island (Netflix, Press area, 2020).

Of such ingredients, whose reading promises "the story of the five Cubans accused of espionage who served long sentences in United States" (Herrera, 2020, July 29), it was not possible to take advantage of it:

Despite having a real basis, and the profuse research that Morais captured in his book, Assayas does not manage to form a good portrait of his story, remaining in the vague

presentation of his protagonists, without delving into their feelings and motivations (Rosén, 2020, June 19).

"Disorderly and confused" (Schols, 2020, June 21), "Elusive and Failed" (Lerer, 2020, June 18), "Labyrinth without exit" (Salvá, 2020, June 18), are some of the qualifiers most recent discharges on Wasp Network. Defined, in short, as "a failed attempt at what could have turned out to be a fascinating film" (Mangas, 2020, June 19), its title recovers that of the "spy ring that the Fidel Castro government had infiltrated since the beginning of the 90s in South Florida" (Lima, 2020, June 17), dismantled by the FBI in 1998.

But, beyond the narrative and aesthetic mistakes that dwarf its value as a work of art, some events have been woven around the film, that give it a high investigative value as a cultural product. Fundamentally motivated by the historical veracity of the events it narrates, together with the emphasis placed on them, from Miami city, anti-Castro Cuban exile epicenter, a certain activism against "Wasp Network" has been developing, intensified since the arrival of the film to Netflix.

The foregoing is a kind of mediation, which relates the Cuban exile living in Miami with the streaming platform and, consequently, could have had an impact on the trajectory of "Wasp Network" in its audiovisual catalog.

### **Bibliographic review**

Among the copious bibliography on Netflix, some reference approaches are located that shed light on the mediations that affect the fate of the cultural products offered by the streaming platform.

Authors such as Fernández-Manzano et al. (2016); Alzamora et al. (2017), Subías et al. (2018), Fernández-Vicente (2020) and Cornelio-Marí (2020), agree on the centrality of the combination of algorithms used by the company when acquiring the rights to a new product for its catalog and, all the more, when investing in one of your original productions (Netflix Originals). Of those cited, Fernández-Vicente maintains that the data on users collected by the platform allows "to know and anticipate which content will captivate and which will not in the shortest time possible" (2020, p.10).

On the other hand, Pino Sola (2016-2017) refers to the innovative marketing used by the platform in order to catalyze the triumph, already anticipated algorithmically, of a cultural product. In this regard, he argues that the advertising campaigns used by Netflix are capable of doubling the success rate of traditional television. For this, the company uses "a wide variety of engagement strategies, such as identifying with social causes, storytelling or the creative use of emoticons or hashtag" (Fernández-Gómez and Martín-Quevedo, 2018, p. 1299).

Thus, everything indicates that a successful career would guarantee the permanence or exit from the catalog. In this sense, Siri warns that "on Netflix success is not measured in rating, but in subscribers added to the platform" (Siri, 2015, p.65). Together with this, the licensing costs in the case of foreign content, mean that "the rotation of its catalog and the non-renewal of titles with less acceptance among its users" (Fernández-Manzano et al., 2016, p.571), constitutes standard practice on the part of the Los Gatos, California-based company.

The authors consulted, however, mostly account for the factors usually managed by the company. Very little is said, however, about those imponderables with the potential to influence the trajectory of a cultural product in the catalog. Therefore, it is a pending task for communicological research to delve into the incidence that the claims directed towards the platform by different human groups, specific communities and other external agents, could have on the fate of some productions, of which, contradictorily, there is abundant empirical evidence, as will be seen in the mention made of this, for predictive purposes, in the present study.

### **Objectives and Methodology**

The research, undertaken from a qualitative approach, aims to determine the incidence of Cuban exile activism living in Miami on the trajectory of the film “Wasp Network” on Netflix.

The causal relationship that underlies the proposal made, necessarily requires the description and correlation of the variables under study. Hence the need to propose two specific objectives, aimed, the first, at documenting the activism in question (independent variable) and, the second, at relating this activism to the trajectory of the film in the streaming platform offer (dependent variable).

Considering the longitudinal nature of the design, a one-year time frame was established, between September 1, 2019 (the film's premiere date) and the 30th of the month of the year 2020, a period of time in which the managed data. This is due to the fact that a large part of this activism took place in a period prior to the inclusion of the film on the platform, but it could have an indirect and long-term effect on its trajectory.

For its compilation, two techniques were used: documentary review and content analysis. The first of them was used in the examination of internet sites, which allowed to describe the development and characteristics of the aforementioned activism. The content analysis, for its part, made it possible to relate it to the trajectory of film on the Netflix catalog, with the support of the Google trends tool, information available in the specialized press and that released by the streaming platform itself.

### **Activism of the Cuban exile based in Miami against the Wasp Network film**

Although several media report protests by the Cuban exile against the film since it began filming in Cuba in February 2019, the first digitally documented took place on September 6 of that year. It happened on 8th Street in the city of Miami, where, under a scorching sun, several Cuban-American activists could be seen breaking posters with images of “Wasp Network”.

"We are not going to allow the movie here!" (M. Saavedra, personal communication, September 6, 2019). One of the participants in the event called by the “Vigilia Mambisa” organization is heard shouting. "That film is disrespectful to my family" (N. Morales, personal communication, September 6, 2019). In front the Américatevé2 cameras, in a calmer tone, the brother of one of the “Hermanos al rescate” organization pilots, who died after the shooting down of two planes belonging to this organization, said that on February 24, 1996 they broke into the airspace of the Republic of Cuba

This event is used by another of the activists to rebuke Gael García Bernal for his statements about the actions in United States of film real characters, made by the Mexican actor during the “Wasp Network” world premiere in the 76th Edition of the Venice Film Festival, five days ago: “They are not spies who go somewhere to kill someone. They are not spies who go somewhere to destabilize something with violence. They are spies who were trying to stop the violence” (G. García Bernal, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

In addition to making activism visible, the media in Miami were also in charge of making theirs against the film. On the site of “Radio Televisión Martí”, an article dated two days before the aforementioned protest is located, whose lines revolve around the premiere of the film, with an emphasis on negative aspects such as the fact that Assayas said "that he worked" closely watched ' in Cuba to make the film ”(Radio Televisión Martí Redaction, 2019, September 4).

“El Nuevo Herald”, Miami's most influential Spanish-language newspaper, published, days later: “The film coincides with the position of the Cuban government, which considers them anti-terrorist heroes, and at the same time ignores one of the consequences of the spies' actions: the demolition of the planes belonging to `Hermanos al rescate`”(Moreno, September 12, 2019).

“Telemundo” network (2019, October 5), in a more neutral tone, used the term controversial to

refer to film during its time at the New York Festival. It was precisely here that a new protest took place.

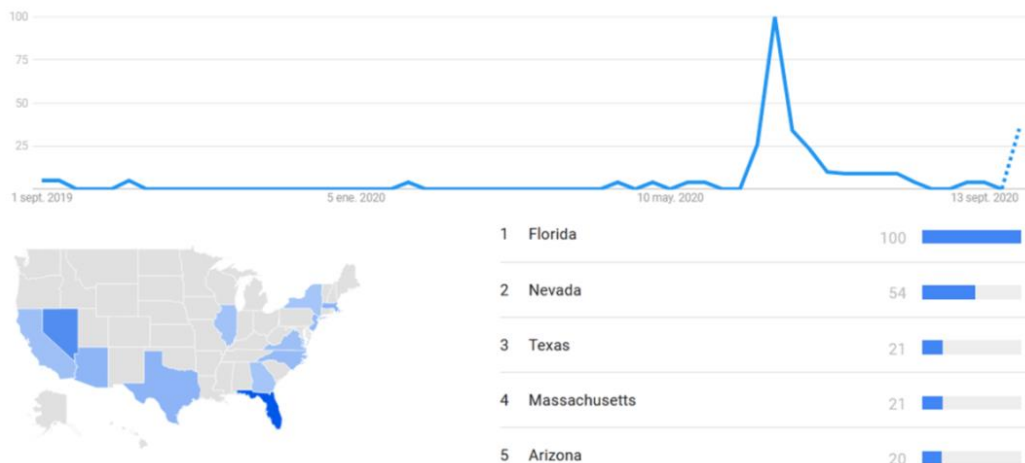
I wanted to ask you why you didn't include the other version of the story... Those spies had a network, Wasp Network, that worked for the Castro government. They were not fighting terrorists ... that is why I was protesting and they took me out in front of the director so that he would not ask him questions (L. Santiesteban, personal communication, October 5, 2019).

This constitutes just a passage of the statements that Liu Santiesteban, an activist of the group in exile “Despierta Cuba”, offered to the Spanish agency EFE, after being taken from the red carpet in Manhattan, when he tried to approach Assayas during the 57th edition of the Film Festival of that city, on October 6, 2019. Certainly, in the film it is possible to find several passages that question the legitimacy of the cause defended by the spies, considered heroes in Cuba, beyond the fact that “Wasp Network” presents a favorable vision, not complacent, regarding the objectives pursued by these and the actions developed for their materialization. This was not understood by some of the most influential figures in exile, who made it known early on their social networks. Such is the case of the ex-Cuban-American congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, one of the most exile figures in exile, who had written early on her Twitter account: “How disgusting when those who do the harm appear in a movie like the victims. All based on lies and distortions of the truth” (Ros-Lehtinen, 2019, September 4).

In addition to Venice and New York, where its director presented an improved and now definitive version that promised to make it more fluid and understandable to audiences not familiar with the facts, the film had passed through the Toronto, Deauville, London and San Sebastián festivals, to which they would later be added that of Rome at the end of October itself and Havana at the beginning of December. Thus, 8 film festivals, a grossly unfavorable criticism and a collection that did not exceed 10% of the 17 million dollars that its production cost, would add to the rejection of one of the most influential Hispanic communities in United States, to round up the balance of “Wasp Network” at the end of 2019.

At the beginning of 2020, when the rigors of Covid-19 were already in sight, a piece of news not entirely expected for a film with such a background came to light: “Netflix has acquired the rights in United States and in several other territories for ‘Wasp Network’ by Olivier Assayas” (Keslassy, 2020, January 17). Although it was echoed by some media from the Miami exile, there was, in principle, no significant protest, until Netflix released, on June 12, the film trailer, finally included in its catalog on the 19 of the same month. This would be the trigger that would cause the implosion of a dormant activism, now on a much larger scale than seen in 2019. An approximate idea of this is provided by Google trends, based on the interest generated by the term “Wasp Network” in Spanish (La Red Avispa) in United States. The results for this language, the most used by activists, are in line with the levels of activity observable in the state of Florida, with the city of Miami as the epicenter, during the time frame of the study.

**Figure 1.** Interest generated by the term “La Red Avispa” in United States between September 1, 2019 and September 29, 2020.



**Source:** *Google trends*

If previously the activism was directed against “Wasp Network”, now it would be directed, fundamentally, towards Netflix, due to the inclusion of the film in its catalog. But the protests and demonstrations against this time the actions would acquire a more concrete character. From his YouTube channel, the Cuban-American influencer Alexander Otaola made the following appeal on June 23, 2020:

I think what we have to do as a community is boycott Netflix; what we have to do as a community is to give dislike to this film, to fill with negative reviews everything that has to do with the film. But also, run a campaign ... to get the film out of circulation ... will the media be able to cover the demands of the exiled Cuban community in Miami? (Otaola, 2020, June 23).

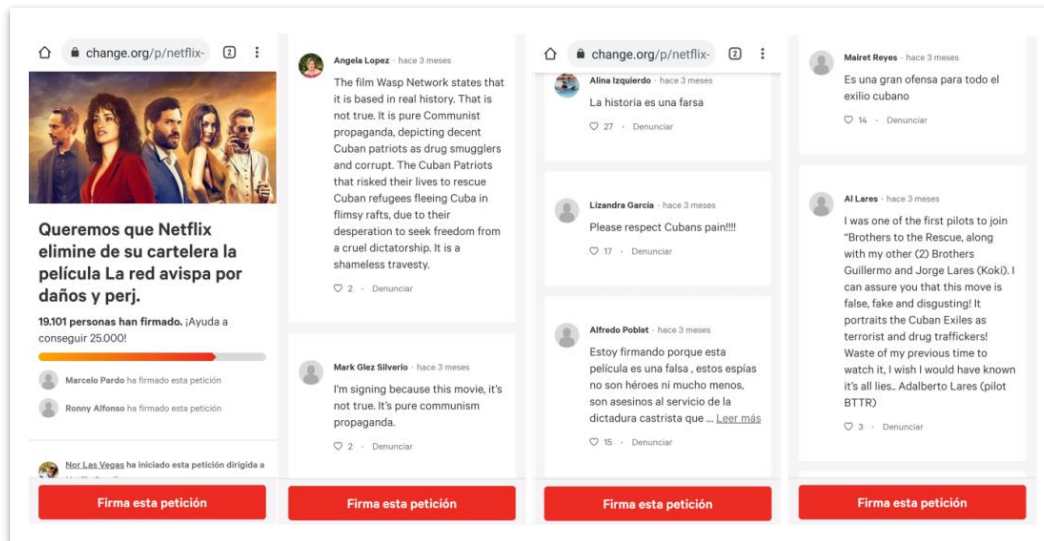
And indeed, both things happened. A campaign was launched, with coverage that would certainly transcend the Miami media ecosystem, although in this it would be particularly visible.

The Cuban exile community demands that Netflix remove it from its billboard because it defends Castro spies, murderers sentenced in United States; and portrays José Basulto as "a Capo", and as terrorists the Cubans involved in the aid (Radio Televisión Martí Redaction, 2020, June 24).

This is the petition text that, reflected by numerous media in addition to “Radio Televisión Martí”, would be launched by the Cuban-Miami exile on the Change.org platform. The initiative, undertaken by the Nor Las Vegas profile and directed to Netflix Brazil, accumulated, until Monday, September 7, 2020, more than 19,000 signatures of the 25,000 expected, all accompanied by countless negative comments.

In mere statements, on the other hand, there seems to have been the threat of a lawsuit José Basulto, leader of “Hermanos al Rescate” (starring in the film by the Argentine Sbaraglia), who together with Ramón Saúl Sánchez, president of the “Democracy Movement”, had declared on 29 from June to the Miami newspaper “Diario de las Américas”: “we are looking with our probono lawyers, who help our organization, the many fallacies and misrepresentation of the truth, to present a legal action against the producers, actors and Netflix” (Castropé, 2020, June 29).

**Figure 2.** Petition hosted on Change.org directed to Netflix Brazil



**Source:** Own elaboration from captures made to Change.org

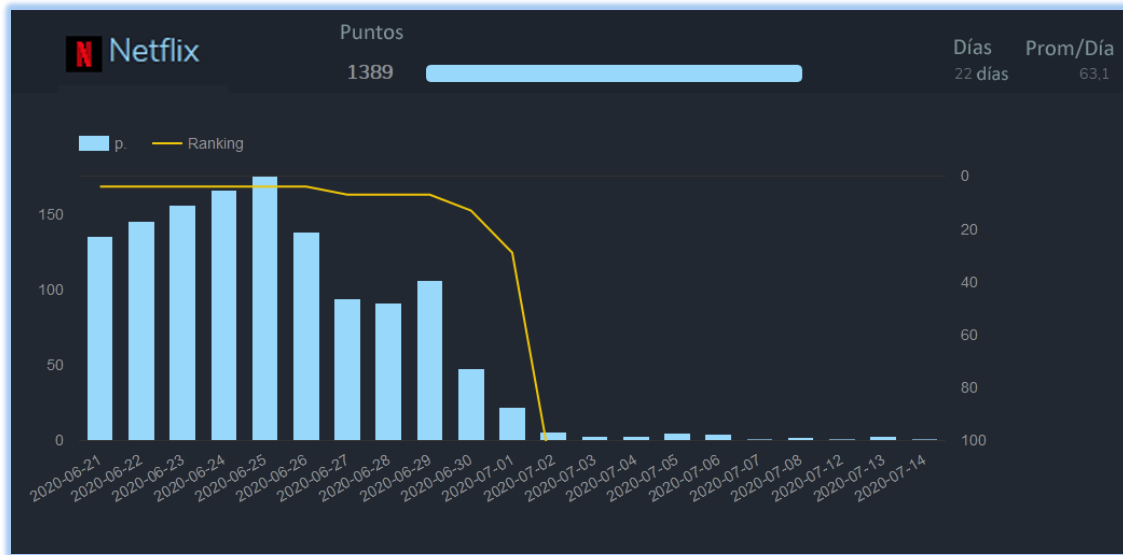
More advanced is the intention to sue Netflix by Ana Margarita Martínez, preceded by a letter addressed to the platform. In the letter, the Cuban-American, played in the film by Ana de Armas:

demands that Netflix withdraw the assertion that *The Wasp Network*, which can still be seen on its website, is "Based on real events," and that the company must inform viewers that it is a "fictional drama." Netflix is also asked to publicly retract and correct the scenes in which Martínez appears in the film, although this would not eliminate the damage she has suffered (Moreno, 2020, September 12).

So far, an attempt has been made to illustrate, in broad strokes and in a tight synthesis, the activism of the Cuban exile, mostly based in Miami, against "Wasp Network". The following section is dedicated to the impact of this on the trajectory of the film on Netflix.

### **Wasp Network on Netflix catalog. Incidence from Miami Cuban exiles.**

**Figure 3.** Wasp Network in Netflix world rankings



**Source:** <https://flixpatrol.com/title/wasp-network/top-10/Netflix><sup>1</sup>

More than eloquent is the graphic precedent, which shows the performance of “Wasp Network” on Netflix, where the film climbed to the top of the platform during the days immediately after its release. Indeed, the film ranked seventh in Netflix's top 10 in June, despite entering the contest just 10 days after the end of the month. In order for “Wasp Network” to so stand out among the 58 series, movies, and documentaries that jointly premiered Netflix in June, the recommendation algorithms made their own.

In this regard, it must be taken into account that film is classified, in the first instance, as a drama, a genre that on Netflix (FlixPatrol, 2020) leads the preferences of the users, with 18.2%. It is also recommended as a thriller (4.6% of the attention) based on real life (reality, for its part, is the preferred genre for 3.7%). Although it does not declare it, the film has a certain dose of action (genre followed by 8.3% of subscribers) and a certain touch of adventure (3.0%), where its protagonists, according to the activists themselves, are presented as heroes (Superhero is another of the genres that enter the classification, with 2.0% of the preferences). The sum of all these genres indicates that the film would be potentially attractive and therefore recommended to 39.8% of the 192,950 million subscribers that Netflix reported at the end of June 2020 (Lacort, 2020, September 16), figure that would reach 40.1%, by adding the 0.3% that the warlike genre prefers, an ingredient also present in small doses in “Wasp Network”. If to this we add a title that appears accurately qualified on the film's page on the platform as “Provocative, Complex, Suspenseful” (Netflix Official Site, 2020); a synopsis with similar characteristics and a cast that constitutes the entire Latino dream team, it is unlikely that, once recommended, the film would be overlooked.

Now, with the fact that the film reached a viewing that FlixPatrol (personal communication, September 28, 2020)<sup>2</sup> estimates between 3 and 5 million, it is also possible to relate the negative

<sup>1</sup> On the Flixpatrol.com site, the points for the rankings are calculated based on the position on the chart per day in the top 10. That is: 10 points for being in position # 1, 9 points for being in position # 2 and so on, up to position # 10, which is awarded 1 point. The average would be the total number of points between the number of days in which the film was in the top 10

<sup>2</sup> Make known through this e-mail: thank you for your interest in FlixPatrol. As far we know, there are no official numbers from Netflix of how many people watched Wasp Network. But we do estimates based on the position in



promotion, but promotion in the end, around it has been deploying from Cuban exile settled in Miami. Not that “Wasp Network” was totally devoid of the usual suggestive advertising on Netflix. But, as might be expected, in the midst of the pandemic, it has been reduced, fundamentally, to the platform's social networks, such as this promo that accompanies the film's trailer on the Facebook page Netflix Argentina: “A spy network made up of Penélope Cruz, Wagner Moura, Ana de Armas, Edgar Ramírez, Leonardo Sbaraglia and Gael García Bernal? I tell them everything they want. Wasp Network arrives on June 19” (Netflix Argentina, 2020, June 11).

However, there is nothing that encourages consumption more in matters of culture than the censorship that is exercised or is intended to be exercised on a certain product, especially if you are discouraged from seeing it for political reasons. And that, by far, is what the activism documented in the preceding pages has done: “You yourselves promote things, I didn't know anything, I saw you that if you sign that I know and now I'm seeing it, thank you colleagues” (Eduardo Castaneda, personal communication, June 24, 2020).

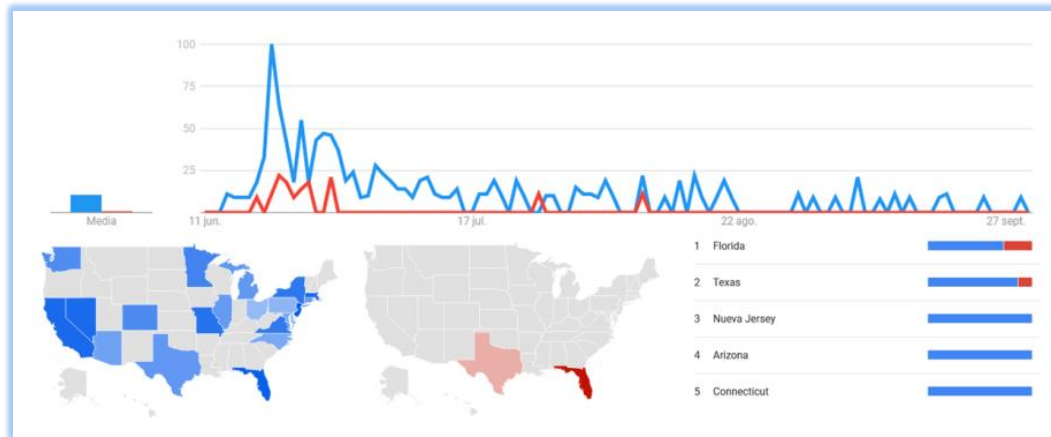
It is impossible to quantify the people who, like this Facebook user, viewed the film on Netflix due to promotions such as the Miami-based information medium Cubans around the world, where the collection of signatures for the withdrawal of the film hosted on the Change.org platform. However, there is empirical evidence whose analysis points to a large-scale incidence such as that reported by the user Castaneda individually.

In United States, where the film remained in the Netflix top 10 between June 21 and 26, 2020, we saw in Figure 1 how interest in the term “Wasp Network” in Spanish reached its highest peak in a period relatively similar time, with clear leadership from the state of Florida. If we repeat the search also in English, associating it in both languages with the term Netflix and with a time frame more focused on the path of the film on the platform, the results thrown by Google trends in figure 4 warn that, in that country, with the 40% of the streaming platform's subscribers, Florida was the state where, paradoxically, the film received the highest number of views.

**Figure 4.** Interest in the US towards the terms “La Red Avispa Netflix” (red) and “Wasp Network Netflix” (blue) between June 11 and September 30, 2020

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TOP 10 and Wasp Network could generate from 3 to 5 million views. Comparing to the biggest hits <https://flixpatrol.com/viewers/netflix/world/history> it is a low number, but maybe it will help you in your work.



**Source:** Google trends

Paradoxically, by virtue of the fact that one of the main objectives of activism was for people to refrain from seeing the film, as the aforementioned Ana Margarita Martínez claims to have done, who makes “a call to anyone who defends the truth, to avoid seeing this film and thus show that streaming channel that this type of content is simply a bad investment”(personal communication, June 30, 2020).

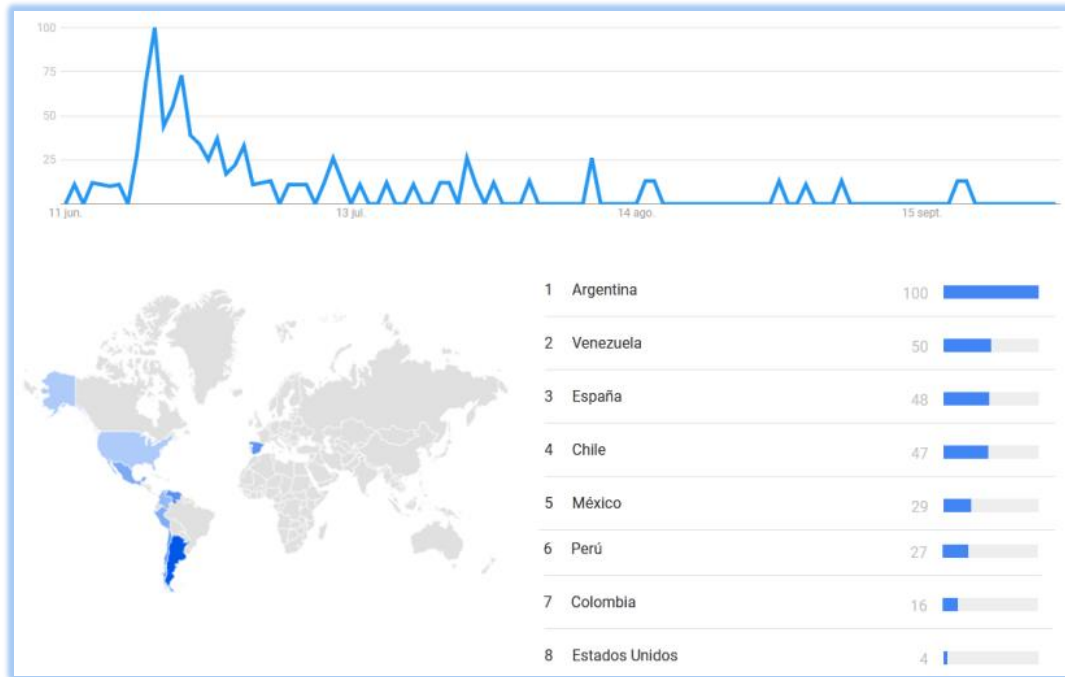
Greater certainty that calls like this had the opposite effect, at least in Florida, Texas and New Jersey, comes from the fact that Google trends is a tool that provides search trends for dissimilar terms, which does not include subscribers who heard about or accessed the movie directly through Netflix's recommendation algorithms. This means that the figures from which the trends in the previous graph are fed, would be provided by those people who were interested in looking for the film or information about it on Google, before or after seeing its trailer or seeing it in its entirety on the platform streaming.

In the case of those who looked for it from the state of Florida before seeing it on Netflix, it would not be at all risky to affirm that its first and main references would be those of the Cuban exile, communicationally dominant there. Such relationship becomes particularly clear in the case of searches in the Spanish language, the most used into the Hispanic community living in that state, made up, for the most part, by immigrants from the Caribbean island. The same could be said of Texas, where much of the most recent Cuban migratory flow to United States has ended up through the Mexican border. For him, Miami constitutes, for historical reasons, his main communicational reference. The same happens with New Jersey, third on the list, where there is a significant nucleus of Cuban-Americans. It is more difficult to establish links worthy of attention and analysis in the other US states that reflect certain levels of interest towards the term, where the bulk of Netflix subscribers who saw the film in United States would be concentrated. The same happens with the rest of the world, with the exception of Spain and Latin America.

In this geographical-cultural space, 17 (40%) of the 42 countries are located where, for at least one day, “Wasp Network” was found in the top 10 of Netflix. Such figures become even more representative if we reduce the number to the 15 nations that for 10 days or more had the film in the top spots on Netflix, which includes Spain along with 9 Latin American countries, to 60%. If we go back to Google trends to relate the interest towards the term the “Wasp Network Netflix” in Spanish (La Red Avispa Netflix) with the viewing of the film, the results leave no room for doubt.

Six of the first 7 countries reflected in figure 5, with the exception of Peru, (where “Wasp Network” remained, however, for 5 days in the top 10) correspond precisely to 6 of the 10 Latin American nations to which was alluded to in the previous paragraph.

**Figure.5** Interest towards the term "La Red Avispa Netflix" in the world between June 11 and September 30, 2020



**Fuente:** *Google trends*

This supports the idea of linking Miami activism with the viewing of the film, based on the top 10 Google results for Spain and Latin America, in relation to the term “La Red Avispa Netflix”. The results show significant visibility, particularly intense in the 3 best positioned countries.

**Table 1.** Visibility in Google of Cuban exile activism and/or positions in the first 3 countries top 10 for “Wasp Network” on Netflix.

Source: Own elaboration

Country	Contents that make visible or polemicize with the positions of Miami activism	URL	Google position
Venezuela	Wasp Network: qué fue la Red Avispa, el anillo de espionaje de Cuba en EE.UU. que recupera la polémica película de <i>Netflix</i> <sup>3</sup>	<a href="https://bbc.in/2FQ9dtS">https://bbc.in/2FQ9dtS</a>	2
	El filme <i>La Red Avispa</i> , una gran decepción	<a href="https://bit.ly/3kksmD6">https://bit.ly/3kksmD6</a>	7
	<i>La Red Avispa</i> : la historia (mal) contada cuando aún no es historia	<a href="https://bit.ly/31WOzHQ/">https://bit.ly/31WOzHQ/</a>	8
	Red avispa: ¿historia o propaganda castrista?	<a href="https://bit.ly/31pE9so">https://bit.ly/31pE9so</a>	9
Argentina	<i>La Red Avispa</i> , un Olivier Assayas desteñido	<a href="https://bit.ly/34epoug">https://bit.ly/34epoug</a>	6
	'La red avispa', elenco multiestelar en un filme que falla en casi todo	<a href="https://bit.ly/37oKzvK">https://bit.ly/37oKzvK</a>	8
	<i>La Red Avispa</i> : la historia (mal) contada cuando aún no es historia <sup>4</sup>	<a href="https://bit.ly/31WOzHQ/">https://bit.ly/31WOzHQ/</a>	9
	La red avispa: Espías cubanos infiltrados en la ultraderecha de Miami	<a href="https://bit.ly/31qBL19">https://bit.ly/31qBL19</a>	10
Spain	«La red Avispa», la última y polémica película de Penélope Cruz	<a href="https://bit.ly/37jDo82">https://bit.ly/37jDo82</a>	6
	La eterna lucha entre castristas y anticastristas resucita en <i>Netflix</i>	<a href="https://bit.ly/3kaXqFj">https://bit.ly/3kaXqFj</a>	7
	'La red Avispa', la última película de Penélope Cruz que ha desatado la polémica	<a href="https://bit.ly/2Hk91nl">https://bit.ly/2Hk91nl</a>	9
	Detrás de la Red Avispa, la trama de espías cubanos que inspira la película de <i>Netflix</i>	<a href="https://bit.ly/31kYQWr">https://bit.ly/31kYQWr</a>	10

More direct is the relationship with Netflix that stems from the other two objectives pursued by the Cuban exile, in addition to the film not being seen. This is the aforementioned demand by Ana Margarita Martínez for Netflix to remove the “Wasp Network” classification as based on

<sup>3</sup> It is repeated for the cases of Argentina and Spain, located in the number 2 and 4, respectively, of the results thrown by Google, and in the first, as in Venezuela, among those who make visible or polemicize with the positions of exile Cuban.

<sup>4</sup> It coincides with the third in the list of Venezuela.

real events. In this regard, Netflix spoke on Thursday, August 22, through a communication with the Cuban-American's lawyers, asking her for two weeks to respond to the "letter with which they asked to withdraw or amend the presentation of Wasp Network film" (Radio Televisión Martí Newsroom, 2020, August 22). Until the completion of this article, Netflix had not revealed the response that it should have given to Ana Margarita in mid-September at the latest, and neither have done her lawyers. If some type of agreement has been reached, it does not contemplate the claims of the former, since on the streaming platform "Wasp Network" continues to appear as a "film based on real life" (Netflix Official Site, 2020). Previously, Netflix had reached agreements with individual plaintiffs, as was the case of the undercover lesbian mother who sued the platform in 2009 for invasion of privacy: "alleging that the movie rental company made it possible for her to be denounced when he disclosed insufficiently anonymous information on nearly half a million customers as part of his \$ 1 million contest to improve his referral system" (Singel, 2002, December 17). The essential terms of this agreement were not disclosed.

On the other hand, Ana Margarita has the precedent of having sued the Cuban government for emotional distress, due to the deception suffered by virtue of her marriage to the spy Juan Pablo Roque, played by Wagner Moura. Filed in 2001 in a Miami court, she obtained a favorable judgment that awarded the plaintiff seven million dollars. Finally, the collective claim, which based on Change.org constitutes the main objective of activism, has not been achieved either. Indeed, regarding the collection of signatures for Netflix to remove "Wasp Network" from its catalog, no pronouncement from the company is recorded. Nor is it ruled out that it does so at some point, as the platform maintains, in this sense, a policy that is quite attentive to claims of this type.

For example, on Saturday, June 7, 2020, "Netflix removed... an episode of the program History 101 that says that AIDS originated in Haiti", after provoking the outrage of Haitian Americans "who published their criticism and started a petition in Instagram and Twitter" (Reyes, 2020, June 7). Similarly, on February 7, 2020, the company published a report entitled Environmental Social Governance 2019, in whose pages "the streaming giant said that nine pieces of content have been removed from the platform since its services were launched more than one year ago decade, at the request of various governments" (Lang, 2020, February 7). Likewise, in 2019 a petition similar to that of the Cubans in Miami, but with many more signatories, was filed on Change.org for Netflix to remove "The First Temptation of Christ" from its catalog in Brazil, a parody featuring gay Jesus. The petition, finally, led to a request before a court in Rio de Janeiro, which rejected it.

For now, there are no episodes like this envisaged that put "Wasp Network" permanence in the Netflix catalog at risk, in whose list of casualties for the month of October it does not appear. The platform remains immune to the attacks of the Cuban exile, which has been the cause, at most, of some other desertion, such as that of this user irritated by the trailer of the film on the YouTube site of Netflix Spain: " Well ... as long as they keep this movie on Netflix I'm retiring ... I'm not going to pay a penny more for the Netflix subscription "(user heberthvohn, personal communication, June 11, 2020). Beyond this, no major consequences are foreseen for the streaming giant, because the most intense days of activism against the film, as well as the best days of this in the Netflix catalog, seem to have been left behind.

### **Limitations and conclusions of the study**

Initially more ambitious, the scope and depth of the study were limited by access to primary sources of information, for which it planned to interview executives of the platform. This,

finally, could not be achieved. Only in this way would it have been possible to know the impact of activism on Netflix's decision to acquire the rights to the film, something whose determination was totally elusive through secondary sources. In this sense, it would have been relevant to elucidate, in light of the proposed objectives, to what extent the activism prior to the inclusion of the film on the platform, attracted the attention of the latter. And, even more, how much it influenced, beyond what the algorithms indicated, in the decision made, as well as in the long period between this (January 2020) and the official launch of the film (June of the same year). Other data that became equally elusive, still held captive by the platform, are those relating to the profitability of the film. This is, how much did you pay to get the rights to "Wasp Network", and if the earnings obtained by virtue of the number of new subscribers attracted by it, which is also unknown, has already equaled or exceeded the initial outlay. Likewise, nothing could be known about the official position of the platform in the face of activism, nor about the contacts allegedly held with one of its representatives, by virtue of the lawsuit filed by it to modify the classification of the cultural product. Despite these limitations, it was possible to arrive, with the available material, to conclusions that respond to the fundamental objective of the study.

Contrary to the pretense that the film was not seen, the activism of the Cuban exile based in Miami acted, to a certain extent, as a kind of cultural boomerang, taking into account the popularity of the film in its early days. The foregoing could be determined, with particular emphasis, in the Cuban-American community itself in United States, specifically in Florida and, to a lesser extent, in Texas and New Jersey, states where high levels of interest in the film were verified and, therefore, association, from its consumption on Netflix. The incidence could also be noticed, to a lesser extent, in Spain and Latin America, from the cases of Venezuela and Argentina, in their capacity, all of them, from leading countries in the viewing of the film. In the rest of the world, including the other states of United States, it was not possible to collect material that warns of a similar incidence. In the same way, some indications and certain precedents of action by both parties could be identified, which point to some kind of secret agreement between Netflix and one of the activists, by virtue of the defamation lawsuit filed by the latter against the platform. If so, the possible settlement does not appear to contemplate the original claim to modify "Wasp Network" classification as based on real life, which continues to accompany its description. Finally, the claim of the Cuban exile for Netflix to remove the film from its catalog has been, so far, totally void, so that none of its aspirations have been able to materialize.

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