

Changing Views of Identity in the Face of Globalization Among Hispanic Communities in Diaspora

**Illinois State University
Catherine Alexandra Carter**

Abstract

In this thesis I argue that globalization and a quickly developing transnational capitalist economy have had significant effects on the manifestation of identity among diasporic Hispanic/Latino communities in the United States. I will demonstrate from the same perspective as Marx and his materialist successors that humans shape their understanding of the world through their personal contribution to the economy and the market. These forces play a definitive role in the construction of reality and personal identity. With the recent boom in technology and media, the need to gain a better understanding of their effects on the construction of social and cultural reality is undeniable. In addition, there is an urgent need to gain a better understanding of the Hispanic/Latino population in the United States. The Hispanic population is the United State's largest ethnic minority, constituting 14% of the nation's total population as recorded by the Census Bureau in 2004; and this estimate does not include the 3.9 million residents of Puerto Rico. Needless to say, both of these estimates are probably much higher. I want to study the influence of the US marketing industry on the construction of social and personal identity, as well as to uncover the extent to which this identity is self-definitional versus imposed by an outside group in power. To answer these questions, I will begin with a basic understanding of marketing and advertising techniques and an in-depth look at the history of the Hispanic marketing industry in the United States. I trace the development and changes of advertisements over time and compare earlier trends with more recent tendencies in the marketing industry, I also compare ads directed towards mainstream America to those ads specifically designed for

Hispanic/Latino populations. I demonstrate how media facilitates the spread of certain ideologies that propose particular ways of interpreting reality. Media plays a central role in the transmission of ideas that aim to justify the status quo and reinforce the control of business over consumer. While mass media and marketing can contribute to social control, they can also serve a variety of advantageous purposes for the consumer. Media can serve as a medium through which groups can gain recognition and a stronger voice in society. In the face of highly influential advertising and marketing techniques, I question the extent to which there is a genuine Hispanic identity. Embracing the essence of critical anthropology, my research calls into question the categories, terminology, and classification systems that researchers use to study societies throughout the world. My research takes into consideration the extent to which the term *Hispanic* is used self-identification. Is there a shared mentality among people that can be represented by the term *Hispanic*? And to what extent is this new identity a creation of marketing and advertising ploys? Do Hispanics and Latinos have the power to identify themselves in the face of governments and businesses who prefer neat and tidy marketable packages of people? In addition, how has the notion of being *Hispanic* changed in the wake of globalization and the spread of capitalism? My data consists of the analysis of both Spanish and English versions of *People* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines in which I recorded and deconstructed the marketing techniques used in each ad. Ultimately, my research works to answer one question: How influential is the role of global capitalism in the creation and maintenance of a collective Hispanic identity?

An Introduction

The infiltration of media and technology into our everyday lives has been such a rapid and quite unexpected transition. Technology continues to advance so quickly that we find ourselves in a constant state of redefinition as we adjust our identities and perceptions of life to incorporate these new trends. We find ourselves with gadgets and tools that are capable of doing the unthinkable. We have overcome the physical realities of distance and geographic location, transcending those objects that once impeded aspects of our existence before. Mountains, oceans,

and most notably, national borders are no longer the decisive factors in human existence. A new system of powers has taken control. These new major operating forces of the 21st century include a recent boom in technology and the media, a shift from an international economy to a global economy, and finally, the resulting trends in migration and transnationalism, each one driving the others in a powerful economic cycle that has successfully incorporated into its global scheme the majority of the world's populations.

Driven by the need for money, a means to earn subsistence, people of all nationalities, cultures, and classes are compelled to participate in this game of capitalism. Capitalism and the economy are considered by many theorists to be the most influential factors in shaping an individual's identity and his or her perception of reality. People are defined by their contribution to the market. Individuals are commodities in themselves that fluctuate along with economic trends (Gurley 1988: 9-11). The influx of technology and media has allowed individuals to pursue the most ideal economic conditions while still maintaining cultural, national, and familial ties to their homeland. This strategic process has culminated into the phenomenon of "transnationalism" so customary in American society today. It has contributed largely to the disintegration of borderlines and traditional notions of identity. Individuals who yield to the international forces of capitalism undergo a process of re-identification as they incorporate new notions of culture, nationality, and class into their lives.

Through in-depth analysis and research I work to answer one question: How determinative is the role of global capitalism in the creation and maintenance of a collective Hispanic identity? In this paper, I examine this process of identity transformation in response to trends in technology, globalization, and the economy from the perspective of the Hispanic population in the United States. I attempt to deconstruct the Hispanic identity and determine the extent to which this is a legitimate term of classification. Controversial since its first appearance in the 1970's, the term "Hispanic" has long been considered the result of capitalistic intentions. The term "Hispanic" was invented and used as a means to cluster together a diverse group of

individuals who shared but one characteristic in common, the Spanish language. Although at first simply a marketing strategy, the collective Hispanic identity eventually became advantageous for achieving recognition in society, a voice to be heard and political power to be won (Dával 2001: 1-3).

Embracing the essence of critical anthropology, my research calls into question the categories, terminology, and classification systems that researchers and governments use to study societies throughout the world. I work to uncover the forces operating behind this struggle for control and, ultimately, self-definition. Is there a shared mentality among people that can be represented by the term “Hispanic”? What was Hispanic identity before the onset of global capitalism and what exactly is it now? And, to what extent is this portrayal of Hispanic identity a product of marketing and advertising schemes?

To answer these questions, I begin with a basic understanding of marketing and advertising techniques and an in-depth look at the history of the Hispanic marketing industry in the United States. I trace the development and changes of advertisements over time and compare earlier trends with more recent tendencies in the marketing industry. I also compare ads directed towards mainstream America to those ads specifically designed for Hispanic/Latino populations with an in-depth analysis of advertisements in *People* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines, printed in both English and Spanish versions.

Marketing and Advertising 101

With the onset of the Hispanic marketing and advertising industries in the United States, Hispanic and Latino individuals often found themselves playing a role in the creative departments, as opposed to the more executive positions of the business. Many reasons exist for this cultural division, but primarily, it was perceived by the marketing industry that the role of the businessman was better played by an employee of Anglo background and that those of Hispanic background were better suited as cultural informants. Companies that had never

marketed to the Latino community were initially hesitant, believing that the two markets had little to nothing in common. Companies, however, would feel more comfortable expanding into the new market when working with a representative who was of their own cultural background (Englis 1994: 110).

In addition to cultural similarity, Anglos were perceived as more familiar with standard business etiquette. So while they primarily filled executive positions responsible for communication with other businesses, Hispanics worked primarily behind the scenes in the creative departments. Individuals of a Latin background were considered to be all-knowing experts of Hispanic culture. Assumptions were made that the cultural background of the earliest Hispanic marketers were representative of all other Hispanic individuals, despite nationality, age, gender, or class. These individuals, often from the upper class, were believed to possess an all-encompassing knowledge of Hispanic values, customs, and traditions. This information was greatly valued by the marketing industry and consequently limited Hispanics to roles in the creative department. Their job was to create advertisements that would speak specifically to Hispanic individuals (Englis 1994: 110)

The limitations faced by early Hispanic marketers have been greatly reduced over the years. Individuals of Hispanic descent can occupy any number of creative or executive positions within the industry. Marketers now have new and potentially more accurate methods of gaining information on their target market. Hispanic culture still plays a significant role in the overall marketing scheme, however, its influence has been greatly reduced. Many advertisements today still make cultural references through a variety of methods, for example, using the term “Hispanic” within the advertisement, using a celebrity popular in Latin America, or showing the image of a traditional dish. However, my research shows that this style of advertising, one that relies heavily on distinct cultural attributes and makes a distinct contrast with mainstream advertising, is being replaced by recent trends in popular culture and a heavier reliance on factors that are used to segment and market mainstream society, such as age and gender.

The design of the advertisement is one of the most crucial steps to effectively executing a marketing campaign. The goal of any advertisement is not simply to shock or entertain the viewer, but rather, it is “to make an ad that changes their behaviors and attitudes” (Baack and Clow 2004: 194). Marketers want their brands and products to be remembered and purchased, drawing the closest connection possible between the product and the consumer. Every advertisement is carefully thought out down to the very last detail. There is nothing present in an advertisement that has not been carefully considered. Creatives have to make key decisions regarding both the visual and verbal elements of their advertisements. Visual images, in general, are considered to be more powerful than verbal messages. While verbal messages are primarily stored in the left side of the brain, visual images are stored in both the left and right halves of the brain, represented as both an image and words with which to describe it. Consequently, visual images are more easily remembered. In addition, visual images also have the advantage of transcending cultural differences more easily. Facial expressions, a tranquil beach, a couple holding hands; these are the types of elements that are globally recognizable. Words, however, even within the same language, can be interpreted in a number of different ways. This is not say that they are useless. Verbal messages take a more central and direct route through the brain and tend to be more information-based (Baack and Clow 2004: 199-200). Most advertisements use a carefully calculated quantity of both the visual and verbal techniques to achieve the desired outcome.

Advertising Appeals

Based on the nature of the product, the target audience, and a number of other factors, advertisers will choose from among seven effective advertising approaches, known as “advertising appeals” (Baack and Clow 2004: 201). These marketing techniques are designed to create a basic structure for the overall advertisement and easily appeal to the average US consumer. The seven advertising appeals applied by mainstream marketers are divided into the

following categories: fear, humor, sex, music, rationality, emotions, and scarcity. Fear is effective for both its qualities in persuasiveness and memory retention. If the advertisement makes the viewer feel threatened or in danger, it is more likely to induce a change in routine behavior. Advertisements founded in fear rely on qualities such as vulnerability and severity to convince the consumer of the necessity of the product. However, advertisers have determined that a moderate level of fear is the most effective. Customers tend to ignore exaggerated or extreme claims to danger. Low levels of fear, on the other hand, may not be strong enough to grab the consumer's attention (Baack and Clow 2004: 202-203).

Humor has been considered an affective approach for its ability to gain and keep the viewer's attention, especially when in competition with other advertisements. Laughing is the key component to the humor technique. Laughing is both a mental and physical process that is enjoyable and mood-enhancing. A good mood is associated with the product and will be more easily recalled the next time the consumer is making purchases. In other words, the company places itself within the cognitive structure of the brain. Humor, however, can at times override the message of the advertisement. The humorous scene will be recalled, but not the product for sale. To avoid this pitfall, advertisers must relate the humor directly to a product attribute or customer benefit. In addition, advertisers who use humor must be careful not to offend.

Offensive jokes create negative feelings in the consumer who then associate bad feelings and bad qualities with the product or brand (Baack and Clow 2004: 204-205).

Marketing approaches based in sexual appeals are widely popular and growing rapidly. The amount of male-female physical contact in advertisements has tripled in the last thirty years. Sexuality is achieved in advertisements through five general methods: subliminal techniques, partial and full nudity, sexual suggestiveness, overt sexuality, and sensuality. Subliminal techniques operate in the subconscious of the consumer. These often consist of hints or cues that suggest nudity or sexuality, but do not explicitly refer to it, for example, the body positioning of a woman or a suggestive tagline. These references to sexuality are subtle. Subliminal messages,

however, are seen as less effective to actual nudity, a popular and increasingly risqué approach to advertising. Sexual suggestiveness is a technique that relies less on nudity and more on other explicitly sexual cues, such as when using suggestive words or music. Advertisements that resort to overt sexuality use sexual cues and images that result in high levels of physiological arousal. The cognitive and affective responses involved in arousal link the advertisement and the product to positive feelings in the consumer. The advertisement will then be more easily recalled as a result of its association with processes of the brain. Finally, sensuality is considered to be a more subtle form of sexual reference that relies more on the imagination than explicit images or verbal messages. Unlike the subliminal techniques, however, it is focused more so on romance and love than the physical aspects of sex (Baack and Clow 2004: 206-209).

Music also plays a very important role in the overall effectiveness of an advertisement. Music is excellent at catching the consumer's attention and quickly producing emotion or sparking memories. In addition, music stored in the long-term memory and can be easily recalled. However, because my analysis was limited to print advertisements, the role of music in Hispanic marketing was not explored (Baack and Clow 2004: 212-213).

A rational appeal is one that takes into consideration the consumer's thought process before making a purchase and presents information that will encourage the consumer to buy. The rational appeal focuses on the benefits of the products for sale, demonstrating why the advertised brand or product is superior to its competition. Rational appeals often contain a great deal of verbal content and require a greater amount of mental activity from the consumer. Because it often takes consumers longer to process the larger quantity of information, print advertisements are often considered ideal candidates for the rational appeal (Baack and Clow 2004: 215).

Another widely used and highly effective marketing technique is the emotional appeal. It is highly valued for its ability to grasp the consumer's attention in the midst of countless other advertisements. Marketers hope to create an emotional bond between the product and the

consumer that will result in strong brand loyalty. Visual clues are the key elements in the creation of an effective emotional appeal (Baack and Clow 2004: 216).

Finally, the threat of scarcity is also an effective strategy in the encouragement of consumer purchases. Based on the economic principle, that when supply is limited and the demand is high, both the price of the product and the profit of the producer increase. Marketers will achieve scarcity by either offering the product for a limited time or by making a limited number. Despite its effectiveness at inducing quick action, however, scarcity is a less common marketing appeal when in comparison to the other six. It is important to note that any advertising appeal can be used in conjunction with any number of other advertising appeals. Marketers often use two or more appeals in a particular advertisement (Baack and Clow 2004: 218).

Executorial Frameworks

The executorial framework is another important element in the construction of advertisements. It is the manner in which the advertising appeal is achieved. While the appeal represents the mental or emotional reaction of the consumer, the executorial framework is that which initiates this reaction. It is similar to the plot of a story. There are eight different executorial frameworks: animation, slice-of-life, dramatization, testimonial, authoritative, demonstration, fantasy, and informative (Baack and Clow 2004: 238).

Animation refers to images that are fictional and created through a variety of mediums, such as cartoons and clay animation. Animated characters can be human, animal, or completely imaginary. Product personifications have also been very popular, for example, the California Raisins and the Pillsbury Doughboy. Advances in technology have greatly increased the quality and the use of animation in the marketing industry. The slice-of-life executorial framework is one in which a solution is proposed to an everyday problem. These advertisements show common people doing common things and encountering the normal struggles of life. The goal of the advertisement is to demonstrate the benefits of the product and identify it as a solution to just one of life's many obstacles (Baack and Clow 2004: 239-240).

Dramatization is an executional framework that uses a certain degree of suspense to keep the attention of the consumer. It is formatted in a manner similar to a theatrical drama, in which there is a storyline and a climatic point. A dramatization is similar to a slice-of-life appeal in the sense that it poses a problem and ultimately a solution. Another effective executional framework is the use of the testimonial. Testimonials are made by consumers, everyday common people, that reinforce the credibility of the product and brand. Marketers believe that claims made by outside sources are more reliable and effective than those made by the company about itself (Baack and Clow 2004: 241).

As opposed to a testimonial that focuses on the benefits of the product as interpreted by consumers in everyday life, an authoritative executional framework uses the respected voices of celebrities and experts in the field to backup the quality of the advertised product. For example, doctors and athletes are frequently hired to backup product claims. A product gains legitimacy when it can be associated with a trusted authoritative figure, such as the American Heart Association. The next possible executional framework is that of the demonstration. This marketing technique is most commonly used in television; therefore, this possibility was not explored in my analysis of print ads. In any case, a demonstration can be defined as an instructional session showcasing the correct use of a product, for example, a person cleaning multiple surfaces with one household cleaner (Baack and Clow 2004: 242).

The final two types of executional frameworks are the fantasy model and the informative model. Fantasy involves an experience that is not part of everyday life. An ad that takes a fantastic approach hopes to move the consumer from the routine of everyday life into a happier state of mind. The consumer then associates these good feelings with the product and is driven to purchase the product in hopes of achieving that same fantasy. Some fantasies are based more in reality, such as hopes of winning a state championship in some declared sport, and others are completely irrational, such as falling in love with a celebrity. And finally, informative ads are those that present information in a clear and straightforward manner. Similar to the use of

rationality in advertising appeals, the informative approach requires more time and mental work for the consumer. However, this type of approach is effective in demonstrating the product's benefits and answering questions that may arise from the consumer's thought process (Baack and Clow 2004: 243-244).

Globalization and Transnationalism

Terms like “globalization” and “transnationalism” are inundating current literature in all fields of social science. There is a new trend taking place. Scientists and theorists of all backgrounds have turned an inquisitive eye to the study of modernity and all things related. Rapid technological, social, cultural, and economical change have convinced many that the rules of the past no longer apply and that we have officially entered a new phase in history, each one defined by a reorganization of social structure. The most recent shift in social organization is characterized by a shift from a world economy to a global economy, from a state of internationalism to transnationalism (Robinson 2003: 15-16). However, with such claims come many skeptics who doubt that any real change has taken place. It is argued that the difference between the earliest capitalist economies, those established well before the industrial revolution, and the modern capitalist economies, those operating in the 21st century, is simply quantitative; that the world has not entered into a new phase of history, but rather, societies across the globe are experiencing only an augmentation in the *number* of capitalist relationships and transactions. Standing in firm opposition to this critique of globalization, Robinson (2003: 10) argues that societies, together as unified entity, have experienced a change that is both quantitative in nature, as well as qualitative. Robinson breaks down modern world history into four epochs, the last of which is characterized by these new concepts of globalization and transnationalism.

The first epoch is defined by the birth of capitalism and is characterized by mercantilism, extending from approximately 1492 to 1789. These early years were referred to by Karl Marx as “the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production” (Robinson 2003: 10). The second stage is

characterized by the development of the nation-state, the rise of the Industrial Revolution, and the birth of the bourgeoisie. This stage, culminating in the late 19th century, is referred to as the epoch of competitive or classical capitalism. The third stage is referred to as corporate capitalism and is distinguished by a rise in monopolies, the development of an international market, and a newfound relationship between politics and the economy. The third epoch concludes in the early 1970's with the onset of the fourth stage of capitalism, one characterized by the diminution of the nation-state as the primary factor in social organization (Robinson 2003: 10).

With this said, the concept of globalization is one defined by the suppression of the nation-state and the rise of a global village, whose citizens are a hybrid of nationalities and cultures interconnected with each other in a complex web of economic exchanges. In addition to the weakening power of the nation-state, Robinson highlights one additional defining feature of globalization, that is, the rise of transnational capital. He argues that technological advances, as well as marketing and managerial innovations, have allowed capital to achieve a higher degree of mobility. The flow of finance has overcome geographic, cultural, and linguistic boundaries, allowing it to operate on an entirely international level, avoiding restrictions that can be implemented by individual nation-states. It is impossible for nations today to uphold independent economies or social structures. In other words, as global capitalism continues to expand and intensify, it will attempt to override individual differences in the market. It will integrate the various cultures and societies into a single, undifferentiated, and easily marketable global society, operating as one unit in within a system of production and consumption. Cultural and national pride are subdued by the emergence of global marketing and media and the development of an international popular culture (Robinson 2003: 12-13).

So how exactly is a world economy different than a global economy? The single defining difference is that in the global economy the production process itself has been internationalized, as opposed to just the process of sales. In other words, before the onset of the fourth stage of capitalism, nation-states were interconnected by simply the sale and purchase of commodities,

finished products made and assembled within one particular nation-state and sold to another. In the fourth stage, nation-states are connected not only by commodity exchange and capital flows, but also by the division and sharing of the production process. As explicitly defined by Robinson, internationalism refers to the flow of finance across national border, while transnationalism refers to the globalization of the actual manufacturing process. It is distinguished by not only the consolidation of nation-states into a global market, but also by the emergence of a global workforce. Using Marx's concept of capitalist production, expressed in the formula $M-C-P-C'-M'$, where M is money, C is commodities, P is production, C' is new commodities, and M' is the greater amount of money accumulated after the completion of the circuit, similar to profit, one can visually see the difference between internationalism and transnationalism. During the first stages of internationalism, the first half of Marx's circuit (M-C-P-C') took place entirely inside national borders. The international portion of the circuit was experienced only in the area of profit (M'), that is, capital received in exchange for goods. Today, the entire process is conducted on a global level with little responsibility delegated to national powers. As the saying goes, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, and in this same manner, global capitalism is more than just a compilation of national economies related through a series of exchange. It is qualitatively different in that it is the restructuring of, if not the dissolution of, nation-states into a new global village, one that deemphasizes difference and one of which we are all citizens whether we like it or not (Robinson 2003: 13-16).

The Foundations of Hispanic/Latino Identity

Present day constructions of Hispanic/Latino identity are intimately linked to the history of the Hispanic marketing industry, first emerging in the 1960's. Marketers first developed the concept of a united Hispanic/Latino identity as an efficient marketing strategy, grouping together all individuals who speak Spanish and producing one cost-effective advertisement to target all their diverse needs. The

controversy arises, then, over the assumption that language plays a decisive role in social, cultural, and personal needs. Is language an appropriate characteristic around which to construct a collective identity like that of the Hispanic/Latino population? Dávila (2001) details the history and development of these influential industries, outlining the complex web of social and cultural relationships responsible for the birth and development of the Hispanic marketing industry. She highlights the hierarchy inherent in the marketing and advertising industry, outlining the unique position of the Hispanic marketing sector within the realm of the mainstream. Throughout history, the United States has been a world leader in media, offering the greatest opportunities for Latin America to effectively and efficiently reach their Spanish-speaking populations. From their initial interaction, both English and Hispanic marketers have worked together intimately expanding the industry in new directions. Dávila reveals the power struggles that take place behind the scenes, disclosing the ways in which mainstream and Hispanic marketers modify and adjust their advertisements in hopes of achieving certain economical and social outcomes.

Beginning at this same time in history and culminating in the 1980's, academic universities across the United States were faced with similar questions of Hispanic/Latino identity. Aparicio (2003) discusses the development of the first courses and programs devoted to Latino studies. Much like Dávila, Aparicio analyzes the roles that power and hierarchy play in the creation and maintenance of university programs focused on Spanish-speaking populations throughout the world. He narrates the struggle between those groups arguing for national pride and autonomy and the bureaucracy that requires generalization for the purpose of economic efficiency and feasibility. American universities adopted the same terminology used by marketers and structured their classes on similar economic money-saving principles. The terms "Hispanic" and "Latino," although first created for the purpose of lumping together a diverse group of people and making them more economically marketable, have grown into something far more significant. Over time the legitimacy and accuracy of these terms have come to influence not only the functioning of the marketing industry, but the organization and structure of many other aspects of life.

History of the Hispanic Marketing Industry

In the initial years of development, television programs and advertisements directed towards individuals with Spanish or Latin American background were concentrated in those areas of the United States with the largest Spanish-speaking populations, cities like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Miami. At first, American television stations began selling small sections of airtime to Hispanic/Latino television producers. In 1961 Emilio Azcárraga, a producer from Mexico, took this idea a step further and successfully purchased the first television stations devoted entirely to Spanish-speaking populations in the United States. As the owner and sole controller of the stations, under the titles Spanish International Network and Spanish International Communications Corporations (SIN), Azcárraga was free to import his own television shows from Mexico. As technology advanced, the accuracy and efficiency with which foreign television programs could be imported, via satellite, greatly improved and rapidly increased the presence of Latin American television in the United States. This, in turn, encouraged the development of the Hispanic/Latin marketing and advertising industry as more effective and efficient media transmissions would promise larger profits for advertisers.

Although it appeared that all the necessary parts were in place for the first fully functional and independent Hispanic/Latino media conglomerate, there was one small predicament. Latin American television programs, imported from various Latin American countries were created for individuals living in Latin America, not the United States. It is reasonable to say that the experiences of these two distinct Spanish-speaking populations are very different from one another. Hispanic/Latino individuals in the United States have different needs than those living in Latin American countries as diverse as Mexico, Cuba, or the Dominican Republic (Dávila 2001: 23-28).

Despite this discrepancy, SIN, later renamed Univision, continued to grow impressively reaching its current size of 20 stations and 27 additional affiliates. Today it is rated as the number one Hispanic network. Dávila (2001) explicitly details this and similar success stories around the western hemisphere. For example, Telemundo, another leading Hispanic/Latino media conglomerate, initially made its debut in the New York area when it began importing programs from Puerto Rico. Later switching ownership,

the new Telemundo owners chose rather to import television programs from Mexico and Venezuela, while continuing to serve an expanding audience across the United States. As the industry worked to settle itself appropriately into the United States, changes in ownership and partnership became a familiar pattern resulting in a transnational exchange of television programs. Without any clear direction, Hispanic television in the United States, as a new and novice industry, was free to pick and choose from a wide variety of programs and cultural backgrounds to construct and define itself. The result was the construction of a web of international relationships, in which businesses worked together to attract, appease, and ultimately define the new US Hispanic/Latino market (Dávila 2001: 23-28).

In a very similar manner, US Hispanic/Latino advertising, as opposed to non sales-oriented media, demonstrates the same transnational patterns as the Hispanic television industry in the US. Hispanic advertising made its first appearance in the United States after the Cuban Revolution, as a result of an influx of Cuban immigrants. Partially a result of historical circumstances, the first advertisements broadcasted in Spanish to US residents were imported from Cuba. Well-established Cuban marketers were encouraged to export advertisements to Hispanic/Latino television producers operating in the United States as a means to continue to serve their migrating market. Previous experience with US products made this a relatively easy transition for Cuban marketers. The leading figures in what was to become a multi-billion dollar Hispanic marketing industry had all previously marketed US products in Cuba, achieving early success in global advertising. Their familiarity with US business protocol and their established connections gave Cuba a head start in the foundation of the US Hispanic/Latino marketing industry. By the 1970's and 80's the US Hispanic market was well established. However, very similar to US Hispanic television, the advertisements were produced with a different audience in mind than the US Hispanic/Latino. Commercials were simply recycled in the United States without taking into consideration differences in cultural and social needs (Dávila 2001: 28-32).

Ethnic Division of Labor

The roots of the Hispanic marketing and media industries in the United States are found deep within Latin America and experience divisions of labor along lines of both class and ethnicity. Identical to mainstream media and marketing groups, it is primarily upper and middle class individuals who dominate and control images of the industry and the consumer. The most important positions, and those with the largest salaries, are primarily held by upper class individuals. In Hispanic marketing these individuals often speak what is considered perfect and proper Spanish and uphold certain idealistic values. The industry's reliance on the Spanish language as the single most important unifying characteristic of US Hispanics has resulted in a strong emphasis on perfect language skills in the industry. The majority of Latinos in the US, however, do not speak perfect Spanish. Second and third generation Hispanics often grow up monolingual, speaking only English. Many Hispanics today however are bilingual and simply have a preference for English. As marketers catch on to this trend in language use, reliance on pure Spanish in advertisements diminishes (Englis 1994: 109).

This change occurs, however, only in the more recent years of development in the Hispanic marketing industry. For the majority of its existence in the US, Hispanic marketing had emphasized the use of authentic Spanish, resulting in an ethnic division of labor that divided recently migrated Latin American individuals from more established Latinos. This latter group was considered to be less authentic and assimilated individuals with a mix of US and Hispanic traits. In the early years of the marketing industry, Latin American individuals were most often employed in the creative departments, responsible for creating advertisements and projecting certain images of the Hispanic population, while US Latinos were primarily employed in the client services departments, responsible for negotiating with other businesses and members of the industry. Their familiarity with American culture made them prime candidates for communicating with the controlling figures in American mainstream media and marketing. Today this dependency on the Spanish language is a highly controversial issue. Some believe that the Spanish language serves as the primary unifying agent among US Hispanics and helps to both create and

maintain Hispanic identity. Others believe that a dependency on Spanish excludes a large portion of US Hispanics who have been raised in an English-dominated environment (Dávila 2001: 34-35)

This preference for authentic Latin Americans over other Hispanics/Latinos was sought not only for reasons of language purity, but also for economic motives. Filming advertisements and commercials in parts of Latin America was cheaper than producing them in the United States. After production, finished products were exported and distributed to Spanish-speaking populations across the United States. This idea of an ethnic division of labor is one that can be applied globally to many international businesses who geographically situate portions of their production department according to the most profitable circumstances. This, in turn, results in a worldwide international division of ethnic labor. In addition to these economic arguments, the production of US Hispanic advertisements in Latin America is also a result of the larger availability of more authentic-looking Hispanic actors and scenery. Marketers were concerned with portraying an accurate image of the Hispanic, distinct and different from the mainstream market. This reference to “authentic-looking Hispanics” however demonstrates the inherent biases in the industry. Despite the fact that marketers wanted to reach US Hispanic residents, the methods used to produce ads and media created obstacles that prevented the full inclusion of US Latinos in the wider scheme of the Hispanic population. They were never considered fully Hispanic, nor were they considered fully American, leaving them somewhere in the middle and yet to be defined (Dávila 2001: 37-38).

In addition to this divide in the industry between Latin Americans and US Hispanics, a second level of distinction and hierarchy is experienced between the Hispanic media and marketing industries as a whole, on one hand, and the mainstream media and marketing industries, on the other. Especially in the entertainment industry, particular departments that benefit from English representation, such as sales, are managed by non-Hispanic individuals recruited from large corporations, such as ABC and Fox in the case of Univision. Referred to by Dávila (2001: 35-38) as the process of “vanillization,” sales teams for US Hispanic marketers admit that success in the industry is not dependant on accurate knowledge of the Hispanic market; rather it relies on the their “whiteness,” their ability to connect with their English

business partners and reduce cultural differences. The overshadowing presence of the Anglo corporation is influential in the US Hispanic market. Besides a small number of entirely independently owned and operated companies the majority of US Hispanic marketing agencies today work in cooperation with their Anglo investors, who have purchased and incorporated them into larger American marketing conglomerates. These American investors ultimately have the power to approve or disapprove of advertisements and portrayals of the US Hispanic/Latino market (Englis 1994: 109-110). The Hispanic marketing industry find itself in a predicament in that it must meet contrasting requirements. At the same time that the Hispanic market has to appear unique and different enough from the mainstream market to require a specialized set of advertisements, the market must also appear similar enough to mainstream society to use the same products and brands as everybody else. It is the job of the marketer to find an appropriate balance of both elements.

A Lesson in Terminology

The legitimacy of the term *Hispanic*, first used in the 1960's by marketing and media industries, and later verified by the US government in the 1970's, has long been a controversial issue. The term was first standardized by its use in the US census and was applied to all individuals from any Spanish-speaking country of the Caribbean, Central or South America, and even Spain. The term *Hispanic* was designed to group together individuals from a multitude of diverse geographic locations forging a common identity that was originally founded solely on the use of the Spanish language. However, today it is argued that there exists something more in common among those labeled *Hispanic* than simply language preference, suggesting a common identity among group members founded in other characteristics. In addition to its questionable origin and capitalistic intentions, the term *Hispanic* also carries with it negative connotations of Spanish colonialism in Latin America. A reference to Hispanic heritage not only implies a particular ethnic and racial identification, but also a particular class association, that of the upper elite (Dávila 2001: 39-40). The etymology of the term *Hispanic* reveals that it is derived from the Latin term *hispanicus*, meaning "from Hispania." *Hispania* is an archaic term

referring to the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish nation that lies within it (Harper 2001). *Hispanic*, viewed as a term that highlights the presence of colonial forces and ignores the indigenous roots of many Latin American populations was replaced by a less imposing phrase. Desiring to sever the tie with Spain and to divide the Hispanic populations into their respectful hemispheres, individuals of Latin American origin and descent began to utilize the term *Latino*, referring to any Spanish-speaking individual in the western hemisphere, both US citizens and non-citizens alike. Therefore, *Hispanic* can be considered the more generalized term, encompassing both Americans and Europeans, the west and the east, while the use of the term *Latino* carries with it connotations of social struggle and activism. *Latino*, much like *Hispanic*, is a politically charged word that carries with it questions of self-identification and sovereignty (Dávila 2001: 15-17).

However, these definitions of *Latino* and *Hispanic* lack a degree of consistency. Rather, they take on a mercurial quality, fluctuating according to a number of physical and ideological variables. The consultation of a variety of dictionaries and academic sources demonstrates the discrepancy among definitions, some contributing four or five different entries for each term, redrawing in each instance the boundaries around Spanish-speaking populations. And despite these attempts made at political correctness, it is often difficult to break an old habit. To this day, the transnational relationships formulated by Hispanic media and advertising conglomerates in the western hemisphere remain nearly completely isolated from European Spain. The sharing and recycling of programs doesn't cross the Atlantic, but rather, travels in a more longitudinal manner. Yet, despite a possibly more accurate reference to the industry as *Latino*, based on its geographic seclusion, the term *Hispanic* continues to be most commonly used in reference to the marketing and media industries (Dávila 2001: 16). Today, *Hispanic* also continues to be the preferred term on the US Census.

Dammed if You Do, Dammed if You Don't: The Pros and Cons of Hispanic/Latino Marketing

The questionable foundation of the concept *Hispanic* has long been a subject of academic and political debate. What exactly are the implications of the construction and application of a collective identity on the basis of language? The historical origins of the Hispanic population are deeply embedded in a capitalist system of marketing and advertising schemes, but today, identification as a Hispanic individual has become an important political tool for gaining representation and equality in a primarily white society. By joining together under one name, Spanish-speaking individuals are able to increase their numbers and the overall percentage of the population they constitute, giving them more entitlement to social services and governmental powers. They can demonstrate statistically that they are not an insignificant minority.

There exist a variety of negative and positive consequences that come with the categorization and labeling of any group of individuals. At the same time that a group is forced to gloss over individual differences in an effort to highlight similarities and demonstrate their legitimacy as a unified entity, they must also be careful not to be represented by stereotypical and shallow descriptions that leave little room for diversity or change. Hispanics historically have used television and advertisements to correct stereotypes held by the general population. Interestingly, it is from these existing stereotypes that marketers often draw their perceptions of the Hispanic consumer, resulting in an antithetical relationship between media representation and the actual Hispanic consumer (Englis, 1994: 109). How much of marketing reflects truth in the market? And how much of marketing reflects the desire to sell?

Media and marketing directed towards Hispanics was both an effort in assimilation into US society as well as a medium through which to self-express and identify. Hispanics had to make themselves appear similar enough to mainstream markets to be worthy of US products, while at the same time, different enough to require an entirely separate system of marketing. The Hispanic market is one defined solely on language and the ideal of a common culture; it is not differentiated by age, class, or gender. All Hispanics, in the eyes of marketers, are the same, a

homogenous group of individuals whose quality of being Hispanic overrides any other possible characteristic by which these people may identify themselves (Englis, 1994: 108-109). So at the same time that the mainstream market is divided by a multitude of other characteristics and targeted individually for their needs, the Hispanic population must succumb to over-generalized advertising that may or may not meet their individual and unique needs. It is a situation in which you're damned if you do and damned if you don't. Individuals who identify themselves as Hispanic today must find a healthy balance between the advantageous and disadvantageous effects of this recent label of identification.

The onset of the Hispanic market began around the 1960's and 70's during key civil rights movements in history. The simultaneous occurrence of the inundation of Hispanic advertising and programming on US television and the uprising in American society of underrepresented minorities made a primary function of Hispanic marketing the self-representation and diminishment of stereotypes. The availability of Hispanic media in the United States was associated with their assimilation into American society. From the beginning, marketing and media have been tightly interwoven with the political-economy. The greater amount of media and marketing coverage that Hispanics received, the greater amount of representation they earned in US society. Attracting the attention of large corporations and manufacturers is viewed as a powerful tool to gaining a stronger voice in society. There has long been a relationship established between democratic power and consumer choice.

Capitalism is not simply an economic system, it is a manner of segmenting and governing society. Capitalism is a fully operating political system that now functions on a global, as opposed to a strictly national, scale (Gurley, 1988: 9-11). The profit available from marketing to the Hispanic population was perceived as directly related to their social worth in society. It was believed to be an equal and positively correlated relationship. However, this is not always the case. Although their representation in advertisements and on television compelled mainstream marketers and the rest of the US population to be more aware of their presence, it does not necessarily increase political power to the same degree. As briefly mentioned above, Hispanic individuals were never fully in control of the marketing and media

produced in their name. Rather, they must always work within a pre-established racial and economical hierarchy. By gauging political and social equality based solely on the representation of Hispanics in the market, problems related to class issues, poverty, and other problems are masked and consequently ignored. The economical gap that exists between the majority and the minority in the United States is minimized by emphasizing their buying power, inaccurately measured by the number of advertisements directed toward that specific group.

It is a double-edged sword. Hispanic populations in the United States have a right and a need to engage in Spanish-based media and advertisements, to buy products that are more appropriately designed with them in mind. At the same time, however, the United States government is using this influx of Hispanic media to deny their unequal economic statuses, to avoid scrutiny and prevent change in the current system. This is the whole idea behind capitalism. It is the creation of an ideology, a way of perceiving reality that masks the truth, upheld by those in power with the most favorable living conditions. Media and advertising become the tools by which the ideology is transferred and maintained, and so the cycle continues (Gurley, 1988: 45-48).

The Hispanic Archetype: A Critical Analysis

Who is the average Hispanic consumer? What characteristics are marketers ideally looking for in the Hispanic market? The lack of differentiation among Hispanic/Latino consumers, on the basis of age or class, for example, results in an emphasis on cultural similarities. Differences are minimized in an effort to make the group appear larger and more profitable (Englis, 1994: 11). In addition, competition with mainstream marketing produces a lack of funds that furthers the need to produce a single Hispanic/Latino ad that can speak to many. Within a single ad, marketers hope to draw from existing notions of self-identity as well as establish new connections between the product and the consumer. At the same time that marketers desire to shape Hispanic identity through the encouraged consumption of certain products and services, they also need to be in tune to their customers' own perceptions of

Hispanic identity. Marketers have a need to relate to their consumer in order to successfully sell products (Baack and Clow, 1994: 192-255). Marketers are responsible for achieving a healthy balance between these elements. Individuals on each end of the spectrum have viable input into the finished product. However, from where do marketers obtain information about the target market? Is it truly representative of the Hispanic/Latino population in the United States?

In the earliest years of the industry, Hispanics were characterized as family-oriented, conservative, traditional, Catholic, monolingual Spanish speakers (Dávila 2003: 60). The perception of Hispanic individuals as neatly packaged, brand-loyal, traditional customers appealed highly to mainstream corporate America, easing fears about taking on a new and unfamiliar niche market. Behind these limited definitions of Hispanidad, however, there did exist some truth. The first experts in US Hispanic television and marketing industries were wealthy Latin Americans who were pre-established in their homelands before working in the United States. Therefore, those values claimed as core characteristics of a collective Hispanic identity reflected strictly middle and upper class Latin American values, unrepresentative of lower classes and Hispanic/Latino individuals in the United States. Latin American intellectuals and corporate leaders wanted to portray themselves in the best light, highlighting those characteristics that demonstrated equality, if not superiority, to Anglo culture.

In addition to the role that these Latin Americans played in the initial construction of a Hispanic identity, academic research, beginning in the 1980's, was also highly influential in the industry. Before large corporations were willing to invest in a new and unfamiliar market, they required numerical proof of the profitability of US Hispanics/Latinos. Substantial amounts of research unearthed a plethora of quantitative and qualitative data that would become highly coveted and expensive information. Dávila presents a list of publications devoted entirely to the development of the new Hispanic market. As a result of their steep price, only the most profitable agencies had access to these types of reports, giving yet another advantage to upper class, wealthy individuals. For example, in 1998 a copy of the Yankelovich *Hispanic Monitor*

cost nearly \$13,000 (Dávila, 2003: 67). Overall however the research tended to support earlier preconceptions about Hispanic individuals as traditional, family-oriented, and religious; however, these reports tended to go much farther in depth.

A 1995 version of the Hispanic Market Handbook described Hispanics as group-oriented individuals who highly valued their family, friends, and community, demonstrating respect for elders, raising obedient and dependant children, and upholding hierarchal familial roles characterized by male dominance (Dávila 2003: 70). US Anglos, on the other hand, were characterized as middle-class and individualistic, relying less on family and more on themselves and institutions, and emphasizing equality and democracy in interpersonal and cross-gendered relationships. It is interesting to note that Anglos are defined more prominently by their class association, than any other characteristic. Hispanics and Latino, on the other hand, are defined entirely by cultural traits. An important question that Dávila brings to the forefront is whether lower-class Hispanic individuals would have more in common with other lower-class populations than they do with their upper-class Hispanic counterparts. What is the overriding variable around which individuals construct their identities: class or culture (Dávila, 2003: 70)?

Recent Trends in the Market

Changes in Hispanic marketing have surfaced as a result of research, technological advances, and innovation in marketing techniques. For example, it was determined that family values were most strong among recently arrived immigrants and foreign-born Hispanics. The family values of well-established US Hispanics seemed to be declining slightly as they became more accustomed to a US lifestyle, demonstrating a process of acculturation that could potentially threaten the existence of the market itself. Many of the leading figures behind Hispanic marketers fear that a merging of US lifestyle with Hispanic culture can eliminate the need for this specialized industry. In response, marketers feel the need to constantly emphasize

the differences between Hispanics and other US citizens, prolonging a segmented and divided society.

Also threatening the existence of Hispanic marketing, research disclosed an increase in the number of English-speaking Hispanics, calling into question the group's original establishment on the basis of a commonality in language (Dávila 2003: 66) Corporations perceived that English-dominant Hispanics were already reached through mainstream media and felt no need to compete with the United States' well-established media and marketing powerhouses (Dávila 2003: 71). In effect, US-born and English-dominant Latinos were forgotten as marketers concentrated their efforts on the foreign-born and Spanish-dominant. Once again, US Latinos find themselves somewhere in between white society and Hispanic society, in a loosely defined and underrepresented group of individuals.

An emphasis on the differences between Hispanics and mainstream society has had significant consequences on their functioning as a single and united American population. Hispanic marketing, operating under a mentality of dissimilarity, continues to inaccurately reflect the values and needs of the market. This has been a reoccurring trend in Hispanic marketing, since the industry's initial foundation under the wing of pre-established Latin American marketing icons to the emphasis on language purity. (Dávila 2003: 78-79). By attempting to create and maintain an authentic Hispanic image, void of Anglo influence, marketers, in turn, alienate the US Hispanic population from the rest of general society. The Hispanic market is profitable only on the condition that it is not in competition with mainstream corporations. This type of mentality means that US Hispanics will always feel like foreigners, like a "nation within a nation" (Dávila 2003: 83). However, in response to these changes in language preference, as well as an increase in the number of US-born Hispanics, marketers have begun to adopt bilingual formats that incorporate both English and Spanish together, reflecting more appropriately the daily experiences of Hispanics in the United States.

Finally, in addition to the threat of extinction, the Hispanic market is simultaneously experiencing a period of division and expansion. Although the initial images of the Hispanic consumer as traditional and conservative continue to dominate media and marketing today, a more complex and differentiated perception has been adopted as a means of addressing issues such as language preference and lifestyle. The diversity among the US Hispanic population has gained the attention of marketers who now segment the collective Hispanic market into smaller distinguished groups, with advertising designed to target each one in a more customized manner.

Marketers adapted to this more complex view of the Hispanic consumer in various ways. A more economical approach to the issue results in the production of marketing that is ambiguous or neutral in its interpretation of *Hispanidad*. Actors tend not to possess strong or easily identifiable accents and are often of a generic Hispanic look. As the idea of a united and pan-Latina community developed into the social phenomenon that it is today, reliance on a general Hispanic look became popular in marketing and media. Although the finished product may be less authentic than originally desired, it can be used to target the general Hispanic market as a result of the ad's lack of specificity. Another technique is to develop a collage of Hispanic images in a single advertisement. Marketers, focusing on the more recently immigrated, often relied on national emblems and images that immediately make a connection between the consumer and his or her homeland. An example of this marketing strategy is found in AT&T telephone ads that encourage US Hispanics to keep in touch with their Latin American relatives. AT&T takes into consideration that US Latinos can come from many diverse backgrounds. In the advertisements, images from various countries are juxtaposed in an effort to emotionally reach as many consumers as possible (Dávila 2003: 101).

In an effort to successfully appeal to the general Hispanic consumer, marketers often rely on the concept of the family. Within the familial unit, differences in age and gender can be accounted for, insuring that the pan-Hispanic approach to marketing reaches a larger number of individuals (Dávila 2003: 94). The Hispanic emphasis on the family is obvious when comparing

Anglo American ads to their Hispanic counterparts. Advertisements speaking directly to the general US population draw on the ideas like democratic right, individual accomplishment, and personal desire. Hispanic ads by the same companies formulate their messages on the basis of tradition, heritage, and strong family ties (Dávila 2003: 95). A good example of this is the popular milk advertisements run both for the general and Hispanic markets. While the mainstream advertisements used a humorous approach, coining the phrase “Got milk?” and recreating comic situations of milk scarcity, marketers feared that Hispanics would not be able to relate to this humor. Instead, their ads focus on familial values and maternal instincts, depicting a grandmother cooking milk-based desserts and the caption: “Have you given your loved ones enough milk today?”

By comparing mainstream advertisements with Hispanic advertisements it is easy to see the stereotypes applied to each group. Latinos were, and to an extent still are, assumed to be of a collective and conformist in nature, lacking American traits like individuality. Anglos, on the other hand, are viewed as independent and selfish, and to an extent, lacking culture. Latinos were considered to be an exotic and ethnic population. Advertisements left little room for diversity or integration. The was only one way to be a true Latino in the United States, embracing everything Latin American and avoiding all thing American (Englis, 1994: 109).

An excellent example of the division that existed between Anglos and Hispanics in the marketing industry can be found in the 1996 Budweiser “Rebudlución” advertising campaign. This was the first ad in history that showed Hispanic men interacting with Anglos. Although this would appear to be a step forward in the attainment of a united America, the men do not interact in a friendly or cooperative manner. The men are shown in competition with each other, and in each situation the Hispanic triumphs over the Anglo. For example, in a challenge against two Anglo bikers, the Hispanics are victorious because of their ability to eat a *habanero* pepper with ease. The Budweiser campaign revolves around distinctly Latino characteristics and demonstrates their positive qualities. In advertisements like these, Anglos are subjected to

mockery. Although this was an attempt to reverse stereotypes regarding the superiority of Anglos to Hispanics, marketers were actually contributing to the reinforcement of existing stereotypes. Hispanic images were presented in a more optimistic light, but they still depicted the Hispanic population as foreign, different, and strictly defined, relying on images of *maracas*, *sombreros*, and hot peppers. Dominant representations of Hispanics in the United States were still left unchallenged. Still to come was an advertising campaign that depicted Hispanics and Anglos cooperating as friends and co-workers (Dávila 2003: 100).

The new challenge was to construct the image of the modern Hispanic consumer as a legitimate and significant segment of the American population. This occurred slowly as marketers began to weed out national emblems and references to Latin American or Spanish tradition. For the first time in history, advertisers stopped focusing on Latin America. They stopped paying attention to whether the consumer was Cuban or Mexican and began to see the market from a new perspective. The market was no longer represented by a patchwork of loosely united nationally-based migrant communities. Rather, the modern Hispanic consumer was represented by their participation in things modern. Culture was no longer the defining factor, rather it was the idea of living in contemporary society, side by side, with the rest of the Americans (Dávila 2003: 109).

Methodology and Data Collection

Advertisements simultaneously reflect the wishes and desires of the both the target market and the marketer. Marketers have to appeal to their audience to achieve affective communication, but at the same time they want to change attitudes and actions and to mold their market into a more ideal consumer. The question then becomes where to draw the line. How does one decipher between what the consumer ideally wants and what the marketer is telling the consumer he or she wants? How much of marketing reflects truth in the market and how much reflects the desire to sell? In an attempt to shed some light on this enigma, I decided to compare

current trends in Hispanic marketing to earlier trends and look for differences between the advertisements. I also thought it would be interesting to compare Hispanic/Latino ads to mainstream ads.

After such extensive research on the history of Hispanic marketing in the United States, I was quite anxious to see these trends with my own eyes, to either confirm or adjust what Dávila and other scholars had observed in the early years of the Hispanic-Latino marketing industry. For reasons of availability and simplicity in structure I chose to analyze print advertisements within magazines; and as a result of time constraints, I decided to focus my analysis on one particular target population, women between the ages of roughly 18 to their early 40's. The magazines were beauty, health, and home-oriented. I made this choice partially as a result of my own age, gender, and social interests, but also because of the availability factor. Online, nearly any magazine can be ordered and delivered directly to your front door, coming from sources around the world. However, I was more interested in those magazines routinely supplied by businesses in my home area, such as a supermarket or bookstore. Analyzing those publications provided by large corporations would give me a small glimpse into what corporate America thought about the growing Hispanic population in the US. How profitable of a market did most businesses perceive the Spanish-speaking population? Which types of magazines did business owners expect Hispanic and Latinos to buy?

Interestingly, despite the promising demographics of Bloomington, IL, the selection of magazines directed toward Latinos, or any magazine in Spanish for that matter, was severely limited. Bloomington has a rapidly growing Hispanic population, that in 2000 was recorded by the US census as 3.32% of the overall population, averaging over 2150 total residents.

Unfortunately, I failed to come across any mainstream grocery stores that subscribed to Spanish-based magazines, including the local Walmart Supercenter. Barnes and Nobles and Borders Bookstore, however, both carried these types of magazines. However, each supplied only about 4 or 5 and interestingly they were all oriented towards younger women, hence the choice of my

target population. Unfortunately, some of the magazines were from last year and I was unable to use them in my analysis. I think that a limit in choice and a lack of consistency has a lot to say about the relationship between Latino citizens and the US economy.

Through the analysis of advertisements directed towards Hispanic populations in comparison with those advertisements directed towards the mainstream population, I hoped to see how the identities of these two groups are portrayed differently or similarly by marketers and their brands. Therefore I focused my attention on magazines that are published in both English and Spanish editions, such as *Cosmopolitan* and *People*. In my first analysis, I obtained both the March 2006 English edition as well as the March 2006 Spanish edition of *Cosmopolitan*. I recorded every advertisement within each edition looking for the following key characteristics: brand, product type, appeal (discussed earlier as the attitude of the customer in relation to the product), the executional framework (how the marketer achieves the appeal), the use of human models, language, size, and finally, whether or not the advertisement made a direct reference to the target market's culture.

Once data had been collected on the ads in each magazine and organized into table format, it was easy to compare and contrast them, looking for any significant differences, uncanny similarities, or patterns in general among the ads. I hoped to uncover the different perceptions that businesses and marketers hold in regards to both Latinos and their white counterparts. Are these two groups of Americans really so different as perceived by early marketers? Is the perception of the Hispanic market still as distinct and socially segmented or have Hispanic marketing techniques grown similar to those of mainstream society?

My data succeeds in shedding light on the current trends in Hispanic and Latino marketing. How do techniques used in Hispanic marketing compare with those used in mainstream marketing? The first issue I want to address is the number of advertisements within the magazines. In the March 2006 Spanish *Cosmopolitan* I counted a total of 26 advertisements, each a page to two pages in size. In the English edition of *Cosmopolitan* I counted a total of 94

ads this same size or larger. This difference in the number of physical advertisements and therefore the number of companies who are willing to market to the Latino community can mean several things. Perhaps this community remains relatively ignored and untapped, waiting to expand in all directions; or, perhaps Hispanic marketing is coming to an end and a proliferation of second and third generation English-speaking Hispanics has resulted in the extinction of a specialized culturally-focused marketing industry. Before this issue is discussed in any further detail, however, it should be noted that in my analysis of *People Magazine*, both the Spanish and English editions contained similar amounts of ads. The Spanish version had a total of 60 ads, while the English version contained just two more than that. This discrepancy between the two magazines can exist for a variety of purposes.

My data points to the fact that *People Magazine* and *Cosmopolitan*, although both directed towards younger women and covering general issues related to beauty, fashion, love, etc, are actually quite distinct from each other in their choice of advertising technique and the amounts of ads they are willing to publish. For example, *People Magazine* demonstrated a preference for advertisements that utilized a rational appeal, constituting 38% of their Hispanic ads and 41% in their English ads. In both editions, *People* had a higher percentage of ads with rational appeals than any other possible appeal. *Cosmopolitan*, on the other hand, demonstrated a preference for ads with emotional appeals, constituting a total of 48% of their Hispanic ads and 60% of their English ads. What this means is that the underlying structure and aims of the magazine, its unique perspective within the larger realm of beauty and fashion, is the defining characteristic in the choice of marketing techniques. In other words, marketers are not so much concerned with the culture of the market, but rather the lifestyle and the image portrayed by the magazine. The Hispanic *Cosmopolitan* was more similar in its choice of appeal to the English *Cosmopolitan* than it was to the Hispanic *People Magazine*. The reverse is also true; the Spanish edition of *People* is more similar to the English edition, than it is to the Spanish *Cosmopolitan*. In other words, ads show more similarity when grouped by magazine not by culture. With this

said, the difference in the physical number of ads present in each magazine could be related to this difference in lifestyle. Perhaps there are a greater number of products better represented by an emotional appeal versus a rational appeal.

In my analysis of the executional framework, *Cosmopolitan* and *People* showed far greater similarity in the selection of marketing technique. Across the board, the fantasy executional framework was the most commonly used. In *Cosmopolitan*, 47% and 46% of the ads in the English and Spanish editions respectively, relied on an executional framework grounded in fantasy. In *People*, 35% and 45% of the ads in the English and Spanish editions respectively also used fantasy in their ad design.

Overall my data revealed that current Hispanic-directed advertisements, in comparison to slightly earlier ads from the 80's and before, tend to mimic mainstream advertisements, surfacing similar percentages in the frequency of a particular advertising approach or technique. So similar, in fact, that the English and Spanish ads often calculated to within a percentage or two of each other. For example, English ads and Hispanic marketers equally utilize celebrities in the designs of their ads. However, there are some relatively major differences noted between Hispanic and English ads, that point to the fact that these two markets are still separate from each other in many ways.

One way to surface the differences perceived by marketers between the Hispanic and mainstream markets, is to compare the types of products for sale in their respective language editions. For example, in the Spanish *Cosmopolitan*, the most widely advertised products were, in decreasing order: shampoo, makeup, undergarments, alcohol, and body shapers. The most widely advertised products in the English *Cosmopolitan* were makeup, hair products, skin products, and designer clothes. By comparing these two lists, one can see where they are in agreement and where they are discrepancies. For example, one product from the list above does not appear to entirely fit in with the other products, that is, the alcohol. All the other advertisements are for products that enhance beauty, the alcohol, however is a product for the

purpose of socializing or intoxication. Differences like this one can provide important insight into the image that marketers have of US Hispanics. This example seems to demonstrate that US marketers perceive Hispanic individuals to be more frequent drinkers than their white counterparts. This, whether a stereotype or statistical fact, is one characteristic that constitutes the Hispanic consumer identity.

When this same analysis was completed with *People Magazine*, alcohol was once again one of the most popularly advertised products in the Hispanic edition. Alcohol, however, was not popularly advertised in the English editions of either magazine. In decreasing order, the most widely advertised products in the Hispanic edition of *People* were automobiles, skin products, phone service, alcohol, health awareness, food, cooking ingredients, and designer clothes. In comparison, the most widely advertised products in the English edition were food, television shows, medicine, automobiles, and phone service. Overall, the greatest differences noticed between the two markets include a higher percentage of health awareness ads in Hispanic magazines, while on the other hand, a greater percentage of ads for hair products, makeup, and automobiles in English magazines. However, differences like these are minimal. The similarities between Hispanic and English advertisements in both *Cosmopolitan* and *People* override the differences between them. For example, phone service, food, and automobiles are all advertised frequently in both editions of both magazines.

Although most advertisements in the two editions of *Cosmopolitan* were represented by different companies and brands, I paid particularly close attention to those companies that chose to advertise in both editions. Many of the companies chose to present ads that were identical to each other with the exception of the language. However, some of the advertisements showed significant changes. For example, both Verizon Wireless and Absolut Vodka printed ads in the Spanish and English versions of *Cosmopolitan*. Verizon wireless structured their ad in the same format and presented the same information. The only change was made in the selection of the celebrity pictured in the ad. The English versioned featured the music group Black Eyed Peas,

while the Spanish version chose Shakira, a Colombian pop star popular in both Latin America and the US for her bilingual music. I believe that paying attention to these details will provide insight into the perceptions that marketers and businesses hold in regards to their different markets. How are Latinos and Hispanics viewed in comparison to their white counterparts?

At a first glance, it appears that these two markets are being sent slightly different messages, but that in historical comparison they are really much more alike than they ever have been. It can be said, perhaps, that the development of a global culture is well underway. In a sense we are all becoming more and more like each other, upholding similar ideas of beauty, sex, and lifestyle, but in another sense we are experiencing a period of diversification, in which national collective ideologies are now overtaken by claims to individuality and modernity. The processes that operate behind the global marketing industry are composed from a complicated and paradoxical exchange of information between the marketer and consumer. I hope to continue this research farther, covering a much wider range of magazines so as to better establish those patterns that surfaced in my data. In addition, I want to take into consideration regional differences between magazine editions printed in different sections United States. I think that advertisements printed in Los Angeles or Chicago would demonstrate slightly different patterns than less Hispanic-populated areas like Bloomington, IL. Overall, however, my data plays an important role in taking the first steps toward the understanding of the relationships between marketer, consumer, Hispanics, and mainstream America, as we experience increased globalization and technological advancement.

