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Recontextualizing ideologies about social difference in New York Spanish-language newspaper advertising

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ABSTRACT

This article considers how group-related notions of difference are advertised in the popular Spanish-language newspaper *El Diario*. Research on Hispanic Americans more generally has shown how identity formations occur through notions of imagined group pan-ethnicities vis-à-vis associations with particular nationalities of origin. This article adds to this research through analyzing how linguistic signs and virtual figures in *El Diario*'s advertisements craft figures of personhood that contrast other groups with a working class, Spanish-speaking consumer in order to sell products. I also analyze advertisements for similar products and services in the *New York Post* to show how such strategies change across newspapers.

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1. Introduction

As Spanish-speaking populations have increased in the United States, forms of media disseminating texts in Spanish have concomitantly risen in number. The vast increase in the number of Spanish-language media outlets has depended much upon imagining a homogenous Spanish-speaking audience. It is well-known that the label “Hispanic” was developed as an ethnic category for the 1980 US census (e.g., *Bean and Tienda, 1987; De Genova, 2005*). Though Spanish-speaking immigrants in the US were familiar with notions of pan-ethnicity before 1980, this census is widely acknowledged as the document in which “Hispanic” became a national category (*Dávila, 2001, p. 241*). This social construct, formed by linking people from different nation-states through shared notions of “the Spanish language,” was also promoted by advertising executives around the same time.¹ In the late 1980s, marketers at the Spanish-language television network Univisión expunged diacritics indexical of particular Latin American nation-states in order to promote a discrete standard Hispanic community and register of Spanish (*Rodriguez, 1997a*). The idea that such a community existed was of the utmost importance, as this notion mediated the selling of ads for a considerably larger target audience. In this case, the construct “Hispanic” foregrounds ethnic- and class-based traits of the target audience. The label is prioritized even though individuals represented by it self-identify in much more complex and contested ways in regards to constructs like race, ethnicity, and nationality (e.g., *Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Grosfoguel and Georas, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Oboler, 1995*). Given this background, it is obvious why projecting a target audience that is differentiated through an emblematic Spanish language is important: such a notion enables lucrative publications for Spanish-speakers in the US.

This paper examines how group-related notions of difference are presupposed and disseminated in the advertisements *El Diario/La Prensa* of New York, the largest Spanish-language daily newspaper in New York City (*Lazcano, 2007*). Research on

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¹ For a length review of formulation of Hispanic media sources during the mid-twentieth century, see *Rodriguez (1999)*.

Spanish language advertising, especially in anthropology, has focused on several themes: on how Latinos are depicted in various forms of advertising, such as the strategic deployment of Latino skin color as a diacritic of whiteness and affluence (Dávila, 2008; Rodríguez, 1997b); on the absence of Black or Indigenous models communicating messages in Spanish (Dávila, 2002); and how advertising may or may not draw upon signs indexical of Latinidad in advertising, especially in regards to Spanish linguistic signs (Peñaloza, 1997; Urciuoli, 2003).² In this paper, I consider a different facet of advertising that is common in *El Diario*: how “others” are drawn upon in advertisements in order delineate the addressee as a distinct audience. In other words, this paper examines how products in advertisements are linked to contrastive social personae in ways that presuppose and promote the difference of working class, Spanish-speaking readers from other constructed demographics.³

In this case, it is strategically useful for Hispanic marketers to promulgate a readership that considers itself different from others. Corporate intellectuals have made fortunes in crafting generalized Hispanic American figures of personhood (Dávila, 2001). Scholars have conducted ethnographic studies of Hispanic Marketing production that fruitfully show how imaginations of Hispanics linked to race and class mediate the industry (e.g., Dávila, 2001, 2008; Rodríguez, 1999). In order to study how these notions are sometimes manifested in ads, I examined advertisements in *El Diario* and the *New York Post* in the years 2009 and 2010. I found that one common marketing strategy in *El Diario* is that virtual figures, or images of individuals featured in ads, are not the imagined reader. In contrast, the *New York Post*'s advertising nearly always has virtual figures that approximate the reader. In the case of *El Diario*, linguistic signs encourage readers to consider group-related differences from virtual figures through alignment or disalignment with ads. In this paper, I examine a selection of the ads from this time period and show how advertising strategies for similar products or services differ across newspapers.

One way that advertisements comment on social relations is through the use of diacritics in the portrayal of products or services. In advertising in general, signs are used to construct products that index particular types of people and conduct in various social orders (Agha, 2011). Advertising as an industry depends upon the consideration of goods and services as social indexicals. In the ads from *El Diario* that I consider below, virtual figures cohere under the theme of difference from the audience. The following advertisements in *El Diario*, through drawing upon social stereotypes and delineating virtual figures from addressees, draw upon notions group formations and discourses about people in the process of linking social images to products and services. Diacritics indexical of these particular lifestyles, then, are available for readers to consider in activities well beyond the viewing of an advertisement (e.g., Agha, 2007b).

The order of the paper is as follows: Section two deals with the emergence of advertising for target audiences and advertising strategies based on these audiences. Section three deals with the emergence of Hispanic marketing more generally and the history of *El Diario* in particular. Section four considers theory from linguistic anthropology and applications for advertising. And section five is an analysis of select advertisements from *El Diario* and the *New York Post*.

2. Advertising industries and scalar audiences

Much research on advertising has focused on how advertisements of larger scale media forms include racialized, negative images of minority groups, if individuals from these groups are depicted at all (Bowen and Schmid, 1997; Mastro and Greenberg, 2000; Subervi-Vélez, 1986; Taylor and Bang, 1997). In other words, researchers often emphasize that the intended audience does not include ethnic minorities. Scholars have also considered “narrowcasting,” or producing specialized media for an audience of smaller, segmented scale (e.g., Chae and Flores, 1998; Smith-Shomade, 2004; Wilson, 1995). Advertising with this goal illustrates how an imagined consumer shifts depending on the market. Forms of what are often called “ethnic media” especially illustrate market segmentation and the imagined homogeneity of groups (e.g., Deuze, 2006; Jeffres, 2000; Johnson, 2000; Riggins, 1992). Like many forms of advertising, such strategies operate under the presupposition of difference. Target market advertising, by design, depends upon the segmentation of the audience as different from others (Agha, 2011; Rodríguez, 1999).

Marketers can presuppose that the entirety of a media form's audience shares particular group-related membership features in some way. In this case, an audience in its entirety may be imagined to cohere in a certain way not only in formulating advertisements for an addressee, but also for selling an audience to advertisers (Higgins, 2003). Specific advertisements within the same media forms can also be created with somewhat different audiences in mind (Ogilvy, 1985). Media forms like “ethnic media” assume an entire audience that shares salient characteristics in contradistinction to others. Rodríguez (1999) notes that this is the case of Hispanic marketing, where advertising presupposes that audiences are “quantifiably different” from the broader US population. This distinction is carried out in part through addressing the audience in Spanish, but also through the predominant imagination of a “commercial ethnicity” of low socio-economic status (pp. 41–47). This is but one example of how target markets of advertising may cohere under the assumption of the audience's shared characteristics, which can exist on various levels of scale.

Another way that distinction is important is through linking products or services to individual addressees. In advertising in general, products are often personified through the use of diacritics that function as role designators. As Agha (2011) notes, combinations of linguistic or nonlinguistic signs may be placed in an advertisement to index various personal traits,

² I use the term “Hispanic” in this paper, since marketing in Spanish in the U.S. is frequently referred to as “Hispanic marketing.” However, when I cite authors who instead use the descriptor “Latinos,” I uphold the author's chosen lexeme.

³ Urciuoli (2003) has noted how the term “Hispanic” usually presupposes a racialized and working class referent. Please see my discussion in section two for how the audience of this newspaper is commonly believed to be such a demographic.

demeanors, or preferences for the audience. Particular signs may be linked with numerous other signs within and outside of an advertisement in order to portray the product in a certain way, connections which may in turn affect notions of the user of the product. Products are formulated through diagrams of signs that exceed merely the iconic representation of the product (e.g., Cook, 2001; Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985). These formulations depend upon linking differences in products to social differences among people who use the products (Agha, 2011). Marketers may wish for products to index various lifestyles that, through use of the product or service, will distinguish the addressee in socially indexical ways. Thus, advertisements by design address a type (or types) of individuals as distinct from other types of people.

Various scholars, especially those associated with post-structuralism and post-colonialism, have famously noted the importance of contrast for delineating groups. Hall (1996), for example, notes how subjectivities are constructed through difference: “it is only through relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks... that the ‘positive’ meaning of any term—and thus its ‘identity’—can be constructed” (p. 4). Said (1979) also writes how the maintenance of a given “culture” is impossible without constructions of othered alter egos (p. 333). Groups can emerge through both the imagination of others and through their own strategic constructions, and (self-)defining groups against others is often important in such an endeavor (Anderson, 2006[1983]; Hall, 1993). Advertisers, whose careers often depend upon foregrounding a selected persona as a target audience, clearly consider who is not the audience when crafting an advertisement (Rodríguez, 1999) and depend upon popular ideologies about social difference in crafting images for advertising (O’Barr, 1994). Forms of advertising more generally, and “ethnic media” productions in particular, operate under assumptions about social group-related differences. These assumptions are reflected in the ads of *El Diario*.

Corporate media outlets more generally have imagined audiences for decades on various scales. Louw (2001) notes how coast-to-coast media chains, building on the work of nationally circulated periodicals, began to unite US citizens into a national imagined community. With the advances of Fordian mass production across industries, this national audience was important for the selling of consumers on a larger scale. A “national” audience was important for selling products of industrial mass production in a “national” market (p. 56). Since the 1990s, Louw notes that there has been growing fragmentation into niche markets, as appealing to mass audiences is no longer as cost effective (p. 19). The commodification of a national Hispanic market occurred through paradoxical processes of increased scale and specialization. Though Spanish-speaking media markets were geographically fragmented during the mid-twentieth century, the reconfiguration of a national Spanish-speaking market allowed marketers to reach a large number of Spanish-speakers throughout the country who were believed to exist in similar ways. (Rodríguez, 1999, p. 38). “Hispanics” were seen as a divergent group with different needs and wants from other communities, thus allowing advertisers to target a profitable, particular audience (Dávila, 2002; Rodríguez, 1997a). Through considering this large distinct group, media outlets could then collect astronomical advertising revenue under the premise of a “Hispanic” audience.

3. Hispanic marketing

Research on the production side of advertising shows how imagining difference is important for the Hispanic marketing industry. Dávila (2002) writes that recent immigrants from Latin America, especially through the command of Spanish, are frequently involved in the creative aspect of marketing. The demand for so-called flawless Spanish means that recent immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries are sought to invent and formulate advertisements. US born Latinos are common in production and in client services, and Anglo personnel are involved in various stages of the production process. Rodríguez (1997a) notes that such professionally salaried marketers are usually college educated, in contrast to the audiences they imagine. Thus, though Hispanic marketers actually come from different backgrounds, they are bound together through the display of knowledge about a “Latino lifestyle.” In order to be perceived as understanding the target audience, Hispanic marketers must convince others that they understand the imagined group. As such, Rodríguez (Rodríguez, 1997a) notes that many US-born Hispanic marketers professionally endorse an idea of a Latino ethnicity for its strategic use, regardless of whether they agree with it (p. 291).

Obviously, then, producers imagine an audience as they produce text artifacts like copies of print advertisements. Though readers often decontextualize a text artifact, the original co(n)text of production illuminates the social processes that contributed to its formation (Silverstein and Urban, 1996). The processes behind advertising show how ideologies about culture and social relations get linked to commodities (see especially Dávila, 2001). In the advertisements in *El Diario*, there are processes on various scales that may affect advertising: immigration to the US over decades and consequent emerging notions of group identity; norms about exploitation and relationships between groups; and discourses about social difference in daily talk that make their way into advertisements, among others. In other words, advertisements are crafted through consideration of social relations, and the social imaginaries projected in advertisements may model social worlds of the audience. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the virtual world of advertisements and the social world from which marketers pull information. These ads are strategically designed by marketers, and thus the circumstances of the figures in the advertisements are controlled by those producing the advertisements.

Though the virtual world of advertisements are crafted by marketers, and thus are models of chronotopes that are distinct from the daily activities of Hispanic individuals in the US, it is useful to briefly review the social situation that informs the work of marketers. It is well-documented that many Spanish-speaking immigrants feel like outsiders vis-à-vis English-speaking populations. Many Spanish-speaking recent immigrants in New York are torn through feelings of belonging to

two countries. They are often politically, socially, and spatially marginalized and struggle over these issues with other groups (e.g. Bourgois, 2003; Dávila, 2004; Jones-Correa, 1998; Smith, 2005; Thabit, 2003). Such reactions by majority communities may not only fend off minorities; negative treatment may also contribute to the rejection of various majority norms and institutions by marginalized groups (Ogbu, 1987; Hamann et al., 2002). Spanish-speakers in New York are certainly aware of frequent antagonisms and negative ideologies about them, especially those ostensibly linked to communication (Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 1997). Equally knowledgeable of these social relations are Hispanic marketers who, as mentioned above, must demonstrate knowledge of a “Latino lifestyle” for employment. Thus, advertisements inevitably comment on these processes through the use of social norms and stereotypes in the design of messages. One goal of this paper is to consider how the virtual figures of these advertisements present social imaginaries of life for Hispanic audiences, as well as to consider how addressees of advertisements are brought together in the formation of an audience. Marketers inevitably shape virtual worlds in advertisements in ways that they see as most effective for the selling of products, and thus what emerges is often a chronotope of social imaginaries that may be quite different from the events of daily life (e.g., Agha, 2007b).

Rodriguez (1997a) notes that the top US Spanish-language daily newspapers are profitable because they have “reinvented relatively poor recent immigrants” as a commodified audience (p. 301). Though ascertaining how many recent immigrants comprise *El Diario*'s audience is difficult, the role fraction of “working class Spanish-speakers” is commonly believed to be the newspaper's readership. The position of *El Diario* in its news coverage supports this notion. Writing about the upcoming mayoral race, the editorial board endorsed William Thompson, Jr., Mayor Michael Bloomberg's opponent, much to the dismay of the Bloomberg campaign. The paper cited Thompson's emphasis on tenants' rights, affordable housing, and small businesses as laudable. Furthermore, it censured Bloomberg for ignoring the economic needs of Latinos suffering during the recession (Avendaño, 2009).⁴ Echoing the populist tone of the endorsements, Thompson announced that he was honored to have the support of the paper. “The hard-working men and women of New York City deserve a mayor who will put their needs ahead of the rich and powerful,” he remarked (Barbaro, 2009). In commentary on the endorsement, the *New York Times* notes that Thompson seeks the support of working class and middle class voters, “precisely the kind of voters *El Diario* reaches” (Barbaro, 2009). This example is one of many that bolster the portrayal of *El Diario*'s imagined readership as working class. In the ads that follow, I consider how *El Diario* addresses and presents its audience in this way through a particular manner of advertising in the paper.

3.1. The origins of a profitable newspaper in a declining industry

Spanish-language newspapers, defying the national trend of print media industries, have generally seen increasing profits. Such a triumph occurs in contrast with most English-language newspapers, which have trimmed employees, cut services, and increased online advertisements in order to yield diminished profit margins. The corporation of ImpreMedia, on whose newspaper this study focuses, has seen profits soar as it has moved to build a conglomerate of newspapers on the national level. Unquestionably, revenue from advertising is indispensable for this business. With this background in mind, I consider the historical development of *El Diario*, the oldest and second largest Spanish-language newspaper in the United States. As of 2007, this paper saw national advertising sales rise 32%, an increase in circulation, and an annual revenue of \$22 million (Traster, 2007). This success in trying economic times indicates an accurate projection of an imagined audience that responds positively to advertising in this newspaper. Through focusing on a brief history of the company, we can see how this corporation has arisen to its current successful status.

The combined title *El Diario/La Prensa* stems from a merger in 1963 of two earlier Spanish-language newspapers in New York, one that started in 1913 and the other in 1948. Since that time, the paper has undergone a number of changes in ownership. The Gannett Corporation, ranked as one of the 500 largest US corporations by Fortune in the 1980s, acquired the paper in 1981. The company also owned radio stations, television stations, a polling organization, and a billboard advertising service, many of which were English-language ventures (Downing, 1992). After this purchase, the previous policy of giving any Latino candidate running for office publicity shifted to a more selective position, deciding whether to give coverage of candidates based on their positions. Additionally, expectations of reporters increased, including that they would go to the field for reporting instead of relying principally on telephone interviews.

Furthermore, the official policy of the editorial board at this time was to give Puerto Ricans the most coverage of all Spanish speakers, since they were the largest number of Latin American nationalities in New York at the time. Dominican and Colombian community news was also emphasized (Downing, 1992, p. 264). The year 1985 brought the addition of the section titled “*Nuestros Países*” (“Our Countries”), which reports news from respective countries in Latin America. Thus, this component considered individual countries of origin, such as the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Peru, tied together through the collective imagination of the personal deictic “our.” Even with the acknowledgement of the various nation-states from which members of the readership hail, one can see how personal deictics are used to shift footing to a collective nature of the audience (Wortham, 2001). Such changes occurred around the same time that the notion of “Hispanic” was gaining favor in the US. One could increasingly find newspapers of “Hispanic-oriented media” sold in the US beside those imported from nations throughout Latin America (Subervi-Vélez, 1994). In 1989, Gannett sold the newspaper to a consortium that included Anglo business people and the Latino publisher of the newspaper. Thus, one can also see how both

⁴ It should also be noted that the article depicted Bloomberg as an autocrat seeking to destroy democracy through altering term limits.

Hispanic and Anglo individuals have participated in the production of news and the profitable imagination of a Spanish-speaking audience over time. Other prominent organizations like Time Warner Inc. and the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company joined an investment group that funded expansion through purchasing other Spanish-language media outlets. James Harmon, the chairman of the newly formed company Latin Communications Group Incorporated, noted the calculated future: “This is the early stage of building a media company that will take years” (Glaberson, 1995). Thus, we can see the visions of many people, both Anglo and Latino, for an extremely profitable mega-company. These demographics are similar to the diverse populations that Dávila (2008) describes in the “Hispanic marketing” industry today.

In 2003, *El Diario* was sold for \$19.9 million to a Los Angeles private investment group for media and communications (“*El Diario*,” 2003). *El Diario/La Prensa* then merged with the Lozano Family, owners of the Los Angeles Spanish-language newspaper *La Opinión*, in 2004. With the owners of the investment group CPK Media, they jointly formed the new corporation of ImpreMedia, a company oriented toward the growing Hispanic population in the United States (“*Business Digest*,” 2004; Lazcano, 2007). Since its foundation, this corporation has aggressively purchased Spanish-language newspapers throughout the US. In 2007, for example, ImpreMedia bought *El Diario*'s rival Spanish-language paper in New York, *Hoy*, and continued its free circulation (against *El Diario*'s price of fifty cents per copy) (Seelye, 2007).

Since its creation, ImpreMedia has received much public attention as a successful media conglomerate. In July of 2009, ImpreMedia was named the best and most influential national Hispanic media company by *Cambio 16*, a major Spanish-language magazine. Furthermore, the CEO during this time, Canadian John Paton, was named publisher of the year. A flurry of articles surrounding his background have since proliferated the productions of non-Spanish-language media outlets (Kelly, 2009). In January 2010, Paton left his position to become the CEO of Journal Register Company. However, in recent years, the company has expanded its reach and clout. One newspaper article estimates that 30% of US Hispanic adults use some form of an ImpreMedia product (Ruiz, 2010). In November of 2009, ImpreMedia launched a deal with AOL Latino to supply its Spanish-language news. ImpreMedia is also partnering with the social networking site MySpace to provide primary content for the MySpace Latino community “*Todo Fútbol*” (“*Impremedia Powers New MySpace Latino Sports Community*,” 2008). Thus, one can see not only how much the company has grown in recent years, but also the accolades that it has accumulated along the way. *El Diario*, then, is no small venture. It is a respected, extremely profitable enterprise in an age where the English-language newspaper industry has plummeted. It has changed ownership many times over the years under visions of a lucrative Spanish-language media powerhouse. Thus, the advertising in the paper deserves careful consideration given its unusual and calculated success. The company has been so profitable with print advertising that former CEO Paton even commented of its ability to directly take on Spanish-language television. “From the client to the agency side, I think for a long time Hispanic broadcast had the field to itself. The power of print, particularly Hispanic print, is only now becoming known to the key agencies and [marketers],” he noted (Schnuer, 2006).

4. Linguistic anthropology and advertising

It has long been established that communication does not just occur through linguistic signs (e.g., Hymes, 1962; Agha, 2007a). Advertisements form cohesive texts for communication, as linguistic signs co-occur with images, photographs, patterns, fonts, and other diacritics to formulate a message at the text-level (Blommaert, 2003; Cook, 2001). Through examining ads in this way, one can see how co-occurring signs are grouped together for intended addressees. An advertisement, like other forms of communication, has senders, forms, and addressees who respond to messages (Hymes, 1974; Urciuoli, 2003). If this view is taken, the poetic structure of advertising is clearly important. Signs in advertising are grouped together based on a particular message. The structure itself, then, is a critical component of how people can interpret messages (Jakobson, 1987[1960]; Silverstein, 1985). One cannot extract particular diacritics from their juxtapositions within messages and still fully understand the message they are conveying. As a result, I analyze the advertisements in their entirety and consider how the structure of the advertisements affects messages about group differences and similarities.

If an advertisement is a message in the form of a text artifact, there are useful ways to analyze such a message. Advertisers frequently create virtual personae to fill advertisements for the targeted audience, and these forms are socially consequential. Bakhtin's (1981) notion of the chronotope considers how time and space “thicken” to become a part of history. As noted by Agha (2007b), personhood is critical for understanding chronotopes: locatable selves are not only manifest in these signs at the text-level, but chronotopes are also ideologically understood in relation to personhood. That is to say, in regards to the text-level of advertising, one can note that chronotopes in advertising often link images of individuals, landscapes, and props with linguistic text. These ads recontextualize various signs through co-occurrences for particular imagined consumers. And as a representation, a chronotope in an advertisement is construed within a participation framework by observers. In advertising, this relationship may involve production and consumption. Through utilizing chronotopes in advertising, marketers and audiences themselves are located as a sketch of personhood in space–time that may be affected by viewing the advertisement. A chronotope, then, is a sketch of personhood for those who are associated with it. Images of social personae, developed by marketers for an audience within a sociohistorical trajectory, are socially meaningful. The images they convey not only offer insight into how marketers plan. Producers or target audiences may also recontextualize messages from other ads, and sets of ads may cohere in a particular way. People's experiences with chronotopes in advertisements unfold in a frame of interaction.

As Wortham (1996) writes, personal deictics like “you” and “we” are key for analyzing the footing of speakers in discourse analysis. Personal deictics affect the interaction of the conversation and establish relationships between interlocutors. They construct interpersonal alignment between virtual figures and audience members. In advertisements with chronotopic images, I show how person deictics point the reader to differences between the addressee and the virtual figure, recontextualizing social stereotypes for the audience. Such groupings differentiate the imagined working class, Spanish-speaking audience of the newspaper in ways less commonly seen in the advertisements of other periodicals. Though other research has considered how broader media outlets utilize personal deictics like “you” to construct an elusive, general viewer (Scannell, 2000; Vidali, 2010), the placement of “you” in these ads is necessary for differentiating a specific viewer that contrasts with the virtual figures.

These ads, of course, personify commodities. In *El Diario*, however, advertisements often personify objects through meta-semiotic frameworks that contrast virtual figures with the addressee. The success of the ads depends upon the linking of role fractions of cultural groups (some feature of a particular identity) to products and services that are not the audience. These ads utilize signs that rely upon stereotypes about other groups in order to distinguish the audience. It is true that most advertising utilizes commodity personification, ideologies connecting various seemingly disparate signs to products, and diacritics of social correlation. However, an examination of the ads in the *New York Post* shows how another media form differentiate the addressee through appeals to the similarity of the particular individual or group. In other words, in the *New York Post*, the viewer is often differentiated as someone who could “step in” to the chronotopic advertisement. I contrast *El Diario's* ads with those in the *New York Post* in order to bolster this point.

5. A textual analysis of advertisements

In the advertisements of *El Diario/La Prensa*, social stereotypes are frequently recontextualized for the readership through groups of signs. It is worth noting that the surprising nature of advertising characters has even come to the attention of non-academic publications, such as the online *AdvertisingAge*. As seen in Fig. 1, this periodical calls attention to the advertisement that asks, in Spanish, “Have you ever seen a fat Chinese woman?” The obvious answer to the question, paired with the image of an Asian female with an exposed flat stomach, is that “they” drink tea all day to stay so skinny.

This advertisement, like many of the ones analyzed below, foregrounds ethnic differences between the imagined audience (“you,” “Ud.”) and the chronotope (“they,” “skinny Chinese women” (“Ellas,” “chinas delgadas y juvenes”). In other words, this advertisement, like the others depicted below, uses stereotypes linked to particular role fractions of culture through virtual figures and linguistic signs of contrast with the imagined Hispanic audience. Distinction of an addressee is essential to the advertising industry more generally, as I have shown above. However, while distinction is presupposed in advertising, these ads’ entail group difference through metasemiotic cultural frameworks that are contrasted with the addressee. Stereotypes about the race, class, and gender of others, and associated components of a respective lifestyle, lead to the foregrounding of

Fig. 1. Martinez, L. (2009, February 25). Ad Asks: “Have You Ever Seen a Fat Chinese Woman?” *AdvertisingAge*. Retrieved from http://adage.com/bigtent/post?article_id=134873.

other-ness. Here this occurs in the form of weight, Asian-ness, and tea. Personal deictics affirm the chronotopic difference as “they” juxtaposed with the “you” addressee. The circulation of these ads, then, presupposes and entails the audience’s difference from a culturally contrastive virtual character, and this difference unites the virtual figures of the advertisements that work in this way. Such a practice is rarely seen in ads of the *New York Post*. As I will show throughout this paper, such examples inextricably involve racial and non-racial role fractions of social personae.

Fig. 2 is a frequent ad in *El Diario* that depicts an overweight White male, complete with a jacket, tie, and hat, puffing a cigar. The cigar and clothes of the individual, and even his boutonniere, confirm the persona of an affluent boss, indexical of upper classes. The cigar affirms a prototypical sleazy white boss through its iconic, interdiscursive connections to past media images of unscrupulous mafia members or business executives who smoke cigars. This chronotope is located directly to the left of the bolded, all capitalized “Were you swindled...?”, which is soon followed by “Many employers in New York... illegally do not pay their employees.” Thus, through the co-occurrence of the image of this man with a statement about swindling employers, one can assume that the virtual figure is the message’s defendant. This image is juxtaposed with the implied formal second person addressee of the advertisement, indicating the audience is unlikely to be the individual depicted; the audience should act on being swindled instead of doing the swindling. Through presenting this text for an audience of working class Spanish-speakers, the ad recontextualizes previous images of, and ideas about, white businessmen for the addressed “you.” Co-occurring lexical signs of working class professions, all of which would be employed by the leadership of the virtual figure, encourage readers to act on slights by a similar character through legal action.

How are signs depicting businessmen and -women presented vis-à-vis the reader in the *New York Post*? Numerous advertisements in this newspaper link signs of business-men and -women as directly comparable to the imagined consumer. In Fig. 3, a Ross University advertisement shows numerous signs linked to “experts,” or figures of personhood in positions to manage others, with personal deictics that indicate that the audience could assume the role of those same individuals. The virtual figure tells us that “Ross gives *you* the focus to pursue *your* dreams.”

Another notes that, “I am what I am today because of Ross University.” The implication, then, is that the virtual figures were in the same position as the viewer of the ad. Only through enrolling in Ross University, the request of the advertisement, was the virtual figure able to gain her position. In the same advertisement, the co-occurrence of the first persons in the advertisement and the second person addressees show that the advertisement encourages viewers to view themselves as similar to the virtual character, personae depicted wearing ties and dress shirts. These signs of professionalism are thus linked not only to the virtual personae through co-occurrence, but also to the addressees who could attend the school. There is lifestyle congruence between the chronotope and the imagined reader: the implication is that the virtual figures were people just like the readers who followed their dreams. Furthermore, these personae include faces easily construed as people of various ethnic backgrounds. Thus, singling out any particular racial or gendered role fraction as contrastive is not a focus of the ad.

Fig. 4 is yet another entextualized group of signs presenting the persona of a businessman to the targeted audience. The text includes a virtual figure of a smiling African American male in a tie and dress shirt who, through co-text, the audience can assume works for Cablevision. This image co-occurs with the quotation “I enjoy meeting new people...” The ad, then, through first person deictics and chronotope, informs us that the animator of the advertisement. The virtual person, then, is assumed to be a representative of the company who enjoys the perks listed in the advertisement, the same perks that the company wishes the audience to consider having. The viewer is assumed to have the same skills as the persona and can “earn 90 k at 100% of goal,” as well as other perks, like the virtual figure.

**¿FUE ESTAFADO EN PROPINAS,
SALARIO MÍNIMO Y/O
HORAS EXTRAS?**

Muchos empleadores en Nueva York colectan servicios o cobran cargos e ilegalmente no pagan a sus empleados, tales como: camareros, ayudantes, cantineros, amas de llaves, servidores, mensajeros, choferes, maleteros, etc. Muchos empleadores tampoco pagan el salario mínimo y/o horas extras.

**La Ley Laboral de Nueva York lo protege
usted puede tener derecho por daños.**

Llame al abogado **Gottlieb y Asociados**
para una evaluación GRATIS de su caso.

212-228-9795 • 888-401-9911
Abogados Gottlieb & Asociados
150 East 15th Street • New York, NY 10003

Fig. 2. (2009, March 6). *El Diario/La Prensa*, p. 50.



Our resident experts say it best.

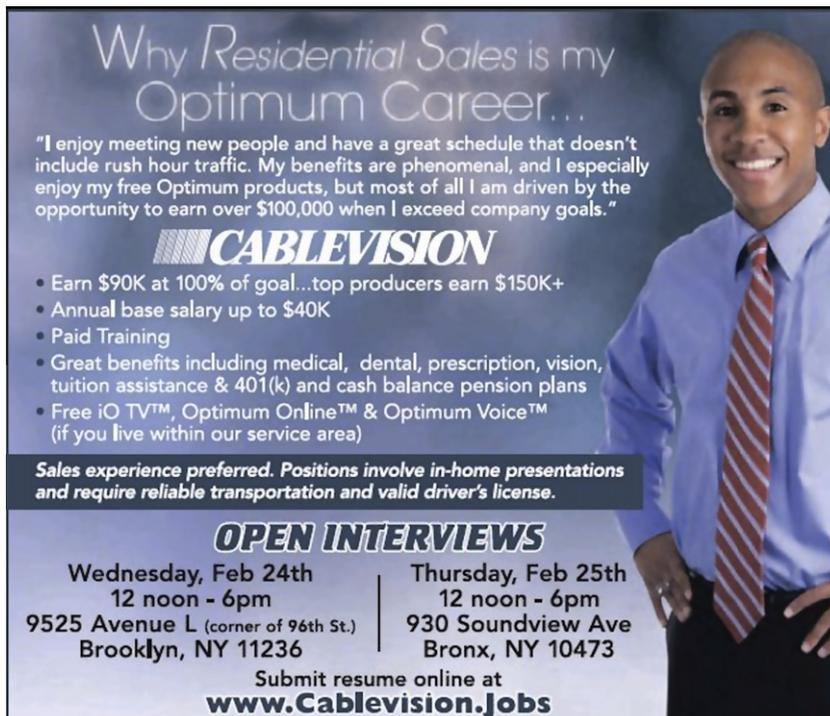
"Ross gives you the tools to pursue your dreams. It definitely wouldn't have happened without Ross."
 – Matthew Dashnaw, MD '09
 Neurosurgery Resident

"I am who I am today because of Ross University. I'm a doctor, I attained the residency I wanted, and I made friends for a lifetime."
 – Paola Portela, MD '07
 Pediatrics Resident

"Ross University was the only medical school I applied to. It has a great track record and I'm just one of thousands of success stories."
 – Armin Kamyab, MD '08
 Surgery Resident

- We place more graduates into U.S. residencies annually than any other medical school in the world
- All clinical rotations are completed in the U.S. at nearly 70 top teaching hospitals
- Students spend 16 months at our technologically advanced campus in Dominica

Fig. 3. (2010, March 3). *New York Post*, p. 52.



Why Residential Sales is my Optimum Career...

"I enjoy meeting new people and have a great schedule that doesn't include rush hour traffic. My benefits are phenomenal, and I especially enjoy my free Optimum products, but most of all I am driven by the opportunity to earn over \$100,000 when I exceed company goals."

CABLEVISION

- Earn \$90K at 100% of goal...top producers earn \$150K+
- Annual base salary up to \$40K
- Paid Training
- Great benefits including medical, dental, prescription, vision, tuition assistance & 401(k) and cash balance pension plans
- Free iO TV™, Optimum Online™ & Optimum Voice™ (if you live within our service area)

Sales experience preferred. Positions involve in-home presentations and require reliable transportation and valid driver's license.

OPEN INTERVIEWS

<p>Wednesday, Feb 24th 12 noon - 6pm 9525 Avenue L (corner of 96th St.) Brooklyn, NY 11236</p>	<p>Thursday, Feb 25th 12 noon - 6pm 930 Soundview Ave Bronx, NY 10473</p>
---	--

Submit resume online at
www.Cablevision.Jobs

Fig. 4. (2010, February 22). *New York Post*, p. 34.

Another way that similarity is encouraged is through juxtaposing the chronotope with lexemes that presuppose familiarity with what one can call a business linguistic register. Such linguistic signs include “great benefits,” “top producers,” “annual base salary up to \$40 k,” and “cash balance pension plans,” among others. Thus, the audience is not only assumed to have similar skills to the man in this chronotope, but also to be conversant in his business-speak. Through encouraging to audience to sign up for open interviews and resume submission, the audience should act on similarities to apply for the

job. Through an entire register of business skills and talk, the differentiated addressee is foregrounded through similarity to the virtual figure. Thus, any signs that are linked to professional positions or multiculturalism also link to similarity, instead of difference, with the audience.

It is worth noting the paucity of advertisements for legal services in the *New York Post*. In fact, I was unable to find legal advertisements with virtual figures. Fig. 5 representative of what one usually finds, though only a few legal ads are run once a week. The *New York Post* is often viewed as a newspaper that sensationalizes stories and seeks drama, with controversial “eyeball-grabbing” headlines, and thus commonly considered a more working class foil to the *New York Times*’s elite readership (Fenwick, 2010; Meares, 2010; Sarmah, 2007). However, there are no legal ads utilizing depictions exploitative bosses, nor any divisive images. The advertisements still appeal to people who may work the entirety of each weekday through linguistic tokens like “Weekend Appt Available!” The fact that many of the few legal advertisements are about bankruptcy also presupposes that the target audience is not one that is moneyed. However, instead of legal advertisements seeking to recover money from exploitative bosses who might contribute to a reader’s low economic status, it is much more common to find ads with virtual figures about professional advancement. These ads encouraging development instead of recuperation are as common as the legal advertisements in *El Diario*.

Fig. 6 is another advertisement in *El Diario* by Gottlieb Lawyers and Associates that shows a blonde female paired with the same text in the previous *El Diario* advertisement. Through the nametag noting her position of assistant manager, she is indelibly linked to authority. Her gesture could be ambiguous: how should the reader construe her downward gaze and hand touching her mouth? Based on co-text, the reader can infer that such a position may indicate pensiveness about wrongdoing by the virtual figure. The co-occurring linguistic signs indicate how positions of people working under assistant managers may be exploited. “Were you cheated from tips, minimum wages, or overtime?” the ad asks. The reader is imagined to be one of the careers in the ad explicitly listed as being swindled, such as waiter, assistant, housekeeper, or server. These linguistic signs of occupations where people are taken advantage of, then, co-occur with signs of a virtual figure linked to authority. Signs like the virtual character’s nametag and her business-like dress shirt index her as the representative personality engaged in such illegal activity.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the figure appears to be white with blonde hair. Other research has shown how blonde hair is linked to whiteness in Hispanic marketing (Dávila, 2008). The audience, then, addressed as “you” in the lexemic forms “Were you swindled...,” is encouraged to act on its differences from the figure. The implicit message is that “you,” the reader, is not this blonde, white assistant manager. This contrast effectively otherizes this figure from the target audience. This persona, then, is one part of a cohesive text that encourages a working class Latino/a audience to call the lawyers in order to fight such virtual figures in court.

The profession of “assistant,” one potential job of the addressee in the previous *El Diario* ad, is also the target of Fig. 7, an ad in the *New York Post*. The ad encourages you, the reader (the implied addressee of the imperative “train to become”), to become a medical assistant. The chronotope utilizes signs of a stethoscope, as well as scrubs, as diacritics of the skills of the virtual figure. It is presupposed that the virtual figure went through this program and experienced the listed activities in the advertisement. Thus, similarity to the chronotope is a focal message of the ad. The reader can aspire to be like the model, who through her co-occurrence with the linguistic signs, is assumed to also have desired to complete the program at one time.

<p>GET CLEAN CREDIT Remove Bankruptcy, Judgments, Charge offs, and late payments \$43 per item, per report. DWI • Accidents • Criminal FREE Consultation Mark L. Groothuis, Esquire 1-800-339-5879</p>	<p>BANKRUPTCY Overwhelmed By Debt? Personal and Business Bankruptcies, Bankruptcy Alternatives. Free Consultation! Weekend Appt Available! Law Office of Robert M. Fox 630 3rd Ave, 18th FL, NY, NY 10017 1-800-473-1581 • 212-867-9595 24/7 9-6:30</p>
<p>NEW YORK CORP FREE LLC \$164⁹⁵ INFO \$234⁹⁵ Packet COMPLETE INCLUDES: State Filing Fees, Company Seal & Book, Certificate of Incorporation or Organization, Minutes, Corp, ByLaws or LLC Regulations, Stock/ Membership Certificate, Preliminary Name Search, Attorney’s Fees. Save \$\$\$ Publication Included NY LLC’s Available www.amerilawyer.com/NYWIN (212) 962-1000 • (800) 576-1100 Spiegel & Utrera, P.A., P.C. 1 Maiden Lane 5th Floor, NYC</p>	<p>LEGAL SERVICES DIVORCE fr \$350 Family Court • Custody Visitation • Support • Neglect 16 Court St., Suite 1007, Brooklyn CURT ARNEL, ESQ. 718-875-5151 POST YOUR RESUME WWW.NYPOST.COM/ATWORK</p>

Fig. 5. (2010, March 31). *New York Post*. P. 72.

**¿FUE ESTAFADO EN PROPINAS,
SALARIO MINIMO Y/O HORAS EXTRAS?**

Muchos empleadores en Nueva York colectan servicios o cobran cargos e ilegalmente no pagan a sus empleados, tales como: camareros, ayudantes, cantineros, amas de llaves, servidores, mensajeros, choferes, maleteros, etc. Muchos empleadores tampoco pagan el salario minimo y/o horas extras.

La ley laboral de Nueva York lo protegé. Usted puede tener derecho por danos.

Llame al abogado Gottlieb y Asociados para una evaluacion GRATIS de su caso.

212-228-9795 • 888-401-9911
Abogados Gottlieb & Asociados
150 East 18th Street * New York, NY 10003

Fig. 6. (2009, August 2). *El Diario*, p. 33.

Classes Starting Soon!

Train to Become a
MEDICAL ASSISTANT

- Small day & evening classes
- Hands-on training
- Externships & job placement assistance
- Financial aid (if qualified)

1.212.675.6655

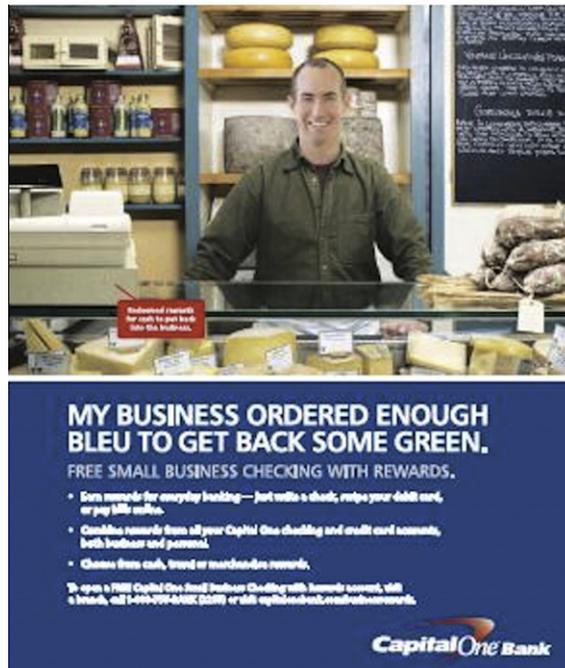
SINCE 1935
Career Academy of New York
154 West 14th St.,
New York, NY 10011

Licensed by N.Y.S. Ed. Dept., Accredited by ACCSCT

Fig. 7. (2010, February 7). *New York Post*, p. 65.

Furthermore, the woman is easily construed as nonwhite, but the image is not one that promotes difference from any foregrounding of racial features. Though the ad is likely for a working class audience, it promotes education and similarity instead of difference and notions of unskilled labor.

In Fig. 8, another *New York Post* advertisement, the owner of a small store fits the prototype of someone who would manage the positions of the addressees (such as assistant or messenger) in the *El Diario* ad. Diacritics like a cash register or



MY BUSINESS ORDERED ENOUGH BLEU TO GET BACK SOME GREEN.

FREE SMALL BUSINESS CHECKING WITH REWARDS.

- Earn rewards for everyday banking—just with a check, reuse your debit card, or pay bills online.
- Combine rewards from all your Capital One checking and credit card accounts, both business and personal.
- Choose from cash, travel or merchandise rewards.

To open a FREE Capital One Small Business Checking with Rewards account, visit a branch, call 1-800-776-6766 (24/7) or visit openid.us2.capitalone.com.

Capital One Bank

Fig. 8. (2010, February 7). *New York Post*, p. 65.

LA MAGIA DE LOS INDIOS COLORADOS DE ECUADOR ESTA OTRA VEZ EN NUEVA YORK

Conoce usted que los indios que habitan en la zona de Santo Domingo de los Colorados son poseedores de maravillosos, únicos y mágicos dones de curación, sanación y ayuda psíquica, producto de su convivir de miles de años con la naturaleza y sabía usted que Vicente Aguavil que vive en Nueva York es el único heredero de estos dones naturales de los indios colorados.

“Soy conocedor profundo del arte y de los valores medicinales de las plantas naturales. Cientos de enfermos desahuciados y médicamente incurables me visitan todos los años. Mi cura milagrosa hace que mi fama y reputación crezca permanentemente”.




Fig. 9. (2009, June 2). *El Diario*, p. 34.

cheeses for sale, as well as the virtual figure's position over the counter, indicate that he is associated with a business. One can tell he is the owner of the business through co-occurring first person possessive of “my business,” for which he utilized

his credit card for ordering foods. The use of the word “bleu” indexes the specialty cheeses that were ordered, and the poetic structure of the sentence juxtaposes notions of “my business” with premium cheeses, thus affirming that he owns the cheese shop. Furthermore, the linguistic tokens of “small business checking with rewards” in co-text with the virtual figure sketch the idea that he has opened his own shop. In order to consider how this ad is positioned vis-à-vis the target audience, linguistic tokens such as “[You] Earn rewards for everyday banking” invite readers, who are assumed to have similar statuses or aspirations as the figure in the advertisement, to sign up for this same service. Thus, the lifestyle of the audience is similar to the virtual figure: both may be business owners who would benefit from the insertion of free checking with rewards into their lives. Similarity, then, is a selling point in the ad, imagining the target audience as being in the same position as the virtual figure previously was before signing up for this credit card. Such a stance occurs in contrast to the role fractions of virtual personae in *El Diario*, where people in managerial business positions are reinforced as different from the audience.

Figs. 9 and 10 from *El Diario* expounds the magic of the Ecuadorian Colorado Indigenous people vis-à-vis the target audience. The linguistic text announces the magic gift that these Indians are said to have, an ability to help those with incurable diseases through the services provided by this advertiser. Through co-occurrence of the chronotope with this linguistic text, the virtual figure is assumed to be the person of Colorado descent who could aid in such cures. The reader is assumed to be different from this chronotope, as the ad questions, “Are you aware that the Indians that inhabit the area of Santo Domingo of the Colorados are possessors of marvelous, unique, and magic talents for treatment, cleansing, and psychiatric help, a result of their living for thousands of years with nature... [?]” Adjectives like “unique,” “magic,” and “marvelous,” used to describe the Colorados, are descriptors of someone who is atypical. So is the following sentence: “Did you know that Vicente Aguavil that lives in New York is the only heir of these natural gifts of the Colorado Indians[?]” The virtual figures have gained their knowledge through the uncommon act of having families that have lived in nature for thousands of years. Thus, the virtual figures in the ad are not only depicted in styles of dress uncommon to New York, which are diacritics of otherness, but they are also discursively constituted as rare. Further, the virtual figure described as “the only heir” is the individual in the bottom right corner, as we know from the close proximity of his depiction to the co-occurring quote.

In contrast, one can locate the addressee of the ad through the deictic *Ud.* (“you”). The ad presupposes that the addressee is starkly different from, and even unaware of, people like the Indigenous individuals in the chronotope. The ad then encourages the target audience to seek services that are different from what they are accustomed to. Differing social personae

LA MAGIA DE LOS INDIOS COLORADOS DE ECUADOR ESTÁ OTRA VEZ EN NUEVA YORK

¿Conoce usted que los indios que habitan en la zona de Santo Domingo de los Colorados son poseedores de maravillosos, únicos y mágicos dones de curación, sanación y ayuda psíquica, producto de su convivir de miles de años con la naturaleza y sabía usted que Vicente Aguavil que vive en Nueva York es el único heredero de estos dones naturales de los indios colorados.

"Soy conocedor profundo del arte y de los valores medicinales de las plantas naturales. Clientes de enfermos desahucados y médicamente incurables me visitan todos los años. Mi cura milagrosa hace que mi fama y reputación crezca permanentemente".

Llámenos y le contamos (718) 396-2769

Fig. 10.



ELIMINACION DE MANCHAS

Nosotros tenemos fabulosos resultados en la eliminación de manchas de la cara, pecas, acné, marcas de acné y manchas producidas por la vejez.

“GRAN ÉXITO CON MILES DE MUJERES”

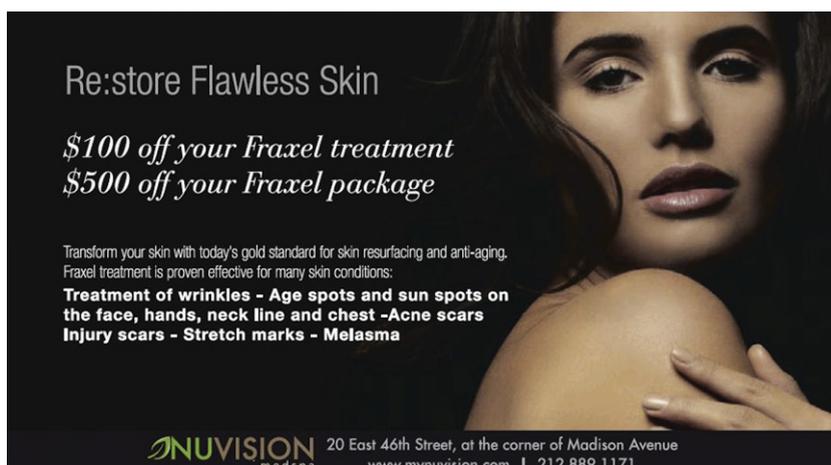
Efectivo, delicado, único y sin ningún efecto secundario Sin dolor o problemas como los causados por tratamientos con láser o “peeling”

Otros servicios:
Faciales * Masajes del cuerpo, etc.

41-60 Main St., Rm 212
Flushing, NY 11355
(última parada del tren #7)
718-460-2698

**Palace Skin
Care Center**

98 Mott St. (Canal St.)
New York, NY 10013
(trenes G,N,R,A)
212-766-2899

Fig. 12. (2009, April 9). *El Diario*, p. 6.


Re:store Flawless Skin

\$100 off your Fraxel treatment
\$500 off your Fraxel package

Transform your skin with today's gold standard for skin resurfacing and anti-aging. Fraxel treatment is proven effective for many skin conditions:

**Treatment of wrinkles - Age spots and sun spots on the face, hands, neck line and chest -Acne scars
Injury scars - Stretch marks - Melasma**

NUVISION medspa 20 East 46th Street, at the corner of Madison Avenue
www.mynuvision.com | 212.889.1171

Fig. 13. (2010, February 23). *New York Post*, p. 13.

A quick internet search shows this cultural model in comments online: “Asian skin. . . is less prone to pre-mature aging, e.g. wrinkling and sagging. . . meaning that [Asians] will probably look younger than peers” (Roth, 2009). Thus, interlinkages across speech chains and the viewer’s familiar with such discourses show how diacritics are linked to social personae more generally, and, in this ad, race and gender more specifically. In particular, the image of the woman is not an exaggerated stereotype. Without the accompanying text about skin care, the picture could be ambiguous. However, the co-occurrence of the face with discourse about youth and great skin draws upon previous discourses about cultural models and Asians for its full communicative effect. The ad recontextualizes these discourses for the message to uphold Asian women as having exemplary skin. Through the consideration of how the virtual figures across these ads cohere (such as with the previously mentioned Asian tea ad), one can understand that this ad is another instantiation of otherized individuals often depicted in *El Diario* ads.

A useful distinction can be seen when the previous ad in *El Diario* is contrasted with Fig. 13 from the *New York Post*. Both ads contain messages about skincare, and both have chronotopes of individuals with seemingly good skin. However, with the ad from *El Diario*, one can consider how the individual considered was never similar to the audience due to the highlighted role fraction of Asian female. Viewers can aim to have skin like an Asian woman, but when viewed as another token in a type of Asian-ness (such as the one seen in the previous advertisement about weight loss and tea, as well as many others not depicted here), this chronotope draws from cultural models about difference. In this case, the model holds that Asians naturally have good skin. Therefore, the implication is that Asian women are presented as a paragon of good skin, but the reader is not expected to have been that same figure. With this ad in the *New York Post*, the linguistic signs encourage the reader to “re-store flawless skin.” Such linguistic tokens occur in the largest font size in the ad. They are also positioned directly beside the face of the woman. Since these linguistic signs are so close to the individual, the reader is encouraged to assume that this

individual has undergone treatment to restore previously sub-par skin. The reader, if s/he utilizes these services, may be able to do the same. Again, similarity is used as the selling point in an advertisement, and signs linked to characterological personae appear to be more inclusive than exclusive.

6. Conclusions

Scholars have shown how recent immigrants often develop feelings of belonging to pan-ethnicities like “Hispanic” through interaction with others perceived as outsiders, such as members of majority groups (Rodríguez, 1999). Such relations can be modeled or rearranged by marketers, who deploy social stereotypes and virtual figures as one such type of difference. Dávila (2008) has noted how Latinos are “racialized” in the Hispanic marketing industry, where “whitewashed” images of Latinos reflect processes of accommodating emergent groups into a particular US racial hierarchy. Though her work considers ideologies operating at the production level of marketing, one can see how ideologies about groups unfold in the signs that formulate print advertisements as well. A textual analysis of advertisements in the prominent newspaper *El Diario* shows that marketing tactics can foreground group-related differences between Latinos and other social groups. These ads presuppose group difference through contrastive signs of personhood linked to a number of social constructs; diacritics prominently recontextualize notions of gender, profession, ethnicity, race, body size, knowledge, and more in order to sell products to a distinct Hispanic, working class consumer. Unlike previous studies of Hispanic Marketing, analysis of these advertisements shows how target audiences are not just delineated through similarity, but also through contrastive personae. These virtual figures cohere to form a social world of difference from the target audience. The presentation of such difference to potential sellers of advertisements, of a distinct target audience, allows Hispanic media forms to continue to exist.

These advertisements obviously presuppose ideologies about various groups in society. One cannot ignore that many Spanish-speakers have negative experiences with individuals who are associated with other ethnic backgrounds on a daily basis (Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 1997). Such reactions, many which ostensibly occur due to “accents,” highlight differences between Spanish-speakers and others. Latinos are also frequently marginalized and exploited at the hands of others, including through abusive employment situations (De Genova, 2005; Jones-Correa, 1998; Smith, 2005; Thabit, 2003). Conversations about individuals linked to such difference certainly occur on a daily basis. “Hispanic marketers” are aware of group imaginations and dynamics, especially since the entire industry depends upon convincing businesses that a Hispanic, working class audience exists and is different from others (Rodríguez, 1997a). At the very least, these advertisements presuppose familiarity with particular discourses (such as chats about Asian women as being particularly thin). Activities across various frames (including non-mediatised ones) affect advertising, and social processes affect what is printed. This case shows how any focus on “the media” must consider mediatised commentary as it is interwoven with talk across various activity frames, including non-mediatised ones (Agha, 2007b). Mediations on various scales affect what is printed in a particular advertisement. In this particular case, such events may contribute to differences in advertising strategies across target markets.

Through considering ads for different products within the same newspaper, one can see how seemingly distinct object signs like “tea” interrelate with others of “herbal medicine” in a thematic narrative of meta-signs. The coherence of particular advertising texts in *El Diario* yields mutually informative ads, where patterns of contrastive personhood index the common Hispanic Marketing tactics of the ads’ production, even though these ads are for different products and from different companies. Furthermore, such emergences around a particular product are understood through acquaintance with particular cultural models that circulate in society. Advertising in general is conducted through the utilization of diacritics linked to social difference to (Agha, 2011). In this case, the construction of difference focuses on others: on particular virtual figures who are markedly different in order to delineate the addressee of the advertisement. I argue that a number of virtual figures in advertisements in *El Diario*, through both linguistic and non-linguistic signs, are presupposed and entailed as different from the imagined audience. It is this distinction, combined with the social stereotypes on which the ads depend, that may ultimately lead to feelings of distaste by unintended addressees and cries of “racism.” Social processes such as increases in Spanish-speaking immigrants over decades, and ideologies about ethnicities linked to an emblematic Spanish language, have yielded the production of media for a particular target audience. In advertisements for this audience, marketers use virtual figures in order to social relationships in ways that they see as advantageous. They can also draw from and rework discourses of social difference that emerge through social relations. Considering the ads as a set allows us to see themes of the life of virtual figures in the advertisements, and these themes are strategically useful for crafting a marketable imagined audience.

Wortham (1996, 2001) writes how personal pronouns show speech participants’ interactional positions in conversation. Pronouns like “we” and “you” delineate groups and tailor particular cultural models for an addressee. In this case, marketers can employ personal pronouns in juxtaposition with other linguistic signs and chronotopes to mark the addressee as different from the virtual figure. Personal deictics, then, are used to delineate group-related differences. While person deictics like “you” are often seen as appeals to general personhood in broader media outlets (Scannell, 2000; Vidali, 2010), co-occurring signs in these advertisements show how personal deictics locate quite particular addressees in advertising, such as exploited working class Hispanic readers.

Messages are especially interesting when one can see how they are interwoven with forms of personhood in space and time in contrastive ways based upon the imagined interlocutor. I have argued that the arrangement of various linguistic and nonlinguistic signs for a given audience, and the ideologies that they recontextualize, illuminate marketing strategies of

companies. Standards of advertising in the *New York Post* almost never involve depicting the exploitation of working class individuals. Rather, there are often self-improvement ads, such as those linked to education. Advertising chronotopes become models of conduct, allowing individuals to consider given lifestyles (or object signs and metasigns linked together through their inclusive promotion) in advertising. Such chronotopes, then, suggest certain lifestyles linked prominent cultural constructions, one part of which is race.

I should note that the goal of this paper is not to argue that all advertisements in this Spanish language newspaper operate under the assumption of contrast. The study of social categories and communication rarely yields tidy, discrete results, as others have noted elsewhere. One can certainly find advertisements that utilize similarity between the persona of the addressee and the persona of the advertisement in *El Diario*, where forms of personhood such as the “generalized Hispanic” encourage alignment by the reader. However, a number of advertisements presuppose the audience as different from the virtual figures in *El Diario*. Because this contrasts with media forms like the *New York Post* that have different target markets, one must ask why such behavior is more common in Spanish-language newspapers. This paper has attempted to answer this question through considering media production industries, social relations, and the imagined target audience of the newspaper.

The success of ImpreMedia and *El Diario* during difficult economic times and the frequent recurrence of these same advertisements indicate that these marketing tactics may be successful. The implication, then, is that the presumed working class Hispanic audience of *El Diario* is well-targeted and responsive to these images. At the very least, such advertising practices circulate stereotypes linked to groups. These techniques presuppose and disseminate cultural models in society, and, by design, encourage the reader to consider his or her demographic as a different homogeneous community. A text-level analysis of these advertisements shows how virtual figures in advertising, both similar and different from the targeted audience, are one method of formulating an imagined Hispanic consumer.

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