The Role of Indigenous Peoples in Guatemalan Political Advertisements: An Ethnographic Content Analysis

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This study investigates the current status of indigenous peoples within Guatemalan society, as articulated in one of the most relevant forms of modern communication, political advertising, and defined by one of the most relevant forms of self-expression to the indigenous peoples of Guatemala, the traje. Using ethnographic content analysis, the study examines the roles and characterizations of indigenous people in 67 television commercials from across the Guatemalan political spectrum. Results indicate that indigenous people are most often seen as “crowd members,” and are never given important roles, such as “candidate endorser” or “undecided voter.” Overall, wearing traje is associated with helplessness and separateness. The commercials of Q’iché Maya candidate Rigoberta Menchú exhibited many of the same characteristics of other candidates.

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Watching the Guatemalan 2007 presidential race from the United States or from Western Europe, the average political observer could be forgiven for his or her belief that the next president of Guatemala might be an indigenous woman. Rigoberta Menchú certainly dominated much of the Guatemalan election coverage outside of the country. Spain’s El País announced, “Rigoberta Menchú inicia su carrera hacia la presidencia de Guatemala [Rigoberta Menchú begins her race for the presidency of Guatemala]” (“Rigoberta Menchú inicia,” 2007). The Washington Post proclaimed, “Menchu: Presidential bid helping Indians” (Watson, 2007). Even when she came in sixth out of 14 candidates, garnering only 3% of the popular vote, the online version of The New York Times pondered “[t]he puzzling election loss of Rigoberta Menchú, Guatemala’s first indigenous presidential candidate” (Lacey, 2007).

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It seems unlikely that anyone in Guatemala was puzzled, however. Driving past the hundreds of vallas (billboards) emblazoned with colorful party symbols and displaying the serious expressions of the presidential candidates along the main thoroughfares of Guatemala City, Menchú’s visage was difficult to find, unique though it was among the mostly male, mostly Ladino political field. The polls in La Prensa, one of the country’s main newspapers, indicated that she was running woefully behind the other candidates throughout the race. From taxi drivers to telecommunications specialists, Guatemalans seemed sure she could not win—the election results bore out their popular wisdom. Yet the Western media, fixated on the Nobel Laureate’s celebrity, failed to grasp the political realities that remain tied to race and culture in Guatemala.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the current status of indigenous peoples within Guatemalan society, as articulated in one of the most relevant forms of communication to modern democracy, political advertising, and defined by one of the most relevant forms of self-expression to the indigenous peoples of Guatemala, the traje. Since the 2007 election cycle included the first indigenous candidate, who is well known for her wearing of a traditional Mayan traje, the topic is particularly salient. First, a review of the literature involving representations of indigenous peoples in media, political advertising, and framing will be presented. Second, the normative values of the nascent democracy will be examined through an evaluation of the Peace Accords. Third, a brief discussion of the 2007 Guatemalan election campaign will be offered to provide context. Finally, using the Peace Accords as a framework, political advertising from the first round of the 2007 Guatemalan presidential elections will be analyzed, using ethnographic content analysis.

Review of literature

“Over the decades and across cultures, contexts, and countries, researchers have tried to uncover the various layers of symbols, styles, appeals, and content in political advertising” (Johnston, 2006, p. 17). One significant area of exploration has been the use of political advertising to understand cultural myths and symbols. This study focuses on a significant cultural symbol, the Mayan traje, in an attempt to achieve greater understanding of the space that indigenous peoples hold within the confines of the Guatemalan political landscape.

Indigenous representations and the media

When dealing with indigenous populations, the study of media representations goes beyond concerns about fairness and balance. Indigenous voices have formed part of what Rodriguez (2001) called “shy languages” (p. 3) and Alia and Bull (2005) called “cultures of silence” (p. 73), that is, voices that have been hiding because they have been banned from public spheres since colonial times. As an illustration, Alia and Bull describe how the mainstream media throughout the 20th century ignored stories about the governments of Canada and Australia, which separated 200,000
children from their families (often by outright kidnapping) and forced them into residential schools run by either the state or the church (pp. 73–74). Downing and Husband (2005) take the issue of representation one step further and note that one of the pillars of indigenous self-determination is precisely controlling the construction of the indigenous peoples’ reality (p. 133). For centuries, indigenous peoples have been deprived of a representation of their own: Scholars, travel and fiction writers, photographers, and, more recently, media professionals have portrayed the Native populations with an external eye, and more often than not, in stereotypical ways.

**Australia and New Zealand**

Because the study of racist discourse is recent in Latin American scholarship (see, e.g., Cejas, 2004), the majority of studies concerned with the misrepresentation of indigenous peoples have focused on Australia and the Pacific, the United States, and Canada. Meadows (2001) places the origins of the misrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples in Australia in the late 18th century with the diaries of the first European settlers, which depicted indigenous peoples as “the lowest in rank among the human race” and “the most miserable of the human form under heaven” (p. 34). The study of these representations, however, did not draw the attention of academics until 2 centuries later, in the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s. Researchers such as Meadows (1987) or Mickler (1992) analyzed the content of newspapers to find that news tended to portray indigenous people as irrationally violent and as a threat to society. Other studies have found that, when dealing with indigenous issues, the press published two times more negative news, such as crime, disorder, or alcohol abuse, than positive news, such as achievement, solutions, and cooperation (Mickler, 1998). Ewart (1997) reached similar conclusions by conducting ethnographic research and interviewing Australian journalists. In Ewart’s study, Aboriginal issues were not perceived by journalists as newsworthy. Aborigines were often identified as such, however, in crime stories.

**North America**

North America is the region that has produced the richest variety of literature on representations of indigenous peoples. The first systematic, major exploration of Latin America has also been considered its ideological reinvention (Pratt, 1992). The 5-year journey of Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland throughout Spanish America at the beginning of the 19th century shaped many of the Romantic ideas about indigenous peoples that are still current 2 centuries later. On the one hand, Humboldt reinvented America primordially as nature (p. 120). As an illustrative example, his book *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of America* soon lost the human component to become simply *Views of the Cordilleras* (p. 132). On the other hand, the indigenous peoples, or the “remnants of indigenous hordes,” were depicted as strongly connected to the savage land they inhabited, rather than to the great archeological works that Humboldt was describing. Thus, archeology also was contributing to the dehistorization of indigenous peoples in
American indigenous cultures were “reassigned to a departed age” (pp. 132–134):

As with the monumentalist reinvention of Egypt in the same period, the links between the societies being archeologized and their contemporary descendants remain absolutely obscure, indeed irrecoverable. This, of course, is part of the point. The European imagination produces archeological subjects by splitting contemporary non-European peoples off from their precolonial, and even their colonial, pasts. To revive indigenous history and culture as archeology is to revive them as dead. (p. 134)

The influence of Romantic ideas (including Humboldt’s) permeated the portrayal of indigenous peoples in North America. In 1859, during the Romantic period, John Crawfurd reintroduced the term of the “noble savage” and falsely attributed it to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Ellingson, 2001). Though Europeans often used the idea of “savage” to demean African and Oceanic peoples, Native Americans became the Western, paradigmatic example of savages (p. 295).

Most studies of the media representation of Native Americans in the United States have dealt in some form or another with variations of the theme, whether good (noble savage) or bad (bloodthirsty devil) (Weston, 1996). Berkhofer (1979), author of one of the key works on portrayals of Native Americans, identifies several persisting practices in dominant representation of indigenous peoples as Indians:

(a) generalizing from one tribe or culture to all Indians; (b) presenting Indians in terms of their deficiencies according to White ideals; and (c) using moral evaluations in the descriptions of Indians.

Contemporary media images of Native Americans have been transmitted mostly through film (e.g., Aleiss, 2005; Hilger, 1995; Kilpatrick, 1999; Marsden & Nachbar, 1988), but the main themes have been present since narratives of the 17th century (Berkhofer, 1979). Berkhofer sums up White Man’s good Indian characteristics as: friendly, courteous, hospitable to Whites, handsome, with stamina and endurance, modest, calm, with dignity (in bearing, conversation, and even when tortured), loving of his family and children, and brave. The good Indian lives under liberty, simplicity, and innocence (p. 28). In contrast, the bad Indian is naked, lecherous, polygamous, promiscuous, and revengeful. Among his worst sins are cannibalism and human sacrifice, and cruelty toward his enemies.

While less often investigated, female images of Native Americans have been similarly subject to mythologizing and dichotomizing (Bird, 1999). Green (1975) suggested that there are two archetypes for Native American women: “Princess” and “Squaw.” According to Green, “Princesses,” such as Pocohantas and Sacajawea, fit into a “love-and-rescue” motif, with the Princess embodying the potential of the undiscovered lands of the Americas to save Europeans and give them new life. But the goodness of the Indian princess comes at a heavy price in American myth: “she must defy her own people, exile herself from them, become white, and perhaps suffer death” (p. 704). Bird (1999) notes that part of the role of the Indian princess was to
underscore the European settlers right to the lands of the New World, “because she was always willing to sacrifice her happiness, cultural identity, and even her life for the good of the new nation” (p. 72).

While the “Princess” is critical to the founding myths of the United States, her alter-ego, the “Squaw,” has dominated more recent representations of Native American women in popular culture, especially cinematic representations (Bird, 1999). But where the Princess is chaste, the Squaw is defined to a large extent by her sexuality. She is promiscuous and bears children endlessly (Bird, 1999). The Squaw’s wanton behavior extends to all areas of her life: “Squaws share in the same vices attributed to Indian men, drunkenness, stupidity, thievery, venality of every kind, and they live in shacks on the edge of town rather than in a woodland paradise” (Green, 1975, p. 711).

Depictions of indigenous cultures in the news
Weston (1996), who studied the press coverage of Native Americans between the 1920s and the 1990s, notes that journalistic practices, such as the emphasis on the unusual, the reporting on events rather than on issues, and vivid writing, can contribute to stereotyping and misrepresenting ethnic groups. Weston identified the tone and language frames in 20th century news coverage of Native Americans. Whether it was casting stories in a bemused, slightly humorous tone that implied nothing concerning Indians was to be taken seriously, or using overtly stereotypical language, the words used contributed powerfully to the images of Native Americans. At least until the 1960s, journalists used stereotypical language often to refer to Native American men (“haughty” or “stoic” “chiefs,” “braves,” or “bucks”), women (“shy” or “giggling” “squaws”), and children (“papooses”) no matter the publication or kind of story (p. 13). Even in the 1980s, Native American activists complained of the use of stereotypical language such as “circle the wagons,” “on the warpath,” “pow wow,” and “wampum” (p. 156). Activists also criticized the press’s reinforcing of alcoholism and poverty stereotypes, journalists’ lack of understanding of indigenous affairs, and the generalized depiction of their cultures as artifacts or museum exhibits.

As in the case of Australian Aborigines, newspapers frequently identified Native Americans as criminals or victims of crimes. Weston (1996) concluded that, except for some important news (relevant policy issues and major stories), Native American stories tended to fit mainstream definitions of what Indians ought to be (exotic, warlike, childlike, or improvident) while minimizing stories of more importance to Native Americans (land claims, government stock-reduction policies). At the end of the 20th century, stereotypes continued in the U.S. press, but coverage of Native American issues was more diverse, more indigenous voices were listened to, and new, nonstereotyped images multiplied themselves (Weston, 1996, pp. 163–164).

Indigenous portrayals in Latin America
If media representation studies about North America and Australia abound, the subject remained largely unexplored in Latin American scholarship until recently.
A few academics have analyzed the portrayal of indigenous peoples in conquest and colonial times (Rozat Dupeyron, 2002; Vázquez, 1991), in literature (Cabrera Quintero, 2005; Cowie, 1976), textbooks (Teobaldo & Nicoletti, 2007), and in the 19th and early 20th century press (Gutiérrez Cham, 2004; Hernández & Vázquez, 2006). The portrayal of Latin American, indigenous peoples in the Western press remains virtually unexplored, but a study of The New York Times’ coverage of the Maya during the Zapatista conflict in Mexico suggests that indigenous peoples are seldom considered sources by correspondents, and that indigenous cultures are archeologized, infantilized, and feminized (Castells i Talens, 2005).

Representations of Latin American indigenous peoples in the press of the second half of the 20th century and of the 21st century, film, and electronic media have received very little scholarly attention, even though indigenous activists have protested against some stereotypes, such as Mel Gibson’s Apocalypto or CBS’s Survivor Guatemala. Media stereotyping is one reason given for the recent growth of indigenous media² (see, e.g., Browne, 1996, 2005; Downing & Husband, 2005; Riggins, 1992; Rodriguez, 2001). Indigenous peoples have been expressing their own voices since the second half of the 20th century, especially through radio. For example, according to Alia (2009), Guatemala’s Maya have founded scores of unlicensed radio stations as a means of increasing their representation in that country’s telecommunications spectrum.

Recently, indigenous groups have increasingly turned to the Internet to organize Web-based activist groups that garner worldwide attention for indigenous causes (Alia, 2009), and to promote indigenous language revitalization programs (Warschauer, 1998), among other reasons. However, an extensive search of the literature uncovered no academic studies about indigenous people’s use of, or portrayals within, political advertising.

**Political advertising and framing**

Where it is allowed by law, political advertising “is a means through which parties and candidates present themselves to the electorate, mostly through the mass media” (Holtz-Bacha & Kaid, 2006, p. 7). Advertising allows political actors to speak directly to constituents through carefully crafted messages. Unlike other forms of political communication, especially journalistic coverage of political campaigns, political advertising can be seen as a direct representation of a candidate’s or party’s agenda.

Framing is an essential element of the political advertising process. According to Pan and Kosicki (2001), “A frame is an idea through which political debate unfolds, and political alignment and actions take place” (p. 39). That is because frames are often linked with particular policy options. By invoking a particular frame in political advertising, political elites strategically make claims related to specific policy options as part of the political discourse, as well as indicating their own ability to implement those policy options. “In such a contest, participants maneuver
strategically to achieve their political and communicative objectives” (Pan & Kosicki, 2001, p. 40).

Within discourse, frames “suggest a taken-for-granted perspective on how one might approach a problem” (Altheide, 1996, p. 31). Through political advertising, elites seek to both define society’s “problems” and offer their “solutions” for them. These “solutions” offer insight into the candidate’s or party’s normative view of society. To the extent that the “problems” and “solutions” offered by candidates are the same, they offer a generalized picture of the values of political elites. To the extent they differ, they offer insight into partisan fissures within the political system.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) suggest four means of frame creation in news: syntactical, through the arrangement of sentences and words; script, through which the description of events is communicated, covering the “who, what, where, when, and how” of news stories; thematic, in which themes and sub-themes are articulated; and rhetorical, which involves writing devices such as “metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images” (p. 61).

Gitlin (1980) calls frames a means by which “symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual” (p. 7). In terms of political advertising, framing exists throughout the political advertising process: within the candidate; within the authors of political advertising; within the texts, graphics, and visuals of advertising; and finally, within the receiver of the advertisements (Parmelee, Perkins, & Sayre, 2006; Scheufele, 1999).

The frames invoked in political advertising are important because they lend salience to both issues and actors. Exposure to political advertising affects the beliefs of audiences (Shen, 2004). These effects were anticipated by cultivation theory (Gerbner et al., 1986), which suggests that exposure to mass-mediated messages serves to shape one’s view of what is “real.” According to Bailey (2006), cultivation theory is particularly relevant to images of race and gender: “These theories suggest that we have to be mindful of the depictions of different groups in the media, since these depictions could come to shape perceptions of, and attitudes toward, these groups. The depictions can also influence the perceptions and attitudes that many members of these groups have of themselves” (p. 88). In addition, message framing can change the emotions that people experience, and ultimately their policy preferences (Nabi, 2003). Thus, the depictions of indigenous peoples within Guatemalan political advertising may influence society’s view of indigenous peoples, as well as indigenous peoples’ perceptions of themselves.

### Indigenous rights and discrimination

In 1996, the Guatemalan people finished one difficult journey, and began another. With the signing of the last of the Peace Accords, the 36-year-long civil war ended. However, the implementation of the accords remained. And without the complete implementation of the accords, the rights of Guatemala’s indigenous populations remain at risk.
The accords are more than just a peace treaty. Rather, they are a series of agreements, negotiated and signed over the course of 2 years that cover a wide range of issues at the heart of Guatemalan society, from minority and women’s rights to land ownership and demilitarization. Together, they form a discursive vision of the possibilities of a Guatemalan state.

Certainly, the historic accords represent a milestone on Guatemala’s road toward democracy and inclusion. However, a number of political scholars note that, in their initial phases, new democracies are often “uneven,” providing electoral democracy (an environment in which free and fair elections can take place), but not liberal democracy (an environment in which rule of law secures individual and minority rights) (Foweraker & Krznaric, 2002; O’Donnell, 1997). Jonas (2000) notes that, in the first few years after the accords were signed, Guatemalan democracy remained fragile, because the peace process did not bring with it social justice. Clearly, the rights of the country’s Maya, Garifuna, and Xinca peoples of Guatemala can only be secured within a liberal democratic framework.

The Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples was signed on March 31, 1995 (Agreement on Identity, 1995). In it, the signatories address the historic nature of the relationship between indigenous peoples and the Guatemalan state, and present a normative framework for the full participation of indigenous peoples, including the Maya, Garifuna, and Xinca peoples, in civil society. As the accord acknowledges, “the indigenous peoples have been particularly subject to de facto levels of discrimination, exploitation and injustice, on account of their origin, culture and language” (Agreement on Identity, 1995, para 5). The Accord attempts to address past injustices directly, and form a government cognizant of its obligation to redress past grievances.

The Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1995) covers a wide range of topics, including cultural rights. Among the cultural rights discussed is Use of Indigenous Dress. The accord states the following:

1. The constitutional right to wear indigenous dress must be respected and guaranteed in all areas of national life. The Government shall take the measures provided for... to combat any de facto discrimination regarding the use of indigenous dress.

2. Furthermore, in a campaign to make the public more aware of the different manifestations of the Mayan, Garifuna, and Xinca cultures, information shall be provided on the spiritual and cultural value of indigenous dress and the need to respect it (Part III, Section E, Paragraphs 1–2).

In the forming of the Guatemalan state, all parties agreed that indigenous peoples could best achieve equal rights through the acceptance and understanding of their traditional dress, or traje, by the wider Guatemalan population. Like the languages, temples, holy places, science, and technology of the indigenous peoples, the authors of the Accords agreed that acceptance of Mayan dress would ultimately lead to a
stronger Guatemalan identity: “Mayan culture is the original basis of Guatemalan culture and, in conjunction with the other indigenous cultures, is an active and dynamic factor in the development and progress of Guatemalan society” (Part III, Paragraph 1).

The accords do not reflect the levels of racism in Guatemala, however, where the structural reach of discrimination goes far beyond dress, cultural manifestations, and media representations. The official 2006 demographic survey estimates that close to 40% of the population is indigenous. The population living below the poverty line is 36% for Ladinos and 75% for indigenous people (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2006). Illiteracy rates amount to 24% of nonindigenous people and 60% of indigenous people (Patrinos & Velez, 2009, p. 595). Within the indigenous groups, the situation of discrimination against women is even more accentuated: while half of indigenous males have no formal education, three quarters of females have no formal education. Among the nonindigenous population, the levels of education are higher and there is not as much disparity between males and females (p. 595).

Guatemala’s “sanctioned Indian”

Indigenous intellectuals in Guatemala consistently identify racism and discrimination as one of the main problems of the state (Casaús Arzú, 2007). Several of them, indeed, have noted that the public spaces opened to indigenous participation since the signing of the Agreement on Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples are little more than “participation chinks” and “small windows of inclusion” (pp. 151–152). These spaces ratify the presence of an indio permitido (or sanctioned Indian) in the system (p. 151), a concept which does not refer to a specific person, but to the political message that it is acceptable for indigenous people to enjoy certain rights as long as they do not demand the rest of their rights (Hale, 2004).

The notion of a sanctioned Indian implies that spaces for participation are limited, not that they do not exist. However, more indigenous people entering these spaces do not guarantee more political opportunities for the totality of the indigenous population (Hale, 2004). The sanctioned Indian manages to negotiate his or her modernity, proposes instead or protesting, uses the dominant language, and acts with authenticity. In contrast, “the other” Indian is rebellious, revengeful, and conflictive. In postwar Guatemala, the sanctioned Indian receives rewards whereas “the other” is relegated to poverty and social exclusion (Hale, 2004). The message that the sanctioned Indian receives from society is no longer “No.” Now it is: “Go ahead, come on in... but only this far” (Hale, 2004).

This new form of racism has been codified by Cojti Cuxil (2000). Some of its characteristics include: a rejection of vulgar, open racism; a self-identification by Ladinos as antiracist; an acceptance of limited Indian progress and of Westernization of indigenous people as long as they do not become equals; and a rejection of affirmative-action policies and indigenous social movements, qualified as “Indian racism” (Cojtí Cuxil, pp. 200–201).
Indigenous People in Political Advertising

The significance of the Mayan traje
Mayan textiles are a “cultural marker” of Central America, instantly recognizable around the world for their vivid beauty (Shea, 2001). The traditional Mayan traje worn by women includes a huipil, a colorful, usually sleeveless blouse that may either be woven or embroidered, a corte, a long, woven, wraparound skirt held in place by a faja, or belt (Osborne, 1965; Shea, 2001). While in the past, the patterns on huipiles were associated with particular towns around Guatemala, the relative ease of travel in the 21st century has increased the range of influences on Mayan weaving, increasing their creativity and originality. But while Mayan weaving has evolved stylistically, it still remains a painstaking and arduous task—even an expert weaver can take months to finish a huipil. Therefore, despite the fact that wearing traditional dress has historically held negative social consequences in Guatemala (Warren, 1998), it also represents an enormous commitment of time and labor.

The Mayan traje is associated with the Maya revitalization movement that followed the Peace Accords. “Traje is not just clothing. It is an avowal of cultural distinction” (Shea, 2001, p. 52). Within Guatemala, that cultural distinction is largely left to women. “As Maya men often put it (and even the urban ethnic nationalists assert this), it is more important for women to wear traditional dress than for men, who in many communities have adopted Ladinoized clothing, because women perpetuate indigenous culture” (Warren, 1998, p. 108).

Research questions
Research on the depictions of indigenous people in the mass-mediated messages of Latin America is in its infancy. No information on representations of indigenous peoples in political advertising in Latin America could be identified; neither could any studies of Guatemalan political advertising be found. Therefore, the current study is anchored by a broad research question, exploring the creation of frames:

RQ1: What role do indigenous people play in the political advertising of Guatemala?

Framing theory states that political candidates use frames to align themselves with particular policy options, defining both a society’s problems and their preferred solutions. Cultivation theory indicates the importance of those frames, particularly as they involve historically disadvantaged groups: People use mediated frames to understand the world around them—and perhaps even define themselves by frames perpetuated in mediated messages, including political advertising. Of particular importance in the study of political advertising is the rhetorical structure of frames, which present the reader or viewer with devices that make reality immediately understandable, such as metaphors and visual images. This presents a second research question:

RQ2: With what rhetorical structures are indigenous people associated in the political advertising of Guatemala?
The 2007 elections in Guatemala featured the country’s first indigenous candidate, Nobel Laureate Rigoberta Menchú. While no research to date has focused on indigenous candidates’ use of political advertising, some scholarship on the campaign of Alejandro Toledo indicates that his 2000 campaign against Fujimori emphasized both “his Indian ancestry and rags-to-riches personal success story” (Boas, 2005, p. 35), which increased his popularity with the country’s poorest voters, many of whom are indigenous. Considering the size of Guatemala’s Maya population, Menchú may have employed similar, neo-populist frames in her political advertising.

Menchú’s candidacy was a matter of interest for many outside of Guatemala, who saw it as a step toward reconciliation between the indigenous and the non-indigenous of Guatemala. The communications from her campaign may offer a different perspective on the problems and solutions of Guatemalan society. This presents a third research question:

RQ3: To what extent are the frames used in the commercials of Q’iché Maya candidate Rigoberta Menchú different from those of nonindigenous candidates?

Overview of the 2007 campaign

Seventeen parties were scheduled to participate in the 2007 Guatemalan elections in June, although the VIVA (Visiones con valores) candidate, Guatemalan televangelist Harold Caballeros, ultimately was forced to withdraw because of problems with his electoral documents, and two other parties withdrew because of lack of funding. Guatemala’s Prensa Libre characterized 11 of the parties as Rightist or Center-Rightist, 1 as Centrist, 2 as Center-Leftist, 1 as Green, and 2 as Revolutionary Left (Rodriguez, 2007). The parties consistently on or near the top of the polls were Centrist UNE (Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza), led by Alvaro Colom, an engineer whose vice-presidential pick was a surgeon who had lived most of his adult life in the United States; Rightist Partido Patriota, led by former Guatemalan general and Peace Accord signatory Otto Pérez Molina; and Center-Rightist GANA (Gran Alianza Nacional), the incumbent party, now led by former civil servant Alejandro Giammattei. Some of the other nine candidates that rounded out the Right side of the ticket were running with newly formed parties. Two, however, came from parties with relatively long histories in Guatemala: PAN and FRG.

Rigoberta Menchú was asked to join the Center-Leftist EG (Encuentro por Guatemala) ticket. While the 2007 election was the first for Menchú, the party had actually been led for some time by former congresswoman and human rights activist Nineth Montenegro, who was running to win back her own congressional seat. Also running from the Left were Marco Vinicio Cerezo Blandón, son of the former president Vinicio Cerezo, of Democracia Cristiana, former guerilla leaders Pablo Monsanto of the revolutionary-based ANN (Alianza Nueva Nación), and Miguel Ángel Sandoval of URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca). URNG’s vice-presidential choice was a woman, Walda Barrios. It is important to note that the
Latin America’s Leftist wave has largely bypassed Guatemala: none of the parties on the Left side of the political spectrum received more than about 3% of the vote.

In the first round, only three candidates, Colom, Pérez Molina, and Giammattei, achieved double-digit percentages of cast votes. Guatemala’s system calls for a second round of elections between the top two vote getters if no candidate achieves a clear majority. UNE’s Colom, who garnered nearly 30% of the vote in the first round, won the second round against Pérez Molina.

Menchú led all Left-of-Center candidates with 3.09% of the vote. However, the news for EG was not all bad. Her party won four congressional seats, even though they had won none in the previous election.

Methodology

Sample
The availability of Guatemalan political advertising, both directly from the campaigns and later online, dictated the sample. First, the primary researcher contacted each campaign, and requested copies of their broadcast political advertising. Second, the researcher conducted searches for the names of each candidate, along with the keywords “Guatemala,” “advertising,” “publicidad,” “campaña,” and “2007.” This process was aided by a number of contributors to the social media website, www.youtube.com, who chose to archive Guatemalan political advertising on the site. At least one party, Partido Patriota, used www.youtube.com to make its advertisements available online. This resulted in a sample of 67 advertisements, at least one from every party that was represented in the general election. Advertising for the second round was not included.

Data analysis
Ethnographic content analysis (ECA) is a media-oriented form of qualitative content analysis focused on identifying frames within media discourse (Altheide, 1996). In ECA, “document analysis is conceptualized as fieldwork” (p. 13). The process of ECA is iterative, with meaning produced through the researcher’s repeated interaction with the texts under study, from sampling through data analysis.

The frames and themes identified through ECA reflect the frames present within the creators of content, in this case Guatemala’s political elites. According to Altheide (1996), “Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and above all, how it will not be discussed” (p. 31). According to Connolly-Ahern and Broadway (2008), “Qualitative framing analysis involves repeated and extensive engagement with a text and looks holistically at the material to identify frames” (p. 369). The advantage to qualitative framing analysis in the context of political advertising is that it: (a) allows for the study of both texts and visual elements, such as symbols; (b) allows researchers to evaluate both manifest and latent content within the discourse under study; (c) allows researchers to consider both frames that exist
within the discourse, as well as frames that are missing or de-emphasized within the discourse under study.

Data analysis was completed using a qualitative analysis methodology sometimes called the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lindlof, 1995). The researchers viewed each of the political advertisements multiple times, making notes on actors, tone, roles, and frames. During data analysis, the large number of categories originally open coded by the researchers was significantly reduced. The researchers viewed the advertisements and noted frames separately, then negotiated agreement on the results. Finally, the researchers asked a Guatemalan cultural informant to verify their results.

For the purposes of this study, indigenous people were identified as those wearing *traje*. While the researchers acknowledge that this operationalization results in an undercount of indigenous peoples within the political spots, especially men, the symbolic nature of traditional Mayan dress and its affirmation of “Mayaness,” along with the promise of the accords to increase respect for the *traje*, makes the measure especially relevant.

**Results**

Of the 67 political advertisements studied, 34 included at least one person that the researchers were able to identify as wearing *traje*. Of those, seven had a negative tone, focusing on the deficits of other candidates or parties, rather than on the positives of the candidate sponsoring the advertising, while 26 were positively oriented toward the candidate, and one was considered neutral. In fact, the political advertising of Guatemala was extremely positive as a whole, with only 15 of 67 spots falling into the negative category.

**Roles and settings**

Research question 1 asked about the role played by indigenous peoples in the political advertising of Guatemala. The most common role for people wearing *traje* in Guatemala’s political advertising was “crowd member.” In this role, the indigenous peoples do not speak; rather, they function as a backdrop for the candidate to make claims about the popularity of his or her agenda. Crowd members are often seen with party-identified props, such as bandanas, pom-poms, or flags. Party colors and logos often obscure the individuals, subverting individual identities to the whole. This role is found in advertisements from across the political spectrum, from the Revolutionary Left to the Far Right.

Crowd members are associated with three basic kinds of settings. The most prominent is the “political rally,” in which the political advertisement includes footage from actual campaign speeches and events around Guatemala. These largely take place outdoors. At political rally events, the crowds do not appear scripted: People are milling about, some paying attention to speakers, others attending to children or talking amongst themselves. There is a “newsreel” feel to the political
rally setting, with long shots of the crowd taken from cameras stationed above the scene, which gives the viewer an idea of the importance of the candidate to voters. At political rallies, indigenous peoples appear in vast numbers in the audience—Ladinos appear in small numbers on stages above the cheering crowds. But while there are far more indigenous people than Ladinos at these political rallies, the emphasis is on the candidate, not the crowd. For example, crowd noise is rarely heard. Instead, most rallies provide visual interest during voiceovers, or excerpts from candidate speeches.

The second setting is the “staged event.” These are scripted crowd scenes, largely filmed outside. Often, they include shots of various crowds of people dancing to upbeat party songs. Two candidates, CASA’s Suger and UCN’s Estrada, used rap music in some staged events, to emphasize their appeal to youth. These naturalistic advertisements convey a “party” atmosphere, with people dancing in unexpected places such as crowded city streets and national monuments. Sometimes the groups in “staged events” are large, and sometimes they are very small. The camera may even focus on just one person. Nevertheless, the shots are shown in a quick series, indicating that the few people who were shown are part of a larger political movement—something fun and interactive that the audience is invited to join.

One “staged event” spot from Patriota, Bienvenidos jóvenes, shows a series of young people going about their day-to-day lives. They play guitar, rub their pregnant bellies, do yoga. The uplifting guitar music is accompanied by a male voiceover that says in part (translated here):

Welcome to your ideas. Welcome to your talent. Welcome to your energy.

It doesn’t matter about your social class, if you are dark [moreno] or blond, if you are a man or a woman... It doesn’t matter what language you speak, it doesn’t matter what your profession is...

At the end of the spot, Pérez Molina invites all young people to vote in the first round of the elections. Of the 15 young people shown in the spot, one is wearing a huipil. She appears for less than 2 seconds—at the exact point the voiceover says, “It doesn’t matter what language you speak,” at which point the music abruptly stops, starting up again at the next young person in the series. Unlike the other men and women in the ad, the young woman’s whole face is never shown—half of it remains obscured, off-camera. She stands as still as a statue, and her expression does not change. While the voiceover indicates that she is “welcome” to participate in the political process, the camera angle that obscures her face and the jarring break in the music serves to focus attention on her and to distance her from the rest of the young people in the advertisement at the same time—she is somehow subject to different treatment.

The third setting associated with crowd members is the “audience backdrop.” Crowd members who are part of an audience backdrop are usually seated, listening attentively to the candidates who make claims. These settings have a “lecture” feel, with the candidate taking the role as teacher, schooling the crowd about issues, problems, and their proposed solutions. Interestingly, it is in this very controlled and
formal setting that people wearing traje are most likely to be seen next to people in Western dress.

The second role assigned to people wearing traje is the “candidate contact.” In this role, indigenous people do not speak. However, they stand out from other “crowd members,” through some personal interaction with the candidate. Often, the candidate is seen hugging a woman in a huipil or rebozo. This embrace is protective, and the “candidate contact” usually looks very appreciative of the attention bestowed upon her by the candidate. The indigenous woman replaces the crowd members, but still has no voice of her own.

The third role assigned to people wearing traje is the “victim.” This is a role that occurs both in the past, through still photos or news footage, and in the present, in which photos and news footage are joined by dramaturgical representations. One notable example of victimization in the past is found in an advertisement entitled No te olvides [Don’t forget] from GANA’s Giammattei. The spot opens with scenes from Guatemala’s past, with black and white photos of men and women in indigenous dress kneeling on the ground, obviously afraid. The sad music is accompanied by the following lyrics (here translated):

No, don’t forget where we came from, and what we suffered.

No, don’t forget the dark times, that we can’t allow to return.

Victimization in the present is more often portrayed dramaturgically than in photos or video; for example, Patriota’s Pérez Molina’s spot Nutrición, the fact that chronic hunger plagues 7 out of 10 indigenous children is dramatized by overlaying that text on an empty plate. Significantly, this was the only incidence of the word “indigenous” that appeared in the political advertisements under study.

The fourth role associated with people wearing traje is “concerned citizen.” Concerned citizens articulate issue concerns, have opinions, and are willing to exercise the power of the vote to promote their desired solutions for current problems. In the 67 political advertisements studied, only four women take on the role of concerned citizen. Significantly, all but one are young, appearing to be in their early 20s.

One of the spots from UNE’s Colom, Generación de la paz, opened with a woman wearing a huipil sitting at a computer. She says, “We are the peace generation.” Later, along with the others, she says, “Progress depends on us. Let’s work together to achieve it.” When Colom speaks, a few of the speakers are shown in what appears to be a classroom behind laptops. The young woman in traje is prominent, the first one at the table.

Patriota’s Pérez Molina ran a similar youth-oriented spot called Sí a los jóvenes. It featured a series of individuals in a studio setting with a white and orange background representing the party colors. Two of the young people are wearing traje. The first speaks a few words in a Mayan language, then says, “want to learn [ganas de aprender].” The second says, “We are the present.” The women in traje are not as
prominent in this spot as in the one for UNE, as they appear in among many other
young people, many of whom are given more to say.

The fourth concerned citizen is a gray-haired woman in an embroidered huipil.
She appears in a spot for FRG’s Louis Rabbe, entitled *Qué pasó durante el gobierno
de FRG*. When asked, “What happened during the FRG government,” she answers,
“They kept the price of a basic basket of household goods stable.” She is the only
concerned citizen who speaks directly about a personal concern, namely the problem
of rising food costs. Her speech validates the candidate’s proposed solution, which is
to return the FRG to power.

The roles given to indigenous people within the political advertising discourse
are not exclusive to them—people not wearing *traje* can also be seen as crowd
members, candidate contacts, victims, and especially concerned citizens. However,
the proportions of individuals assigned to these roles vary greatly. Far more indigenous
people are assigned a crowd member role, while concerned citizens are only rarely
associated with wearing *traje*.

There are two additional roles within the Guatemalan political advertising
discourse that are never associated with people wearing *traje*. The first is “candidate
endorser,” an individual who has already made up their mind on who will get their
vote, and is trying to convince others, sometimes dramaturgically, sometimes as a
direct appeal to viewers, to vote for the candidate they believe in. The other role
never associated with *traje* is “undecided voter,” which is dramaturgically linked to
the “candidate endorser.” In this role, an individual is actively engaged in political
discourse, trying to decide between different solutions to societal problems. They
turn to candidate endorsers for help.

Rhetorical structures
The second research question asked about which rhetorical structures were associated
with indigenous peoples in Guatemala’s political advertising. By far the most common
metaphor associated with those wearing *traje* is “helplessness.” In fact, some of the
most powerful, negative images in the 67 television spots are associated with those
wearing *traje*. In one advertisement from Casteñeda of PAN, the candidate speaks
while visual images of crime victims wearing *traje* and then a small girl in a *huipil*
in a poorly appointed school are shown. “Claudia needed books for studying,” he
chides, explaining that the politicians in power preferred to fund an airport. She
is pitiable; he is strong, and is there to protect her rights. In the Partido Popular
spot focusing on nutrition, the national tragedy of child hunger, the indigenous are
singled out for attention: “For seven out of 10 indigenous children, the condition
is chronic.” Things are bad in Guatemala, and the indigenous are particularly at
risk. This helplessness is emphasized by the fact that only one man is clearly seen
in indigenous dress throughout the advertisements; *traje* is almost always associated
with women and children, society’s most vulnerable members.

Even the many “crowd members” shown at political rallies embody a kind of
helplessness. The crowds are not angry, making demands of their politicians, and
hiding them responsible for their failure to implement the Peace Accords. The indigenous are not shown actively trying to change their situation; rather, they are cheering on the powerful politicians who are promising to change it for them. The juxtaposition of the Ladino politician high up on the stage, and the indigenous down below in the crowds, reinforces the power differential in the relationship. The politician is strong, and the crowd members are weak.

There are very few images in the advertisements in which the indigenous people are helping themselves, and neither receiving help, nor asking for help. As discussed above, one is that of the young woman behind the computer in the UNE spot, who is clearly in a learning environment with, and on the same footing as, students who do not wear traje. She does not need Colom’s government to achieve her goals, as she was actively pursuing them before his election. He is certainly shown encouraging the students, but he does not claim any credit for their success.

A second rhetorical structure associated with indigenous peoples in Guatemala’s political advertising is “separateness.” This rhetorical structure is illustrated powerfully in the visual images of the commercials, where those wearing traje almost never interact with people who do not wear traje. They are either shown in crowds of people, some of whom at least are also dressed in traditional dress, or they appear alone. The only interpersonal actions between people in indigenous dress and people not in indigenous dress are in the advertisements that include “candidate contacts.” The candidate who hugs a woman in a huipil, or shakes the hand of a shopkeeper in traje is making an effort to bridge the gap between the indigenous and nonindigenous. The gap, however, exists. Significantly, it is the Ladino politician who bridges this gap, gesturing toward the woman to come closer and receive a hug. In this, again, we see the “sanctioned Indian” as described by Guatemalan intellectuals. In this case, the “reward” received by the indio permitido for their participation in the political process is the opportunity to have direct contact with the Ladino politician, as long as that contact is completely nonthreatening.

Separateness is also illustrated by the depiction of indigenous as “uncomfortable” in situations where nonindigenous seem comfortable. For example, in one of Suger’s CASA dance spots, a young woman laughs nervously as she gives the thumbs-up sign. All of the other people in the spot seem to take singing in the street in stride—the young woman in traje dances reluctantly and averts her eyes, clearly reticent about her participation. It is also echoed in the Partido Popular advertisement Sí a los jóvenes. Although a young woman in traje shyly notes, “We are the present,” her downcast eyes make the statement feel less true.

A third rhetorical structure associated with indigenous people in the Guatemalan political advertisements is the “archeological Maya.” Unlike the findings of other studies, especially dealing with the Maya and other Mesoamerican civilizations, Guatemala’s Maya past and present seem connected. The Maya are not archeologized in the sense of being deprived of their own history, as is often the case in Mexico. Rather, they are archeologized because their significance lies in their ability to act as a bridge between current Guatemalan society and the area’s rich cultural heritage.
They are crowd members, whose role, through the use of symbols such as *traje* or locations such as Mayan historical sites like Tikal, is to tie political candidates to Guatemala’s rich history. The Maya do not own the archeological legacy, they are part of it, even though they are alive. This rhetorical structure serves to link the other two. The unique positioning of the Maya as bridges to the past leaves them helpless in the present, and further separates them from the country’s future.

**Framing and the advertisements of Rigoberta Menchú**

Research question 3 asked to what extent the frames used in the commercials of Rigoberta Menchú, an indigenous candidate, are different from those of non-indigenous candidates. The researchers located five political advertisements from EG. While the candidate is present in three of them, her voice is never heard; all of the EG spots are narrated by a male voiceover. At least one person in *traje* is seen in every advertisement. Menchú herself is always shown wearing *traje*, emphasizing her Maya roots.

In the spots in which Menchú does appear, she is not assigned a powerful role. Unlike the other candidates, she never addresses the television audience directly. Both her vice-presidential candidate and the EG congressional candidate Nineth Montenegro are shown giving speeches (although the voiceover speaks over these speeches); footage from Menchú’s many speeches is never used in the advertisements. She is shown walking in a crowd, holding hands in a “victory clench” on stage at a gathering with others, and waving a little flag. It is also interesting to note that, in two of the three advertisements in which Menchú’s image appears, her name is never mentioned. Nor are her many accomplishments detailed, either as an author, reformer, or Nobel Laureate.

One of the EG advertisements, *Manos limpias*, includes some of the rare portrayals of indigenous people taking control of their own future. The advertisement contrasts the “dirty hands” of the other candidates and the “clean hands” of EG. In this spot, indigenous symbols are associated with education through homework being done on a woven tablecloth, employment through someone moving traditional woven cloth on a sewing machine, and with diet and nutrition by the woman in *traje* carrying healthy produce. Menchú’s name is mentioned at the end of the spot, although she is not seen. The “clean” hands in this advertisement are busy, effective hands that are making their own lives better. Another EG advertisement, *Desempleo*, also includes a number of positive images associated with women wearing *traje*. As the male voiceover delivers a discussion of microloans, women in *traje* are seen weaving. Later, a student in *traje* raises her hand to give an answer in school. Again, the indigenous women in these advertisements are shown as active, and are willing to work for a better life.

**Conclusions**

Political advertising necessarily reflects the world view of the political elites who create it. By using ethnographic content analysis, the authors sought to immerse
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themselves in Guatemala’s current political advertising, with the objective of better understanding the space afforded the Maya in Guatemala’s political discourse. Previous research has discussed “shy languages” and “cultures of silence” in the relationship between indigenous peoples and the mass media (Alia & Bull, 2005; Rodriguez, 2001). This research indicates that in Guatemala, at least, indigenous peoples are virtually silent within the confines of one kind of mass-mediated message, political advertising.

The image of indigenous people that political advertising in Guatemala portrays is that of someone performing a minor role in the political discourse. They are usually crowd members, candidate contacts, and victims. Only rarely do they make policy statements. Even when they do actually speak, it is in vague terms, about generalized policy or values issues. They never have the role of directly endorsing a candidate—that job is left for others who are not wearing traje, and not speaking an indigenous language.

The rhetorical image that political advertising conveys of indigenous people is that of outsiders. Those wearing traje in the political ads are apart from the others, and yet helpless without them. Their culture is associated with the recent, violent past, although the main themes of the political advertisements focused on the future, leaving the indigenous even further outside the political arena. They occupy a political space where they are worried about and must be cared for. Their depictions are childlike, dependent of a father-figure candidate, even though they are not all young.

The infantilization additionally serves to make the indigenous presences less threatening in the advertisements. In the only occasion where we see indigenous people as part of a conflict, rather than angry crowds and armed warriors, we see indigenous people on their knees, victims of an unseen, unmentioned enemy. The one image of armed indigenous guerillas in the 67 advertisements was a group of children, further emphasizing the infantilization of the Maya.

The inclusion of an indigenous candidate in the race does not change the portrayal much. The frames present within the political elites who write political advertisements might have served to limit the impact of Menchú’s candidacy. Certainly, she does not take on the role of neo-populist, directly appealing to Guatemala’s indigenous people for support, as Alejandro Toledo did in Peru. According to Cook-Lynn (2001), Menchú has been marginalized because “multicultural voices of the Americas . . . have to be discredited in order for the status quo of colonialism in such countries with huge indigenous populations to be successful” (p. 200).

In the EG advertisements, Menchú’s voice is never heard in the broadcast advertisements, further silencing the Maya. Her name is not always mentioned. She is a crowd member in her own commercials—her Nobel Prize is never discussed. Her party’s advertisements did provide most of the positive depictions of indigenous people impacting their own lives within the campaign ads, however. With enough exposure—the underfunded campaign of EG had very little exposure—those images might ultimately impact viewers’ frames.
The indigenous peoples that inhabit Guatemalan political advertising spaces are not stereotyped in the way that might be expected by previous studies of indigenous people in mass media. They are not noble savages or bloodthirsty devils, Indian princesses or squaws. Political ads did not deny the indigenous reality (although they grossly underrepresent it). They acknowledge the existence of indigenous peoples and timidly used their languages. The concept of the Maya was not only shown by colossal sites such as Tikal, but also by living humans. Unlike in the representations found in previous literature, a part of today’s Guatemalan population is linked to the monumental glory of archeology and the state’s history.

However, indigenous peoples are given a limited and passive role to play in the Guatemalan political discourse. The sanctioned Indians that Hale (2004) described are the same that this study describes: they are usually silent, but when they speak, they neither endorse candidates nor propose policies. They form cheering crowds, they must be taken care of, they are dependent, not threatening, and do not demand more rights nor attempt to put discrimination and racism on the political agenda. Even Rigoberta Menchú, a candidate, an activist who has questioned the state, and a former guerrilla fighter, appears as a sanctioned Indian: voiceless, without profound propositions, and with limited participation.

The Guatemalan Maya are no longer archeologized in the sense of existing only as dead. The sanctioned, living Maya had a place in the glorious past, but their current role is passive and ornamental. The new archeologization of indigenous peoples no longer denies their living presence. It turns them into voiceless, inactive participants in the current history. Even when they do appear, they are either surrounded by a larger group of nonindigenous people, or obscured within a crowd of cheering supporters, whose very size serves to diminish the importance of any individual member.

The promise of the Peace Accords was the full integration of the Maya people into the political life of Guatemala, through the cultivation of respect for Maya symbols, specifically the traje. The political advertisements of the latest campaign do not indicate that the promise of the Accords has become reality. Rather, the commercials, taken together, reflect the dominant frames within Guatemala’s political elite, which include the indio permitido, or sanctioned Indian: a vision of the Maya as having a limited right to participation within the political process, as long as they accept their place and do not make demands for actual equality.

In 2007, the world waited expectantly for the Accords to come to fruition in the election of an indigenous president in Guatemala—no such hopes existed in Guatemala, where the everyday realities of racism continue to plague the country’s indigenous people. As Guatemala strives to live up to the promise of the 1995 Accord, political communicators could make a small but positive contribution by increasing the visibility and agency of the indigenous presence in political advertising and assigning them more significant roles within the political discourse. This, in turn, might help reshape the beliefs of Guatemalans about the appropriate role of the Maya people within that country’s democratic framework.
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Notes

1 The term was probably invented by French lawyer-ethnographer Marc Lescarbot in 1609 as a legal concept, and abandoned for over 2 centuries (Ellingson, 2001).

2 The development of indigenous media is the result of many factors, but the literature on the topic generally agrees that fighting against an outside, imposed image of the self is one of the main ones.

3 In his profile on www.youtube.com, the most significant contributor, guatelecciones2007, described his activity in this way: “Ahora subo al internet los anuncios políticos que pasan en la tv para que nos enteremos cual será la nueva lección. Y quizás nos anime a visitar Guatemala el 4 de noviembre para ejercer nuestro derecho constitucional a elegir nuestras nuevas autoridades” (“I’m uploading the political spots that appear on TV to the Internet so we can learn what’s new. And perhaps it will motivate us to come to Guatemala on November 4th and exercise our constitutional right to elect our new officials”). His Elecciones Guatemala 2007 channel has received more than 20,000 channel views.

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危地马拉政治广告中土著人的作用：民族志的内容分析

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【摘要：】

政治广告中是现代传播最为重要的传播形式之一。本文研究危地马拉土著人在政治广告中自我表达最重要的形式之一——传统服装中所体现出来的当前危地马拉社会中土著人民的现状。通过利用民族志的内容分析，本文研究了危地马拉不同政治派别的67个电视广告中土著人的所起的作用和特征。结果表明，土著人经常被视为"群众成员"，从来不被赋予如“候选人代言人”或“未决的选民”这样重要的角色。整体而言，穿着传统服装会与无助和分裂联系起来。Q’ich’e Maya的候选人 Rigoberta Menchú 的商业广告表现出与其他候选人广告许多相同的特点。
Le rôle des peuples autochtones dans les publicités politiques guatémaltèques : une analyse de contenu ethnographique

Colleen Connolly-Ahern & Antoni Castells i Talens

Cette étude explore le statut actuel des peuples autochtones dans la société guatémaltèque, telle qu'elle est articulée dans l'une des formes les plus appropriées de communication moderne, les publicités politiques, et telle que définie par l'une des formes d'expression des peuples autochtones du Guatemala les plus pertinentes, le « traje ». Par une analyse de contenu ethnographique, l'étude explore les rôles et les représentations des peuples autochtones dans 67 publicités télévisées couvrant le spectre politique du Guatemala. Les résultats indiquent que les peuples autochtones sont le plus souvent vus comme des « membres de la foule ». Ils n'ont jamais de rôles importants comme celui de « partisan d'un candidat » ou d'« électeur indécis ». Dans l'ensemble, le port du « traje » est associé à l'impuissance et à la différence. Les publicités de la candidate maya k'iche' Rigoberta Menchú présentaient plusieurs des mêmes caractéristiques que celles des autres candidats.
The Role of Indigenous Peoples in Guatemalan Political Advertisements: An Ethnographic Content Analysis

과학말라 정치적 광고들에서 토착민들의 역할: 인류학적인 내용분석

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요약

본 연구는 현대 민주주의에 대한 가장 적절한 형태의 커뮤니케이션의 하나로 여겨지는 정치광고를 통해서, 그리고 과테말라 원주민들에게 가장 적절한 자기표현의 형태의 하나인 traje를 정의하는 것으로서, 과테말라 사회 토착민들의 현재 상황에 관한 연구이다. traje는 ‘마야’를 가장 잘 나타내는 것으로 과테말라 평화 약정에 의해 보호되고 존중되고 있다. 인류학적인 내용분석을 사용하여, 본 연구는 과테말라의 정치적 스펙트럼을 넘다드는 67개의 텔레비전 광고에서 토착민들의 역할과 특징들을 조사하였다. 결과들은 토착민들은 종종 밀집된 구성원으로서 보여지고 있으며, 그들은 결코 중요한 역할들을 가지지 못하였다. 전체적으로, traje를 입는 것은 무력함과 분리와 연계되어 있다. Rigoberta Mench´u의 광고들 또한 선거에서 다른 후보자들의 특징과 여러분에서 같은 점을 보여주었다.
El Rol de las Personas Indígenas en la Publicidad Política de Guatemala:
Un Análisis de Contenido Etnográfico
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Resumen

Este estudio investiga el estado corriente de las personas indígenas dentro de la sociedad
Guatemalteca, articulado en una de las formas más relevantes de la comunicación moderna, la
publicidad política, y definido por una de las formas más relevantes de auto expresión de las
personas Indígenas de Guatemala, el traje. Usando un análisis de contenido etnográfico, este
estudio examina los roles y las caracterizaciones de las personas indígenas en 67 comerciales de
tevisión a través del espectro político Guatemalteco. Los resultados indican que las personas
indígenas son vistas más a menudo como “miembros de la multitud” y nunca se les da roles
importantes tales como “el candidato de la representación” o “el votante indeciso.” En
general, el uso del traje está asociado con la impotencia y la separación. Los comerciales de la
candidata Q’iché Maya Rigoberta Menchú exhibieron muchas de las mismas características de
los otros candidatos.