DO WE WANT TO SEE THE WHOLE PICTURE?
A STUDY OF MULTICULTURAL PORTRAYALS IN ADVERTISING, EXTENDED EFFECTS AND THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

Abstract

Over the last decades, globalization has driven demographic change in societies around the world. This shift demand marketers' attention in assessing the implications that may follow from a more ethnically diverse marketplace. However, the existing catalog of research is hampered by temporal distance and a limited concept of diversity, which warrants further investigation. The purpose of this study is to provide a deeper understanding of multicultural portrayals in advertising, by investing its traditional effects and potential societal effects as well as how these are affected by the cultural context.

The study was conducted in a quantitative questionnaire-based experiment distributed to a sample representative of the Swedish population by the professional marketing research agency NEPA. The answers of 526 respondents were used for measuring traditional advertising effects, ad and brand attitude, as well as extended effects, empathy and social connectedness, in the context of different levels of cultural embeddedness and product involvement.

The result shows that multicultural portrayals in advertising successfully can prime favorable ad and brand attitudes for lower involvement products, while such effects are lacking when higher involvement products are advertised. There is no support for the proposed positive priming for extended advertising effects, indicating that a representative sample of respondents will not necessarily exhibit positive priming. Furthermore, the study shows partial support for moderating effects of consumer attitude towards ethnic diversity on both the traditional as well as extended effects. Also, multicultural portrayal with high cultural embeddedness was found to prime respondents to be less empathetic.

Keywords

Cultural cues, Congruity theory, Empathy, Extended advertising effects, Multicultural advertising

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Definitions

Multicultural advertisement: Advertising portraying individuals of more than one ethnic origin.

Monocultural advertisement: Advertising portraying individuals of one ethnic origin.

Distinct consumer: Refers in this thesis to consumers holding ethnic minority traits or self-identifying as belonging to an ethnic minority.

Non-distinct consumer: Refers in this thesis to consumers holding ethnic majority traits or self-identifying as belonging to an ethnic majority.

Social connectedness: The definition of social connectedness for our purpose will be to which magnitude a person feels connected to other people. (Lee & Robbins, 1995)

Empathy: Empathy refers to the ability to feel for other people. (Archer et al., 1981)

Traditional effects: The traditional advertising effects within the scope of our study will refer to ad and brand attitude.

Extended effects: The extended advertising effects within the scope of our study will refer to Empathy and Social connectedness. (Åkestam et al., 2017)

Social priming: In this context, social priming refers to the nonconscious effects created from exposure of stimuli to later impact our perception.

Cultural cue: A cultural cue in advertising may be manifested by the ethnicity of models or as portrayals of ethnicity-specific values, symbols, or traditions that is appreciated by an ethnic member of the group. (Appiah, 2001)

Schema: Schemas in the consumer's mind can be described as the existing structure of knowledge and fundamental understanding of the dynamics of different objects. (Stayman et al., 1992)

Product involvement: The level of product involvement is determined by the perception of risk contained to purchasing a product. Exemplifying this, a phone might be perceived as a higher involvement product whilst a package of milk might be perceived as a lower involvement product.

1 Introduction

Everyone has something that they would prefer to not show to other people. Not because we know with certainty that they would be angry, spiteful or disapproving, but for the simple reason that you just simply are not sure. What is that thing that you have hidden away somewhere? Probably not an entire demographic, constituting a sizable part of the Swedish population. But that answer would not have been far of if you were a marketer just a couple of decades ago, or sometimes even today. Placing yourself in their shoes, weighting the option of showing all your family, friends and co-workers that thing you have hidden away with no assurance as to their reaction, how would you act? Take a leap of faith, or stick to how it was yesterday?

In a diverse marketplace with many perceived pitfalls, this thesis sets out to provide the insights necessary for today's marketers to not only see the necessity of inclusive advertising, but also the benefits.

1.1 Background

To understand the phenomena and effects of ethnic diversity in advertising, a brief review of the current research will be presented. This will explain the problem area within the existing research and identify a research gap which has inspired our choice of research question.

1.1.1 A Multicultural Sweden

The last decade has seen growing statistical evidence of the globalization and an apparent shift towards a more multicultural society. The fraction of citizens with a foreign background in Sweden has risen by almost 40 percent the latest decade, and thus almost a fourth of the Swedish population is born outside of Sweden or possess two foreign-born parents (SCB, 2017). Thus, the population growth is almost exclusively driven by immigration, changing the ethnical composition of the Swedish population. Such an apparent change demand for marketers' attention to assessing potential implications that may follow from a more diverse marketplace.

1.1.2 Ethnic Diversity in Advertising

During the 1960s in America, marketers started to familiarize with a new type of promotion, a concept to be called "integrated marketing", including both ethnic majorities as well as minorities (Whittler, 1991). Since then, researchers have been paying close attention to examining the reactions following such advertising. Currently, there are three main directions to be found in the

field of ethnically diverse advertising research and its implications for marketers. The first direction covers the belief that ethnically diverse portrayals will produce adverse reactions from the overall population. For example, it has been shown that advertising that portrays various ethnicities creates a so-called 'white backlash' which generates adverse effects amongst the viewers (Cagley & Cardozo, 1970). The second direction suggests that both the purchase behavior (Bush et al., 1974) and the overall evaluation (Guest, 1970) are indifferent of which ethnicity that is portrayed in the advertising amongst viewers of different ethnicities. A third direction argues that portrayals of diverse ethnicity have the possibility to create favorable advertising effects for the overall population. Researchers sharing this view have suggested that integrated advertising may evoke favorability (Barban & Cundiff, 1964) and preference for the specific ad (Barban, 1969).

Currently, there are several theoretical explanations of how the perception of diverse ethnic portrayals will lead to different effects depending on the consumer's identity. For example, theories of in-group bias (Brewer, 1979; Wilder & Shapiro, 1991) and self-referencing (Rogers et al., 1977; Krishnamurthy & Sujan, 1999) suggests that consumers will respond more favorably if the advertisement includes members of the same ethnic group as the consumer. Moreover, such advertising will generate more pleasant thoughts, favorable attitudes and purchase intentions (Lee et al., 2002). Therefore, by creating identifiable similarities for consumers, advertisers has the opportunity to strengthen the persuasion of the consumer compared to when no such similarities are relatable (Whittler, 1989; Whittler & DiMeo, 1991). Connecting to target marketing, an audience identifying with portrayals and thus perceiving themselves being the target will experience stronger affinity for the brand compared to an audience viewing themselves not to be the target (Aaker, 1999). In line with this, it has been concluded that characteristics as ethnic salience (Deshpande & Stayman 1994; Lee et al., 2002) as well as racial similarity (Whittler, 1989) enhance the affinity among the targeted audience.

The beneficial effects that follow from portrayals of specific ethnic groups have been proven by multiple studies, conclusively showing that the targeted ethnic group exhibits favorable attitudes. However, the concern whether this might negatively impact consumers from other ethnic groups is still widely debated. Taking the audience's levels of prejudice into account, Cagley and Cardozo (1970) tested the effects following portrayals of various ethnicities in advertising. They found that the low-prejudiced audience responded equally to all three ads. In contrary, the higher prejudiced white individuals responded relatively unfavorable to the two ads not portraying only whites, creating the previously mentioned effect of 'white backlash'. This research indicates that

depending on the recipient's level of prejudice, diverse ethnic portrayals in advertising can turn negative and produce a backlash. However, in a similar study conducted by Bush et al. (1979), no evidence was found for the conclusions of Cagley & Cardozo (1970), and the previous results were questioned. Hence, Bush et al. (1979) argue that their new, deviating findings may be due to a change in the values of society over time, which they argue changes the reaction to such advertising.

1.1.3 Extended Effects of Ethnic Diversity in Advertising

Previously, the research focus has lain on examining whether diverse ethnicity portrayals positively or negatively influences the traditional advertising effects such as ad or brand attitude. However, looking beyond the intended traditional advertising effects, more recent research has called for the exploration of potential advertising affects in a larger societal context (Eisend, 2010; Powell, 2011; Dahlén & Rosengren, 2016), also known as the extended effects of advertising (Åkestam et al., 2017).

For example, Steele & Aronson (1995) found that portrayals of negative stereotypes of one's ethnic group primed individuals to perform worse on intellectual tests. This strengthens the notion that racial portrayals may hold effects more than those considered as traditional for advertising. However, not only has the research in this field focused on the potential drawbacks and negative effects of advertising representations on social parameters (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Davies et al., 2002; Davies et al., 2005; Dahlén et al., 2014), more recently research has shown potential for advertising to create positive extended effects. Hence, social effects such as increased creativity amongst consumers (Rosengren et al., 2013) as well as enhancement of consumer benevolence (Defever et al., 2011) are some of the most recent findings of how advertising can create impact beyond the traditional scope.

It has been shown that portrayals of an otherwise marginalized group, homosexuals, could create extended effects and that exposure to such advertising can prime consumers to think about others (Åkestam et al., 2017). Thus, the study suggests that marketers can use the tool of advertising to create positive social externalities among consumers, more specifically by affecting the consumer-perceived social connectedness as well as their empathy. Yet, to our knowledge, no similar study of such effects relating to portrayals of ethnic minorities in advertising is to be found in the existing research.

1.2 Problem Area

Even though it has been proven several times that portrayals of an ethnic group evoke positive traditional advertising effects on its members (Whittler, 1989; Whittler & DiMeo, 1991; Deshpande & Stayman, 1994; Aaker et al., 2000), there is still no concurrent direction in the research regarding the advertising effects among the members of the groups not portrayed (Cagley & Cardozo, 1970; Bush et al, 1979; Whittler, 1989). Hence, there is a need for further exploration of the effects on consumers evoked by advertising portrayals of other ethnicities and thus of diverse ethnicity for a compound sample representative of the overall population. Additionally, Bush et al. (1979) suggest that the prejudices towards different ethnicities have changed over time and calls for further exploration of the field. Therefore, there are clear reasons to reevaluate the previous research within the area.

Moreover, much of the existing research have simplified the underlying theories and conclusions have been drawn from consumer reactions to advertising containing either models sharing their own ethnic origin or belonging to another ethnic group (e.g. Deshpande & Stayman, 1994; Grier & Brumbaugh, 1999). We argue that exposing consumers to racially homogeneous advertising does not allow conclusions about the response to ethnically heterogeneous and diverse advertising. Thus, there is a research gap ready for exploration, where the effects of diverse ethnic portrayals in advertising may be investigated to detect potential advantages and drawbacks.

Furthermore, recent studies have shown that advertising might work as a tool to create extended effects and that advertising can influence effects in a larger societal context (Åkestam et al., 2017). Since these effects have been shown to appear when advertising portrays a sexual minority, one can expect that similar effects may occur when portraying other marginalized minority groups within other categories such as ethnic minorities. However, this is not yet explored which leaves room for us to explore a nascent field in advertising research and answer a call for further research from Åkestam et al. (2017).

Additionally, the research regarding the effects evoked by diverse ethnicity in advertising has currently been limited to examining such in a context of low cultural embeddedness. However, in 2016, the Swedish department store Åhléns received significant publicity when publishing their Christmas campaign. The campaign contained an advertisement that portrayed an ethnic minority boy dressed as Lucia, evoking strong, negative responses, but also many consumers voiced their support. Subsequently, the advertisement was withdrawn due to the magnitude of negative comments, because of concern for the boy and his family (SVT, 2016). Hence, the reactions evoke questions regarding cultural cues in advertising not currently covered in the research.

1.3 Purpose and Research Question

This thesis aims to investigate whether multicultural portrayals in advertising can generate positive traditional advertising effects, such as ad and brand attitude, as well as societal effects in terms of consumer-perceived social connectedness and empathy. It contributes to a body of research on multicultural advertising as well as to the growing literature on the potentially positive extended effects of advertising. In response to recent inclusions of cultural cues in multicultural advertising, an insertion of this parameter was decided to be considered within the scope of the thesis. Specifically, the main research question is:

Can multicultural portrayals in advertising prime consumers to experience positive traditional advertising effects as well as extended advertising effects?

Whereby positive effects denote more favorable attitudes towards the advertisement, the brand behind it as well as increased feelings of connection to other people and empathy for the same. A secondary research question was posed concerning the effects of including cultural cues:

Will consumer responses to multicultural portrayals in advertising be altered by the inclusion of cultural cues?

In order to increase understanding of the impact on these advertising effects from the consumer's attitude towards the diverse society, the sub research question is:

Do the traditional and extended effects of multicultural advertising differ depending on the consumer's attitude towards diversity?

1.4 Delimitations

The study was limited to the Swedish market and respondents from the Swedish population, thus limiting the applicability of our findings in a larger international context. Because of this, the meaning of ethnic majority and minority, along with synonymous terms used throughout this thesis are to be interpreted through the ethnic composition of the Swedish society. Further, the distribution of the survey used was made to a consumer panel in an online format. The respondent being aware that the study was conducted for research as well as the limited period of data collection might have made an impact on the results. Also, the study was subject to a temporal limitation, as respondents were exposed to the stimuli and answered the survey only once. Therefore, the study only measures the short-term effects of multicultural advertising, whilst the long-term effects are beyond its scope.

The choice to create fictive advertisements with fictitious brands is mainly motivated by the limited supply of existing advertising fulfilling the criterion of context and ethnicity for the study. Also, the fictitious ads brought the advantage of eliminating the risks of any preconceived attitudes or experience in regards to the portrayed brand or the particular ad to affect the results. Lastly, we limit our study to investigate two specific traditional advertising effects, ad and brand attitude, as well as two specific extended advertising effects, empathy and social connectedness.

1.5 Expected Contribution

There is a plethora of literature explaining consumers' reactions to other ethnicities in advertising (e.g. Cagley & Cardozo, 1970; Bush et al., 1979). However, this research is in general limited to the traditional advertising effects following portrayals of ethnicities in a monocultural context. Hence, this study aims to contribute with an examination and explanation of the traditional advertising effects created by portrayals of diverse ethnicity in a multicultural context. Additionally, by answering the calls for further research from Åkestam et al. (2017), this thesis aims to contribute with an explanation of potential extended advertising effects created by ethnic diversity and therefore extend the knowledge regarding advertising effects evoked by such portrayals. Further, we aim to explore and contribute with new knowledge to a generally unexplored area covering the effects evoked by diverse ethnicity in a context of powerful cultural embeddedness. The fact that the ethnical composition of the Swedish population continuously changes and that the inhabitants with foreign background have increased by almost 40% the last decade, creates a growing need for marketers to understand how to transgress ethnic targeting to reach an ethnically diverse population and also the effects of such strategies.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Theoretical Introduction

Despite the subject of ethnicity in advertising being well researched, there still exists inconsistencies in the results of studies such as no obvious conclusions can be drawn when considering the effects that follows. Some have found distinctive reactions, where ethnic majorities respond more favorably to the use of models with the same ethnic origin compared to ethnic minority models (Schlinger & Plummer, 1972; Kerin, 1979; Williams et al., 1995). Further, conducting corresponding studies to examine the effects on the ethnic minority, researchers find a similar favorable relation between the ethnic identity of the consumer and the model (e.g. Kerin, 1979; Whittler & DiMeo, 1991). However, there are also studies that show no significant disapproval from majority groups in using minority models in advertising (Barban & Cundiff, 1964; Bush et al., 1979; Whittler, 1989). Thus, various studies have shown divergent results of how consumers respond to different ethnicities in advertising, which makes the underlying mechanism for such behavior and reactions an interesting field to examine.

Summarizing the research on this topic, Whittler (1991) points out some relevant flaws plaguing the catalog of articles outlined above. The methodological variations inadvertently affect its practical applicability. In addition to this critique, much of the research was conducted between the 1960s and the 1990s. Hence, the temporal distance and significant shifts in societal ethnic composition around the globe put the validity of previous research into question (Green et al., 1999; Johnson & Grier, 2011).

Moreover, much of the literature has built theories of advertising effects limited to the reactions of exposure to portrayals including only one ethnicity (e.g. Schlinger & Plummer, 1972). Less research has taken an ethnically diverse composition in advertising into consideration while conducting their studies. Barban & Cundiff (1964) refers to 'racially integrated' advertising, which departs from the notion of ethnic targeting and extends it to a more integrated target market consisting of multiple ethnic groups. There have been suggestions that portrayals of ethnic diversity in advertising constitutes a cost-effective way to reach multiple markets with a single advertisement (Gould, 1970). For our purpose, a more modern definition of ethnically diverse advertising, 'multicultural advertising' is suggested as a strategy to simultaneously reach a culturally diverse target audience through the use of ethnic representations appealing different groups (Johnson & Grier, 2011). It is thus well worth considering the very different effects that

'monocultural advertising', an ethnically homogenous portrayal, and multicultural advertising can produce. Much of the earlier research fails in explaining the underlying processes that create different reactions to advertising following an ethnically diverse composition (Whittler, 1991).

2.2 Viewer Distinctiveness

Most of our traits are to some extent shared with others around us. An individual's identity is constructed from the traits that are less prevalent in overall society. The relative rarity of those traits in others makes them a salient part of one's self. Such distinctive traits are more likely to be used in describing oneself and in recognizing similarities in targeted marketing (McGuire et. al, 1979). Distinctiveness theory holds that consumers identifying with a numerically inferior, or distinctive group, will be more attentive to targeted messages, process that message differently and hence also respond more favorably to the targeted advertisement than will members of a numerically superior group, the non-distinctive consumers (Brumbaugh & Grier, 1999, 2004; Aaker et al., 2000). The effectiveness of such targeted advertising is driven by the consumer's feeling of sharing characteristics with the models in the advertising, enhancing the persuasion of the message compared to an advertisement lacking perceived similarity (Whittler & DiMeo, 1991). Conversely, these positive effects should not occur for a consumer not sharing this distinctive trait of target and the attentiveness for the advertising will thus be relatively lower.

Likewise, research has proposed differences between distinctive and non-distinctive consumer reactions to advertisements when they are part of the non-target market. Whilst distinctive consumers showed limited or no dissatisfaction of not being targeted, non-distinctive viewers are more likely to, when not targeted, perceive higher exclusion because of the relatively high awareness of belonging to the non-target market (McGuire, 1984).

In the context of multicultural advertising, the distinctive consumers have likewise been found to evaluate the advertisement more positively on the basis of the perceived level of similarity (Aaker et al., 2000). However, Johnson and Grier (2011) found that for the non-distinctive consumer, the level of similarity was not the most important point of evaluation considered, as ethnicity is not a salient part of their self-image. Instead of assessing the advertising based on similarity, the non-distinctive consumers will rather evaluate the advertisement on the basis of their previous knowledge of advertising, as well as their values and beliefs. In order to explain both distinctive and non-distinctive consumers' paths of evaluation, the theory of evaluation based on distinctiveness is complemented by evaluation of congruity, creating a framework for explaining both groups advertisement evaluation process.

2.3 Congruity Theory

The theory of congruity has previously been applied to explain the psychological process in evaluating products (Meyers-Levy & Tybout, 1989) and how consumer expectations generate different perceptions of product performance (Stayman et al., 1992). Johnson & Grier (2011) proves that this psychological explanation is applicable also to the consumers' evaluation of multicultural advertising.

Congruity theory explains how the consumer's response to advertising may vary depending on which level of schema congruity that is perceived by the consumer (Mandler, 1982). Schemas in the consumer's mind can be described as the existing structure of knowledge and fundamental understanding of different objects (Stayman et al., 1992). Hence, the theory proposes that evaluation and processing of advertisements will depend on how well the consumer perceive the content to correspond with expectations (Meyers-Levy & Tybout, 1989). Favorable responses to advertising will occur when there is schema congruity, in other words, when the predictions of the consumer are confirmed by the advertising portrayals. Important to note though, is that advertisements that are congruent with the consumer's schema rarely contains unusual elements, hence it is unlikely to create extensive cognitive elaboration in the mind of the consumer (Mandler, 1982).

In contrast, a consumer perceiving schema incongruity will activate their cognitive elaboration and further processing, an effect evoked by the level of novelty. The effects created by schema incongruity will lead to a more comprehensive evaluation of an advertisement compared to the rather mild elaboration following schema congruity. To understand the effects of schema incongruity, a distinction of different levels of incongruity must be made. Mandler (1982) suggest that when incongruity is encountered, the effects will be dependent on the viewer's ability to successfully 'solve' the incongruity. A solvable incongruity is referred to as moderate incongruity (Mandler, 1982; Ozanne et al., 1992). Moderate incongruity has positive effects that follow from increased arousal and greater cognitive elaboration as described earlier. However, there are also cases of extreme incongruity, when the incongruity is unsolvable without changing the schema on which the evaluation was based. Thus, when such extreme incongruity occurs, a high level of cognitive elaboration follows. The high degree of mismatch of the fundamental values of the consumer will generate frustration following that no clear resolution of the inconsistency will be found in the mind of the consumer. Hence, any possible adoption of the incongruity requires a

change in the consumer's determined schema, and consequently evoke displeasure amongst the consumer leading to negative evaluation of the advertisement.

Thus, the theory of schema congruity suggests that cases of moderate schema incongruity generate more favorable evaluation than does the cases of schema congruity and extreme incongruity. Furthermore, the theory explains that extreme levels of schema incongruity might, due to high level of distinctiveness, be unresolvable unless the consumer changes their fundamental standards and therefore result in negative evaluation (Mandler, 1982; Meyers-Levy & Tybout, 1989; Stayman et al., 1992; Ozanne et al., 1992).

2.4 Congruity Theory and Multicultural Advertising

Based on the reasoning above, we argue that the relative novelty of multicultural advertising can create positive effects even for non-distinctive consumers by challenging their previous knowledge and perceptions. The theory of congruity (Mandler, 1982; Meyers-Levy & Tybout, 1989; Stayman et al., 1992; Ozanne et al., 1992) and novelty (Rosengren et al., 2013) suggests positive reactions from breaking the mold. Hence, we suggest that multicultural advertising will generate moderate incongruity and consequently create positive effects following from the increased arousal and greater cognitive elaboration. Furthermore, advertisements that reflect the actual composition of its audience is better received than stereotypical advertisements (Halliwell & Dittmar 2004). Hence, there is support for positive effects of multicultural advertisements also for non-distinctive consumers.

However, as the cognitive evaluation of advertisements for higher involvement products already demands a higher level of processing compared to the assessment of advertising for lower involvement products (Greenwald et al., 1984), it makes sense that the effects generated from increased processing are less discernable for such advertising. In addition, personal relevance and the ability to relate to the people in the advertisement is a more important determinant of the persuasion of higher involvement decisions (Petty et al., 1983). Hence, the additional persuasion and increase of favorable effects from moderate incongruity generated by multicultural advertising should be considered with caution for an advertisement for higher involvement products. Hence, the added level of processing will not generate the same aggregate effect on advertising and brand attitude from the increased cognitive elaboration compared to an advertisement for lower involvement products. This has also been shown by previous research (Cohen, 1992). In conclusion, we find evidence that there will exist a difference in the strength

of the positive effects from the use of multicultural portrayals in advertising depending on what kind of product is advertised.

Therefore, we argue that multicultural portrayals in advertising will generate favorable effects for both advertising of lower and higher involvement products, since the moderate incongruity will generate positive outcomes in the form of increased arousal as well as greater cognitive elaboration. However, due to higher involvement advertising already evoking more extensive cognitive elaboration, we cannot predict that the same magnitude of extension of the existing effect will follow further cognitive elaboration. Yet, we expect that the backlash (Cagley & Cardozo, 1970) proposed in early research generated from non-distinctive consumers being exposed to minority models should not be manifested for multicultural advertisements and thus that the effects generated by an extension of cognitive elaboration will exhibit positive influence.

Following the findings of Johnson & Grier (2011), a multicultural advertisement should succeed in including cues satisfying both the distinctive consumers' salient traits as well as creating a favorable reaction among non-distinctive consumers' by generating moderate incongruity, thereby demanding more extensive elaboration. The effects of extended cognitive elaboration will be relatively less prevalent for advertisements of higher involvement products compared to an advertisement of lower involvement products. Nevertheless, multicultural portrayals in advertising for both product categories will have positive effects on ad and brand attitudes. Reconnecting to section 2.2, distinctive consumers will exhibit positive traditional advertising effects towards a multicultural advertisement because of a higher level of perceived similarity. Thus, we can expect more favorable traditional advertising effects for both distinct and non-distinct viewers following multicultural portrayals. Given this reasoning, we hypothesize that:

H1a: Consumers will exhibit more favorable ad attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement
H1b: Consumers will exhibit more favorable brand attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement
H1c: Consumers will exhibit more favorable ad and brand attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement for a lower involvement product compared with advertising for a higher involvement product

2.5 Diverse Advertising as a Social Priming Cue

Responding to the call for further research in Åkestam et al. (2017) regarding the extended effects of advertising generated by advertisements depicting minority groups, this paper provides insight into the priming generated by including ethnic minority models in advertising. Most previous research on the specific variables investigated in Åkestams et al's. (2017) article has been made in the field of psychology. Thus, to ensure that this thesis properly applies this theoretical framework, the following presentation of theory and subsequent constructions of hypotheses closely resembles that of Åkestam et al. (2017), altered to answer the questions of this thesis and connecting the theory with the effects of ethnic diversity in advertising.

2.5.1 Social Connectedness

Previous research has determined that social priming can be accomplished by stimuli that contains elements of diversity in the context of age (Bargh et al., 1996), gender (Davies et al., 2005), sexual orientation (Angelini & Bradley, 2010; Åkestam et al, 2017) as well as ethnicity (Steele and Aronson, 1995; Grier & Brumbaugh, 1999). In addition to priming of traditional advertising effects, researchers have also found that extended advertising effects can be amplified through successful priming of the consumer. Exemplifying this, negative stereotypes of respondents' ethnic group primed African Americans negatively, which decreased their performance in an intellectual test (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Further, exposure to creative advertising primed consumers to perceive themselves as more creative (Rosengren et al., 2013). From this, it can be argued that exposure to advertising can constitute a priming that influences cognitive and social processes and therefore generates extended advertising effects. Hence, the effects created by advertising are not isolated to the product or brand portrayed, but can be extended to other aspects of the content, such as the level of creativity (Rosengren et al., 2013) and stereotyping (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Åkestam et al. (2017) argued that portrayals of homosexuality in advertising could prime non-distinctive consumers to think more about other people and become more aware of the personal characteristics shared with a distinct individual or group. Their study found that this priming at least temporarily affected the consumers to change their self-categorization and hence enhance their current level perceived empathy and social connectedness.

With support from the reasoning above we argue that multicultural portrayals in advertising will prime consumers to think more about the people in the ad. Hence, the priming is suggested to

enhance the consumer-perceived social connectedness. The definition of social connectedness is connection felt by one person toward other people around them (Lee & Robbins, 1995; Hutcherson et al., 2008). The exposure to a distinctive portrayal has been proven to create more thoughts about the people in the ad and the relationship between different groups compared to non-distinctive portrayals (Grier & Brumbaugh, 1999). Given this, we expect exposure to multicultural advertising, including both ethnic majorities and minorities, to create a similar effect due to the ethnic composition, which will generate thoughts about the people in the ad.

Additionally, the reasoning behind the distinctiveness of different traits suggest that we are more likely to recognize traits that are distinctive compared to those who are not (Aaker et al., 2000). Therefore, we can expect that the priming effect of social categories will be stronger from multicultural portrayals compared to monocultural portrayals, this since a consumer is less likely to consider the the ethnicity if this trait is not distinctive (Deshpande & Stayman, 1994; Aaker et al., 2000). Considering this, we cannot expect a monocultural portrayal to prime consumers to think more about others to the same extent as a multicultural portrayal. Multicultural advertising is however believed to generate increased social priming and thus increased perceived social connectedness. Putting these portrayals in a self-relevant context the consumer will combine the thoughts of people in the ad and relate to themselves which will generate increased levels of social connectedness (Åkestam et al., 2017). Therefore, we expect that portrayals of multicultural ethnicities in advertising will enhance the effect of consumer-perceived social connectedness and propose that:

H2: Multicultural portrayals in advertising increase consumer-perceived social connectedness

2.5.2 Empathy

In addition to the positive extended advertising effects on perceived social connectedness, Åkestam et al. (2017) showed that portrayals of homosexuality in advertising could increase consumer-perceived empathy. Empathy is understood here as the ability to feel for other people (Archer et al., 1981) and has been regarded to be a key factor for the social coordination in societies (Galinsky et al., 2005). Connecting advertising and empathy, researchers argue that exposure to advertising has the ability to evoke feelings of empathy among consumers (Escalas & Stern, 2003). However, successful creation of a connection between the two is dependent on the advertiser's ability to create advertisements containing portrayals that the consumer perceives as self-relevant (Stout & Leckenby, 1986). By elevating traits salient to numerically rare consumer

groups, marketers may be able to create this connection between different ethnic groups based on traits other than ethnicity, which in turn will improve the levels of self-to-others connection. Being able to relate to other people will consequently positively affect the ability to exhibit empathy (Galinsky et al., 2005). With support from the reasoning above and previous research, we hypothesize that:

H3: Multicultural portrayals in advertising increase consumer-perceived empathy

2.5.3 Attitude towards Diversity

It has been generally recognized that the psychological factor of attitude towards a certain depiction has the ability to influence information processing (Wolsko et al., 2004). More specifically, the American psychologist Gordon Allport (1935) defined attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (p. 810). Thus, attitude affects the receptiveness and processing of external stimulus such as advertising and may therefore impact the interpretation of the message and create a biased processing (Wolsko et al., 2004). Furthermore, as shown by Cagley and Cardozo (1970), the attitude towards different ethnic groups and the level of prejudice affected responses and traditional advertising effects evoked by monocultural portrayals of distinct ethnicities. We therefore have reason to suggest that the consumer's attitude towards ethnic diversity has a moderating effect on traditional advertising effects. Previous research has also shown that the social effects of consumer-perceived social connectedness and empathy is affected by consumers' attitudes, specifically that more positive consumers will generally exhibit stronger extended effects (Åkestam et al., 2017). Therefore, even though previous studies within the field of ethnicity in advertising has been focusing on the interaction between attitudes and distinctive portrayals and its impact on traditional advertising effects, we suggest that the extended effects of advertising will be affected as well by consumers' attitudes towards diversity. Further, we predict that a consumer with a more positive attitude towards diversity will exhibit favorable reactions, whilst the opposite is true for consumers with a less positive attitude. We therefore hypothesize:

H4a: The traditional effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising are moderated by consumers' attitudes towards ethnic diversity

H4b: The extended effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising are moderated by consumers' attitudes towards ethnic diversity

2.6 The Effect of Cultural Embeddedness in Advertising

Cultural cues may be manifested by the ethnicity of models or as portrayals of specific values, symbols, or traditions. The relative importance of cultural cues will determine how culturally embedded the advertisement is perceived to be to the viewer (Appiah, 2001; Johnson & Grier, 2011). Previous research has found that cultural cues in advertising can evoke and reinforce positive reactions among consumers who share cultural belongingness with the particular cue (Johnson & Grier, 2011). Thus, the inclusion of cultural cues enables for the consumer to connect with the advertisement and connect it to one's identity and therefore the inclusion of such a cue evoke favorable reactions (Appiah, 2001). Primarily, the effects of ethnically diverse portrayals in advertising have been examined in a low cultural embeddedness context (e.g. Cagley & Cardozo, 1970; Bush et al., 1979; Whittler, 1989), and often the cultural cues have belonged to the same cultural or ethnical context as the models in the advertisement. Therefore, there is a need to examine multicultural advertising containing more powerful cultural cues.

2.6.1 Congruity Theory and Cultural Cues

The effects created by the inclusion of cultural cues in multicultural advertising can be split into two types of viewer judgments, either judgment of similarity or dissimilarity, depending on which level of congruity that is perceived (Williams et al., 1995; Brumbaugh & Grier, 2006). In their article on this subject, Johnson & Grier (2011) develops this argument by showing that distinctive and non-distinctive consumers follow different paths when evaluating multicultural advertisements that include cultural cues, similar to what was presented in section 2.3 and 2.4. Distinctive consumers judge perceived similarity with the depiction in the advertisement to evaluate if they are part of the target market, whilst non-distinctive consumers evaluate the advertisement on its congruity with their presupposed idea of how an advertisement, along with the cultural cue, should be depicted from previous experience.

As previously mentioned, limited research has been made investigating the effects of cultural cues in multicultural advertising and the effects created by different levels of cultural embeddedness. One of the few studies considering the influence of such in advertisements showed that the presence of minority cultural cues could enhance both black and white adolescents' identification with the advertisement (Appiah, 2001). In contrast, the non-distinctive white viewers did not show any significant difference in favorable attitude when similar cues related to their ethnicity were displayed together with white models. Hence, the strength of the investigated effects did not seem to depend on the level of cultural embeddedness. Appiah (2001) suggest that this might be

due to a lack of any powerful cultural cues and encourage future research to determine how such cues may create different effects. Hence, the effects of strong culturally embedded advertising with multicultural portrayals remain largely uninvestigated.

Drawing from congruity theory, we argue that the previously hypothesized favorable effects of multicultural advertisements exist because of the advertisement evoking only a moderate level of incongruity. However, we argue that multicultural portrayals, in combination with a race-specific cultural cue create an inconsistency when the race-specific cultural cue interacts with other ethnicities, outside of the expected context in a non-distinctive consumer's pre-constructed schema. Since the interaction between multicultural portrayals and a weak cultural cue should create moderate incongruity, we argue that a strong cultural cue along with multicultural portrayals in advertising may lead to extreme incongruity for non-distinctive viewers given that the cultural cue is part of the non-distinct culture.

When such an extreme inconsistency occurs, the consumer will not be able to solve it without changing their underlying cognitive schema in order to facilitate the new portrayal and thus their predetermined understanding of the interactions between the distinct model and the cultural cue. This magnitude of incongruity generates frustration as no resolution of the incongruity can be determined in the mind of the consumer and this causes displeasure as any potential adoption of the incongruity into the consumer's schema requires a change in the consumer's determined schema. This in turn may lead to negative evaluation of the advertisement and thus create both negative ad and brand attitudes, but also lower perceived empathy and social connectedness in the mind of the consumer.

We argue that a high level of cultural embeddedness in a multicultural advertisement might evoke extreme incongruity in the minds of consumers. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

H5a: Consumers will exhibit less favorable ad attitude towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue
H5b: Consumers will exhibit less favorable brand attitude towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue
H5c: Consumers will exhibit less favorable social connectedness towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue
H5d: Consumers will exhibit less favorable empathy towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue

3 Methodology

3.1 Choice of Approach and Research Method

As this study takes a deductive approach, we utilize a priori established theories and frameworks in relevant areas of research to produce the previously presented hypotheses that investigate the traditional and extended effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising (Bryman & Bell, 2011). To test the various responses from consumers exposed to an advertisement containing monocultural or multicultural portrayals, an experimental study was conducted involving two separate experiments, preceded by a pre-study to ensure that the manipulation of the appropriate variable, *perceived ethnic diversity,* was satisfactory.

The data collection consisted of a pre-study and the main study, which was divided into two separate experiments. Respondents were randomly assigned to either a control or experiment group, since this was deemed as the most suitable approach to the presented questions. The objective of the main study was to provide empirical data answering the overarching research question of *'Can multicultural portrayals in advertising prime consumers to experience positive traditional advertising effects as well as extended advertising effects?'*. In the main study, each respondent received a survey featuring one of the developed stimuli advertisements and was asked to answer the identical questionnaire that followed. By ensuring that the questions were replied to in direct connection to exposure to the advertisement, the probability of causality between exposure and respondents' reaction is higher (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

Diverting from the respondent segmentation method applied in some of the previous research (Aaker et al., 2000; Johnson & Grier, 2015), who purposely constructed groups of distinctive and non-distinctive respondents of equal size in a controlled experiment, we conducted an experiment that did not segment respondents. This decision makes the study less prone to self-selection bias and strengthens the probability that the differences between groups of respondents depend on the manipulated variable (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

3.2 Stimuli Design

In order to control for the main effect investigated in this paper, the ethnic diversity portrayed in advertising was manifested as either monocultural, dominated by non-distinctive models, or multicultural, containing both distinctive and non-distinctive models. Each block of advertisements developed for the experiments carried advertisements differing by the

composition of the ethnicity of the models displayed in the advertisement, providing sets of otherwise identical advertisements similarly to Åkestam et al. (2017). Further, a decision was made to construct new fictitious print media advertisement. This due to the very limited number of multicultural advertisements available and especially the difficulty of ensuring that the condition of otherwise identical portrayals was satisfied when using existing, real-life advertisement.

While this approach limits the ability to imitate reality and real-world decision making (Bryman & Bell, 2011), a proper manipulation of the desired variables was deemed more critical. Also, this allowed us to minimize the impact of respondents' preconceived attitudes towards certain brands and isolate the source of traditional marketing effects by using fictitious brands (Dahlén et al., 2008). Furthermore, it also allowed us to control against various potential threats to internal validity (Johnson & Grier, 2011). A total of seven print advertisements was created by using stock photos chosen with care to ensure similarity of all non-manipulated variables. The stock photos chosen was subsequently manipulated in the computer software Adobe Photoshop with the help of a professional image editor in order to create the perception of realistic advertisement.

To further control for the variables identified as potentially influencing the reaction of respondents, a total of three 'blocks' of advertisements were created, two 'blocks' for Experiment 1 consisting of four print advertisements and one 'block' for Experiment 2 consisting of three print advertisements. The composition of these different blocks and thus the two different experiments will be described more in detail below. As the stimuli advertisements were intended for the Swedish market, the language used for text items was Swedish.

3.2.1 Experiment 1

The design of the stimuli for Experiment 1 consisted of four stimuli developed as a 2 x 2 matrix with two levels of diversity of models (monocultural or multicultural) and two levels of product involvement (lower involvement or higher involvement). Two products were chosen to represent each of the two levels of involvement, canned mushrooms as a lower involvement product and a credit card as a higher involvement service. Each product was presented in both a monocultural and a multicultural context where the ethnicity of the models varied in composition accordingly.

The lower involvement block of print advertisements depicts a family enjoying a dinner at a table situated in a kitchen setting, using the same depiction of the product and the same key message

("Share the enjoyment of food"[1]) along with visual cues. In the monocultural scenario, a large family consisting of exclusively Caucasian individuals is portrayed. Conversely, in the multicultural scenario, the models are of different ethnic backgrounds. The family models in the two advertisements were similar in age, clothing and gender distribution.

The higher involvement block of print advertisements contained a group of young adult friends sharing a moment of happiness, along with a depiction of the product, the fictive brand as well as the message ("Exploration should be rewarded"[2]). The two scenarios depicted shared the same ethnic composition for the monocultural and multicultural scene as for the lower involvement advertisements. Similarly, to the two lower involvement stimuli the models in the two higher involvement stimuli were comparable in age, clothing and gender distribution.

3.2.2 Experiment 2

In order to test the additional effect of high cultural embeddedness in multicultural advertising, the stimuli were built around a culturally valuable cue from a non-distinct culture. Hence, both the monocultural and multicultural advertisement contained the non-distinct cultural cue. Further, a third level of manipulation was decided upon, whereby the multicultural advertisements actor composition was modified, thus creating two multicultural advertisements. More in detail, one stimulus portrayed the distinctive model 'wearing' the non-distinct cultural symbol and another stimulus representing distinctive models simply participating in the tradition of the cultural cue. This produced a total of three advertisements, one with non-distinct models and two with both non-distinct and distinct models, all incorporating the cultural cue.

The inspiration for this experiment, Åhléns 'Lucia' Christmas campaign, depicted a distinct model together with a significant non-distinct cultural cue, a depiction of the Saint Lucia. Thus, the goal was to recreate the composition of this advertisement without evoking direct references. The cultural cue chosen, Santa Claus is closely related to the original cue through the connection to traditional Swedish Christmas celebration. The advertisements contained a group of children assembled around an elderly man in a Santa Claus outfit reading a story, advertising a shopping center and its offers in preparation for the holiday season along with the message ("We have everything you could wish for, and more"[3]). All three advertisements contained the same composition of models concerning age, clothing, and gender. In one of the multicultural advertisements, the Santa Claus was depicted by a distinct model, while the children were

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[1,2,3] Freely translated from Swedish

depicted by non-distinct models. Conversely, the other stimulus contained a Santa Claus depicted by a non-distinct model, but with a number of children depicted by distinct models.

3.2.3 Pre-study

The pre-study was conducted to assure that the stimuli developed and described above manipulated the appropriate variables in a satisfactory manner (Söderlund, 2010). This was important since any potential unsatisfactory manipulation of the independent variable in the main study could jeopardize the validity of any conclusions to be made regarding effects evoked. The respondents were exposed to three or four of the print advertisements, randomly assigned to the respondent through the questionnaire service Qualtrics. The pre-study was distributed to undergraduate students at a northern European business school through e-mail. All respondents were asked the same questions, measuring ad attitude, brand attitude, product involvement, and perceived level of ethnic diversity. The results confirmed satisfactory manipulation of perceived ethnic diversity for all multicultural stimuli as well as the degree of involvement for stimuli developed for Experiment 1. The conduct of the pre-test is presented below.

The pre-test was conducted for 61 respondents, 44.3% female and 55.7% male with a mean age of 23.85 years. The evaluation of the measurements was done through Paired Samples T-test analysis which confirmed that perceived ethnic diversity was significantly higher for multicultural advertisements compared with their monocultural counterparts. For Experiment 1 stimuli, to measure manipulation of involvement, a paired samples T-test was conducted between the stimuli of involvement, confirming that the manipulation was satisfactory. The pre-study measured involvement through the question '*When choosing a product such as the one advertised, you spend…*' measured on seven-point bipolar scales with the following at the end-points, '*Little money/ A lot of money*', '*Little time/A lot of time*', '*Little effort/A lot of effort*' computed into an index with a Chronbach's Alpha of 0.779. A between-group comparison showed a significant difference of involvement ($\mu_{lowinvolvement}$= 2.7111; $\mu_{highinvolvement}$= 4.1222 $p<.001$) between two groups of higher/lower involvement advertisements.

The items used to measure perceived ethnic diversity was '*Considering advertising in general, to what extent would you consider this one… 'Stereotypical'; 'Unusual'; 'Diverse'* on seven-point Likert scales (1= Not at all, 7= To a large extent) with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.780, showing significant differences between stimuli intended to be perceived as monocultural and multicultural, ($\mu_{monocultural}$= 2.6044; $\mu_{multicultural}$= 4.5824 $p<.001$).

3.2.4 Results of Pre-study

The above described pre-study confirmed that the sought-after manipulation was satisfactory for both involvement in the Experiment 1 stimuli and perceived ethnic diversity for all stimuli. Thus, the intended multicultural advertisements were indeed perceived as more diverse by the respondents compared to the intended multicultural advertisements. All measured Paired Samples T-tests were strongly significant ($p<.001$).

3.3 Main Study

3.3.1 Study Design

The main study was conducted in order to collect data with the aim of providing empirical evidence for supporting or rejecting the hypotheses developed above. The questionnaire was designed in the survey tool Qualtrics containing mainly closed questions adapted from previous research to ensure that questions are appropriate and measures the relevant variable. The majority of questions consisted of statements that the respondent was asked to form an opinion towards. For such questions we decided to use the recommended Likert scale with opposing alternative of agreement at the scale ends (Lange et al., 2003). Some questions instead asked the respondent to form an opinion towards certain aspects of the advertisement they were exposed to, such as a positive or negative opinion towards the product advertised. For these questions, bipolar semantic scales were used as recommended by Malhotra (2010).

The survey presented one of the seven developed stimuli to each respondent, who were asked to answer two blocks of questions. All respondents answered the same questions regardless of stimuli assigned. Question block one investigated traditional and extended advertisement effects (10 questions, of which eight contained sub-questions), block two asked questions related to demographic and personal information (seven questions). As suggested by Söderlund (2005) the demographic questions were placed at the end of the questionnaire. Further, the more sensitive questions, here understood as questions related to attitude towards diversity in society was placed at the end of the survey to maximize the probability that potential respondent mistrust had been successfully surmounted (Malhotra, 2010).

An odd-number scale was decided upon to present the respondent with the opportunity to express indifference on the questions and statements presented. While this can tempt unsure respondents to choose a potentially easy, neutral stance, the nature of the research questions and thus the possibility of a neutral reaction to some of the questions mandated the use of a non-

forced (seven-point) scale. Low values (1; don't agree at all; not at all similar etc.) was placed on the left side of the scale whilst high values (7; Agree completely; very similar etc.) was placed on the right side of the scale in accordance with recommendations from Malhotra (2010).

3.3.2 Sampling, Distribution and Survey Launch

The proposed rationale for using multicultural advertisements in an increasingly diverse society is to enable targeting of several consumer groups, distinctive as well as non-distinctive, with the same advertisement (Johnson & Grier, 2011). To be able to draw practical implications in relation to a non-segmentation strategy, a sample population closely mirroring the Swedish population was desired. This includes, proportionate representation of distinctive and non-distinctive consumers and consisting of consumers of different ages, socioeconomic backgrounds and geographical location within Sweden. Thus, the sample was selected to closely reflect the demographics of the Swedish population, concurrent with the strategy of Åkestam et al. (2017).

The survey was distributed using a professional marketing research agency, NEPA AB, to their consumer panel between the 12th-18th of April 2017 in an online format, using the questionnaire design tool Qualtrics. Upon request from the agency as well as avoidance of any potential misunderstandings due to language skills, the survey and the advertisements was communicated in the official language of Sweden. All respondents were anonymous, and as such, any risk of social desirability bias should be minimized (Söderlund, 2005). The use of a third party distribution channel alleviated the potential of selection bias inherent to other sampling methods such as 'snowballing', convenience sampling or judgmental sampling (Malhotra, 2010).

The full launch of the survey was preceded by a pre-launch to ensure desirable collection of data, a representative demographical distribution of the population sample and a satisfactory distribution between the different stimuli. The pre-launch was concluded on the 11th of April 2017 and included 55 respondents. At the closing of the data collection on the 18th of April, a total of 645 responses had been collected to the final dataset. Out of these, 38 unfinished responses were excluded, for a total dataset size of 608 respondents. The final dataset included 304 respondents who identified as female, 50 percent, 300 who identified as male, 49.3 percent, and four who identified as other or no gender, 0.7 percent. The age of respondent varied between 16 and 64 years, with a mean age of 39 years. The distribution between distinctive and non-distinctive consumers in the dataset, whereas distinctive consumers defined either having both parents born outside of Scandinavia or self-identifying as such, was 99 distinctive, 16.3 percent, and 509 non-distinctive, 83.7 percent.

3.3.3 Manipulation Check and Data Cleaning

A manipulation check was created through the results of the pre-study, where the o*ther related thoughts* variable is gauging to what extent respondents took note of the models' ethnicity in the advertisement. The variable was found to have a statistically significant correlation with the pre-study measure of perceived ethnic diversity and statistical significance was successfully measured between the respondents exposed to a multicultural advertisement versus a monocultural advertisement ($p<0.01$). This confirmed that thoughts related to models' ethnicity were stronger when exposed to a multicultural advertisement. Thus, the question '*When viewing the ad, to what extent did you consider the ethnicity of the people in the advertisement?*' was deemed an appropriate manipulation check. The measure was constructed as a seven-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= to a large extent) in both the pre-study and the main study.

It was deemed likely, based on the result of the pre-study, that respondents who gave responses that were at the 'opposite extreme' of the scale from what was expected given the stimulus portrayals had not perceived the intentional manipulation or failed to observe the stimuli properly. These outliers were identified through a distribution analysis and subsequently excluded from the study. The cleaned dataset contained 526 respondents (mean age 38.48 years), with an equal gender distribution (49.4 percent female, 50 percent male, 0.6 percent no gender identity), a nearly unchanged distribution between distinctive (16.7 percent) and non-distinctive (83.3 percent) respondents.

3.4 Measurements for Main Study

3.4.1 Advertising Attitude

A measure of attitude towards the advertisement was used to gauge the direct reaction and internal evaluation of consumers towards an advertisement. The aim of the measurement was to capture the likeability that a consumer feels towards an advertisement. A more positive attitude towards an advertisement has several benefits such as increased recognition and recall (Keller et al., 2008). The measurement of advertising attitude was done using the items '*bad/good*', '*dislike/like*' and '*negative opinion/positive opinion*' in response to the question '*What is your opinion of the advertisement?*' measured on seven-point bipolar scales (Dahlén et al., 2009). The measurements were merged to an index with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.956.

3.4.2 Brand Attitude

To measure the more long-term effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising a measurement of brand attitude was included. The likeability of a brand is not as volatile as the attitude towards a single ad. The measurement of brand attitude was done using the same items as for advertising attitude '*bad/good*', '*dislike/like*' and '*negative opinion/positive opinion*' in response to the question '*what is your opinion of the brand behind the advertisement?*' measured on seven-point bipolar scales (Dahlén et al., 2009). The measurements were merged to an index with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.954.

3.4.3 Social Connectedness

To measure the consumer's feelings of belonging to a group or community, consumer-perceived social connectedness, was investigated through a four-item measure, adapted from Åkestam et al. (2017). The answers were given on a seven-point Likert scale (1= do not agree at all, 7= agree completely), consisting of the questions '*Right now, do you feel… that you are part of a community?*', '*…that you belong with other people?*', '*… important to other people?*' and '*… that other people are important to you?*'. The measurements were merged into an index with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.914.

3.4.4 Empathy

A general measure of the consumer's feelings was developed based on the directions of Åkestam et al. (2017) and measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1= do not agree at all, 7= agree completely). Three measures were the primary tools for gauging perceived empathy, '*Right now I feel…*' '*Considerate*', '*Compassionate*' and '*Warm*', together with several filler items. The measures were merged into an index with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.711.

3.4.5 Attitude towards Diversity

As no established measure of attitude towards diversity was to be found in previous marketing research relating to the setting of this study, a new measure was developed consisting of several items asking the respondent to rate the relevance of different political issues. The chosen items were constructed partly with inspiration from a Swedish study of multiculturalism called Mångfaldsbarometern (Ahmadi, 2016) and also from the political issues deemed most important in 2017, as presented in a report from the statistical institute Novus (2017).

Together with several filler items based on these important political topics, three measurements were used to construct an index of attitude towards multiculturalism, '*Improved equality for all people*', '*Permanent decrease in the admission of refugees*' (reverse coded) and '*Improved opportunities for a*

multicultural society'. The items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1= not at all important, 7= very important). These were indexed with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.701.

3.4.6 Demographic Questions

To identify distinctive respondents, either who have parents from outside of Scandinavia or self-identify as belonging to a distinctive ethnic group. The first measure asked the question '*Where was your mother/father born?'* giving the respondent the option of '*In Sweden or another Scandinavian country'* or '*Outside Scandinavia'.* Self-identifying as a distinctive or non-distinctive individual was determined by the question '*Do you consider yourself as belonging to an ethnic…'* and the alternative '*Minority'* for distinctive identification and "*Majority'* for non-distinctive identification. Respondents were also asked about their gender identification (male, female or other) and age.

3.5 Tools of Analysis

To perform the statistical analysis, the collected data was imported from the questionnaire design tool Qualtrics to the statistical analysis software program IBM SPSS Statistics version 24. Using SPSS, a range of different statistical tests were conducted to provide evidence for potential supporting of the hypothesis developed in this article. For comparisons of mean values of a variable for different groups of respondents, Independent-samples T-tests were used to acquire the significance level of potential differences in mean values between the groups. Identifying moderation effects was done through moderated multiple regression, MMR, (Aguinis, 2004). This method was chosen as it was considered a stronger test of interaction than the alternative, a Two-way ANOVA, especially as in order to satisfy the necessary conditions of the test, arbitrary groupings of attitudes would have to be created. As is generally advised, no hypothesis was accepted for a significance level below $p<.05$.

3.6 Reliability and Validity

3.6.1 Reliability

Ensuring that repeated recreation of the study is possible and yield consistent results over several measurements is central to ensure the reliability of the study (Malhotra, 2010). Several steps were taken to ensure reliability. To the largest extent possible, multi-item scales were used to measure variables in the study, from which indexes were created whenever the Cronbach's Alpha was greater than 0.7, ensuring high internal consistency (Söderlund, 2005). When applicable to this study, measurements developed and used in previous research was included to strengthen the

measurements' reliability further. However, the measure of respondents' attitude towards diversity was created specifically for this study, which of course lowers its reliability. Somewhat making up for this is the fact that the Cronbach's Alpha was satisfactory.

3.6.2 Validity

The validity of a study gauges the extent to which differences in measurements reflect reality, random or systematic measurement errors in the study (Malhotra, 2010). The *internal validity* is important for studies that try to infer causal relationships (Bryman & Bell, 2011). That is whether the measured effects can be causally linked to the independent variable, here understood as the multicultural portrayal in advertising. Inference of causality between the dependent and independent variables is made harder by external variables influencing the observed outcome of the study. To ensure proper manipulation of the independent variables of the stimuli, a pre-study was conducted, where perceived level of ethnic diversity and involvement was measured within and subsequently between stimuli pairs. The pre-study confirmed that the stimuli were perceived by respondents as intended. Respondents were randomly assigned to a group that was exposed to one of the developed stimuli, which was the only varying part of the content of the material received by respondents. As respondents were found through an online panel, it is unlikely that individual respondents would have influenced each other in any significant way. The use of fictitious brands minimized an influence of previous experiences on answers and should ensure that results presented in this study were dependent on the manipulated independent variables.

External validity is concerned with the extent to which the results of the study can be applied to another context than that of the study (Bryman & Bell 2011). In the study, a relatively large, random sample was used for the experiment conducted. Further, it was generally representative of the overall population regarding the demographic variables measured (age, gender, and ethnic heritage). However, geographical representation was not measured and can thus not be guaranteed as representative of the population. Overall, the population sample used in this study should be considered representative, generating a higher external validity (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Because the respondents were aware of the artificial context in which they were answering the survey and that they took part of a study in which the advertisement stimuli figured, different results might be observed in the real world when the same study is conducted in another milieu.

4 Results and analysis

4.1 Manipulation Check

The main premise of this study revolves around the manipulation of a single variable in otherwise identical stimuli, perceived ethnic diversity. To explore the effects of multicultural advertisement portrayals on traditional and extended advertisement effects, satisfactory manipulation had to be ensured. The pre-study established the existence of a proxy variable, *the level of other related thoughts on the ethnicity of models in the advertisement*. The resulting manipulation for the stimuli developed for Experiment 1 (split on higher and lower involvement product advertised) and Experiment 2 are presented below through Independent-samples T-tests. The table also indicates the distribution of respondents between the three groups:

Table 1: Comparison of means for perceived ethnic diversity					
Stimuli	**Monocultural μ (SD)**	**Multicultural μ (SD)**	**Difference**	**Significance**	**N**
Lower involvement	2.83 (1.815)	4.51 (1.680)	1.68	.000***	133
Higher involvement	2.98 (1.812)	4.71 (1.571)	1.73	.000***	155
Experiment 2	2.76 (1.688)	4.84 (1.659)	2.08	.000***	238
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001					

The results presented in the table above provides evidence of successful manipulation of perceived ethnic diversity for all three blocks. Confirming the results from the pre-study, the stimuli intended to include a multicultural portrayal evoking more thoughts related to the ethnicity of the models in the advertisements. The mean difference for the lower involvement (μ_{Low}= 1.68 t(131)= -5.49, p= .000), higher involvement (μ_{High}= 1.73 t(153)= -6.14, p= .000) and culturally embedded ($\mu_{Exp.2}$= 2.08 t(236)= -9.15, p= .000) stimuli was significant with mean scores for all multicultural advertisements above the middle of the seven-point scale. This permits the testing of subsequent hypotheses that require a successful manipulation of perceived ethnic diversity.

4.2 Experiment 1

Exploring the general effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising, Experiment 1 was conducted for stimuli including both lower and higher involvement products with differing levels of distinctive and non-distinctive models. Segmentation of the analysis on product involvement was conducted in order to investigate Hypothesis 1.

4.2.1 Traditional Advertisement Effects of Multicultural Advertisements

As argued in section 2.4, with support from the theory of incongruity, non-distinctive consumers should exhibit a moderate incongruity when exposed to portrayals of multicultural advertisements, and thus a strengthening of the already existing effects should occur due to further cognitive elaboration. Distinctive consumers are expected to react positively towards multicultural representations including their ethnicity as it constitutes a more salient part of their self-identity (McGuire et al., 1979; Johnson & Grier, 2011).

It has been suggested that differences in ad and brand attitudes towards advertisements featuring distinct models can occur depending on the level of involvement towards a product (Cohen, 1992). Given that increased cognitive elaboration would arise moderate incongruity, we recognized that this effect might not be as prevalent for advertising of higher involvement products. To test these predictions, Independent-sample T-tests were conducted, segmenting brand and ad attitudes on the level of involvement for the advertised product as found in the pre-study. The results are presented in the tables below:

Table 2: Comparison of means for brand and ad attitude for lower the involvement product				
Variable	**Monocultural μ (SD)**	**Multicultural μ (SD)**	**Difference**	**Significance**
Ad attitude	3.6574 (1.63392)	4.2404 (1.56126)	0.583	.038*
Brand attitude	3.8935 (1.21651)	4.3224 (1.27362)	0.4289	.049*
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001				

Table 3: Comparison of means for brand and ad attitude for the higher involvement product				
Variable	**Monocultural μ (SD)**	**Multicultural μ (SD)**	**Difference**	**Significance**
Ad attitude	4.1451(1.53741)	4.3429 (1.1.47330)	0.1978	.418
Brand attitude	3.9922 (1.53010)	4.0857 (1.20878)	0.0935	.678
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001				

Concurrent with the findings of Cohen (1992), there seem to be different effects of multicultural portrayals in advertisements depending on the level of involvement for the product advertised. Whilst the positive effects for the lower involvement product were significant ($p<.05$) for both measures, no significant effect was found for the higher involvement product ($p>.05$), although a weak positive difference in mean existed for ad (μ_{AdHigh}= 0.583 t(153)= -.80, p= .425)and brand attitude ($\mu_{BrandHigh}$= 0.4289 t(153)= -.41, p= .678). On this basis, we conclude that *H1a, H1b, and H1c are supported.*

H1a: Consumers will exhibit more favorable ad attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement	Supported
H1b: Consumers will exhibit more favorable brand attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement	Supported
H1c: Consumers will exhibit more favorable ad and brand attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement for a lower involvement product compared with advertising for a higher involvement product	Supported

4.2.2 Extended Effects of Multicultural Advertisements

Advertising can act as a reflection of structures in society, portraying a more or less realistic picture of its population (Halliwell & Dittmar, 2004). Previous research has shown that inclusion of distinctive models in advertisements can produce higher levels of perceived social connectedness and empathy (Åkestam et al., 2017). The predicted social priming was argued to have positive effects on both perceived social connectedness and empathy, supported by previous research presented in section 2.5. These extended effects of multicultural advertising were investigated using Independent-samples T-tests, the results of which are presented in the table below:

Table 4: Comparison of means for perceived social connectedness & empathy				
Variable	**Monocultural μ (SD)**	**Multicultural μ (SD)**	**Difference**	**Significance**
Social connectedness	4.2787 (1.46020)	4.3282 (1.68280)	0.0495	.394
Empathy	4.2325 (1.04472)	4.1870 (1.12973)	- 0.0455	.361
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001*				

As no significant effect can be observed in the results presented above, there is no evidence of a positive effect from multicultural advertisements on extended effects ($p>.05$). Thus, *neither of H2 and H3 are supported*. While the not significant effect on social connectedness was very weak, but positive (μ_{SC}= 0.0495 t(285)= -.27, p= .394), the opposite was found for empathy ($\mu_{Empathy}$= -0.0455 t(285)= .35, p= .361).

H2: Multicultural portrayals in advertising increase consumer-perceived social connectedness	Not supported
H3: Multicultural portrayals in advertising increase consumer-perceived empathy	Not supported

4.3 Experiment 2

The results presented below was collected from respondents exposed to stimuli for Experiment 2. The experiment was conducted in order to test H5a-H5d, investigating the influence of cultural cues in multicultural advertising.

4.3.1 Effects of Multicultural Advertising in a Cultural Context

While the effects of distinctive portrayals in advertising has been addressed by previous research in several different scenarios (Green, 1999; Åkestam et al., 2017), less effort has been made in addressing the effects when such portrayals are combined with a strong cultural cue. Thus, it was hypothesized in section 2.6 that such a cultural cue was expected to produce negative reactions when combined with a multicultural portrayal. The hypothesis was tested with a series of Independent-sample T-tests. The results are presented in the table below:

Table 5: Comparison of means for brand and advertising attitudes with strong cultural cue				
Variable	Monocultural μ (SD)	Multicultural μ (SD)	Difference	Significance
Ad attitude	4.2667 (1.49231)	3.9935 (1.63231)	- 0.2732	.102
Brand attitude	4.0078 (1.21060)	4.0283 (1.41883)	0.0205	.455
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001				

The results in the table reject the proposed negative effects presented in H5a and H5b, as no statistically significant differences ($p>.05$) exists when including a strong cultural cue along with multicultural portrayals in advertising. The brand attitude was nearly unchanged between the two stimuli ($\mu_{Brand}= 0.0205$ t(236)= -.01, p= .455). Consumers indeed seems to exhibit less favorable ad attitudes towards multicultural advertisements that include a strong cultural cue ($\mu_{Ad}= -0.2732$ t(236)= 1.27, p= .102), however it is not statistically significant ($p>.05$). As such, the negative direction should be regarded with some caution. In conclusion, the hypotheses on traditional advertising effects, *H5a and H5b, are not supported.*

Further, it was argued that the same effect would produce negative priming of consumer-perceived social connectedness and empathy. Independent-samples T-test was conducted, the results of which are presented in the table below:

Table 6: Comparison of means for social connectedness and empathy with strong cultural cue				
Variable	Monocultural μ (SD)	Multicultural μ (SD)	Difference	Significance
Social connectedness	4.4088 (1.75757)	4.2761 (1.56708)	- 0.1327	.275
Empathy	4.3000 (1.22097)	3.9771 (1.24880)	- 0.3229	.027*
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001				

Significant priming was observed for the effect of multicultural advertising on consumer-perceived empathy ($p<.05$). This was in line with our reasoning on the negative effects of extreme incongruity, confirmed by the direction of the test ($\mu_{Empathy}$= -0.3229 t(236)= 1.93, p= .027), *supporting H5d*. Negative priming seems to also be a prevailing force on perceived social connectedness, however this effect was not statistically significant (μ_{Ad}= -0.1327 t(236)= .59, p= .275). Due to the hypothesized negative effect not being shown for social connectedness at an acceptable significance level, *H5c is not supported*.

Whilst three of the proposed hypotheses were rejected, the statistically insignificant but negative effects warrant further investigation and discussion.

H5a: Consumers will exhibit less favorable ad attitude towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Not supported
H5b: Consumers will exhibit less favorable brand attitude towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Not supported
H5c: Consumers will exhibit less perceived social connectedness when exposed to a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Not supported
H5d: Consumers will exhibit less perceived empathy when exposed to a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Supported

4.4 Moderating Effect of Consumers' Attitudes

The following moderation effect analysis were conducted for the data from both Experiment 1 and Experiment 2, as it was expected that regardless of the inclusion of a strong cultural cue, a moderation effect should be present. For Experiment 1, higher and lower involvement data was collapsed as no difference in moderation from consumer attitude towards diversity, ATD, was expected from exposure to advertisements for lower or higher involvement products.

As reasoned in section 2.5.3, consumers' attitudes towards diversity, and thus towards the kind of society that multicultural advertisements reflect, should act as a moderating factor on consumer attitudes and social priming. The existence of a moderating effect was shown by Åkestam et al. (2017). To investigate this, MMRs (Aguinis, 2004) were conducted for two independent variables (stimuli & ATD) along with an interaction variable (ATD*stimuli diversity). No problem of multicollinearity among the independent variables or heteroscedasticity was found for the regressions for either experiment. Results are presented in the tables below:

Table 7: Interaction effects of ATD and stimuli diversity for traditional and extended effects Exp 1			
Variable	**t**	**Std. Beta coefficients**	**Significance**
Ad Attitude	2.492	.538	.013*
Brand Attitude	.614	.135	.540
Connectedness	4.228	.871	.000***
Empathy	2.686	.575	.008**
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001			

Table 8: Interaction effects of ATD and stimuli diversity for traditional and extended effects Exp 2			
Variable	**t**	**Std. Beta coefficients**	**Significance**
Ad Attitude	3.131	.802	.002**
Brand Attitude	2.435	.635	.016*
Connectedness	1.094	.285	.275
Empathy	1.711	.443	.088
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001			

The interaction effects were of varied strength and significance between the two experiments. Overall, attitude towards diversity proved to be a significant moderator for the effect of multicultural advertising on ad attitude for both Experiment 1 ($p<.05$) and 2 ($p<.01$). Further, the results of Experiment 1 exhibit moderating effects for the extended effects, but not for brand attitude ($p>.05$). No such moderation was found for the extended effects of Experiment 2, but

well for brand attitude (p<.05). To further understand the structure of the moderation effect of consumers' attitude towards diversity, the respondents were split by the median score of ATD, after which mean comparisons were performed for the two new groups (Median= 4.3333). Even though it is not a conclusive result, *both H4a and H4b are partially supported*.

Table 9: Mean comparisons for low and high ATD consumers of Experiment 1								
	Low ATD				**High ATD**			
Dep. variable	**Mono**	**Multi**	**Dif.**	**Sig.**	**Mono**	**Multi**	**Dif.**	**Sig.**
Ad attitude	4.0130	3.9034	- 0.1096	.651	3.8333	4.7312	0.8979	.001***
Brand attitude	3.9134	4.000	0.0866	.696	3.9792	4.4140	0.4348	.052
Connectedness	4.0974	3.5109	- 0.5865	.012*	4.4531	5.2379	0.7848	.002**
Empathy	4.1071	3.8478	-0.2593	.117	4.3531	4.5645	0.2114	.266
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001								

Table 10: Mean comparisons for low and high ATD consumers of Experiment 2								
	Low ATD				**High ATD**			
Dep. variable	**Mono**	**Multi**	**Dif.**	**Sig.**	**Mono**	**Multi**	**Dif.**	**Sig.**
Ad attitude	4.4825	3.5294	- 0.9531	.004**	4.0922	4.3647	0.2725	.321
Brand attitude	4.2281	3.6863	- 0.5418	.084	3.8298	4.3020	0.4722	.023*
Connectedness	4.3882	3.8199	- 0.5683	.089	4.4255	4.6412	0.2157	.457
Empathy	4.2566	3.7426	- 0.5140	.052	4.3351	4.1647	- 0.1704	.430
*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001								

The tables above indicate the general directions of the moderation of traditional and extended advertisement effects described in Table 9 and 10 within the groups of high and low attitude respondents. Some general observations can be made that have implications for this study. In Experiment 1, significant positive reactions to multicultural advertisements can be observed for ad attitude (p<.001) and social connectedness (p<.01), but mean scores followed this general direction also for insignificant results when the respondent had a high ATD.

For low ATD respondents in Experiment 1, the exposure to a multicultural advertisement created a negative reaction. However, only social connectedness exhibited a significant (p<.05) result, with the negative effects generally of lower magnitude than the positive reactions of high ATD respondents. A reversed pattern was found in Experiment 2 although only ad attitude for low ATD was statistically significant as a negative reaction (p<.01).

Results presented in table 9 and 10 provide some deeper understanding of the moderator variable's impact on the priming effects of multicultural advertising. Whilst mixed results were

found in the regression analysis, the within-group mean comparisons provide an indication of the general direction of reactions and priming within the groups, which have some general implication for this study.

H4a: The traditional effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising are moderated by consumers' attitudes towards ethnic diversity	Partially supported
H4b: The extended effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising are moderated by consumers' attitudes towards ethnic diversity	Partially supported

4.5 Summary of Findings

H1a: Consumers will exhibit more favorable ad attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement	Supported
H1b: Consumers will exhibit more favorable brand attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement	Supported
H1c: Consumers will exhibit more favorable ad and brand attitudes when exposed to a multicultural advertisement for a lower involvement product compared with advertising for a higher involvement product	Supported
H2: Multicultural portrayals in advertising increase consumer-perceived social connectedness	Not supported
H3: Multicultural portrayals in advertising increase consumer-perceived empathy	Not supported
H4a: The traditional effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising are moderated by consumers' attitudes towards ethnic diversity	Partially supported
H4b: The extended effects of multicultural portrayals in advertising are moderated by consumers' attitudes towards ethnic diversity	Partially supported
H5a: Consumers will exhibit less favorable ad attitude towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Not supported
H5b: Consumers will exhibit less favorable brand attitude towards a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Not supported
H5c: Consumers will exhibit less perceived social connectedness when exposed to a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Not supported
H5d: Consumers will exhibit less perceived empathy when exposed to a multicultural advertisement containing a strong cultural cue	Supported

5 Discussion and conclusions

In this section the findings from our experiments will be explained, interpreted and discussed related to the purpose of this thesis. This in order for conclusions to be made and to determine potential implications worth considering.

The purpose of this thesis was to determine if multicultural portrayals in advertising can generate both positive traditional advertising effects as well as extended advertising effects. Further, the effect of including a strong cultural cue in such an advertisement was investigated. As hypothesized, the result showed that multicultural portrayals could indeed evoke positive traditional advertising effects in advertising, but with important differences between product categories. However, multicultural advertising failed in priming consumers to think more about others or to feel more empathic. This finding provides further insight on the role of diverse portrayals in advertising, suggesting that generalizability of positive priming effects found by Åkestam et al. (2017) should be considered with caution. Additionally, our study indicates that cultural cues embedded in a multicultural advertisement may well alter consumer response, most notably consumer-perceived empathy. Thus, the use of multicultural advertising has limitations, and the cultural context should be well considered by marketers.

Furthermore, it was also found that consumer attitude towards ethnic diversity moderates most advertising effects. This has implications for marketing efforts incorporating multicultural portrayals, potentially affecting segmentation strategies.

5.1 Multicultural portrayals enhance traditional effects

In our comparison between monocultural and multicultural advertising, it was confirmed that multicultural portrayals indeed generated more favorable ad and brand attitudes among consumers. However, this was, as expected, dependent on the nature of the product advertised. When a lower involvement product was advertised together with a multicultural portrayal, consumers exhibited positive reactions, compared to a monocultural advertisement, whilst no positive effect was found for the same advertising condition when a higher involvement product was advertised.

Consumers thus seem to engage more with and react more positively to an advertisement that is more representative. It should, however, be noted that this does not imply a direct causality between the nature of a multicultural advertising and positive reactions, but more likely that the increased processing required to interpret the unusual portrayal demands more attention from the

consumer. As Mandler (1982) points out, the increased elaboration that is required to solve 'new' and unexpected concepts can in and by itself create positive reactions. So why is this not the case for higher involvement products? As higher involvement products in advertisements already commands higher processing from consumers (Greenwald et al., 1984), this could 'drown out' the increased processing caused by incongruity, indicating that in this context the effect is small and thus insignificant. Hence, we propose that while the same forces act to increase consumers' attitudes, the context in which they act, namely the involvement of the product advertised, determines the relative effect.

To conclude, the study provides empirical support for the positive effects of including ethnically diverse portrayals in advertising. The findings contradict some of the earlier literature on the subject (e.g. Cagley & Cardozo, 1970) and reinforce more recent findings related to diversity in advertising (e.g. Johnson & Grier, 2011; Åkestam et al., 2017).

5.2 Do social priming exist?

Answering the call for further research from Åkestam et al. (2017) to determine if the findings of extended effects related to portrayals of minority groups (homosexual couple) could be applicable to other diverse representations in advertising, our study showed no significant presence of such effects on the aggregate level. However, although we cannot prove a general effect on perceived social connectedness or empathy, this does not necessarily implicate that portrayals of ethnic diversity and multicultural advertising cannot act as a cue of social priming.

An explanation for the inconclusive results could be the nature of the stimuli used for this study. The concept of ethnicity lacks the natural connection to 'romantic' and 'relatable' feelings which are more naturally connected to the concept of homosexuality and heterosexuality explored by Åkestam et al. (2017). It is possible that the threshold for viewers' capacity to connect emotionally to the multicultural portrayals was higher and thus required more willingness to elaborate, the willingness being linked to their attitude towards diversity, described in section 5.4.

This insight is an important contribution considering that, to our knowledge, no previous research has been conducted to try and find social benefits of multicultural advertisements. The social priming of consumer-perceived social connectedness and empathy experienced by a mostly non-distinctive audience is of growing importance not only to marketers but also to a society becoming more diverse, where inclusive representations will need to become less of a niche advertising strategy.

5.3 Cultural cues can eliminate the favorable effects

Perhaps the most novel part of this study, indeed also the one producing the most intriguing results, investigated the inclusion of non-distinctive cultural cues in multicultural advertising. Examining the hypothesized evocation of extreme incongruity among non-distinctive viewers, we included a strong cultural cue relevant to a non-distinct viewer, which indeed produced some adverse reactions. However, this was only realized for perceived empathy of the consumer, as neither significantly positive or negative effects on traditional advertising effects or social connectedness could be found.

Consumers' were primed to feel less emphatic, displaying negative thoughts as an advertisement defied their pre-supposed model for how the cultural symbol 'should' be displayed. Concurrent with our reasoning on negative reactions occurring when the consumer feels extreme incongruity, it was the interaction of a norm-breaking display and their symbol, that produced extended adverse effects. As shared cultural symbols are important to distinguish between members and non-members of a group (Appiah, 2001), reacting with hostility towards 'intruders' in the context of advertising is part of creating division between groups. This finding reinforces our overall reasoning regarding an incongruity and hence that a schema-breaking combination is created amongst the viewers by the combination of the cultural cue and multicultural models. The finding provides additional implications for the nascent body of literature on the social effects of diverse or representative portrayals in advertising.

The existence of negative effect on empathy is not surprising, but the lack of such effects on perceived social connectedness warrant further discussion. While it was expected that extended advertising effects would act in unison, as found by Åkestam et al. (2017), there are some important conceptual differences between the feelings of empathy and social connectedness that should be highlighted in this case. Trying to provide an explanation for this, we propose that the cultural cue, whilst indeed creating negative priming for perceived empathy, by its nature as a part of a larger belongingness primes the consumer to feel more connected to others in their 'cultural group'. As such, we propose that a possible explanation is that the cultural cue by its function as an embodiment of something unifying, thus creates feelings of connectedness that counteracts the hypothesized and for empathy, realized negative priming stemming from extreme incongruity when included in multicultural advertising. One should note that the extreme incongruity predicted and seemingly realized through the negative priming of perceived empathy were not translated into a negative ad and brand attitude. The dynamics of this is not entirely clear, but it is

possible that whilst the priming of extended effects is affected by non-distinctive consumers' feelings of 'losing' their cultural heritage, thus projecting negative feelings onto the models and their distinctive traits, not the brand or the advertisement in itself.

5.4 The attitude matters

Regardless of whether a cultural cue was included or not, significant moderation effects on the main effect by consumer's attitude towards diversity were found. However, no such moderation was statistically significant for brand attitude in Experiment 1. A finding that warrants further discussion is the moderating effect of consumer attitude towards diversity on ad attitude, but the lack of such an effect on brand attitude. An explanation could be the relatively more persistent nature of brand attitudes relative to ad attitudes (Grossman & Till, 1998). Attitudes towards the multicultural ad might influence the consumer's evaluation less of the brand due to the emotional reaction not being as influential on long-term sentiments towards a brand after just one exposure.

Neither were there any significant moderation on the extended effects in a powerful cultural embeddedness. The most important finding here is however not the missing moderating effects, but the shifting direction of these effects. At first, one should expect the pattern of the moderating effect to be quite uniform, independent of cultural cues in the ad. A reasonable expectation would have been that the groups of different attitude consumers would exhibit opposite reactions, but of equal magnitude. However, the trend to be deducted from this study is heavily dependent on the presence of cultural cues. Digging deeper one can determine from Table 9 and 10 that the level of cultural embeddedness in the stimuli dictates the general direction of the moderation. Most interestingly, the inclusion of a cultural cue shifts the general direction from a, on balance, positive moderation to a negative one. Explained by congruity theory, moderate levels of norm-breaking advertising triggers relatively limited cognitive elaboration compared to an extreme incongruity, moderate elaboration will, therefore, extend favorable attitudes. Conversely, extreme incongruity creates less favorable responses regardless of attitude towards diversity, a consequence from inconsistency within one's ad schema.

Nevertheless, we propose that one should expect that attitudes of the consumer will influence the potential of attaining positive priming for traditional and extended advertising effects and that the missing effects here might depend on variables not controlled in this study. Also, readers should take note of the fact that some of the interaction terms were nearly significant, and thus that a larger sample possibly could have produced significant results.

5.5 Conclusions

Summarizing the results of this study, multicultural portrayals in advertising can successfully prime favorable ad and brand attitudes for lower involvement products, while such effects were less conclusive when higher involvement products were advertised, albeit the observations does not warrant dissuasion from marketing either along with diverse portrayals. This distinction has not been conclusively proven before. Our results do not outright support the proposed positive priming for extended advertising effects of Åkestam et al. (2017), providing a more nuanced picture, indicating that a representative sample of respondents will not necessarily exhibit positive priming. This was identified as relating to the moderating effect of attitude towards the diverse portrayal, in line with the research of Åkestam et al. (2017).

Thus, we provide an answer to the main question of this study, as well as the second sub-question, given the limitations of this study and aware of differing effects where the two answers are interdependent:

Yes, multicultural portrayals in advertising can prime consumers to experience positive traditional advertising effects as well as extended advertising effects.

Yes, the traditional and extended advertising effects are moderated by the customer's attitude towards ethnic diversity.

Furthermore, this study provides new insight into the impact of the inclusion of cultural cues in multicultural advertising, providing partial support for the expected negative effect:

Yes, consumer responses to multicultural portrayals in advertising will be altered by the inclusion of cultural cues.

5.6 Implications

The increasing fraction of citizens being born in a foreign country or possessing one or two parents born in another country shows an apparent shift in the demographical structure of the Swedish population. Thus, this change calls for knowledge of the potential implications of including and representing a larger part of the ethnicities in Sweden through multicultural portrayals in advertising.

Our results contradict the previously proposed harmful effect advertisement attitudes from including ethnic minority models in mainstream advertising (e.g. Cagley & Cardozo, 1970). Further, the study provides insight into what kind of products that can be most successfully

advertised along with a multicultural portrayal. Lower involvement products can actually be more successfully advertised if a diverse portrayal is included. Whilst these positive advertising effects were missing for a higher involvement product, this provides no reasonable excuse for marketers to ignore the recommendation to include more diverse portrayals in their advertising. In all, the study challenges the notion that multicultural advertising is a tool for targeting minority consumers, recommending that it should rather be considered a relevant tool for increasing consumer attitudes also in markets dominated by non-distinct ethnic consumers.

While ambitious marketers might want to affect their consumers socially, this study found no evidence of such effects in the overall market. Multicultural portrayals were unsuccessful in priming consumers to feel more empathic towards or connect more with others. However, we believe that this could partly be due to the lack of emotional portrayals used in the study, and that including emotional cues along with a multicultural representation might yield other outcomes.

Important to bear in mind is that there are clear indications that traditional as well as extended advertising effects are moderated by the attitude towards ethnic diversity and thus it is important to be aware that inclusion of multicultural portrayals might create negative reactions among consumers less accepting of the kind of society it depicts. Lastly, we provide insight into the effects of including a strong cultural cue in multicultural advertising. Our results indicate that in a market dominated by non-distinct consumers, such strategies can create adverse effects, most notably by priming consumers to feel less empathic towards others. Even though this study only examined one such portrayal, marketers should exercise caution when considering the inclusion of distinct models in typically non-distinct contexts.

On this final implication, the authors would like to add that whilst multicultural portrayals in a culturally sensitive context might be received with negative reactions from non-distinct consumers, such 'controversies' creating extreme incongruity could serve to change consumer schema and in time break down societal barriers for minorities.

5.7 Critique and Limitations

The findings of this study are subject to several limitations. Empirical support for the conclusions outlined above were provided in two separate experiments containing a total of three groups of stimuli portraying different product categories and situations. It is thus possible that other aspects could influence the traditional and social priming. This was mitigated for the within-categories by controlling for composition regarding age, gender and clothing of the models. Also, only one

cultural cue was used in Experiment 2, hence only limited generalizations can be made on their effects on the investigated variables. Further, the measurements of perceived involvement for the different products were done for a smaller sample, thus the reaction from respondents in the main study could vary. Even though the main study was conducted for a relatively large population sample, breaking this sample down for two experiments and further between the lower and higher involvement product, the individual tests were conducted for relatively small samples. This could potentially lead to small but important priming effects being overlooked as insignificant, as small sample sizes tend to not produce sufficient statistical power to test hypotheses (Wilcox, 2010; Johnson & Grier, 2011). Much of the previous research used for this study has been produced in another societal context than the one the study was conducted in. The dominant portion of literature on ethnic portrayals in advertising stem from research in the US, a society where ethnicity and integration differ significantly from that of other nations (Johnson & Grier, 2011), which may call for caution in this study's applicability.

5.8 Future Research

The scope of the study investigates ethnic diversity with delimitations towards the narrower focus on traditional and extended effects following multicultural advertising, both in a context of low cultural embeddedness as well as powerful cultural embeddedness. Hence, several of the findings are contributions only proven once through a single experiment, thus further testing is needed to validate the results further. The findings that effects following multicultural portrayals in advertisements may depend on the product type opens a new field of research to be continued.

Confirming that the level of cultural embeddedness impacts how portrayals of different ethnicities affect how the consumer's attitudes develop, we suggest further examining of response to culturally charged advertising. Hence, our scope was limited to examining the effects of non-distinctive cues amongst multicultural embeddedness and therefore we suggest further investigation of powerful cultural embeddedness dependent on to whom the cultural cues belong to, distinct or non-distinct, as well as which ethnicity that is portrayed. Further, since the level of the involvement of products advertised generates different results, it is suggested that this dimension is taken into consideration also in the context of high cultural embeddedness.

Lastly, interesting findings could be determined by investigating the extended effects of advertising for other diverse portrayals, expanding the still very limited collection of literature that this thesis contributes to.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Survey [2]

Vad är din uppfattning om annonsen?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Dålig	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	Bra
Ogillar	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	Gillar
Icke tilltalande	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	Tilltalande

Vad är din uppfattning om varumärket bakom annonsen?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Dålig	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	Bra
Ogillar	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	Gillar
Icke tilltalande	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	Tilltalande

När du såg annonsen, i vilken utsträckning tänkte du på..

	1 Inte alls	2	3	4	5	6	7 I stor utsträckning
Annonsens utformning	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Produkten/tjänsten som annonserades	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Situationen som annonsen utspelas i	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Personerna i annonsen	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reklammakarens tanke bakom annonsen	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Din egen sinnesstämning	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Att själv använda produkten/tjänsten	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Personerna i annonsens etniska bakgrund	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

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[2] Due to avoidance of mistranslation no additional translation of the survey has been as the measures used are outlined in English in section 3.4 for future research to adopt

Hur väl stämmer följande påstående?

Jag känner att den här annonsen är riktad mot mig

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Håller inte alls med	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Håller helt med

Jag tillhör inte reklamens målgrupp

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Håller helt med	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Håller inte alls med

Reklammakaren gjorde den här för att nå mig

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Håller inte alls med	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Håller helt med

Hur lik känner du dig personerna i annonsen utifrån..

	1 Inte alls lik	2	3	4	5	6	7 Väldigt lik
Klädstil	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Kulturell bakgrund	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Livsstil	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Utseende	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Personlig värdegrund	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Känner du just nu att..

	1 Instämmer inte alls	2	3	4	5	6	7 Instämmer fullständigt
Du är en del av en gemenskap	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Du hör ihop med andra människor	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Du är viktig för andra människor	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Andra människor är viktiga för dig	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Just nu känner jag mig..

	1 Instämmer inte alls	2	3	4	5	6	7 Instämmer fullständigt
Glad	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Otålig	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Medkännande	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ointresserad	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Orolig	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Varm	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Irriterad	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Omtänksam	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Hur viktiga är följande politiska frågor just nu?

	1 Inte alls viktigt	2	3	4	5	6	7 Mycket viktigt
Ökat bostadsbyggande i tätorter	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Minskade vinster för privata skolföretag	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Förbättrad jämlikhet för alla människor	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Utökade personalresurser i rättsväsendet	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Ett permanent minskat flyktingmottagande	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Kvotering av kvinnor i bolagsstyrelser	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Bättre förutsättningar för barnafödande	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Bekämpning av klimathotet	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Förbättrade möjligheter för ett mångkulturellt samhälle	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Vad har du för könstillhörighet?

○ Kvinna
○ Man
○ Annan

Hur gammal är du? _____

Var är din mamma född?

○ I Sverige eller annat skandinaviskt land
○ Utanför skandinavien

Var är din pappa född?

○ I Sverige eller annat skandinaviskt land
○ Utanför skandinavien

Var är du född?

○ I Sverige eller annat skandinaviskt land
○ Utanför skandinavien

Anser du dig själv tillhöra en...

○ Etnisk majoritet
○ Etnisk minoritet

I vilken utsträckning identifierar du dig med din etniska tillhörighet?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Mycket svagt	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Mycket starkt

7.2 Stimuli for Experiment 1[3]

7.2.1 Monocultural lower involvement product

7.2.2 Multicultural lower involvement product

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[3] Due to avoidance of mistranslation no additional translation of the stimuli has been made as the expressions are outlined in English in section 3.2 for future research to adopt

7.2.3 Monocultural higher involvement product

7.2.4 Multicultural higher involvement product

7.3 Stimuli for Experiment 2 [4]

7.3.1 Powerful Cultural Embeddedness with Monocultural Portrayals

7.3.2 Powerful Cultural Embeddedness with Multicultural Portrayals 1

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[4] Due to avoidance of mistranslation no additional translation of the stimuli has been made as the expressions are outlined in English in section 3.2 for future research to adopt

7.3.3 Powerful Cultural Embeddedness with Multicultural Portrayals 2