The Influence of Acculturation on Advertising Effectiveness to the Hispanic Market.

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Abstract

This investigation focuses on the relationship between the level of acculturation of Hispanics and their preferences in terms of language and models used in print advertisements. An on-site advertising experiment was conducted with 501 adult respondents in El Paso, Texas. The LAECA acculturation scale items were used in conjunction with cluster analysis to identify three groups exhibiting varying degrees of acculturation. Results indicated significant differences in advertising preferences. Managerial implications are discussed.

Introduction

In the last decade, the importance of reaching the Hispanic market, has become increasingly apparent to marketers. The U.S. is now the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world (Tracey, 1992). In 1994 Hispanics numbered some 25.5 million with purchasing power of $208 billion (Zbar, 1995). Hispanics represent an attractive target market in that they are geographically concentrated (more than three-quarters of the Hispanic population reside in the metropolitan centers of five states) and tend to be brand conscious, loyal consumers (Lynn, 1995).

Although the Spanish language is commonly thought to be a unifying factor, the Hispanic audience is by no means a homogeneous market. Hispanics speak varying dialects and share distinct subcultural values and characteristics according to their heritage, with Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans being the main three Hispanic subgroups. This study focuses on Mexican-Americans, which make up two-thirds of all Hispanic households in the U.S. today, and are the fastest growing Hispanic subgroup (Zbar, 1995).

When the importance of the Hispanic market was initially recognized, the view among many advertisers and advertising agencies was that the "best" way to reach that market was to advertise to them in Spanish. As the body of knowledge on the Hispanic market has increased, many now contend that such a view is an oversimplification of the target market and that the optimum choice of language and models (characters) depends on the level of acculturation of the audience (Palmeri and Levine, 1991; Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu, 1986; Dolinsky and Feinburg, 1986). The underlying premise of the research on acculturation has been that subcultures, while sharing some of the values and norms of the dominant culture, exhibit certain cultural differences of their own. These
differences have been found to have significant effects on purchase behavior, necessitating differential marketing efforts (Webster, 1990, Whittler, 1989, Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu, 1986).

Note

"Hispanic American is an ethnic rather than racial identifier and hence in U.S. Census data, an individual can be classified as both Hispanic American and Anglo American. Here, however, we use the term Anglo to refer to non-Hispanic Caucasians and the term Hispanic for someone of Hispanic American origin, specifically Mexican Americans. Such terminology is consistent with the work of Deshpande and Stayman (1994) which sampled similar consumers.

There are currently three main strategies being employed to reach the Hispanic market: the "change the language approach," the "completely different approach" and the "nothing different" approach (Faber and O'Guinn, 1991). The "nothing different" approach assumes that Hispanic consumers have similar interests, desires, cultural norms and values as others in our society. Also, it assumes that many Hispanics are bilingual and use English language media. The "change the language" strategy would constitute the middle ground approach. This approach utilizes the same campaign for the Hispanic market as it did for the larger population and merely translates it into Spanish. In advertising terms, this would be called prototype advertising (Pebbles and Ryans, 1978), where the language in the ad copy is the only thing changed. This strategy appears to be the most popular choice among advertisers who do anything different to reach the Hispanic market (Faber and O'Guinn, 1991). It obviously involves less expense than creating a totally different campaign. The "completely different" approach, which also might be called the customized approach in advertising terms, assumes that Hispanics will identify with and appreciate an ad campaign that is based on their unique cultural values and features models from that subculture speaking their native language.

This study is unique in that it seeks to uncover the most effective combination of language and models (characters) to utilize in print advertisements for the Mexican-American market based on their level of acculturation.

Acculturation and Advertising

Acculturation is defined as the process of learning a culture that is different from the one in which a person was raised (Valencia, 1985). It is the process whereby immigrants change their behavior and attitudes toward those of the host society (Rogler et al., 1991). From a consumer behavior perspective, acculturation may be thought of as a process by which an individual raised in one culture acquires through first-hand experience the consumption related values, behavior and customs of another culture (Khairullah, 1995).

A rapidly expanding literature on acculturation has accompanied the increase in international migration. The impetus for this research is based upon the recognition that the degree of an individual's identification with a given ethnic group may largely determine the level of that individual's commitment regarding cultural norms and the degree of influence exerted by a particular culture (Hirschman 1981); thus, differences in consumption patterns should be observed.

Advertising is regarded as a form of social communication that reflects the cultural values of a society (Khairullah, 1995). Cultural values, norms and characteristics are embedded in advertisements in such a way that viewers can find similarity between themselves and the characters in the advertisements (Hong, Muderrisoglu and Zinkhan 1987; McCracken 1986). Thus, diversity in culture affects how consumers in the U.S. perceive and accept advertising messages (Khairullah, 1995).

A large number of studies have noted significant differences in media preferences and advertising effectiveness between Hispanics low in acculturation and Hispanics high in accultura-
tion. These differences have been noted for all types of media: print advertisements (Adelson, 1989); store signs (Hayes-Bautista, et al., 1984); radio (Valenzuela, 1973; Dunn, 1975); television (Lopez and Enos, 1973; Valenzuela, 1973); and in general (Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu, 1986). Overall, the results of such studies show that Hispanics low in acculturation prefer Spanish and Hispanics high in acculturation prefer English. This is, of course, an oversimplification, since acculturation can be viewed as occurring along a continuum.

Various measures have been used by researchers for operationalizing Hispanic acculturation to the mainstream U.S. culture. Some researchers have relied on one variable. The strength of ethnic identification was utilized by Deshpande, Hoyer, and Donthu, (1986) and by Wilkes and Valencia, (1983). Olmedo and Padilla (1978) used socioeconomic status as an indicator of acculturation. Padilla (1980) and Valencia (1985) used place of birth (U.S. vs. foreign born); Olmedo and Padilla (1978) and O'Guinn and Faber (1986) used language preference and competence.

Relying on one variable to measure the level of acculturation is problematic because: (1) it assumes acculturation is a unidimensional construct, and (2) reliability is difficult to determine unless studies are replicated over a variety of conditions (O'Guinn and Faber, 1985). Thus, multidimensional measures of acculturation are preferred (Kim, 1979; Mainous, 1989), but which measures should be used differs among researchers. However, one area of consensus among researchers, is that language is the key indicator of acculturation and it is most commonly used in all measures (Mainous, 1989, Burnam et al., 1987; Cuellar, Harris and Jasso, 1980; O'Guinn and Faber, 1985). Communication is thought to be the fundamental process in and through which acculturation occurs (Kim, 1979), so language variables should be expected to be closely related to acculturation.

There is a need to broaden the research base started by these researchers in the area of acculturation as it relates to the preferred language in advertising.

**Preferred Language**

Decisions concerning language are particularly critical for marketers attempting to attract the Hispanic consumer. Hispanics tend to remain loyal to their native tongue regardless of their period of residence in the U.S. (Foster, Sullivan and Perea, 1989). It is estimated that roughly 60% of the U.S. Hispanic population is native-born, yet Strategy Research Corporation, a firm doing extensive market research on Hispanics, contends that 87% of Hispanic adults are most comfortable speaking Spanish. "The enduring power of Spanish language use by U.S. Hispanics is perhaps most attributable to its direct and positive connection with the family and the home (Guernica, 1982, 124.)"

Spanish language provides Hispanics with a sense of identity and belonging for both the native born and the immigrant. "It is a matter of reaching versus convincing. An advertiser will go further in appealing to the Hispanic's buying impulses if it can touch the consumer's emotions in his own tongue (Starnard, 1985, 44)." It is for this reason that the bilingual viewer or listener, who is in a position to choose between English language media and Hispanic-oriented media, is attracted to Hispanic media due to the combination of the language and the cultural orientation. Hispanic media comes much closer than the general audience media to presenting a view of the world as seen through the eyes of a bilingual Hispanic (Guernica, 1982).

However, Leo (1993) reports that ninety percent of Hispanics polled in a recent Latino National Political Survey said that anyone living in the U.S. should learn English and more than two-thirds of U.S.-born Hispanics are better in English then in Spanish. NFO Research contends that if a marketer is trying to reach younger Hispanics, they should be addressed in English (Palmeri and Levine, 1991). Faber and O'Guinn (1991) investigated Hispanics' reactions
to commercials that were simply Spanish translations of similar ads designed for Anglo consumers and found no difference in which language version of the commercials was liked the most. However, a majority of the respondents said the Spanish language version was easier to understand and made them feel most like buying the product. Thus, selection of language used in the advertising copy is an important one.

Model Choice in Hispanic Advertising

The rising ethnic consciousness of Hispanics is noted in recent studies (Yankelovich, Skelly and White, 1984 and Deshpande, Donthu and Hoyer, 1986). This consciousness can be manifested in an empathy with advertising that uses Hispanic models and is directed specifically at Hispanics (Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu, 1986; Deshpande and Stayman, 1994). Viewers prefer ads using spokespersons of their own racial/ethnic group and this preference appears to be stronger for viewers who more strongly identify with their racial/ethnic group (Deshpande and Stayman, 1994; Whittler, 1989). It has been shown that identification with the people in an advertisement is important in creating involvement with the ad, which leads to enhanced information processing and increased positive feelings toward the ad (Wells, 1988, Edell and Burke, 1987). For these reasons, the second experimental variable chosen for this study is the model (character) of the advertisement.

Advertising Effectiveness

Although advertising that targets Hispanic Americans has received increasing attention, there is great uncertainty about the effectiveness of advertising targeting particular ethnic groups (Advertising Age, 1991). While advertisers rarely expect instant orders from advertisements, advertising programs must be held accountable. However, there is no single measure of advertising effectiveness (Johnston, 1994). In general, there are two approaches: communication-effect research and sales-effect research. This study has used communication-effect research and examines advertising effectiveness in terms of attitude toward the ad and recall.

Attitude is a learned predisposition, a feeling that you hold toward an object, a person or an idea that leads to a particular behavior (Russell and Lane, 1993). Attitudes are important to advertisers because they influence how consumers evaluate products. A strong positive attitude toward an advertisement might turn into brand preference and loyalty (Russell and Lane, 1993).

Recall was included as one of the measures of advertising effectiveness in this study because most firms are interested in recall scores for their advertisements. Recall tests yield useful data on the effectiveness of various ad components, such as size, color, attention-getting themes, or here, the language and models used. Recall tests measure what has been noticed, read or watched, not whether respondents actually buy the product. Attitude tests are often a better measure of sales effectiveness than recall tests, since an attitude change relates more closely to product purchase (Arens and Bovee, 1994). Additionally, although emotional appeals have been found to be very powerful in influencing attitude toward the ad (Edell and Burke, 1987), recall scores for emotional ads may be typically lower (Belch and Belch, 1995). However, since many advertisers believe that “recall is a relatively reliable measure of something and that something must be related to advertising effectiveness,” (Gibson, 1983, 39), it has been included in this study to provide additional information to those who have interest.

The area most often researched on advertising effectiveness in a culturally diverse environment involves the relative influence of ethnicity or race of characters used in advertising (O’Guinn and Meyer, 1984; Webster, 1992; Deshpande and Stayman, 1994; Khairullah, 1995). It has become evident that utilizing only White Anglo/European characters may not be the most effective policy; however, the best approach and the reasons why are not yet clear. (Deshpande and Stayman, 1994).
Empirical research as to the advertising effectiveness of English vs. Spanish when addressing the Hispanic market. Dolinsky (1984) examined the relationship between information overload and linguistic ability in print advertisements; his findings were that bilingual Hispanics can process information more effectively in their dominant language. Feinberg (1988) utilized print advertisements to assess the impact of language used in advertising on selective attention, advertising preference, recall and information processing. Using a Spanish-dominant sample of Hispanics, results showed that Hispanics pay more attention to advertisements in Spanish, recall more, prefer advertisements in Spanish and process information more effectively in Spanish. Newton (1986) investigated whether radio messages in Spanish or English would be more effective toward Hispanic audiences. The sample in the Newton study was mostly U.S. born Hispanics with higher family incomes and higher level jobs than the general Hispanic population, indicating a high level of acculturation. No significant differences in advertising recall were uncovered.

Webster (1992) surveyed Hispanic households and found that, in general, language or ethnic identification had a significant effect on the information search patterns associated with advertising. More recently, Deshpande and Stayman (1994), using the distinctiveness theory postulate, found that having a Hispanic spokesperson in an ad was far more important to Hispanics when they felt themselves in a numerical minority in their community. It was this situation where attitude toward the brand was most positively affected.

Objectives of Research

The objective of this study is to better understand how language and type of model (character) used in an ad impact the effectiveness of print advertisements targeted toward Mexican-Americans based on level of acculturation. The specific research questions to be investigated are: (1) Is Spanish always the best language to use when advertising to the Hispanic market? (2) Do the models (Anglo or Hispanic characters) in the print advertisements make a difference in how the advertisements are viewed by Hispanics (i.e. Do Hispanics want to see Hispanics portrayed in advertisements?)

To answer these research questions the following six hypotheses will be tested:

H1: Those Hispanics high in acculturation will have a more positive attitude toward the ad when the advertisement is written in English with Hispanic models/characters.

H2: Those Hispanics low in acculturation will have a more positive attitude toward the ad when the advertisement is written in Spanish with Hispanic models/characters.

H3: Those Hispanics who are bicultural/bilingual (medium level of acculturation) will have a more positive attitude toward the ad when the advertisement is written in Spanish with Hispanic models/characters.

H4: Average recall will be higher among those Hispanics high in acculturation when the advertisement is written in English with Hispanic models/characters.

H5: Average recall will be higher among those Hispanics low in acculturation when the advertisement is written in Spanish with Hispanic models/characters.

H6: Average recall will be higher among those Hispanics who are bicultural/bilingual (medium level of acculturation) when the advertisement is in Spanish and the models/characters are Hispanic.

Due to rising ethnic consciousness (Yankelvich, Skelly and White 1984) and empathy for ads using Hispanic models (Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu 1986), all three groups are hypothesized as having more positive attitudes toward the ad and better recall when Hispanic models (characters) are used in the advertisements. It is hypothesized that recall will be
higher and attitude toward the ad more positive among highly acculturated Hispanics when the advertisements are in English since this group is thought to be very close to the Anglo mainstream in terms of consumer behavior (Segaland Sosa 1983, Webster 1992, Palmeri and Levine 1991). Higher recall and more positive attitude toward the ad are hypothesized among Hispanics low in acculturation when the advertisements are in Spanish since selective attention, recall, and advertising preference have been found to be better for this group with ads written Spanish (Feinburg 1988). Lastly, recall and attitude toward the ad are hypothesized as being better among bilingual/bicultural Hispanics when advertisements are in Spanish, since Hispanics tend to remain loyal to their native tongue (Foster, Sullivan and Perea 1989). The Spanish language is thought to provide a sense of identity and belonging (Stanard 1985), as well as a positive relation with family and home (Guernica 1982).

Experimental Design

The study was a 2 x 2 between subjects factorial design. The independent variables consisted of, language (English or Spanish) and models (Anglo or Hispanic) with level of Hispanic acculturation as a moderating variable. Dependent variables included attitude toward the ad and recall (Figure 1). Each subject was randomly assigned an advertising booklet containing four print advertisements to review. Each booklet contained only one advertisement for each of four products to eliminate confounding factors which would be created by a subject seeing more than one version of the same advertisement. Each advertisement within a specific booklet represented a different experimental treatment. Order of the treatments within the booklet was randomly varied to control for ordering effects.

Each subject was given a choice of completing the questionnaire in either English or Spanish to aid in increasing the response rate and validity of responses (Webster, 1992). The bilingual researcher personally administered the experiment and questionnaire to each of the groups of respondents.

Color magazine advertisements were selected for the study for several reasons (Khairullah, 1995). First, with print advertisements it is possible to change the copy fairly easily to manipulate the experimental variable, language. Second, color print advertisements are widely used in print media targeting the Hispanic audience, such as Vista, so it was possible to find advertisements for the same products and services aimed at the Hispanic consumers and others targeting the mass U.S. market. Six advertisements targeting the Hispanic market and six corresponding to the mass U.S. market were chosen. Based on pre-test results done with 26 Hispanic respondents to ascertain respondent interest and product involvement, pairs of advertisements for four products were selected: Kodak film, AT&T long distance service, Zest soap and Ford automobiles. These advertisements were then modified to reflect the four experimental treatments.

Sample

Data were collected from residents in the metropolitan area of El Paso, Texas. El Paso was chosen as an appropriate site for the study for two reasons. Mexican-Americans, who are the target market of this study, make up 62.3% of the population in El Paso (U.S. Census, 1990). However, more importantly, it was thought, and confirmed, that differing levels of acculturation among its Mexican American residents would be present, since it is a border town, receiving thousands of new immigrants from Mexico each year, yet it also has many Mexican-American families who have lived in the El Paso area for
generations (County and City Data Book, 1994).

The sample itself was made up of 501 Mexican-American adult subjects recruited from El Paso Electric Company, a Mexican-American Mother-Daughter Program, adult students from the University of Texas El Paso, both at the main campus and two off-site locations, as well as adult students from the Lakeside Language Institute, which is attended by many newly immigrated residents needing to learn English so they can find employment.

Demographic profiles were examined to ascertain that the sample was representative of the El Paso metropolitan area. Mean age of subjects was 27.9 years old as compared to 27.0 years old, the mean age of the El Paso population as a whole (U.S. Census). The percentage of English and Spanish speaking respondents were approximately equal to those for the total El Paso metropolitan area and all income, education, and occupation categories were represented.

Measurement

Respondents were offered a choice of the questionnaire in English or Spanish. The Spanish version was translated by the bilingual researcher and back translated by Mexican Americans living in the United States to insure accuracy of meaning and inclusion of all appropriate idiomatic expressions.

Acculturation was measured with the 26 item LAECA Acculturation Scale which was designed for adult Mexican Americans by Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough and Escobar (1987). It drew heavily upon Cuellar et al's (1980) ARSMA Scale. It is a particularly desirable measurement instrument for this study since it was created specifically for Mexican Americans, which are the focus of this research. It has been found to be internally reliable by Burnam et al's (1987) with a Cronbach alpha of .97 and it is available in both English and Spanish, with the Spanish version created by two translators who were Mexican-born, U.S. educated, bilingual and bicultural. The reliability and validity of this measure was established in a study using a representative sample from the general population, including Mexican Americans of all ages, educational backgrounds and acculturation levels (Burnam et al 1987). It is a validated multidimensional acculturation scale with the items loading on three factors: language use and language skills, social activities and ethnic background.

Attitude toward the ad was operationalized by the following set of three questions measuring the global attitude toward the ad as used and validated by Zinkhan, Locander and Leigh (1986): (1) I really liked the ad, (2) I found the ad to be good, and (3) I truly enjoyed the ad. The respondent indicated his or her agreement or disagreement with these statements on a 9-point Likert Scale with 1 representing strong disagreement (a very negative attitude toward the ad) and 9 representing strong agreement with the statements (a very positive attitude toward the ad).

Recall was measured by three unaided recall questions structured after the model which was created and validated by the Burke Marketing Research Company (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty, 1992). The questions required that the respondent link a specific brand name to a specific advertisement, and remember specific things about the ad.

Analysis and Results

The first step in analysis was to cluster analyze the subjects using the twenty-six acculturation variables (Burnam, et al., 1987). This study employs the cluster analysis taxonomic procedure (Kim, Laroche, & Joy, 1990) which allows for the detection of groups with varying degrees of acculturation on the Anglo-Hispanic continuum. In contrast to the a priori classification scheme used in past studies (Deshpande, Hoyer & Donthu 1986, Valencia, 1985), the cluster based approach does not assume in advance any particular number or description of groups.
The Wards Hierarchical method was used to cluster the respondents. Cluster solutions of two to ten group partitioning were examined in terms of the Pseudo-F values. The Pseudo-F value is an indication of the homogeneity among the subjects within each group in a cluster solution. Graphing the Pseudo-F values with differing number of cluster solutions revealed that the sample would best be grouped into three clusters: (1) Highly acculturated, English dominant group; (2) Lowly acculturated, Spanish dominant group; and (3) Bicultural group, that was in the middle of the acculturation continuum. The results of this clustering validates the work on levels of acculturation among Mexican Americans previously investigated by researchers such as Segal and Sosa (1983), Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu (1986), and Valencia (1985).

Detailed profiles of the three clusters based on the mean values of the twenty-six acculturation variables are presented in Table 1. Cluster 1 (Low Acculturation, N=247) corresponds to those Hispanics whose predominant language is Spanish. They communicate with their co-workers and friends in Spanish and Spanish is the language of their media preferences. However, most of them appear not to be monolingual. On the average, members in this group reported a considerable amount of English being spoken with spouses and especially with their children. The respondents in this cluster live in Hispanic neighborhoods and actually read and think almost entirely in Spanish. They listen to Latin music most of the time and mostly watch TV programs in Spanish. Their parents identified themselves as Chicanos and the respondents identified themselves as Mexican Americans, having lived in the United States an average of 10-15 years.

Cluster 2 (High Acculturation, N=67) corresponds to those Hispanics whose dominant language is English. On the average, members in this group communicate almost entirely in English, with their family neighbors, co-workers and in social situations. Generally, the neighborhoods they live in are about half Hispanic and the same is true of their close friends, and co-workers. They watch television programs almost entirely in English and rarely listen to Latin music, but they enjoy eating Hispanic foods about fifty percent of the time. They and their parents identify themselves as Spanish American, Latin American or Hispanic American. On the average, they were born in the United States, as were their parents and grandparents.

Cluster 3 (Bicultural, N=187) corresponds to those Hispanics who are comfortable communicating in either Spanish or English and speak and read the two languages about equally. They speak to their family, both spouse and children, almost entirely in English. Most of their close friends are Hispanic, as are their co-workers; however, they speak to both more often in English. They usually prefer TV and radio programs in English and only sometimes listen to Latin music. They prefer to eat Hispanic foods about half the time. In the neighborhoods where they live, more than half of the residents are Hispanic. Generally their parents identified themselves as Chicanos and the respondents identified themselves as Mexican Americans, having lived in the United States an average of 10-15 years.

To confirm the statistical significance of the cluster differences, discriminant analysis was performed on the cluster results. The membership information of the three cluster solution was utilized to calculate the discriminating power of the twenty-six acculturation variables. Using the original classification variables as the independent variables in the discriminant analysis, an overall-all approximate F-value of 51.1 was calculated which infers that overall the groups were significantly different at a .0001 level. Each pair of groups likewise were significantly different at the .0001 level. Table 2 shows the pairwise F-values for the three groups.

**Testing of Hypotheses**

The final stage of the analysis involved comparisons among the three clusters with respect to their attitudes toward the ad and recall based on varying combinations of languages and
models used in the experimental design. ANOVA was used to see if significant differences in attitude toward the ad and recall existed between the three groups of Hispanics based on their level of acculturation when they were presented with ads representing the four treatments, which corresponded to the four combinations of language and models (Figure 1). The mean scores of attitude toward the ad and recall with each of the four treatments for each of the three acculturation groups can be seen in Table 3.

Hypotheses 1 was only partially supported in that attitude toward the ad among the highly acculturated Hispanics was significantly more positive when the ad copy was in English, but the use of Hispanic models rather than Anglo models produced no significant difference in attitude toward the ad. Hypothesis 2 was also partially supported in that attitude toward the ad was most positive when the ad copy was in Spanish, but Anglo models were actually preferred over Hispanic models. Hypothesis 3 was totally unsupported in that attitude toward the ad was significantly more positive when the advertisement was written in English with Anglo models. Hypothesis 4 was unsupported in that recall among highly acculturated Hispanics was significantly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAECA Acculturation Scale Items</th>
<th>Low Cluster 1 (N=247)</th>
<th>Low Cluster 2 (N=67)</th>
<th>Low Cluster 3 (N=187)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>language spoken</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>3.14</td>
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<td>language preferred</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>3.45</td>
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<td>language use with spouse</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>4.75</td>
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<td>language use with children</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language use with parents</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
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<td>language use with coworkers</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>3.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>language use with friends</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>4.85</td>
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<td>language of TV viewing</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>4.92</td>
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<td>language of radio listening</td>
<td>2.44</td>
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<td>language used when reading</td>
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<td>language writes better</td>
<td>1.86</td>
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<td>ethnicity of coworkers</td>
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<td>ethnicity of close friends</td>
<td>1.33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proportion of time eat Hispanic food</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of time listen to Latin music</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
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<td>Proportion of time celebrate in Hispanic tradition</td>
<td>2.05</td>
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<td>ethnicity of leisure-time social environment</td>
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higher when the advertisement was written in English but with Anglo models. Hypothesis 5 was partially supported in that average recall among those Hispanics low in acculturation was significantly higher when the advertisement utilized Hispanic models, but the recall was not significantly different as a consequence of the language employed. The last hypothesis was also unsupported in that average recall was not significantly higher with the advertisement in Spanish with Hispanic models.

Discussion

This study, although limited in scope, provides useful information to marketers pertaining to the relationship between the level of acculturation of Mexican-Americans and their preferences in terms of language and models (characters) used in print advertisements. Our principal findings indicate that the Mexican-Americans sampled do indeed vary in terms of level of acculturation and that this heterogeneity within the Mexican-American segment translates into significant differences in advertising preferences.

Our findings that lowly acculturated Hispanics preferred advertisements written in Spanish further validated previous studies such as Guernica (1982), Starnard (1985), Foster, Sullivan, Perea (1989) and Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu (1986). However, a unique and interesting finding is the fact that this same group of lowly acculturated Hispanics preferred Anglo models over Hispanic models in the advertisements. Perhaps the explanation for this result can be found in the studies of Chavez (1991) and Leo (1993), who cited that in a 1993 poll of Americans of Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican ancestry most Hispanics wanted to assimilate into the U.S. culture and learn English. In general,

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<thead>
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<th>Treatments</th>
<th>Spanish Models</th>
<th>Spanish Models</th>
<th>English Models</th>
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<tr>
<td>High Acculturation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attitude toward Ad*</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>6.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recall*</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low Acculturation</td>
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<td>Recall*</td>
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<td>Bicultural (Medium Acculturation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attitude toward Ad*</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recall*</td>
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*Significantly different at .05 level
they aspired to be like other U.S. citizens in mainstream society. Penaloza (1994) found that sometimes Mexican-Americans may denounce themselves and their culture, decreasing their differences in an effort to fit into the mainstream culture.

Our research showed that highly acculturated Hispanics preferred advertisements written in English, which concurs with the work of many previous researchers such as Palmeri and Levine (1991) and Segal and Sosa (1983). The use of Anglo models rather than Hispanic models produced no significant differences in attitude toward the ad but recall was higher when Anglo models were used. This substantiates the work of Webster (1992) that found highly acculturated Hispanics were very close to the Anglo mainstream in terms of many aspects of consumer behavior. This is an important finding for marketers. It suggests that marketers do not need to tailor their ads to reach this segment of the Hispanic market and that use of Spanish and Hispanic models may, in fact, alienate this group, since attitude toward the ad and recall (see Table 3) were indeed significantly lower when Spanish ad copy and Hispanic models were used.

Lastly, our findings revealed that attitude toward the ad was most positive among bicultural/bilingual Hispanics, when the advertisement was in English with Anglo models but that recall was significantly better when the ad was in English but the models were Hispanic. This supports the work of other researchers such as Webster (1992) who have found that bicultural/bilingual Hispanics do not always fall midway between the behaviors of highly acculturated and lowly acculturated Hispanics. Here, the bicultural Hispanics could be reached by the same advertising combination as the highly acculturated and mainstream Anglo consumer, in terms of attitude toward the ad. What explanation could be set forth for this unique finding that this segment prefers ads in English with Anglo models?

To further examine this phenomenon, we look at two questions dealing with identification (Wells, 1988): (1) I am like the people in the ad; (2) I want to be like the people in the ad. The respondents each indicated his or her agreement or disagreement with these statements on a 9-point Likert Scale with 1 representing strong disagreement and 9 representing strong agreement. Bicultural/bilingual Hispanics’ responses to our study indicated that they saw themselves as most like the characters in the Spanish ad with Hispanic models but they wanted to be like the characters in the English ad with the Anglo models. This finding is very interesting because it tends to confirm what advertisers have known to be true for a long time (Wells, 1988): an ad will be most effective and powerful if it can appeal to a viewer’s innermost desires and goals.

The results of this study seem to suggest to marketers and advertisers that acculturation is a useful market segmentation variable and that an understanding of the effect of the different levels of Mexican-American acculturation could help in creating appropriate advertising programs to reach the specific subsegments of this market. Within the limited scope of this study, it would appear that a marketer could effectively reach the highly acculturated Hispanics without tailoring the advertisement. When targeting the lowly acculturated and bicultural Hispanics, advertisers will have to decide whether recall or attitude toward the ad is more important since Anglo models are preferred by both groups but recall is higher with Hispanic models. As noted earlier, attitude tests are thought by many to better measure sales effectiveness than recall tests (Arens and Bovee, 1994). Targeting these acculturation based groups of Hispanics with separate marketing mixes and programs would not be difficult, since a strong positive relationship has been found between the degree of ethnic identification among Hispanics and the geographical area in which they live (Massey and Denton, 1985), even within the same metropolitan market (Webster, 1992).

Conclusion

In this initial study of our research, we have shown the possible value of utilizing acculturation as an important variable when develop-
ing advertising strategies to reach the Hispanic market, specifically Mexican Americans. Based on our findings, we suggest that marketers advertise in English to the highly acculturated Mexican Americans and use Hispanic or Anglo models. The lowly acculturated Mexican Americans can be reached more effectively by print advertisements that are written in Spanish with Anglo models, since attitude toward the ad is most positive with this combination. When targeting bicultural/bilingual Mexican Americans, which represent a midpoint on the acculturation continuum, marketers should advertise in English using Anglo models for the most positive attitude toward the ad or Hispanic models to maximize recall. Thus, by using this same combination of English advertising copy with Anglo models, an advertiser could possibly reach the highly acculturated and the bicultural Hispanic groups, as well as the mainstream Anglo consumer.

These recommendations are set forth, of course, with the caveat as to the limitations of the sample, yet it is thought that the results of this study will potentially give marketers useful information in how to best reach Mexican-American consumers. As competition escalates and promotional dollars become more scarce, the targeting of unique well-defined minority micromarkets will become an essential element of most successful marketing plans. As firms recognize this opportunity and attempt to capitalize on it, studies such as this research will become increasingly important.

Suggestions for Future Research

The interpretation of this study's results is limited to the Mexican-American population in the metropolitan area of El Paso, Texas. Similar studies could be conducted in other cities of the United States where Mexican-Americans are geographically concentrated, i.e., Los Angeles, Chicago, San Diego. Extending this research geographically and numerically would provide a more complete picture of the relationship between the level of acculturation of Mexican-Americans and their advertising preferences.

This study considered only one subgroup, Mexican-Americans, of the total Hispanic population in the United States. Other Hispanic subgroups such as Cubans and Puerto Ricans could be investigated to observe their responses to similar print advertisements from an acculturation perspective. Finally, the impact of the level of acculturation could be investigated in relation to Mexican-Americans' preferences for language used and models (characters) portrayed in television commercials.

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