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REVISITING THE EFFECT OF MODELS' RACE ON EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT ATTITUDES TOWARD ADVERTISEMENTS

By

Eunsun Lee

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ABSTRACT

REVISITING THE EFFECT OF MODELS' RACE WITH EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT ATTITUDE MEASURES

By

Eunsun Lee

Historically, studies of racial attitudes are fraught with controversy. Those who study racial attitudes recognize that Caucasian Americans' racial attitudes are complex and variable. Likewise, this is true for advertising-related minority studies. Previous studies suggest that African Americans have positive attitudes toward ads containing strong ethnic cues. However, the literature is not so clear regarding how Caucasian Americans form their attitudes toward African American models in ads.

Adding to the ambiguity, recent findings suggest that people may have two different attitudes toward an object at the same time: One is explicit, i.e., measured by traditional attitudinal measurements (e.g., self-report); the other is implicit, i.e., measured by implicit measurement (e.g., implicit association test, word-fragment completion task etc). This dual attitude theory implies that consumers may have two different attitudes toward the model's race simultaneously, and that previous advertising-related minority studies only capturing explicit attitudes by employing self-report measures may have missed critical information.

This study attempts to rectify such a deficiency by examining the ability of participants to hold dual attitudes toward the same attitude object. Specifically, the current study employs both explicit and implicit measures of attitude in response to advertisements containing models of different ethnic backgrounds. Both Caucasian

American and African American participants viewed ads with models of both Caucasian

American and African American models.

This study demonstrates that consumers may hold dual attitudes. However, unlike previous psychological studies which show Caucasian American's attitude preference for models of their own race, no such bias was found in the current study. In addition, African American participants also demonstrated consistency in both their implicit and explicit attitudes. Contrary to previous advertising-related minority studies, African American participants did not demonstrate in-group bias and in fact were more positive toward ads with Caucasian models. This result supports the reasoning that, since members of a society develop shared category norms through implicit communication of category norms in speech and writing, participants assume that white models in ads is the norm.

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my parents for their unconditional love and support.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER I	1
INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Problem	4
Purpose of Study	6
CHAPTER II	10
ETHNICITY AND ADVERTISINGL	10
Ethinicity	10
Ehtnicity Theories	12
Ethnicitu-related Advertising Studies	14
CHAPTER III	21
ATTITUDE	21
Attitude	21
Attitude toward the Ad	22
Measures of Attitude toward the Ad	24
Information Processing Perspective: Spontaneous vs. Deliberative Process	
	24
Thories of Implicit and Explicit Attitudes	25
Explicit Attitude Measures	28
Implict Attitude Measures	29
CHAPTER IV	31
HYPOTHESIS	31
Racial Attitude: Prejudice	31
Implicit Attitude and Prejudice	33
Hypothese	35
CHAPTER V	40
METHODOLOGY	40
Stimuli Development	40
Pretest	42
Experimental Design	43
Participants	45
Procedures	45
Dependent Variables	48
CHAPTER IV	50
DATA ANALYSIS	50
Descriptive Statistics	50

Purification of Response Latencies	
Manipulation Check for Measures	
Hypotheses Testing	
Analysis of Control Group (Condition 5)	
Purification of Response Latencies for Condition 5	
Hypotheses Testing for Condition 5	61
	64
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	64
Discussion	64
Attitude toward Ads	64
Attitude Measures: Response Latency	66
Control Group: Condition 5	67
•	
Limitations	
Suggestions for Future Study	
Conclusion	73
APPENDICES	75
REFERENCES	Q 1

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Experimental and Control Groups	
Table 2. Sequence of Experiment	46
Table 3. Descriptive Statistics, Correlations, and Scale Reliabilities	50
Table 4. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Caucasian American	51
Table 5. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for African American	52
Table 6. Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Implicit and Explicit Measures	56
Table 7. Participant Race by Model's Race on Explicit Attitudes	57
Table 8. Participant Race by Model's Race on Response Latencies	58
Table 9. Participant Race by Model's Race by Attitude Measure (Implicit/Explicit).	59
Table 10. Participant Race by Model's Race on Explicit Attitudes in Condition 5	62
Table 11. Participant Race by Model's Race on Response Latencies in Condition 5	62
Table 12. Participant Race by Model's Race by Attitude Measure (Implicit/Explicit) in Condition 5	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. FCB Grid – 15 Chosen Products	41
Figure 2. Overall Response Latencies for Conditions	55
Figure 3. Overall Response Latencies for Conditions (Condition5)	61

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With the growing diversity of the U.S. population, ethnic target marketing has become an increasingly crucial component of marketing strategy (Pieres et al. 2003, Torres 2007). As a matter of fact, the U.S. Census estimates that by 2050 the Hispanic, African American, and Asian American segments of the U.S. population will collectively exceed 50%, compared to less than 30% in 2003 (U.S. Census Bureau 2003). As the size and spending power of ethnic groups continues to grow, a greater number of marketers are paying more attention to targeting issues (Nelson and Lukas 1990). While some commercials like the recent Dove advertisement showing differently shaped women of various ethnicities try to register with a broad group of people, research findings present conflicting results regarding consumer response to the inclusion of ethnic cues in advertising. In light of these trends, it is important to examine both the pros and cons of targeting ethnic minorities with ethnic cues.

Many advertising-related minority studies have examined the influence of models' ethnicities in advertisements on consumer attitudes (Aaker et al. 2000; Briley et al. 2007; Deshpande and Stayman 1994; Dimofte et al. 2003; Forehand and Deshpande 2001; Whittler 1989; Whittler and DiMeo 1991; Wooten 1995). Several studies have found that minority consumers respond positively to ethnic cues when they mirror consumers' ethnic memberships (Whittler 1989). For example, Aaker, Brumbaugh, and Grier (2000) argue that consumers react more favorably to advertisements in which the models are of the same ethnicity as the consumers. Beyond race (Whittler 1989), researchers

have also examined ethnic identification (Williams and Qualls 1989), cultural knowledge (Brumbaugh 2002), and ethnic salience (Deshpande and Stayman 1994) as targeting cues that may increase a consumer's affinity for a brand. These studies suggest that since advertising cues can trigger a feeling of similarity between the consumer and the model, effective ads need to include ethnic models, ethnic identification and/or salient ethnic cues, when targeting ethnic populations (Forehand and Deshpande 2001; Forehand and Reed 2002; Dimofte et al. 2003).

In addition, the inclusion of ethnic minority cues in ads does not seem to detract from the effectiveness of ads targeted toward broader populations. Several studies found that Caucasian Americans do not react negatively toward advertisements featuring African American models (Bush et al. 1972; Solomon at al. 1976; Whittler 1989). For example, Whittler (1989) found no difference between Caucasians' attitudes in response to advertisements that contained either African American models or Caucasian models. Bush, Gwinner and Solomon (1972) further found that Caucasian American consumers did not purchase differently because of displays containing Caucasian Americans, African Americans, or integrated models. In contrast, Whittler and DiMeo (1991) found that Caucasian Americans have less favorable attitudes toward advertisements featuring African American models than those featuring Caucasian American models. In reconciling the different results between his two studies, Whittler (1991) argued that today's younger Caucasian Americans have more opportunity for interaction with individuals of different races, and they may be more willing to accept them than old people.

However some psychological studies would suggest that Caucasian Americans

may in fact prefer Caucasian models, but could be modifying their responses to be perceived as socially acceptable, whether conscious or not of this process (Petty et al. 1999; Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald 2004; White and Harkins 1994). Therefore, it is important for advertisers to examine not only traditional explicit measures of attitudes toward ads but also implicit measures when assessing the effectiveness of ethnic minority models in ads. Research projects focusing on racial attitudes are often fraught with controversy due to the sensitivity of the subject matter, the potential for respondent biases, as well as contextual effects, and a host of other measurement issues. Therefore, the current study examines the potential role of social desirability in influencing Caucasian consumer responses to ads with models of a different race.

Recent theories in social psychology assume that people may have two different attitudes toward an object at the same time: One is explicit, i.e., measured by traditional attitudinal measurements (e.g., self-report); the other is implicit, i.e., measured by implicit measurement (e.g., implicit association test, word-fragment completion task etc) (Friese et al. 2006). According to Fazio and Olson (2003), attitudes can exert influence through relatively spontaneous or more deliberative process/es. The former involve judgments of, or behavior toward, an object being influenced by one's construal of the object in the immediate situation. The judgments are perceptions that themselves can be affected by individuals' attitudes having been automatically activated upon encountering the attitude object. In contrast, deliberative processing involves a more effortful, cost-benefit analysis of the utility of a particular behavior. Therefore, implicit attitudes may exert influence through automatic activation, while explicit attitudes may be formed through effortful activation. Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald (2004), applying these

theoretical concepts to consumer social cognition, found that participants did not exhibit racial preferences at the explicit level but showed strong preference for ads containing Caucasian American Models.

This implies that consumers may have two different attitudes toward the model's race simultaneously, and that previous advertising-related minority studies only explored explicit attitudes by employing self-report measures. As more ads in 'general' magazines and TV programs increase their presentation of ethnic minority models in an effort to reach a broad range of consumers, the findings of this study become even more critical. Through a technique utilizing both explicit self-reports and implicit attitude measures, the viability of dual-attitudes toward the same stimuli are investigated.

Statement of Problem

Unfortunately, methodological problems lead uncertain findings in the advertising-related minority studies. Many such studies failed to consider issues of 1) attitudinal measures, 2) advertising components, and 3) product types.

First, the previous advertising-related minority studies adopted a technique utilizing explicit self-reports. Several studies found that attitude measurement is highly context-dependent, and minor changes in question wording, format or order and a variety of factors can impact, profoundly, the obtained attitude reports (e.g., Fazio and Olson 2003; Greenwald and Banaji 1995; Hotgraves 2004). As a matter of fact, many psychologists also have demonstrated that participants "self-edit" attitude-related answers for reasons of social desirability and self presentation (Fazio et al. 1995; Greenwald et al. 1998).

Second, the previous advertising-related minority studies failed to examine, solely, models' effects in ads. The studies used fiction- or nonfiction-ads which manipulated only models' races alone, i.e., except race, all advertising components in the ads were similar. However, they failed to control other advertising component (i.e., color, theme, and background etc.) influence on consumer perceptions. Thus, it is hard to justify the previous studies having solely examined models' race effect in ads.

Finally, the previous studies employed a limited number of product types in their experiments, such as a watch (Torres 2007), a liquid detergent (Whittler 1991), and sport equipment (Brunel et al. 2004). According to extensive content analysis in Henderson and Baldasty (2003), some products are more closely associated with Caucasian Americans than with people of color, and vice versa. For example, whereas more expensive cars were advertised solely by Caucasian American models, less expensive cars were advertised by models of color. Caucasian American models dominate in ads for many products most associated with home: non-fast food (requiring cooking) and domestic and household product (toothpaste, soap, household cleaners etc.). On the other hand, people of color were closely tied to low-cost and low-nutrition products (i.e., fast food, soft drinks, candy, gum etc.). Unlike Caucasian Americans who were shown preparing foods at home, when people of color were shown using non-fast food products. they appeared mostly with convenience foods. Therefore, the use of product, i.e., choosing neutral products or including diverse product types, is critical in advertisingrelated minority studies.

Considering these issues, can we take the results of Caucasian American (or African American) attitudes toward African American (or Caucasian American) models from the previous advertising-related minority studies at face value?

Purpose of Study

The experiment discussed here uses rigorous experimental design methods to examine the effects of model race on viewers' attitudes in diverse product categories.

Unlike the previous advertising-related minority studies to examine attitude through the limited technique utilizing only participant self-reports, participants' spontaneous and automatic responses were also measured using response latencies. Using multiple measures captures greater variability and may allow for the exploration of dual attitudes toward the ethnic cues shown in the ads.

Second, to exclusively examine model's race effect in the ads, advertising components (i.e., brand, product, color, background) other than model were removed deliberately and completely through experimental manipulation. In this current study, participants were exposed to four different advertisement types including: background only, background and product only, background, product and African American model, and background, product and Caucasian American Model. These four different group designs permit examination of different advertising component effects. In data analysis, participants' response latencies for those exposed to background, product and model ads were subtracted from participants' response latencies that were exposed to background and product only ads. Subsequently, the refined response latencies were used for further data analysis resulting in the examination of model race and not other extraneous advertising cues.

Finally, to remove unexpected product effects on attitudes toward the ads, 15

different types of products were used, deliberately chosen from Foote, Cone and Belding's Grid (FCB Grid). The FCB grid dimensionalizes consumers' attitudes toward products in terms of two dimensions: involvement and affect *versus* cognition (Ratchford, 1987; Vaughn, 1986). This allows eliminating participants' involvement and emotional/cognitive effects on their attitudes toward the ads.

Executing such a rigorous experimental design assures that the current study contribute to our understanding about attitude formation in general and the role of dual attitudes in response to advertising. Importantly, capturing both explicit and implict attitudes in response to the same stimuli, allows for the comparison of those attitudes and for bias or self-censuring to be detected. Such an examination is critical to truly understanding a topic where political correctness is demanded, such as race in America. Specifically for the field of advertising, this study clarifies the multiple conflicting findings regarding the use of ethnic cues.

First, Muehling and MaCann (1993) suggest that "future research needs to provide further insight regarding whether attitude toward the ad is an automatic, involuntary reaction to an ad or whether it is a conscious more deliberate element (or both)" (p.51). Since traditional measures of attitude toward ads typically rely on individuals' conscious self-reports of affect (or cognition) toward ads, the previous advertising-related minority studies employing these measures were difficult for identifying the "automatic" nature of attitude formation. In fact, unlike marketers expect, consumers may not spend much time to read print advertisements or TV commercials. They tend to page through magazines and skip many ads, unless intentionally looking for specific information. Therefore, it is true that consumers may

have automatic or spontaneous attitudes toward the ads that they briefly scanned. From this viewpoint, the implicit measure newly employed in this study is worthy of pursuing relevant to the definitional issue of attitude toward the ads.

Second, the study helps to clarify the use of models' of different races in ads. Advertising strategies may need to consider model ethnicity, ethnicity of the targeted consumers and situational or biographical reasons for awareness of it, and product appeal involving ethnic cues. Therefore, placing ethnic minority models in media popular with minorities clearly indicates that advertisers aim to reach and appeal to ethnic minority Previous studies showed that African Americans were likelier to show consumers. positive attitude toward ads containing African American models than toward ads containing Caucasian Americans (Appiah 2001b; Forehand and Deshpande 2001; Forehand and Reed 2002; Dimofte et al. 2003). However, there has been controversy over use of African American models in mainstream ads. Recent content analysis study showed that Caucasian American models are the norm in mainstream magazine ads, and that African American models had second-highest frequency (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 2006). It is not clear how Caucasian Americans perceive African American models in the ads. Whereas some studies suggested that Caucasian Americans do not show negative attitude toward African American models in ads (Bush et al. 1972; Solomon at al. 1976; Whittler 1989), other studies suggested that Caucasian Americans have less favorable attitude toward African American Models in ads (Whittler and DiMeo 1991). By employing rigorous experimental design, this current study examines the effect of model ethnicity on African American and Caucasian American consumers attitudes.

Finally, the current study provides an example of how implicit measures may be employed in advertising research to uncover hidden biases (Brunel 2004; Gawronski 2006). Historically, advertisers have been reluctant to use African American models in ads, fearing that African American characters might offend Caucasian American consumers and adversely affect sales of the advertised product and other products offered by the sponsoring company (Appiah 2001b; Bush et al. 1979; Qualls and Moore, 1990). The use of African American models in mainstream media is not only about attitude toward the ad, but also about racial attitudes toward African Americans. According to Fazio, Jackson, Dunton and Williams (1995), some individuals do experience guilt and self-recrimination after becoming aware that they would respond more negatively than they believe they should, thus are reluctant to express their opinions when reporting their attitudes. From this viewpoint, implicit attitude measure provides unique opportunity to study Caucasian American attitudes toward African American models in ads.

CHAPTER II

ETHNICITY AND ADVERTISING

Ethnicity

According to the theory of group differences in ad processing, individuals process ad information based on their social background (Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998; Brumbaugh and Grier 1999). A social group has different attitudes, personal characteristics, product needs, media habits, lifestyles, experiences and motives from other groups (Bhat, Leigh and Wardlow 1998). Hence, each social group differently processes information based on its shared subculture (Scott 1994).

Social identity theory, the similarity-attraction paradigm, suggests that demographically-similar individuals perceive themselves as more alike and are more inclined to identify with one another than with members of dissimilar dyads (Byrne, 1971). Among demographic factors, ethnic identity is a component of acculturation related to how members of an ethnic group relate to the group as a subset of larger society (Green 1999). Phinney (1996) defines ethnic identity as the subjective sense of ethnic group membership. Ethnic identity constitutes "a basic part of the ethnic individual's personality, and is a powerful contributor to ethnic group formation, maintenance, and social ties" (Bernai and Knight 1993, p. 1). To understand the role of ethnicity in the attitudes and behavior of an individual, it is critical to take ethnic identity into account.

Ethnic identity is a set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership that has several dimensions along which these self-ideas vary (Bernai and Knight 1993). The degree of ethnicity identity is expressed by two terms: ethnic salience and ethnic

strength (Forehand et. al. 2002). They are distinct constructs in terms of their duration. Whereas ethnic salience is the momentary activation of their own ethnicity, ethnic intensity is an enduring association between an individual's sense of self and the person's ethnic identity (Forehand et. al. 2002). In other words, ethnic salience is most often elicited when people process ethnicity-related information and they categorize themselves along ethnicity-related criteria.

Many researchers have viewed ethnic identity as an enduring and fundamental aspect of the self that includes (a) a sense of membership in an ethnic group (i.e., self-identification) and (b) the attitudes and feelings associated with that membership (i.e., self-affiliation) (Bernai and Knight 1993; Cokley et. al. 2007; Keefe 1992; Phinney 1990). Self-identification and self-affiliation varies in importance and strength among ethnic group members (Keefe 1992).

Self identification refers to "the ethnic labels or terms that people use in identifying themselves and the meaning of these labels" (Bernai and Knight 1993, p. 1). Casas and Pytluk (1995) stated that because ethnic identification is a product of a socialization process that can be unique to each individual, it is not the same for all members of any respective group. As another dimension of ethnic identification, ethnic affiliation is "the preferences, feelings, and values that people may embrace, reject, or have neutral feelings and preferences about their ethnic families, companions, and cultural values" (Bernai and Knight 1993, p. 1).

In consumer behavior, a great deal of research has discussed the influence of ethnic identification on consumer attitudes and judgments. Research has been conducted on various advertising components such as media, ethnic cues, product types,

and racial composition (Green 1999; Grier et. al. 2006; Ragoonan et. al. 2005; Williams and Grantham 1999). In the following sections, the major theories and studies related to ethnicity are reviewed.

Ethnicity Theories

There are several theories relevant to the current study focused on ethnicity which each explain how self-identity is formed and maintained by minority groups including: homophily theory, distinctiveness theory, in-group bias theory, and accommodation theory.

Most general is the the phenomenon of perceived similarity between two people which is referred to as homophily (Rogers and Bhowmik 1970). Homophily is defined as "the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar with respect to attributes, such as beliefs, values, education, social status, etc" (p.526). Perceived similarity leads to greater identification. Then, the greater identification causes greater spokesperson credibility, which results in a positive attitude toward the ad (Deshpande and Stayman 1991). According to homophily theory, members of ethnic minorities feel connected to a message source that is not only a member of their own ethnic group but also of a different minority group because their connection is based on the fact that they are both minority members, not that they belong to the same minority (Torres 2007).

Race is one way people judge similarity and group membership as it is distinctive and often easily recognized. According to distinctiveness theory, an individual's distinctive traits in relation to other people in the environment are more salient to the individual than are more common traits (Aaker et. al. 2000; Deshpande and Stayman

12

1994; Forehand et. al., 2002). Thus, ethnic salience occurs when an individual is prompted to categorize himself or herself along ethnicity-oriented criteria. Thus, individuals who belong to a distinctive or numerically rare group tend to be highly aware and mindful of characteristics shared by that group and are likelier to incorporate that group identity into their self-concept than are individuals who do not belong to such a group. As a result, the lower the population of minority group members in the overall population, the likelier that ethnically targeted advertising models are effective as a means to activate ethnic identity (Deshpande and Stayman 1994).

Relatedly, in-group bias theory suggests that positive bias exists toward members of one's own group, but also suggests that just because people prefer in-group members, does not mean they automatically disfavor out-group members (Brewer 1979). The theory implies that ethnic minority members are predisposed to look favorably on cultural aspects of the in-group that define membership (e.g., language, customs, values, and social views) over cultural aspects of the out-group (Green 1999). Thus, according to the theory, people prefer members of their own ethnic group as information sources over members of other ethnic groups as sources. As an example, Kerin (1979) found that in evaluating print ads. Caucasian Americans associated better product quality with their own ethnic group's model, whereas African Americans associated better quality with African American models in the ads. Thus, people tend to positively bias judgments about those perceived to be in-group members and these judgments can further impact judgments of the information presented by in-group members.

Once ethnic identity is activated, accommodation may take place between the recipients of a message and the source if the recipients deem similarity between themselves and the source. Accommodation theory has its roots in the sociopsychological theories addressing similarity on attraction (Byrne 1871) and has been applied in diverse consumer research contexts (Kiran 2005). The theory first predicted that "the greater the amount of effort in accommodation that a blingual speaker of one group was perceived to put into this message, the more favorably he would be perceived by listeners from another ethnic group, and also the more effort they in turn would put into accommodating back to the speaker" (Koslow 1994, p. 576). It suggests that as A becomes more similar to B, the likelihood that B will favorably evaluate A is increased (Green 1999). Accommodation theory provides useful insight about how members of ethnic minority group respond to a message. The theory predicts that members of ethnic minority groups should react positively to the use of ethnic cues in ads by attributing their use to the advertiser's sensitivity to and respect for their own ethnicity (Koslow 1994). Thus, the targets of a message reward that sensitivity by paying attention to the message and ultimately are more likely to purchase the advertised product.

Given all of the many ways that ethnicity is conceptualized and explained, the importance of ethnicity as an informational cue becomes apparent. Therefore ethnicity as a cue in advertisement will now be reviewed.

Ethnicity-related Advertising Studies

Ethnicity has been shown to be an important variable in the targeting of advertising to different segments (Anonymous, 2001). The use of race as a

segmentation variable assumes that those in each group share similar characteristics distinguishing them from members of another group. This is important to advertising because messages designed for a specific group have been shown to be more effective than messages targeted toward a heterogeneous mass (Aaker et al. 2001). Furthermore, ads with racial or ethnic indicators are seen as more relevant, elicit more positive attitudes towards the advertisements, and are believed to offer more credible messages (Green1999; La Ferle and Morimoto 2004; Morimoto and La Ferle 2005).

Models in ads are one way to include ethnic cues in advertising. Therefore, choosing the right model is critical and this is especially true given research findings that show the same message delivered by different sources produce varying outcomes among message recipients (Whittler and Spira 2002). For this reason, the effect of race on consumers' evaluations of advertising messages has received considerable attention, particularly as it relates to consumers' preferences for ads featuring models of a particular race rather than another. The main focus of such research has been how consumers evaluate ads featuring models of their own race compared to ads featuring models of another race.

As mentioned in the introduction, African American consumers have been found to respond more favorably to ads featuring African American models, than to ads featuring Caucasian American models (e.g., Choundhury and Schmid 1974; Kerin 1979; Williams et al. 1995). However, this same benefit has not typically been found for Caucasian Americans' attitudes where these consumers have not rated ads featuring African American models differently from those featuring Caucasian American models (Whittler and DiMeo 1991; Williams et al. 1995). It seems that members of a racial

majority (i.e., Caucasian Americans) are less mindful of a model's race in their advertising assessments than members from an ethnic minority group (Appiah 2001a).

Variations in response patterns between Caucasian and African Americans toward other-race models may stem from differences in the importance placed on ethnic identity. For many Caucasian Americans, ethnicity is not as important to their identity compared to members of ethnic minority groups (Waters 1990). Phinney and Alipuria (1990) showed ethnic identity to be a more salient part of the self for ethnic minority groups. while Alba (1985) states that Caucasian Americans do not think of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group. Similarly, Waters (1990) contends that Caucasian Americans can choose what role ethnicity plays in their lives, while Deaux (1992) believes that ethnicity is salient for ethnic minority individuals because group membership is more evident.

These phenomena could be explained by group position theory and norm theory. Group position theory (Blumer and Duster 1980) suggests that ethnic minority groups perceive competitive threats from other minority groups. Thus, when an out-group overreaches its own group's accustomed place in society or threatens its status and power, an individual feels fear, apprehension, resentment, and anger (Torres 2007). These feelings translate into a general negative response to the perceived challenge by the outgroup to its own sense of group position (Blumer and Duster 1980). Also, group position theory argues that antagonism toward one's out-group is best understood as a general attitude involving normative ideas about where one's own group should stand relative to others in the social order (Torres 2007). According to Aaker, Brumbaugh and Grier (2001), viewers in the non-target market may perceive dissimilarities between

themselves and the intended target in the ads. Consequently, they may infer that their tastes and preferences differ from those of the intended target, thus may fail to adopt a favorable attitude toward the ads. Also, potential backlash may result, depending on the group targeted, for example, gays, lesbians, and African Americans.

Additionally, norm theory suggests that exemplars which come to mind in response to a category label, determine implicit expectations for that category. Thus, the most frequent features among the generated exemplars are known as "category norms" (Kahneman and Miller 1986; Pratto et. al. 2007). The concept of norm is applied to events ranging in complexity from single visual displays to social interactions.

According to Pratto, Korchmaros and Hegarty (2007), adult Americans automatically encode the race of individuals. Hence, if an exemplar's race contrasts with the category's normative features, it will become salient and the focus of explanatory attention (Hegarty and Pratto 2001; 2004). According to Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates (2006), Caucasian American models are the norm in mainstream magazine ads, and that African American models have second-highest frequency. Resultantly, since African American models are less frequent in mainstream advertising than are Caucasian American models, whiteness would be norm and blackness would be salient.

As a result, several advertising-related minority studies have shown that racial similarity (Whittler 1989), ethnic intensity (Williams and Qualls 1989), and ethnic salience (Deshpande and Stayman 1994) evoke positive effects among ethnic minority audiences. The researchers recommend using strong ethnic cues in ads, to target specific ethnic groups. For example, in assessing the influence of advertising execution variables on consumer social identification and advertising response, Dimofte, Forehand

17

and Deshpande (2003) found evidence of the power of advertising to elicit self-awareness when using saliently targeted ads. Such results indicate that atypical targeting strategies stimulate the processing of ethnic information and increase consumers' awareness of their group memberships, while also positively influencing consumers' responses to ads.

Dimofte, Forehand and Deshpande (2003) suggest that unusual targeting techniques may be worth pursuing.

At the same time, minimal adverse effects on the responses of Caucasian Americans have been found, as the majority group appears to be indifferent to the race of the model used in an advertisement. For example, in a study that measured the sales response of Caucasian American consumers to a point-of-purchase display of African American models, there were no differences in Caucasian American consumers' purchases from displays containing Caucasian American, African American, or integrated model conditions (Solomon, Bush, and Hair 1976). Also, Forehand and Reed's (2002) work confirmed that participants in the majority group did not react negatively to communications targeted on a minority group.

Alternatively, findings from the psychology literature have suggested that responses by Caucasian Americans might be influenced by how their responses could appear to others and themselves in the context of racial interactions. Research has shown that some Caucasian Americans were more strongly motivated to pay attention to a minority source so as not to appear unfair or prejudice (Petty et al. 1999; Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald 2004; White and Harkins 1994).

Investigating the effects of models' race on persuasion using the Elaboration Likelihood Model, White and Harkins (1994) found in a series of studies that Caucasian

Americans had the same attitudes regardless of source's race (e.g., African American, Hispanic American and Caucasian American). However, when they examined their motivations to scrutinize the information, the result showed that Caucasian Americans were more motivated to scrutinize information presented by stigmatized source (e.g., African American or Hispanic American) than by nonstigmatized source (e.g., Caucasian American).

Furthermore, Petty, Fleming and White (1999) found that people were likelier to process stigmatized groups' messages than those of non-stigmatized groups. They suggest that low-prejudiced individuals were especially conscious about others in a society which did not share their unprejudiced beliefs. Thus the individuals might carefully scrutinize the actions of stigmatized others in an effort to prevent others from discriminating. As detailed in these studies' findings, Caucasian American consumers rated ads featuring African American models the same as ads featuring Caucasian American models (Whittler and DiMeo 1991; Williams et al. 1995), which may be the result of participants scrutinizing their prejudiced behaviors (motivational factor) or socially desirable responding (personality factor).

Recently, employing an implicit measure, the Implicit Association Test (IAT), Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald (2004) demonstrated that implicit measures of attitude toward the ad revealed an influence of ethnic preference on attitude toward the ad that explicit measures did not. This finding underscored the potential utility of the IAT in gaining better understanding of the impact of ethnic stereotypes on attitude toward the ad. They argued that use of the IAT assists advertising studies to understand implicit attitudes toward race better, because political correctness and social desirability might tend to

influence explicit answers on the issue.

Besides, some advertising-related minority studies suggest that attitude formation may be influenced by stereotype expectation related to the product being advertised.

Lee, Mastin and Edwards (2005) revealed that Caucasian Americans, in their attitudes toward automobiles, a highly involved "thinking" product, were impacted by the model's race. However, it seemed that they did not have any impact in the lowly involved "feeling" product, online dating service that is less important and relies highly on affective information processing. Thus, response to different race models in the ads is likely to depend on the product being advertised (Cohen 1992; Kanungo and Pang 1973). For example, Cohen (1992) found that for stereo speakers, responses to Asian models were significantly more positive than were responses to Caucasian American models.

Also, Green (1999) found that for race-based products, model race is significant.

Consequently, when advertising-related minority studies are conducted, caution is advised. Since Caucasian Americans worry about their response to other-race models in ads, the use of types of measure and product types should receive attention to examining attitudes.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDE

Attitude

Study of attitudes is vital in contemporary social psychology. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) conceptually define attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (p. 1). This definition implies that attitude is an internal state that lasts for at least a short time (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). It is an acquired behavioral disposition – a learned state that creates an inclination to respond in particular ways. Thus, it endures for a relatively long time, but some attitudes are relatively temporary and changeable, especially if they are unimportant to those who have them. Second, attitude is an evaluative state accounting for covariance between certain classes of stimuli and certain classes of responses (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). It differs in valence and intensity, and it is evaluated as a location on a bipolar continuum or dimension ranging from extremely positive to extremely negative.

In consumer research, attitude is a chief concern among consumers' mental states. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) define attitude as "a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given object (p. 6)." This definition implies that people learn feelings of favorability or unfavorability via information about the attitude object or via direct experience with the attitude object. Also, attitude researchers believe that an attitude is a predisposition to respond overtly, and that this predisposition leads to actual overt behavior (Lutz 1991). It gives rise to a

consistently favorable or unfavorable pattern of responses. Thus, marketers and advertisers attempt to create or modify attitudes toward their brands through the use of marketing communications tools such as advertising.

Zanna and Rampel (1988) define attitude as the categorization of an entity along the evaluative dimension. They suggest that attitudes are evaluations based on beliefs, feelings, and/or past behaviors, implying that one may have different attitudes about the same object at the same time. Thus they distinguish between evaluation and affect, which has implications for the measurement of attitudes (Tesser and Shaffer 1990).

Most measures of attitude involve self-report. As long as affect and evaluation were seen as equivalent, self-report indexes seemed adequate. But with the distinction between affect and evaluation has come greater sensitivity to the idea that all aspects of attitudes can be represented variously, verbal representation being only one.

Researchers believe that emotions have physiological components that may or may not be cognitively represented (Tesser and Shaffer 1990).

Attitude Toward the Ad

Attitude toward the ad has been useful for assessing consumers' affective reactions to ads as opposed to purely cognitive reactions (Mackenzie et al. 1986). Most advertising research appearing in the literature today comes from Shrimp (1981) and Mitchell and Olson (1981) who introduced the notion that consumers' brand/choice behavior is likely to be influenced by attitude toward the ad. Since Mitchell and Olson (1981) demonstrated that attitude toward the ad is a mediating influence on brand attitude, attitude toward the ad has been considered as a distinct construct from beliefs and brand

attitudes (Muehling and McCann 1993).

In the literature, attitude toward the ad is conceptualized broadly as liking of an advertisement, and has been regarded by some as the best indicator of advertising effectiveness (Haley and Baldinger 1991; Brown and Stayman 1992). MacKenzie et al. (1985) defined attitude toward the ad in their study as a "predisposition to respond in a favorable or unfavorable manner to a particular advertising stimulus during a particular exposure occasion" (p.130). Also, Muehling and McCanne (1993) suggest that attitude toward the ad represents "individuals' evaluations of the overall advertising stimulus" (p.26).

Two positions exist to explain what attitude toward the ad may represent. First, some attitude researchers in psychology have adopted a unidimensional definition of attitude as a summary evaluation. Although attitudes are assumed to encompass affective, behavioral and cognitive responses, some researchers believe that these three classes of responses are not necessarily separable from each other, and do not necessarily represent three independent factors (Bohner and Wanke 2002). Some consumer behavior researchers have claimed that attitudes referred to affects or general evaluative reactions, and recent research trends in the area have linked the concept to an affective construct rather than a cognitive one (Mowen 1995). A review of literature on Attitude toward the ad suggests that researchers generally used four or five items to measure Attitude toward the ad (Lutz and Belch 1983; Mackenzie et al. 1986; Muehling 1987; Olson and Sentis 1983). However, most attitudes do not serve merely a single purpose, but may be multifunctional, and have multiple types of determinants constituting separable dimensions. Some attitudes are more automatically determined while others

may be more deliberatively determined. Brunel, Tietje and Greewald (2004) found that dissociation exists between implicit and explicit attitudes. They argue that whereas the explicit measures of Attitude toward the ad reflected participants' intended responses, the implicit measures reflected less-controllable automatic associations.

Janiszewski (1998) demonstrates that some antecedents to affective responses are formed independently of conscious processing. In Muehling and McCanne's (1993) extensive review of the literature, they proposed three categories of antecedents of Attitude toward the ad: personal antecedents, ad-related antecedents and other antecedents. Personal antecedents include ad credibility, ad perceptions, attitude toward the advertiser, attitude toward advertising and mood. Ad-related antecedents are humor appeal, the use of celebrities, ad content, model's race, number of ad exposures and ad placement. Finally, other antecedents are product-related elements (novelty and involvement), affective priming, zipping and time/delay.

Measures of Attitude Toward the Ad

<u>Information Processing Perspective: Spontaneous vs. Deliberative Process</u>

Empirically, attitude measurement is highly dependent on context. The underlying dynamics of attitudes are well known as complicated cognitive and communicative processes. MODE is an acronym for motivation (e.g., concern about evaluation) and opportunity (e.g., sufficient time) as determinants of whether the attitude-to-behavior process is primarily spontaneous or deliberative in nature. According to the MODE model of attitude-behavior processes, attitudes influence judgments and behaviors (Fazio and Olson 2003).

The model proposes that attitudes can exert influence through either a spontaneous or deliberative process. Spontaneous processing involves judgments of an object being influenced by one's analysis of the object in the immediate situation, while deliberative processing involves a more extended analysis of the utility of a particular behavior. Given the extended reflection required for deliberative processing, some motivating force is necessary to induce individuals to engage in the processing. Time and resources to deliberate, which the model refers to as opportunity, also must exist. Consequently, attitude researchers have searched for a means of assessing attitudes not subject to participants' self-presentational concerns about social desirability. To eliminate these opportunities and motivations to control individuals' true attitudes, attitude researchers have attempted to assess individuals' attitudes by using a variety of unobtrusive measures of attitude (i.e., Implicit Association Test [IAT] or priming test).

Theories of Implicit and Explicit Attitudes

Attempting to resolve challenges to the traditional view of a unified attitude, recent attitude research proposes several theories from social psychology (Gawronski and Bodenhausen 2006; Wilson et al. 2000) and consumer research (Cohen and Reed 2006).

Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler's (2000) model of dual attitudes, proposes that people can have dual attitudes which are different evaluations of the same attitude object – automatic (implicit) attitude and deliberative (explicit) attitude. The attitude that people hold at any particular point depends on "whether they have the cognitive capacity to retrieve the explicit attitude and whether the explicit attitude overrides the implicit one" (Wilson et al. 2000, p.102). This dual-attitude hypothesis comes from two main

research streams on attitudes: stored evaluation and context-sensitive constructions.

Attitudes are stable evaluations that are automatically activated, storied in memory, and persist over time. At the same time, people construct on-the-spot attitudes on the basis of available (accessible) information at that point. In the model, Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000) suggest that even when people change their attitude A₁ to A_2 , A_1 is not replaced and remains in memory with A_2 . Thus, explicit attitudes and implicit attitudes toward the same object can coexist in memory. However, their coexisting attitudes are differently retrieved. Whereas implicit attitude is activated automatically, explicit attitude requires more capacity and motivation. With the right capacity and motivation, an explicit attitude can override implicit attitude, and people report their explicit attitude. While explicit attitude is activated, implicit attitude still influences implicit responses such as nonverbal behaviors. On the other hand, without explicit attitudes, people report implicit attitudes. Finally, explicit attitudes change with relative ease, whereas implicit attitudes change more slowly. For types of dual attitudes, Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000) propose repression, independent systems, motivated overriding and automatic overriding.

Gawronski and Bodenhausen (2006) argue that "implicit and explicit attitudes should be understood in terms of their underlying mental processes, which are associative and propositional processes" (p.693). They propose the associative-propositional evaluation (APE) model. In other words, they argue that the underlying mental process for each attitude is different. Associative process builds the basis for implicit attitudes, and its associative evaluations are characterized as automatic affective reactions resulting from particular associations activated automatically when people encounter relevant

26

stimuli. Also, it is pattern activation, which means that the activation of particular associations in memory is determined by the relative fit between preexisting associations in memory and external input stimuli. Propositional process builds on the basis for explicit attitudes, and its propositional evaluations are characterized as evaluative judgments based on syllogistic inferences from any relevant information for a given judgment. Thus, whereas implicit attitude can be activated regardless whether people consider the associations true or not, explicit attitude is activated only if it is true, based on validation of evaluations and beliefs. Its propositional process depends on its subjective validity.

Finally, Cohen and Reed (2006) propose a Multiple Pathway Anchoring and Adjustment (MPAA) model. In the model, they suggest that "attitudes develop at different points in time through a variety of mechanisms involving personal experience, transmitted information, and inferential/analogical reasoning" (p.7). Cohen and Reed (2006) view the dual attitudes model as a special case of non-overlapping cognitive elements produced by different focal thought about the same object. They suggest how different pathways lead to attitude formation. As the foregoing distinctions in attitude formation process, they suggest that an attitude object can be assessed from the inside-out (explicit attitude) or outside-in (implicit attitude). If the initial attitude (implicit) was formed in outside-in (object-centered) mechanism, an evaluative judgment about the attitude object can be made later in an inside-out (person-centered) manner. The factors used to test adequacy of retrieved or constructed attitudes are whether people have representational sufficiency and functional sufficiency.

In summary, it is important to note that implicit and explicit attitudes coexist

toward the same objects. Unlike previous studies, attitudes are not unidimensional summary statements. Although different explanations exist for each attitude formation and type, it is clear that people have two different attitudes (i.e., implicit and explicit attitudes) simultaneously, with different processes (or pathways).

Explicit Attitude Measures

Explicit attitudes usually are equated with deliberative and self-reported evaluations (Gawronski and Bodenhausen 2006). Since attitudes are not directly observable, their existence can be inferred only from overt responses or indicators on measures as evaluative tendencies. A measure is defined as "an observed score gathered through self-report, interview, observation, or some other means" (Edwards and Bagozzi 2000, p 156). A measure is a quantified record taken as an empirical analog to a construct that is a conceptual term used to describe a phenomenon of theoretical interest. Since Allport (1935) asserted that "the concept of attitude is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology" (p. 798), a variety of quantitatively-sophisticated methods for attitude measurement had been developed to investigate attitude (i.e., psychophysical scaling, Thurstone judgment and magnitude estimation, psychometrics, and Guttman scaling).

Measuring attitude is an important component of advertising research.

Traditionally, the advertising field considers attitudes to be good predictors and evaluative variables. However, for attitude researchers, measuring attitudes is not a simple task. With no universal oprationalization of Attitude toward the ad, the measures typically used to assess individuals ad attitudes are often similar. Of many studies

incorporating a measure of Attitude toward the ad, most have used semantic differential items-pairs (Muehling and McCann 1993). Typical endpoints used in Attitude toward the ad research include: "good-bad," "like-dislike," "favorable-unfavorable," "informative-uninformative," "appealing-unappealing," "enjoyable-unenjoyable," "interesting-uninteresting," "irritating-not irritating," "pleasant-unpleasant," "nice-awful," "entertaining-unentertaining," and "offensive-inoffensive."

Implicit Attitude Measures

One of the most important contributions in social cognition research within the last decade was the development of implicit measures of attitudes (e.g., Fazio and Olson 1995; Greenwald and Banji 1995). Implicit measures are based on reaction times in response to compatibility tasks and intended to assess relatively automatic mental associations difficult to gauge with explicit measures (Hofmann et al. 2005). Research on implicit attitudes relies on a large variety of measures, such as the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald and Banaji 1995), affective priming (Fazio and Olson 1995), semantic priming (Wittenbrink et al. 1997), the go/no-go association task (Nosek and Banaji 2001), the extrinsic affective Simon task (De Houwer, 2003), and the affect misattribution paradigm (Payne et al. 2005).

The best-known implicit measurement technique is the IAT, developed by Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998). The test procedure seeks to measure implicit attitudes by measuring their underlying automatic evaluation. According to Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz (1998), a possible property of the IAT - one similar to a major virtue of cognitive priming methods - is that it may resist masking by self-presentation

strategies. That is, the implicit association method may reveal attitudes and other automatic associations even for subjects who prefer not to express those attitudes.

IAT procedure assesses the strength of an association between a target concept and an attribute dimension, by measuring the latency with which a participant can employ two response keys when each has been assigned a dual meaning (Fazio & Olson 2003). Respondents' tasks are to categorize stimuli appearing on screen, as soon as possible, to prevent monitoring or controlling their responses. For example, in the Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998) study, racial attitudes were examined using the IAT. Caucasian American participants first were asked to categorize names as typical of African American versus Caucasian Americans by responding to two keys, "African American" or "Caucasian American." Next, Caucasian American participants categorized a variety of clearly-valenced words as pleasant or unpleasant (attribute dimension) in combination with a name that appeared. Results indicated that Caucasian American participants were much faster at responding when an African American name was paired with an unpleasant word versus a pleasant one. That is, Caucasian American participants found it much easier to associate the target concept "African American" with the attribute unpleasant than with the attribute pleasant. Thus, it is possible that seemingly indifferent responses or explicit attitude measures on ethnic models in advertisements could be a controlled or adjusted response rather than based on true feelings.

CHAPTER IV

HYPOTHESIS

Racial Attitude: Prejudice

Partially in response to the limitations of direct self-report attitude measures, the self-report measures have been criticized. As a result, racial-attitude researchers long have searched for new measures they could employ in accurate measurement of prejudice. Crandall and Eshleman (2003) defined prejudice as "a negative evaluation of a social group or a negative evaluation of an individual that is significantly based on the individual's group membership" (p. 414). Socially or politically, expressing prejudice is marked by deep conflict between desire to express an emotion and, simultaneously, to maintain values and self-concepts contrary to prejudice.

According to Crandall and Eshleman's (2003) justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice, prejudice is genuine, "the first-formed affective component of the evaluation of a group or one of its members" (p.418).

Unlike previous studies conceptualizing prejudices as byproducts of beliefs, values and ideology, Crandall and Eshleman (2003) conceptualized "most of the personality, attitudinal, and religious variables that correlate with prejudice not as causes but as beliefs that serve as justifiers of prejudice" (p.416). This genuine prejudice is a negative reaction usually not directly available, yet crucial and dominant. Crandall and Eshleman (2003) suggest that all people have some degree of prejudice from their social, cultural-, cognitive- and developmental experiences. However, individuals may suppress their prejudices in an effort to report socially-desirable responses because of social norms, personal standards, beliefs and values. Therefore, in studying prejudice, the

important task is to examine not the existence of prejudice, but the factors that enhance or minimize its expressions.

Consequently, it can be assumed that Caucasian Americans have genuine prejudices against African American models. However, they may suppress their prejudices in an effort to report socially-desirable responses because of social norms, personal standards, beliefs and values. According to Devine (1989), prejudice has both an automatic and a controlled component. The factor distinguishing someone prejudiced from someone unprejudiced is whether prejudice is controlled. The unprejudiced are presumed to hold personal beliefs motivating them to restrain automatically-activated cultural stereotyping. Accordingly, in examining their attitudes, they tend to report socially-desirable responses to create a good impression, but their responding may threaten the validity of explicit self-report measures (Hotgraves 2004).

Therefore, participants worry about their answers, if the question directly relates to their sensitivities, especially about prejudice. A socially-desirable response is one that is biased that reflects individuals' efforts to present themselves in a positive manner (Abrams, and Trusty 2004). This biased self-presentation may reflect an unconscious self-deception or a conscious attempt to appear positive to others (Paulhus, 1991). This is known as social desirability, which refers to "a tendency to respond to self-report items in a manner that makes the participant look good rather than to respond in an accurate and truthful manner" (Holtgraves 2004, p. 161). According to Paulhus (1991), due to political and social reforms in the United States, many Caucasian Americans are concerned with maintaining their self-image as fair people committed to racial equality. Hence, Caucasian Americans are strongly motivated to appear non-racist, and may not be

completely honest with explicit measures regarding racial issues (Holtgraves 2004).

These conflicts between desirable values and undesirable feelings may lead Caucasian Americans to be highly sensitive in evaluating issues related to minorities (e.g., Holtgraves 2004; Paulhus 1984; Paulhus and Reid 1991).

Implicit Attitude and Prejudice

It is common that conflict exists between individuals' true attitudes and their self presentations. Individuals are unaware of their true sentiments (Greenwald and Banaji 1995) or are reluctant to reveal negative sentiments toward African Americans (Fazio et. al. 1995). White and Harkins (1994) found that Caucasian American participants were strongly motivated to process messages presented by an African American source. They interpreted this effect as the result of political and social reforms in the United States, which made it unfashionable to display prejudice openly. In such a context, people are strongly motivated to mask any negative racial attitudes, although they may be unaware of their prejudices. These conflicts between desirable values and undesirable feelings may lead Caucasian Americans to be highly sensitive in evaluating objects related to African Americans (e.g., Holtgraves 2004; Paulhus 1984; Paulhus and Reid 1991).

Attitude research has found the effect of social and political reforms on people's self-report attitude measures. According to Tourangeau and Rasinski (1988), answering an attitude question entails five tasks: 1) question comprehension, 2) recall, 3) judgment, 4) formatting and 5) editing the response. Among the five, participants may want to edit their private judgments before they report it to the researcher, especially regarding sensitive issues such as race. In the reporting stage, at least two processes play an

important role. The format of most attitude items requires a participant to select a response from among a pre-established set of answer categories. Thus, a participant must map his or her judgment onto one of the response options. Additionally, answers may undergo an editing process in which the answer is checked for consistency with prior answers or for social desirability. The reporting process may be a compromise between the respondent's judgment and what dictates consistency or social pressure.

Consequently, self-report measures have been attacked heavily because of their susceptibility to artifacts such as demand characteristics, evaluation apprehension and impression management (Greenwald et al. 2002; Holtgraves 2004).

Implicit attitudes are manifest as actions or judgments under the control of automatically activated evaluation, without the actor's awareness of that causation (Greenwald and Banaji 1995). Measuring implicit attitudes is to provide an estimate of construct of interest without having to ask the participant directly for a verbal report. Its major appeal is that the indirect estimate is likely free of social-desirability concern (Fazio and Olson 2003).

In this current study, implicit attitude measure is to measure participants' latencies of responses to target ads like most implicit attitude measures in Psychology. The difference from previous psychology measures is non-use of any priming factor in this study. As Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000) propose, people can have dual attitudes, which are different evaluations of the same attitude object – automatic (implicit) attitude and deliberative (explicit) attitude. Simultaneously, people construct on-the-spot attitudes on the basis of available (accessible) information at that point. In a model of dual attitudes, Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000) suggest, explicit attitudes and

implicit attitudes toward the same object can coexist in memory. However, their coexisting attitudes are differently retrieved. Whereas implicit attitude is automatically activated, explicit attitude requires more capacity and motivation.

Also, Fazio (1986) suggests that whether attitude activation occurs, thus, whether selective perception occurs, depends on attitude accessibility. More accessible attitudes are likelier to be activated in a specific situation. In this current study, the attitude object is the advertisement, about which people tend to form automatic and spontaneous attitudes. Thus, measuring participants' latencies of response can reveal more about how people may respond to ads encountered by them in their everyday lives. However, the main goal in measuring implicit attitudes is to compare them with explicit attitudes for Caucasian and African Americans to see if differences exist and if so, discuss the many implications for advertisers.

Hypotheses

In light of the previously presented literature, a study was undertaken to examine explicit and implicit attitudes toward ads when models of different races are presented. Specifically, Caucasian and African American respondents were presented with ads using a black or a white model. Explicit and implicit attitude measures were assessed as well as response times. The following hypotheses were tested based on the goals of the study and the literature reviewed.

*H*₁: Caucasian Americans will report no differences in attitudes toward ads with African American or Caucasian American models on the explicit self-report measures.

As members of a racial majority, Caucasian Americans are less mindful of a model's race in the ad than members from an ethnic minority group (Appiah 2001a).

Additionally, the previous advertising studies have shown no difference in Caucasian American's preference on explicit measures between African American and Caucasian American models in ads (Bush et al. 1972; Solomon et al. 1976; Whittler 1989; Whittler and DiMeo 1991; Williams et al. 1995). Consequently, it is hypothesized that Caucasian Americans do not report any difference related to model's ethnicity.

H₂: African Americans will report more positive attitudes toward ads with African American models over ads with Caucasian American models on the explicit self-report measures.

According to Accommodation theory, members of ethnicity minority groups would react positively to the use of ethnic cues in ads by attributing their use to the advertiser's sensitivity to their own ethnicity (Koslow 1994). Also, previous advertising studies have shown African Americans to prefer ethnic cues in ads such as same race models over Caucasian models on explicit attitude measures (Aaker et al. 2000; Briley et al. 2007; Deshpande and Stayman 1994; Dimofte et al. 2003; Forehand and Deshpande 2001; Whittler 1989; Whittler and DiMeo 1991; Wooten 1995). Therefore, it is hypothesized that African Americans report more positive attitude toward the ad containing African American models than Caucasian American models.

A socially-desirable response is one that is biased and reflects individuals' efforts to present themselves in a positive manner (Abrams and Trusty 2004). The biased self-presentation may reflect an unconscious self-deception or a conscious attempt to appear positive to others (Paulhus 1984). But, due to political and social reforms in the United

States, most Caucasian Americans are concerned with maintaining their self-image as fair people committed to racial equality. Hence, Caucasian Americans are strongly motivated to appear non-racist, and may tend to not be completely honest with explicit measures regarding racial issues (Holtgraves 2004). These conflicts between desirable values and undesirable feelings may lead Caucasian Americans to be highly sensitive in evaluating issues related to minorities (e.g., Holtgraves 2004; Paulhus 1984; Paulhus and Reid 1991). Assuming that all people have some degree of prejudice which is considered as an automatic and controlled component (Devine 1989), the following three hypotheses are proposed.

H₃: Caucasian Americans' reaction times will be longer when viewing ads with African American models than when viewing ads with Caucasian American models.

Caucasian Americans are strongly motivated not to express their negative racial attitudes, although they may be unaware of their prejudices. These conflicts between desirable values and undesirable feelings may lead Caucasian Americans to be highly sensitive in evaluating objects related to African Americans (e.g., Holtgraves 2004; Paulhus 1984; Paulus and Reid 1991). Consequently, research in psychology suggests that Caucasians may monitor their answers or spend time to assess the perception of their answers in relation to race based issues and this monitoring would not similarly occur when Caucasian models were presented in ads (Petty et al. 1999; Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald 2004; White and Harkins 1994). It is hypothesized that when Caucasian Americans report their attitude toward the models, they tend to spend more time on the ads containing African American models than Caucasian American models.

H₄: African Americans' reaction times will be similar when viewing ads with either African American models or Caucasian American models.

African Americans respondents will not experience impression management issues with respect to monitoring people's perceptions about their racial beliefs (Holtgraves 2004). When they view the ads with African American models, the ads elicit self-awareness due to the model's distinctive trait, race (Acker et. al. 2000; Despande and Stayman 1994; Forehand et. al. 2002). Therefore, this ethnic salience helps African American respondents report their attitudes fast. At the same time, it is Caucasian American models are the norm in mainstream magazine ads, there is no need for spending more time to report their attitude toward the ad (Kahneman and Miller 1996; Pratto et. al. 2007). Consequently, it is hypothesized that when viewing ad with either Caucasian or African American model, African American respondents do not show any difference in reaction time.

H₅: There will be a significant difference between Caucasian American's implicit and explicit attitudes toward the ad.

According to the literature on dual and implicit attitude measures, explicit attitudes in relation to race base issues require more deliberative thought processing by Caucasian respondents either to help reduce unwarranted racial prejudices or as an attempt to provide socially desirable responses in comparison to implicit attitude measures (Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald 2004; Fazio and Olson 2003; Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998; Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler 2000). As a result, it is

hypothesized that Caucasian American respondents would report less positive attitudes in implicit than explicit measures due to time pressure.

H₆: There will be no significant difference between African American's implicit and explicit attitudes toward the ad.

When it comes to racial issues, members of a racial minority group are typically less mindful of monitoring responses in order to produce socially desirable opinions than are their Caucasian counterparts (Abrams and Trusty 2004; Holtgraves 2004; Paulhus 1984). It is hypothesized that African Americans do not show any different attitude in either implicit or explicit measures. They would maintain the similar attitude.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This study is designed to examine two attitudes toward the ads: Caucasian American participants' attitudes toward African American models in the ads and African American participants' attitudes toward Caucasian American models in the ads. To measure their dual attitudes, two measures will be used: implicit and explicit attitude measures (i.e., response latency and semantic differential scale). To examine the sole effect of model's race on participant' attitudes, all other possible antecedents of attitude toward the ad from the ads (i.e., backgrounds, products, and brands) deliberately were excluded in this current study.

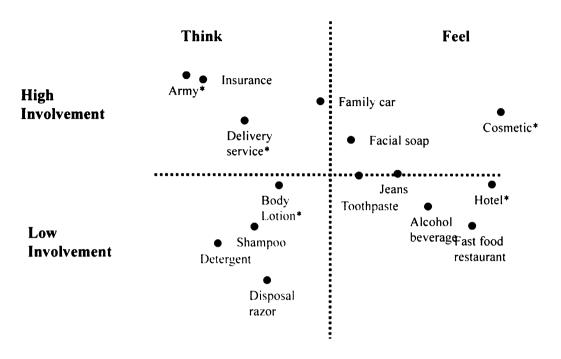
Stimuli Development

Products and services presented in this current study were chosen according to the following three criteria: First, ethnic products (i.e., hair or skin care) were carefully excluded to control relevance. Second, different types of products and services were chosen randomly across different dimensions in the FCB Grid¹ in order to disperse feelings of involvement and affect-cognition effects on their attitudes toward the ad. Finally, products or services were chosen that were relevant to participants. Based on these criteria, 15 products were selected for the college student sample in this present study (Figure 1²).

¹ The FCB Grid was created by Richard Vaughn. With this model, messages are categorized by "thinking" and "feeling", "low" and "high.": Low Think (practicality, pragmatism); High Think; Low Feel (sensuality, pleasure); High Feel (product as extension of self) (Ratchford 1987).

The products are placed on the basis of Ratchford's (1987) major study grid (p. 31). Besides, other

Figure 1 FCB Grid - 15 Chosen Products



To prevent participant from noticing this study's true intention, 40 filler ads and 20 target ads were used in the experiment. Four criteria were used to create target ads in this study. First, the target advertisements needed to be selected from major magazines that both African American and Caucasian American consumers read. Second, target advertisements needed to include either African American or Caucasian American models. Third, target advertisements must contain one of the selected product types based on the criteria described above. Finally, to control for brand effects, a diverse set of brands were used in the filler and target ads. Since about 51 brands were used in this study (18 in target ads; 33 in filler ads), specific brand effects were not expected. Based on these criteria, 20 potential advertisements were selected from advertisements in popular

products that marked by asterisk are placed on the basis on their dimensional features that Ratchford (1987) describes.

Pretest

To select the final set of test stimuli, the 20 potential advertisements were pretested. The pretest involved 12 undergraduate students presented with 20 ads and asked to respond to a survey. Previous research suggests that a model's characteristics (familiarity, attractiveness, age, and appropriateness) can impact viewers' attitudes toward the ads. Since the 20 ads were to be manipulated with African American and Caucasian American models, it was required that each of the potential model's characteristics should be similar. Thus, the models' characteristics were compared between African American and Caucasian American models. Familiarity was measured on a 7-point scale ranging from "unfamiliar" to "familiar." Attractiveness was scored on five 7-point scales (attractive-unattractive, classy-not classy, beautiful-ugly, elegantplain, and sexy-not sexy) (Ohanian 1990). Scores were averaged and used for future analysis. Also, models' ages were estimated, and their appropriateness to the advertised products measured on a 7-point scale. Finally, participants' previous exposure to ads was measured on a 7-point scale, and they were asked to estimate models' race, to examine whether viewers could identify the races correctly (See Appendix A).

T-test suggested that participants did not perceive attractiveness differently between African American (m=4.42) and Caucasian American (m=4.41) models in each of the ads (t(320) = 1.628, ns). The result showed that their familiarity with African American (m=2.04) and Caucasian American (m=2.20) models were not significantly different (t(320) = .868, ns). Also, the result showed that they were not familiar with

models in the ads. Participants did not show any significant difference between African American (m=3.42) and Caucasian American (m=3.18) model's cuteness (t(320)=.622, ns). There was no significant difference in perceiving model's age between African American (m=25.29) and Caucasian American (m=25.84) models (t(320)=.476, ns). The result showed that participants felt the advertised products were appropriate to African American (m=5.59) and Caucasian American (m=5.34), and its difference was not significant (t(320)=2.68, ns). The result showed they were rarely exposed to ads with African American (m=1.77) and Caucasian American (m=1.78) models (t(320)=.068, ns). Finally, there was no incorrect answer to indicate models' race in the ads. Overall, African American and Caucasian American models in the 20 potential ads were similarly perceived by participants regarding familiarity, attractiveness, cuteness, age, product appropriateness, and previous exposure.

Accordingly, 80 target advertisements were created with identical layouts, but differently manipulated depending on experimental conditions (product only; product and background only; product, background, and African American model; product, background and Caucasian American model).

Experimental Design

The study uses a 2 (respondent's race: African American and Caucasian American) x 2 (model's race: African American and Caucasian American model) x 3 (advertising components: product only vs. product and background vs. product, background and African American model vs. product, background and Caucasian American model) x 2 (attitude measures: implicit vs. explicit measure) factorial design

was used to examine attitude toward the ad. Models' race and advertising components are between subject variables, and attitude measures are within subject variables. Also, to examine advertising component effects, the fifth control group was added.

Participants in the control group randomly were exposed to different ads from the four experimental groups' ads (Table 1). To control the order effect of ad exposure, ten ads were grouped and randomly chosen for implicit and explicit conditions. There was no significant difference between different ad sets (F=.296, p>0.10).

Table 1 Experimental and Control Groups

Group Name	Subjects	Advertising Components
Group 1	20(W)/15(B)	Product
Group 2	15(W)/18(B)	Product + Background
Group 3	15(W)/17(B)	Product + Background + African American model
Group 4	15(W)/15(B)	Product + Background + Caucasian American model
Group 5	16(W)/15(B)	Randomly chosen 5 ads from 4 conditions

A control group study uses a control group to compare to experimental groups in testing a causal hypothesis. In this current study, only the effect of models' race was examined. Since participants in each experimental condition were designed to expose specific type of ads, it was required to examine the effect of specific ad exposure. For example, a Caucasian American subject in a product, background and African American condition may feel or seem unnatural because he or she continuously evaluates ads containing African American models. In the real world, although there were filler ads among target ads, it may not seem natural, considering that advertisers typically use more Caucasian American models than African American models. Thus, adding the control group involved evaluating all different types of ads to remove the effect of specific ad exposure. The specific ad exposures not actually major causal factors of participants'

attitudes toward ads, logic would dictate that this should manifest itself more significantly in the experimental than in the control group.

Participants

Eighty-one Caucasian American and eighty African American undergraduate students were solicited from classes campus wide, across a major mid-western university. The participants were randomly assigned to view ads with either white or black models. The presentation order for all treatment ads was randomized. Attitudes were measured within-subjects using both explicit and implicit methods. Specific demographic information will be discussed in detail.

Procedures

Participants in the experiment were assigned randomly to one of the experimental or control groups before entering the computer laboratory. Upon entering the lab, participants were seated at a computer and informed that they would be asked to evaluate advertisements. The sequence of the five-part experimental session is presented in Table 2.

Participants then were introduced to a series of advertisements via one of the five experimental conditions. In the product-only condition, participants were asked to 20 target advertisements containing only products. In the product and background condition, participants were exposed to 20 target advertisements containing products and backgrounds. The advertisements in this condition contain all advertising components except a human model. In the product, background and African American model

condition, participants were asked to evaluate 20 target advertisements containing all advertising components with African American model/s. Likewise, in the product, background and Caucasian American model condition, participants were exposed to 20 target advertisements containing all advertising components with Caucasian American model/s. Finally, in the control group, participants were asked to evaluate advertisements randomly chosen from four experimental conditions. Order of ad presentation was randomized across conditions and sessions.

Table 2 Sequence of Experiment

Explicit Attitude Measures						
Session 1 20 ads (10 Filler ads + 10 Target ads)						
Implicit Attitude Measures						
Session 2 Exercise	20 Filler ads					
Session 3 Baseline	Alphabet "A"					
Session 4 Target	20 ads (10 Filler ads and 10 Target ads)					
Paper Pencil Survey						
Session 5	Ethnic, socioeconomic and demographic information					

In the first session of the study, using the computer, participants first viewed 20 different ads and responded to traditional explicit attitude measures after each exposure. Ten filler and ten targeted ads were presented. Participants were instructed to press a number key to express their evaluations of ads, ranging from 1 to 5 on the computer keyboard. Also, they were instructed to have no time pressure to report their evaluations of ads. Thus, it allowed participants to spend enough time prior, to report. Explicit attitude measure was done using four 5-point differential scales (bad-good, unfavorable-favorable, dislike-like, and poor quality-good quality). These items have been used in past research on attitude toward the ad (MacKenzie, Lutz and Belch 1986). Participants' responses, along with latency times, were recorded to be compared with implicit measures.

The implicit measure comprised four sessions. During measuring implicit attitudes, participants were instructed to press a key "z" labeled favorable or "/" labeled unfavorable as quickly as possible to indicate their evaluation of the ads. The second session was the exercise session, purpose of which was to cause participants to maximize the speed and accuracy of their responses. Twenty filler ads were presented. In the session, participants' responses and latencies of response were recorded, but they were not used in further data analysis. The third session, whose purpose was to obtain baseline data, involved the presentation of a single alphabet character (A). In this session, the participants were informed that a key "z" or "/" has no meaning, and they merely pressed one of the designated keys as quickly as possible. Thus, their latencies of responses were only recorded, and the average latency for this session served as participants' baseline latency for their responses to target ads. The fourth session was designed to measure implicit attitudes toward the target ads. Ten filler and 10 targeted ads were presented. Participants' responses were recorded, along with the latencies of responses to the nearest millisecond.

In the fifth session, participants completed a survey with attitude toward ads in general, ethnic identification, motivation to control prejudiced reaction, socioeconomic information and demographic. Participants were asked to indicate their opinions about advertising in general. Attitude toward the ad in general measure was constructed by four items: "Advertising in general is useful," "Advertising in general is truthful," "Advertising in general is believable," and "Advertising in general is good." These items were adopted from previous studies (Karande 2005; Muehling 1987), and were scored on 7-point scales ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" (α =.77).

Ethnic identification was measured by five items (α =.91): "I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership," "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments," "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group," "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group," and "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background" (Phinney 1992). These items were scored on 7-point scales ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Dunton and Fazio's (1997) Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reaction was used (See Appendix B) (α =.72). Participants' eco-social status (i.e., family income, parents' education levels, and job title) was measured. Finally, the participants were asked about their race, strength of ethnic identification (Karande 2005), age, academic year, and gender.

Dependent Variables

In the first session of the study, explicit attitudes were measured using four 5-point differential scales (bad-good, unfavorable-favorable, dislike-like, and poor quality-good quality). These items have been used in past research on attitude toward the ad studies (MacKenzie, Lutz and Belch 1986). Respondents were told to answer the questions by pressing a number key to express their evaluations of ads and the scale was found to be reliable (α =.97). For this part of the experiment, there were no time constraints for completing the task placed on respondents.

Implicit attitudes were measured by asking participants to make dichotomous judgments in response to treatment ads as either favorable or unfavorable as fast as possible while recording their response times in milliseconds. After cleaning the responses for extreme cases, the average response latency was computed. After

cleaning the responses in the baseline session for extreme cases, a baseline response time was also computed for each participant. Each participant's baseline was then subtracted from his or her average response latency for the treatment ads to reduce individual variation in natural response times.

Finally, participants completed the last portion of the questionnaire assessing demographic information.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and correlations for all variables included in the analysis, as well as reliability statistics for the multiple item indexes are shown in Table 3. Generally, respondents have positive attitudes toward the ad. Additionally, their family income is between \$75,000 and \$99,000 on average, and they consider themselves as the lower middle class. Finally, they tend to have strong ethnic identification and ethnic issues are highly related to their family income and status.

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics, Correlations, and Scale Reliabilities

Variables	М	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
General Attitude toward the ad	4.80	1.00	(.97)							
2. Family income	8.07	2.09	0.40	-						
3. Family status	2.87	1.21	17 *	45**	-					
4. Gender	1.67	0.47	.12	.06	02	-				
5. Age	21.2	1.72	.10	01	.08	17 *	-			
6. Ethnic identification	5.31	1.43	09	27**	.27**	.16*	.03	(.91)		
7. Motivation to avoid prejudice	4.52	0.78	.22**	.14	23**	.24**	15	21**	(.72)	
8. Candidate ethnicity	6.05	1.45	02	22**	.23**	.26**	.07	.68**	08	-

Note. Total respondents were examined, n = 161. *. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

- 1. Higher scores indicate more positive attitude toward the ad.
- 2. Higher scores indicate higher family income.
- 3. 1 = the upper class; 2 = the upper middle class; 3 = the lower middle class.
- 4. 1 = male; 2 = female.
- 6. Higher scores indicate stronger identification.
- 7. Higher scores indicate stronger motivation
- 8. "How strongly do you identify yourself as a member of the ethnic group you selected above? Please rate your feeling." 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree.

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed). Cronbach's alphas for multiple-item indexes are shown on the diagonal.

Caucasian American and African American respondents' mans, standard deviations, and correlations for all variables are shown in Table 4 and Table 5 separately. Caucasian American respondents showed a lower average score on Phinney's (1992) ethnic identity index than did African Americans. For Caucasian Americans, ethnicity tends to not be an important part of their identity (Waters, 1990). This is evident in the fact that many Caucasian Americans do not think of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group (Alba. 1985). Additionally, Caucasian American respondents showed higher scores in family income and status than did African Americans.

Table 4 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Caucasian American

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. General										
Attitude toward	5.11	.82	-							
the ad										
2. Family income	8.59	1.57	.07	-						
3. Family status	2.36	.88	06	33**	-					
4. Gender	1.65	.47	.09	.01	.03	-				
5. Age	21.2	1.33	.13	04	.03	13	-			
6. Ethnic identification	4.44	1.26	.06	14	6	.17	03	-		
7. Motivation to avoid prejudice	4.83	.77	.02	06	05	.36**	10	06	-	
8. Candidate ethnicity	5.47	1.72	.18	12	.05	.30**	.04	.58**	.13	

Note. Total respondents were examined, n = 81. *. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

On the other hand, African Americans have stronger ethnic identification and candidate ethnicity than Caucasian Americans. Phinney and Alipuria (1990) showed

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed). Cronbach's alphas for multiple-item indexes are shown on the diagonal.

^{1.} Higher scores indicate more positive attitude toward the ad.

^{2.} Higher scores indicate higher family income.

^{3. 1 =} the upper class; 2 = the upper middle class; 3 = the lower middle class.

^{4.} 1 = male; 2 = female.

^{6.} Higher scores indicate stronger identification.

^{7.} Higher scores indicate stronger motivation

^{8. &}quot;How strongly do you identify yourself as a member of the ethnic group you selected above? Please rate your feeling." 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree.

ethnic identity to be a more salient part of the self for ethnic minority groups than for most Caucasian Americans. Deaux (1992) stated that a primary reason why ethnicity is salient for ethnic minority groups is that their group membership is evident. A family income and candidate ethnicity is negatively correlated. It indicates that as lower income respondent's family income, he or she has more strong ethnic identification and candidate ethnicity. According to Sherry (2006), low-income African Americans have the strongest relation with ethnic identity. They are highly correlated with a higher engagement in ethnic behaviors and more exploration into African American history and tradition. This strong ethnic identification caused by the experience of racism over one's lifetime. Thus, it was correlated negatively with one's feelings of closeness toward people from other ethnic groups.

Table 5 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for African American

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. General Attitude toward	4.43	1.06	-							
the ad 2. Family income	7.53	2.76	09	-						
3. Family status	3.39	1.28	02	43**	-					
4. Gender	1.7	0.46	.21	.11	10	-				
5. Age	23.1 9	2.04	33	.00	12	.20	•			
6. Ethnic identification	6.20	0.97	.24*	20	.07	.18	91	-		
7. Motivation to avoid prejudice	4.22	0.67	.17	.13	10	.19	.22*	.19	-	
8. Candidate ethnicity	6.62	0.80	.06	25*	.12	.21	15	.69**	04	

Note. Total respondents were examined, n = 80. *. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

- 1. Higher scores indicate more positive attitude toward the ad.
- 2. Higher scores indicate higher family income.
- 3. 1 =the upper class; 2 =the upper middle class; 3 =the lower middle class.
- 4. 1 = male; 2 = female.
- 6. Higher scores indicate stronger identification.
- 7. Higher scores indicate stronger motivation
- 8, "How strongly do you identify yourself as a member of the ethnic group you selected above? Please rate

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed). Cronbach's alphas for multiple-item indexes are shown on the diagonal.

your feeling." 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree.

In summary, the motivation to avoid prejudiced reactions was correlated with gender. One-way ANOVA showed that female Caucasian American respondents (m = 5.03) have significantly more motivation to avoid prejudice than male respondents (m = 4.45; F (1, 79) = 1.08, p = .001). However, African American respondent's motivation to avoid prejudice is not significantly different.

Purification of Response Latencies

Response latencies are notoriously impure, and in fact, are often characterized by a positive skew and the prevalence of outliers (Ratcliff 1993). A variety of procedures for dealing with distribution problems have been explored, but most common is the transformation of the data to approximate a normal distribution and the use of cutoff scores to limit the effects of outliers (Brunel et al. 2004; Fazio et al. 1995; Greenwald et al. 1998). Outlying scores typically indicate responses initiated prior to perceiving the stimulus or momentary inattention (Greenwald et al. 1998). Therefore, short and long outliners were identified and eliminated because they lack theoretical interest, distort means, and inflate variance.

A variety of procedures for dealing with distribution problems have been explored. Among notable conclusions of recent work is that the use of cutoff values to eliminate outliers is difficult to justify in most circumstances. Ratcliff (1993) recommended using cutoffs that are the same across conditions and that eliminate a small percentage of response. This is the most frequently used way of analyzing response time data, which other studies used (Brunel et al. 2004; Fazio et al. 1995; Greenwald et al. 1998). Since Van Zandt (2002) provides a compelling demonstration that the presence of even a single

outlier severely can bias the mean and the variance for an experimental condition, the best solution to this dilemma is to retain all data, but to use cutoff analysis.

Following the procedure of Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998) recommended for the application of the Implicit Association Test used in the current study, response latencies faster than 300 ms and slower than 3.000 ms were eliminated to reduce error. This resulted in the elimination of 5.15% of the scores for the experimental treatment conditions (session 4). To correct the positive skew that naturally characterizes response latency data, an inverse transformation of data was conducted before analysis. The means reported in this study have been retransformed, however, back into the millisecond metric for conceptual clarity.

For baseline measures taken in session 3, the first two response latencies were dropped because of the learning curve associated with the procedure (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). Further, response latencies of faster than 150 ms and slower than 1,500 ms were eliminated as outliers. A different criteria was used for the baseline cut-off points, due to the fact that participants just responded to the presence of the letter "A" on screen and did not need to make an evaluation prior to their response. The cut-off criteria are in line with recommendations used by Wittenbrink, Judd, and Park (1997) for a similar Lexical-decision Task. As a result of this purification, 10.87% of response latencies were eliminated in developing the baseline measure. The higher error rates can be attributed to learning the procedure and participants' anticipation about the random presentation of the letter on the screen. Participants tried to guess when it would appear. The positive skew of the baseline data was transformed in the same manner as described above and retransformed back into the millisecond metric for

conceptual clarity in this paper.

Finally, for explicit measures in the first session, response latencies from the value faster than 300 ms were only recoded as missing values. Since participants were instructed to spend as much time as they could, there was no cut-off point for slower response. One hundred and five individual latencies were recoded (2.52%). Log and inverse transformation data still showed evidence of considerable positive skew. The means reported in this study have been retransformed, however, back into the millisecond metric. Four response latencies for each ad were averaged and used for later analyses.

After data purification, a total of 104 (26 per each condition) response latencies were analyzed. Figure 2 displays mean latencies for the four conditions.

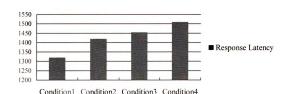


Figure 2 Overall Response Latencies for Conditions

As expected, respondents in conditions 3 (product, background and African American model) and 4 (product, background and Caucasian American model) were likelier to spend more time than were those in conditions 1 (product only) and 2 (product and background). However, there were no significant differences among conditions, F(3,103)=1.591, p=.196. Then, to examine sole effect of model in the ads, response latencies in condition 2 (product and background) were subtracted from response

latencies in conditions 3 (product, background and African American model) and 4 (product, background and Caucasian American model). Resultantly, a total of 52 response latencies were used for further analyses.

Manipulation Check for Measures

The degree of association between implicit and explicit measures was examined in two ways: attitude and latency response (Table 6). First, implicit and explicit attitude toward the ad was examined. When respondents report implicit attitude (m = 5.19), they are more positive than they do explicit attitude (m = 3.38). Also, these two attitudes are negatively correlated (r = -.45, p<.001). Second, latency response of implicit and explicit attitudes are highly related (r = .63, p<.001). It shows that respondents tend to spend a reasonable amount of the time on processing the information in the ad.

 Table 6
 Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Implicit and Explicit Measures

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Implicit Attitude toward the Ad	5.19	2.31	-			
2. Explicit Attitude toward the Ade	3.38	0.51	45**	-		
3. Lantency Response for Implicit Attitude	46.13	549.65	.07	.09	-	
4. Lantency Response for Explicit Attitude	2059.8	5465.3	.05	21	.63**	

Note. Total respondents were examined, n = 52. **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

Previous research found that Caucasian Americans are unaware of their true sentiments or reluctant to reveal negative sentiments toward African Americans (Fazio et. al. 1995; Greenwald and Banaji 1995). In this study, implicit measures are employed to measure Caucasian American's true attitude. It is intended that respondents could not edit their private judgments before they report it to the researcher, especially regarding

sensitive issues such as model race in ads. Implicit measure triggers respondents not to check their answers for social desirability, and it yields them to report more positive attitude than explicit measure. Additionally, the measures employed in this study are successfully manipulated.

Hypotheses Testing

The first two hypotheses were related to self-reported (explicit) attitudes toward ads with models of different races. It was hypothesized that Caucasian Americans would report no differences, while African Americans would show a preference for African American models. A two-way ANOVA was conducted to test these hypotheses and a summary of results are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Participant Race by Model's Race on Explicit Attitudes

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Subjects	.540	3	.180		
Respondent's Race	.066	1	.066	.247	.621
Model's Race	.339	1	.339	1.273	.265
Respondent x Model	.135	1	.135	.507	.480
Error	12.786	48	.266		
Total	605.639	52			

No significant main effects or interaction effects were found from the analysis. Main effect results revealed that respondent's and model's race were not significantly different, F(1, 48) = .247, p = .621, partial $\eta^2 = .005$ and F(1, 48) = .339, p = .265, partial $\eta^2 = .026$ respectively. Also, no interaction effect was found, F(1, 48) = .507, p = .480, partial $\eta^2 = .010$.

Caucasian Americans and African Americans reported similar attitudes toward both Caucasian and African American models, p>.05. This finding is in line with

expectations for hypothesis one, however fails to support hypothesis two. In contrast to previous literature, African Americans did not report a preference for ads with African American models.

Hypotheses three and four were related to the response latencies associated with the formation of (implicit) attitudes toward ads with models of different races. It was hypothesized that Caucasian Americans would take more time in evaluating ads with African American models than they would in evaluating ads with Caucasian American models. In contrast, it was argued that African Americans' reaction times would be similar when viewing ads with either African American models or Caucasian American models. A two-way ANOVA was conducted to test these hypotheses and a summary of results are presented in Table 8

Table 8 Participant Race by Model's Race on Response Latencies

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Subjects	274302.272	3	91434.091		
Respondent's Race	2276.643	1	2276.643	.007	.933
Model's Race	62728.097	1	62728.097	.199	.658
Respondent x Model	209297.533	1	209297.533	.664	.419
Error	15133667.633	48	315284.742		
Total	15518601.121	52			

No significant main effects or interaction effects were found from the analysis. Main effect results revealed that respondent's and model's race were not significantly different, F (1, 48) = .007, p = .933, partial η^2 = .000 and F (1, 48) = .199, p = .658, partial η^2 = .004 respectively. Also, no interaction effect was found, F (1, 48) = .664, p = .419, partial η^2 = .014. Both Caucasian Americans and African Americans' response latencies were similar across conditions, p>.05. This finding is in line with expectations for hypothesis four, however fails to support hypothesis three. Interestingly, both Caucasians

and African Americans were faster to report attitudes toward a model of their respective races over models of a different race, however not significantly. Caucasians responded faster to a Caucasian model (m = 45.43 ms) than toward an African American model (m = 68.22 ms). Similarly, African Americans responded faster to an African American model (m = 10.80 ms) than to a Caucasian model (m = 150.92 ms).

Finally, hypotheses five and six examined the relationship between the explicit and implicit responses provided by respondents. It was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference between Caucasian American's explicit and implicit attitudes toward the ad, but that we would see no such difference for African Americans. To test these hypotheses, it was first necessary to transform the data so it could be compared across response formats. Both response latencies and explicit attitude measures were converted into z-scores before running a one within (response format), two between subjects (respondent/model race) ANOVA. A summary of results are presented in Table 9.

Table 9 Participant Race by Model's Race by Attitude Measure (Implicit/Explicit)

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Subjects	9.752	7	1.393		
Respondent's Race	.649	1	.649	.676	.413
Model's Race	2.554	1	2.554	2.658	.106
Measure	.000	1	.000	.000	1.000
Respondent x Model	.115	1	.115	.119	.731
Respondent x Measure	.649	1	.649	.676	.413
Model x Measure	5.326	1	5.326	5.543	<.05
Respondent x Model x Measure	.460	1	.460	.479	.491
Error	92.248	96	.961		
Total	102.000	104			

No significant main effects or interaction effects were found from the analysis. Main effect results revealed that respondent's and model's race and measure were not significantly different, F (1, 96) = .676, p = .413, partial η^2 = .007, F (1, 96) = 2.658, p = .106, partial η^2 = .027, and F (1, 96) = .000, p = 1.000, partial η^2 = .000 respectively. Also, no significant interaction effect was found for respondent's and model's race, and respondent's race and measure, F (1, 96) = .115, p = .731, partial η^2 = .001 and F (1, 96) = .649, p = .413, partial η^2 = .007.

Both Caucasian and African Americans' response latency z-scores were distributed similarly to that of the explicit attitude measure z-scores across model conditions, p>.05. This finding is in line with expectations for hypothesis six, however fails to support hypothesis five. The findings indicate that social desirability did not seem to effect the formation of attitudes towards models of different races in advertisements.

Analysis of Control Group (Condition 5)

The following analyses examined whether the manipulation of ad differentially affected respondents in different groups. These analyses reveal that the effect of manipulated ad stimuli did not affect on respondents' attitude toward the ads.

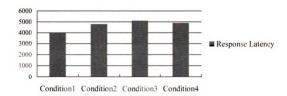
Purification of Response Latencies for Condition 5

The same procedure applied for data reduction on response latencies in condition

5. Error rates for explicit, baseline and implicit are 1.29%, 16.12% and 12.25% respectively. Thus, respectively 16, 40 and 38 individual response latencies were recorded as missing value.

After data deduction, a total 31 respondents' 233 response latencies were analyzed. Figure 3 displays mean latencies for the four conditions. As expected, respondents in conditions 3 (product, background and African American model) and 4 (product, background and Caucasian American model) were likelier to spend more time than those in conditions 1 (product only) and 2 (product and background). However, there were no significant differences among conditions, F (3, 224) = .650, p = .583. Then, to examine sole effect of model in the ads, response latencies in condition 2 (product and background) were subtracted from response latencies in conditions 3 (product, background and African American model) and 4 (product, background and Caucasian American model). Resultantly, total 62 response latencies were used for further analyses.

Figure 3 Overall Response Latencies for Conditions



Hypotheses Testing for Condition 5

A two-way ANOVA was conducted for explicit attitudes; a summary of results are presented in Table 10. Main effect results revealed that respondent's race was not significantly different, F (1, 58) = .228, p = .635, partial $\eta^2 = .004$. However, model's race showed significant effect on explicit attitude measure, F (1, 58) = .6.021, p < .05,

partial η^2 = .094. Respondents have more positive attitude toward African American models (m = 3.62) than toward Caucasian American models (m = 3.14) in the ads. No significant interaction effect was found, F (1, 58) = 1.198, p = .278, partial η^2 = .020.

Table 10 Participant Race by Model's Race on Explicit Attitudes in Condition 5

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P	ES
Between Subjects	4.433	3	1.478		-	
Respondent's Race	.139	1	.139	.228	.635	.004
Model's Race	3.666	1	3.666	6.021	<.050	.094
Respondent x Model	.729	1	.729	1.198	.278	.020
Within Subjects	35.314	58	.609			
Total	747.429	62				

A two-way ANOVA was conducted for implicit attitude's response latencies; a summary of results are presented in Table 11. Main effect results revealed that respondent's and model's race were not significantly different, F (1, 58) = 3.162, p = .081, partial η^2 = .053 and F (1, 58) = .829, p = .367, partial η^2 = .015 respectively. Also, no significant interaction effect was found, F (1, 58) = 1.930, p = .170, partial η^2 = .033.

Table 11 Participant Race by Model's Race on Response Latencies in Condition 5

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P	ES
Between Subjects	1442593.842	3	480864.614			
Respondent's Race	779322.315	1	779322.315	3.162	.081	.053
Model's Race	204270.204	1	204270.204	.829	.367	.015
Respondent x Model	475806.720	1	475806.720	1.930	.170	.033
Within Subjects	13803801.323	56	246496.452			
Total	16518308.232	60				

A three-way ANOVA was conducted for response latencies; a summary of results are presented in Table 12. Response latencies were converted into z-score. Main effect results revealed that respondent's and model's race and measure were not significantly different, F (1, 114) = 1.479, p = .226, partial η^2 = .013, F (1, 114) = 6.222, p

= .014, partial η^2 = .052, and F (1, 114) = .000, p= .985 partial η^2 = .000 respectively. Also, no significant interaction effect was found for respondent's and model's race, respondent's race and measure, and model's race and measure, F (1, 114) = .065, p = .799, partial η^2 = .001, F (1, 114) = .006, p = .940, partial η^2 = .000, and F (1, 114) = .001, p = .977, partial η^2 = .000. Finally, there was no three-way interaction effect, F (1, 114) = 2.948, p = .089, partial η^2 = .025.

Table 12 Participant Race by Model's Race by Attitude Measure (Implicit/Explicit) in Condition 5

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P	ES
Between Subjects	10.193	7	1.456			
Respondent's Race	1.424	1	1.424	1.479	.226	.013
Model's Race	5.993	1	5.993	6.222	.014	.052
Measure	.000	1	.000	.000	.985	.000
Respondent x Model	.063	1	.063	.065	.799	.001
Respondent x Measure	.006	1	.006	.006	.940	.000
Model x Measure	.001	1	.001	.001	.977	.000
Respondent x Model x Measure	2.840	1	2.840	2.948	.089	.025
Within Subjects	109.807	114	.963			
Total	1.424	1	1.424	1.479	.226	.013

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes findings from this study, discusses implications for advertising practitioners and researchers, notes limitations and offers suggestions for future study.

Discussion

This study tested both Caucasian and African American respondents' attitudes toward ads with models' of different ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, the study also examined the role of social-desirability in the process of reporting attitudes by examining automatic processing in the form of response latencies. I wanted to investigate if prejudice could be detected by examining explicit attitudes (subject to self-presentation) in relation to implicit attitudes (not subject to self-presentation).

Attitude toward Ads

Although there was no significant difference, there were some interesting tendencies observed in the explicit attitude measure, using four 5-point differential scales (bad-good, unfavorable-favorable, dislike-like, and poor quality-good quality). Unlike previous studies, this study revealed that Caucasian American respondents explicitly reported more positive attitudes toward a Caucasian American model (m = 3.37) than toward an African American model (m = 3.31). Also it showed that Caucasian American respondents implicitly expressed more positive attitudes toward a Caucasian

American model (m = 3.54) than toward an African American model (m = 3.28). These findings conflict with previous studies. Those studies have found that African American consumers responded more favorably to ads featuring African American models than to ads featuring Caucasian American models (e.g., Choundhury and Schmid 1974; Kerin 1979; Williams et al. 1995). On the other hand, several studies have reported that Caucasian American consumers did not rate ads featuring African American models any differently from those featuring Caucasian American models (Whittler and DiMeo 1991; Williams et al. 1995).

Besides, there was no significant difference in measuring implicit attitudes toward the ads, but the finding showed interesting patterns. The result revealed that Caucasian American respondents implicitly reported more positive attitudes toward a Caucasian American model (m = 6.15) than toward an African American model (m = 6.00). Also, the result showed that African American respondents implicitly expressed more positive attitude toward an African American model (m = 4.39) than toward a Caucasian American model (m = 4.23). Respondents were instructed that "To avoid mistakenly pressing the wrong key, please keep your index fingers on the "z" and "/" keys to enable rapid response. DO THIS AS FAST AS YOU CAN while making as few mistakes as possible." Thus, under this instruction, it is possible to assume that respondents do not have enough time to create deliberative attitudes toward the ads. As a result, they reported their automatic and spontaneous attitudes.

Finally, results reveal that respondents are likelier to report positive attitudes to Caucasian American models than to African American models. This likelihood is significantly more likely to be observed in explicit attitude measure than in implicit

measure. That is, respondents report more positive attitude when they explicitly express attitudes toward Caucasian American models in ads.

This finding differs from what previous studies found that that African American consumers responded more favorably to ads featuring African American models than they did to ads featuring Caucasian American models (e.g., Choundhury and Schmid 1974; Kerin 1979; Williams et al. 1995). Rather than, this study reveals the similar result from the 1954 doll test used by pioneering psychologist Kenneth Clark to help make the case for desegregation in the landmark Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision that outlawed segregated public schools. In that study, black children tended to prefer white dolls over black dolls, leading analysts to conclude that they were internalizing their second-class status -- believing themselves to be inferior (Craemer2005). In 2007, the test was duplicated in Harlem, N.Y., last year, more than a half-century after Brown, and the results were unchanged (Edney 2006).

Attitude Measures: Response Latency

Regarding response latency of implicit attitude, there was no significant difference. However, the result revealed that Caucasian American respondents were faster to report attitudes toward a Caucasian American model (m = -45.43 ms) than toward an African American model (m = 68.22 ms). Also, the result showed that African American respondents were faster to report their attitudes toward an African American model (m = 10.80 ms) than toward a Caucasian American model (m = 150.92 ms). Contrarily, although no significant difference was found in response latency of explicit attitude, it differed from explicit attitude. The result revealed that Caucasian

American respondents were faster to report attitudes toward an African American model (m = 2123.72 ms) than toward a Caucasian American model (m = 2737.50 ms). Also, the result showed that African American respondents were faster to report their attitudes toward an African American model (m = 1624.76 ms) than toward a Caucasian American model (m = 1753.61 ms). There was no difference of African American respondents' implicit and explicit response latencies. African American respondents were equally faster to respond to African American models in the ads. However, Caucasian American respondents showed different response latencies. If they were under time pressure, they were faster in responding to Caucasian American models, but if they were not, they were faster in responding to African American models in the ads.

Control Group: Condition 5

Employing within-subject design, Control group's result was similar to between-subject design. It is not significant, but both ethnic groups preferred ads featuring their own models, and were faster to respond to ads featuring their own models. On the other hand, African American participants were observed to respond slower than Caucasian Americans. Consequently, there was no artificial effect on exposing similar ads among participants in conditions 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Implications

This study provides unique opportunity to examine consumer attitudes toward ads, especially toward models. In this current study, all advertising components except model ethnicity were deliberately removed, and two different types of attitude measures

were used. Although there was no significant finding on respondent's and model's race in explicit and implicit attitude, results indicate that whereas Caucasian Americans prefer Caucasian American models in ads. African Americans have positive attitudes toward African American models in ads. However, regardless of their race, respondents reporting their deliberative (explicit) attitudes were likelier to report positive attitudes toward Caucasian American models than toward African American models.

This result indicates that when they report their attitudes explicitly, they significantly have more positive attitudes toward Caucasian American models than toward African American models, regardless race. It suggests that there may be some difference between explicit and implicit attitude. As Muehling and McCann (1993) suggested, consumers have dual attitudes toward ads: an automatic, involuntary reaction and a conscious more deliberate evaluation. This current study showed the possibility of the "automatic" nature of attitude formation that previous self-report measures of attitude toward the ad have failed to identify. Considering that consumers tend to page through a magazine and skip most of its ads, unless they are intentionally looking for specific information, it is true that consumers may have automatic or spontaneous attitudes toward ads they briefly scan. From this viewpoint, the implicit measure newly employed in this study provides unique opportunity for advertising researchers relevant to the definitional issue of attitude toward ads.

Also, regardless race and measurement, participants have significantly more positive attitudes toward Caucasian American models than toward African American models. This result supports reasoning that since members of a society develop shared category norms through the implicit communication of category norms in mass media,

participants assume that whiteness in ads is the norm (Kahneman and Miller 1986; Pratto et. al. 2007). Since Caucasian American models were the norm in mainstream magazine ads, respondents' overall attitudes toward the model are positive. This result is consistent with Pratto, Korchmaros and Hegarty's (2007) finding that typical race features usually "go without saying" because category norms are assumed to be common knowledge. Traditionally, general media advertising in the USA featured advertising using 'all-white' models, with advertisements directed towards mass audience on the assumption that African American as well as Caucasian American consumers would be reached simultaneously. Due to the relatively higher status enjoyed by Caucasian Americans, it was assumed that advertisements featuring Caucasian American models would be equally-favorably evaluated by African American audiences (Kinra 1997).

However, research that supports the null should always be interpreted with extreme caution. Differences between the groups may exist, but may not have been captured in the current study. Therefore, while the current study shows no inherent respondent bias in the reporting of attitudes toward ads, additional variables related to how information is processed could be important to examine in future research. For instance, the underlying processing of ethnic cues could be effected by level of ethnic identification for a given respondent. Those who deem their ethnic identity as central to their self-concept could rely and seek out ethnic representation more so than others with less ethnic identification. Similarly, a measure of respondents' motivation to control prejudiced reactions could provide an indication of perceived pressure to conform to societal norms.

Limitations

Results should be interpreted in light of limitations of methods used. Like most experimental research on advertising effects, conditions surrounding exposure to the stimuli were not completely natural. Viewing ads on a computer in one's home or university computer lab, or outside of a driver's license office, does not necessarily simulate natural exposure conditions. Nonetheless, stimulus ads were created as realistically as possible by modifying actual ads in ways consistent with the theoretical constructs and to simulate normal exposure conditions as closely as possible, given inevitable constraints.

The results indicate that model's race may not matter in the formation of attitude toward an ad for this particular population. It is not out-of-line to expect prejudice to be lessened through exposure and education. In fact, the need to hide undesirable attitudes may have been mitigated by the relatively homogeneous pool of college students, their shared experiences, a shared environment, and similar backgrounds. Also, ince this current study was conducted with a college student sample, the results cannot be generalized to consumers as a whole. According to Brown and Stayman (1992), student samples can be expected to be more homogenous and tend to yield higher correlations than can non-student samples. Thus, using student subjects appears to have an upward-biasing effect on the strength of some relationships. This effect is a limiting condition on the generalizability of results generated from student samples. Also, Caucasian American respondents' economic backgrounds were richer than African American respondents who participated in this current study. Since ethnicity and majority/minority representation nearly always are confounded with status, respondents'

status affects how they respond to advertising (Brumbaugh and Grier 2006).

Additionally, in this present study, implicit measure assess attitude toward the ads as identical to those assessed by explicit measures. In other words, implicit measure employed in this current study was not about uncovering different associations (Brunel et al., 2004; Greenwald et al. 1998). Rather, both explicit and implicit measures assess the same construct, attitude toward the ad. As a result, it is hard to judge this study's finding against previous psychology studies considering implicit measures different from explicit measures, because they first primed specific constructs in a memory. When people are aware of their attitudes, beliefs, or values but are unwilling to divulge them, no priming or association is necessary (Brunel et al., 2004; Fazio 1995; Greenwald et al. 1998).

Finally, fatigue is always an issue with repeated measures experiments. While every effort was taken to distribute the effects of fatigue through random presentation of ads, these effects may have limited involvement in the tasks. Future research should strike a balance between the number of exposures and participant involvement. While incentives were offered for participation, they were not tied to performance outcomes. Perhaps future research using the methods employed in the current study may wish to design a reward structure that encourages active participation.

Suggestions for Future Study

Future research might explore other viewer/advertising matches like status, media habit, lifestyle, etc. Further examination of the role of individual differences might be necessary. While this current study tested the possibility of dual attitude

toward models in ads, the results indicate that other individual factors affect attitudes.

Researchers also should explore ethnic product and media placement as the antecedents of attitude toward ads. Media could be a possible factor affecting determinants of attitude toward ads. Depending on media types, implicit or explicit attitudes may exist. For instance, the Internet seems likelier to be associated with explicit attitude than television seems, due to inherent characteristics in the medium or its audience (e.g., interactivity, and level of attention).

In addition, the underlying process in attitude formation is still unclear as is the effectiveness of minority/majority models on other measures of advertising effectiveness (e.g., perceived relevance, purchase intent, etc.). Future research must examine the role of prejudice in the reporting of attitude using a more diverse population. Further, research should examine the topic in an alternative advertising context. While the current study used products relevant to college students, we did not measure involvement in products nor in the experiment itself. Students may have been uninterested in the topic or products and therefore did not care enough to evaluate the ads as they would in a more externally valid setting.

Finally, future study should explore conceptual issues regarding attitude toward ads. According to Greenwald and Banaji (1995), implicit attitude is defined as "introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experience that mediate favorable or unfavorable feelings, thoughts, or action toward social objects" (p.8). Also, Fazio, Jackson, Dunton and Williams (1995) consider implicit attitude measure as a "bona fide pipeline" that allows measuring of "true" attitude. Unlike psychology studies, this study's attitude object is advertising known as "cluttering and incidental"

exposure in a competitive environment. Thus, it is assumed that attitude toward the ad is formed in preattentive processing (Janiszewski 1988; Leong et al., 1999).

Preattentive processing refers to "the simultaneous, preconscious monitoring of all sensory channels for events that will require a shift in attention" (Janiszewski 1988, p. 201). This study showed the possibility of dual attitudes toward the ads. Thus, future study should investigate how attitude formation occurs in different information processing stages (i.e., preattentive, attentive, and comprehensive stages etc).

Conclusion

In conclusion, although ethnicity is convenient and frequently appropriate contextual reference in comparing groups, it is unclear how this group differs from the comparison group on bases other than ethnicity (Brumbaugh and Grier 2006). However, this current study's rigorous experimental design allows examining the sole effect of model ethnicity on consumers' dual attitudes across different types of products.

This study demonstrates that consumers may have dual attitudes. Unlike psychology studies to show Caucasian American's strong preference to their own race (Brunel et al., 2004; Fazio 1995; Greenwald et al. 1998), this study did not find their adverse attitudes toward African American models in the ads. It is not only for the use of different implicit measure but also for the use of different attitude object. Also, attempting to resolve conflicted findings among advertising-related minority studies, this current study supports that, regardless of their ethnicities, consumers prefer majority race models. In particular, congruent with Brunel, Tietje and Greenwald (2004), African Americans did not show an extreme in-group bias.

Overall, the research attempted to examine a new measure in the ethnic minority advertising literature. The study provided an introduction to the concept of underlying racial biases that may influence attitudes. While there were no differences detected between explicit and implicit attitude measures in this study, future research should still examine this area in more detail with varied age groups, ethnicities, genders and product categories. However, the fact that respondents from two different racial groups showed no preferences for model by race may be an indication that the next generation is becoming more integrated; a potential trend that will have profound effects on the advertising industry as well as racial relations in the nation. In the end, the idea of dual-attitudes is very provocative for future research as are the opportunities to develop better implicit measures for assessing underlying attitudes, both within ethnic advertising research and beyond.

APPENDIX A

PRETEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Unfamiliar	1	2	3	4	5	6	-	7	Familiar
Attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		Unattractive
Not Classy	 	2	3	4	5	6	7		Classy
Beautiful	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	Ugly
Plain	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	Elegant
Not Sexy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7	Sexy
Cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7	Not cute
Inappropriate ave you seen		2 vertise:	3 ment be	4 efore?	5	6		7	Appropriate
ave you seen	this adv	ertise:	ment be	efore?	T				Frequent
ave you seen					5	6		7	Frequent
ave you seen	this adv	vertiser 2	ment be	efore?	T				Frequent
ave you seen Not at all	this adv	ertiser 2 :e? n	ment be	efore?	T				Frequent
Not at all /hat is the model. America	this adv	ertiser 2 ee? n Island	ment be	efore?	T				Frequent
Not at all /hat is the mode 1. Americal 2. Asian or	this adv	ertiser 2 :e? n Island	ment be	efore?	T				Frequent
Not at all That is the mode 1. America 2. Asian or 3. Black or	this adv	ertiser 2 ee? n Island n-Amer an)	ment be	efore?	T				Fraguent

APPENDIX B

PAPER SURVEY

YOUR COMPUTER NUMBER IS _____

Now we have just a few more questions about you.

Please follow the directions with each question.

On the rating scales below, please circle the number that best describes your opinion about **advertising in general.**

	Strongly Disagree				Stro	Strongly Agree		
Advertising in general is useful .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Advertising in general is truthful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Advertising in general is	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
believable.								
Advertising in general is good .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

On the rating scales below, please circle the number that best describes your opinion about **your ethnic group**.

	Strong	Strongly Disagree			Stro	Strongly Agree		
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

On the rating scales below, please circle the number that best describes your opinion about **yourself.**

	Strong	gly Dis	agree		Stro	Strongly Agree			
I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about an African American .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about an Asian American .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a European American (Caucasian).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a Hispanic American .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a Native American .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
In today's society, it is important to not be perceived as prejudiced in any manner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
I always express my thoughts and feelings, regardless of how controversial they might be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered prejudiced.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Going though life worrying about whether you might offend someone is just more trouble than it's worth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

On the rating scales below, please circle the number that best describes your opinion about **yourself.**

	Stron	gly Dis	agree	Stro	Strongly Agree		
It's important to me that other people do not think I'm prejudiced.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel it's important to behave according to society's standards.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I'm careful not to offend my friends, but I don't worry about offending people I don't know or don't like.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I think it is important to speak one's mind rather than worrying about offending someone.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It's never acceptable to express one's prejudices.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It bothers me a great deal when I think I've offended someone, so I'm always careful to consider other people's feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If I have a prejudiced thought or feeling, I keep it to myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would never tell jokes that might offend others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I'm not afraid to tell others what I think even when I know they disagree with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If someone who made me uncomfortable sits next to me on a bus, I would not hesitate to move to another seat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Now we have some questions about your family.

Which of these categories best describes your family's total combined household income for the past 12 months? This should include income (before taxes) from all sources, wages, rent from properties, social security, disability and/or veteran's benefits, unemployment benefits, workman's compensation, help from relatives (including child payments and alimony), and so on.

2. 3. 4.	Less than \$5,000 \$5,000 through \$11,999 \$12,000 through \$15,999 \$16,000 through \$24,999 \$25,000 through \$34,999 \$35,000 through \$49,999	8. 9. 10. 11.	\$50,000 through \$74,999 \$75,000 through \$99,999 \$100,000 through 199,999 \$200,000 and greater Don't know No response
	u consider your family as		?
DO you	consider your farming as		¥
1.	The upper class	5.	The lower class
2.	The upper middle class	6.	Don't know
3.	The (lower) middle class	7.	No response
4.	The working class		
Now w	ve have some questions about yo u	ur father c	and mother.
What is	s the highest degree your father e	arned?	Father Mother
1.	High school diploma or equivalency (GED)	6.	Professional (MD, JD, DDS, etc.)
2.	Associate degree (junior college)	7.	None of the above (less than high school)
3.	Bachelor's degree	8.	Don't know
4.	Master's degree	9.	No response
5.	Doctorate		No applicable
does (e Father	egard to your father's current or m did) your parents do? (Job Title)		t job activity, what kind of work
Mothe			
•	ample: registered nurse, personne	_	
depart	tment, gasoline engine assembler	, grinder o	operator.)

About yourself

What is your race or ethnic background	What is	your race	or	ethnic	backgrou	und?
--	---------	-----------	----	--------	----------	------

- 1. American Indian
- 2. Asian or Pacific Islander
- 3. Black or African-American
- 4. White (Caucasian), or
- 5. Latino or Hispanic
- 6. Others (Specify _____

How strongly do you identify yourself as a member of the ethnic group you selected above? Please rate your feeling?

Strongly Di	sagree				Stron	gly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

In what year were you born?

Which year are you in?

- 1. Freshmen
- 2. Sophomore
- 3. Junior
- 4. Senior

Are you:

- 1. Male
- 2. Female

This completes our study. Thank you for your time!

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