

English and Español: A Comparison of Hispanic Magazine Advertisements and their English Counterparts

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has studied the representation and portrayal of Hispanics in mainstream media and media popular with minority groups. This study adds to previous findings by looking at both the English and Spanish versions of women's interest magazines. It investigates the frequency and portrayal of Hispanics in magazine advertisements, as well as the proportion of advertisers that advertise in both the English and Spanish versions and the level of adaptation they are using. Hispanics were found to be under-represented in advertisements in English language magazines. Results also revealed that few advertisers are advertising in both the English and Spanish versions of magazines.

INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Hispanic population has surged and is now more accepted and embraced; Hispanic culture Hispanic is "in." And, Hispanic pride is growing and causing bilingual and English-dominant Hispanics to return to their roots (Faura 114-115).

U.S. Hispanic market is large, consisting of 42.4 million people, and is growing. The Hispanic population makes up half of the total population increase since the 2000 Census and is predicted to arrive at one in six by 2010 (Connecting With Hispanic Magazine Readers). This high growth rate can be attributed to immigration and the fact that Hispanics tend to have larger households, thus a higher birth rate (Faura 5). In addition, their buying power is growing at a rate of 118%. Despite these figures, most advertisers' spending targeted at the Hispanic market is still below what is necessary to be effective. On average, corporations are only spending about 3.2% of their advertising budget on Hispanic advertising, when the optimal amount to be effective is about 8%. The Association of Hispanic Advertising Agencies has investigated which industries are leading in their investment in the Hispanic market and those that are lagging behind. The study revealed that food and beverage products, food services, general merchandise, telecommunications, personal care, and insurance industries are investing the most in the Hispanic market, while pharmaceuticals, the U.S. government, auto industries, travel and entertainment, software, computer makers, securities and financial services, and specialty retail are spending the least (Missed Opportunities).

It is critical for long-term success that advertisers understand and appeal to this important market. This study is aimed at investigating the level of Hispanic representation and portrayals in magazine advertisements in the English and Spanish versions, in addition to examining the proportion of advertisers that advertise in both the English and Spanish versions of magazines and level of adaptation they are employing. Information on the U.S. Hispanic market and recommendations will be provided so that advertisers better understand and are therefore able to appeal more to the Hispanic market.

As shown in Figure 1, the U.S. Hispanic market is composed mainly of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Cubans. Mexicans make up 67% of the U.S. Hispanic market, 13% are South and Central Americans, 10% are Puerto Ricans, 4% are Cubans, and 6% are classified as other (Faura 2).

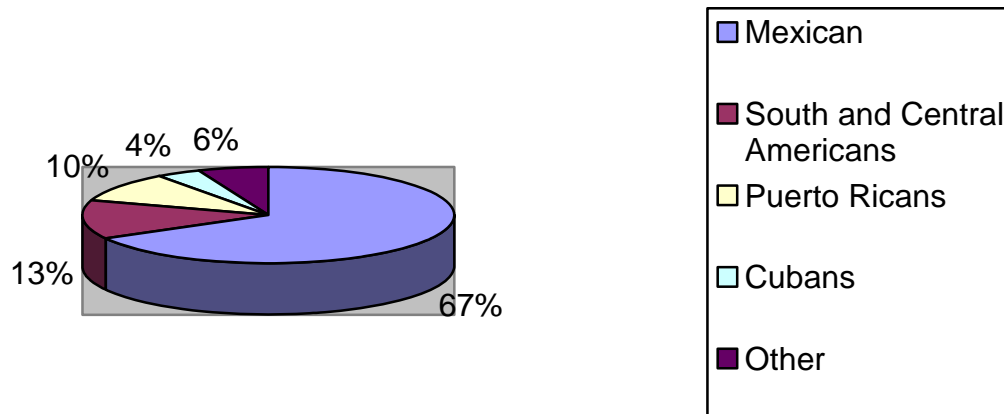


Figure 1. U.S. Hispanic population composition

U.S. Hispanics can be classified as either Spanish-dominant or Spanish-preferred, or Spanish-dependent. Spanish-dominant or Spanish-preferred, as the name implies, prefer to speak Spanish, but can also speak English if necessary. On the other hand, a Spanish-dependent Hispanic cannot speak English. Spanish is preferred, mostly by foreign-born Hispanics, as the primary language for 52% of U.S. Hispanics. Forty-eight percent, with the majority of that number being U.S. born, are bilingual or English preferred. Many advertisers reason that English speaking Hispanics are being reached through mainstream media, but in doing so, they are defining the U.S. Hispanic market as being only Spanish-dominant or Spanish-preferred consumers and are thus missing almost half of the Hispanic market (Faura 113).

Psychological and sociological research indicates that appeals made by members of a peer group are liable to be more persuasive than those made by members of other groups, and positive effects on minority group members' reactions to ads are likely with the incorporation of minorities in an ad (Taylor and Bang 285).

The root concern about minorities being under-represented is that it may contribute to the perception that minority groups are not important consumers and members of society. Furthermore, the effects of advertising model ethnicity on recipient's views and behaviors can be interpreted through social cognitive theory and the cultivation hypothesis. A great deal of information concerning values and behavior is acquired from the symbolic mass media environment in current societies. According to social cognitive theory, recipients are encouraged to adopt behaviors seen in advertisements. However, not all observations are equally relevant to the audience, thus it is believed that selective attention moderates such impacts, as recipients have a tendency to focus more on portrayed models they perceive as being like themselves due to shared characteristics, for instance, gender and race. Distinctiveness theory then explains why ethnicity is relevant in terms of selective attention based on similarity. According to distinctiveness theory, "ethnicity will be more salient for people whose ethnic group is part of a numeric minority in a social environment than it will be for members of an ethnic majority." Therefore members of a minority group are prone to opt for media outlets and messages that correlate to their ethnicity, while members of the white mainstream are not likely to take that aspect into consideration. This means that ads in mainstream media could feature more minority models without reducing the ad's appeal for whites because whites pay less attention to ethnicity than minorities do.

In contrast, the cultivation hypothesis does not take into account selectivity, stating that "media users experience long-term, extensive, and 'relatively nonselective' exposure to media content with consistent features, which, in turn, is said to mold world views." Under-representation of one's social group is apt to damage self-esteem because it produces the impression that people like oneself are viewed as less important in that social environment.

For these reasons, advertising strategies should take into account model ethnicity, ethnicity of the target audience and situational or biographical reasons for awareness of it, and product appeal involving ethnic cues. The representation of ethnic minority models in magazines popular with minorities suggests that advertisers seek to reach and appeal to ethnic minority consumers. The effectiveness of this strategy is based on the standpoint of the social cognitive theory (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 596-598).

The representation and portrayal of minorities in advertisements has been of interest to communications and advertising researchers since the mid 1900s, though early studies focused primarily on Blacks. It was not until recently that studies on Hispanics increased (Taylor and Bang 285).

In the late 1970s, less than 2% of commercials featured Hispanics. In the 1980s, data on Hispanic models in advertising was rarely collected due to the fact that such models were almost non-existent. In 1983, Czepiec and Kelly discovered only three ads with Hispanics in a sample of 206 magazine advertisements. In 1989, Wilkens and Valencia found that 6% of their sample commercials featured Hispanics (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 598).

Public recognition of Hispanics in mainstream society in the 1980s produced additional interest in the Hispanic market. This recognition can be attributed to the official recognition of "Hispanics" as a distinct population in the 1980 census which included categories that allowed Hispanics to classify themselves as of Spanish-Hispanic origin or a specific Latin American nationality. This exposed a 53% increase in the number of people that categorized themselves as Hispanic. Furthermore, a special report in *Time* in 1978 described that Hispanics would quickly become the nation's most numerous minority (Dávila 50).

Since 1993, two studies have examined mainstream magazine advertisements (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 598). Bowen and Schmid's 1997 study compared advertisements from mass circulation magazines from 1987 and 1992 in order to determine whether or not there has been any progress in the presence, portrayal, and integration of minorities in mainstream magazine advertising. The use of Hispanics remains low and decreased from 0.6% to 0.2% from 1987 to 1992, and from 0.9% to 0.4% in mixed ethnic ads (which consist of two or more races). Overall, that is a decrease in presence from 1.5% to 0.6%. The findings also showed that Hispanics appeared in major roles more often than Blacks or Asians, in 38.5% of cases. However, that percentage is derived from only five ads (three from 1987 and two from 1992). Hispanics were especially likely to be pictured in a formal "work" setting. Additionally, the magazines that were analyzed all had minority readership, which, in some cases, was a sizeable amount. For example, 13.3% of the readership of *Cosmopolitan* was Hispanic, while only 0.5% of the advertisements used Hispanics. On the other hand, white readership was consistently lower than white model representation. Again, in the case of *Cosmopolitan*, white readership was 87.4%, yet had 97.3% representation (Bowen and Schmid 137-142).

Taylor and Bang's 1997 study looked at mainstream magazines categorized as popular business press, popular science and mechanics, women's magazines, and general interest magazines. They studied the frequency of portrayal, perceived importance of Hispanic characters, and the nature of portrayal of Hispanic models. They found that Hispanic Americans are significantly under-represented and are, in fact, the most under-represented minority group in U.S. magazine advertising, with only 4.6% of the sample, or 1 in 21 ads, including Hispanic models. They also found that, when present, Hispanic models appear in major roles in 47.4% of cases, and the most prominent Hispanic model in the ad is featured in a minor role 30.3% of the time and in background roles in 22.4% of cases. Though Hispanics score at an average level of perceived importance compared to Blacks and Asian Americans, they are indeed under-represented across all levels of perceived importance. When considering all ads with human models, just 2.2%, or 1 in 45 ads, contained a Hispanic in a major role. Representation by publication and product category was explored in order to assess whether portrayals of Hispanic Americans tend to be stereotypical, portraying Hispanic Americans as uneducated, blue-collar workers who are not well-assimilated, as they have been found to be portrayed in television and film. Representation in technical and nontechnical product categories was evenly split, therefore the stereotype of Hispanics as being uneducated and blue-collar is not common in magazine advertising. Hispanics are represented only slightly more frequently in women's and general interest magazines than in popular business press or technical magazines (51.3% versus 48.7%). Compared to other minority groups, Hispanics are under-represented in popular business press magazines, which could be caused by the stereotypical portrayal in television and film causing advertisers not to recognize the need to portray Hispanics in publications that are targeted towards an educated, white-collar segment. With regard to setting, Hispanics are portrayed most often in business settings (30.2%), followed by outdoor settings (21.1%), home settings (6.6%), and social settings (5.2%). Although they are portrayed most frequently in business settings, compared to other minority groups, they are slightly under-represented in business settings, and slightly over-represented in home settings, though it is not statistically significant at the .05 level of significance. Lastly, in the ads where relationships are depicted, Hispanics are pictured most often in business relationships (48.2%), followed by social relationships (27.7%), and family relationships (24.1%). Though compared to other minority groups, Hispanics are depicted more frequently in a family relationship and less frequently in social relationships, the level of differences is not statistically significant, therefore plain and deliberate stereotyping is not ubiquitous. This could be due to the very low number of ads portraying Hispanics in a relationship (Taylor and Bang 290-297).

Overall, in the 1990s, studies showed the representation of Hispanics in ads averaging 4.2%, but ranging between 1% and 9%. Hispanics made up 13.4% of the U.S. population, while their representation in ads was considerably lower than the size of the Hispanic segment relative to the U.S. population. In their 2005 study of mainstream magazine advertisements, Lee and Joo found the level of Hispanic representation to be only 3% (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 599).

A 2006 study of minority models in advertisements in magazines popular with minorities by Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates showed that Hispanic representation (the use of Hispanic models) reached a significantly higher percentage (57%) in magazines popular with that ethnic group. At the same time, there was a sizeable portion (49%) of magazine advertising targeted towards Hispanics that featured white models, or in other words, white models are featured in nearly every other ad. Their findings demonstrate that mainstream magazine ads are dominated by white models and minority group representation is greatest in magazines popular with that group (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 602).

Arlene M. Dávila, the author of *Latinos, Inc.: the Marketing and Making of a People*, conducted five focus groups, three of which were composed of Spanish-dominant Hispanics, one was English-dominant youths, and the last was bilingual/English-dominant adults. Findings revealed that media is seen as a repository of language and tradition that should remain as authentic, therefore as “non-Americanized” as possible. Some participants believed that Hispanics should be portrayed as they “really are” in the U.S., while others felt that a more realistic portrayal would be to show life as it was “back home” or to show the “true” culture that may be forgotten here. Diverging from the marketing truism that Hispanics do not like humor concerning things they purportedly deeply value, participants preferred humorous ads. They also preferred ads showing family scenes, even in humorous, rather than nostalgic situations. Hispanics have little tolerance for bad Spanish. Due to involvement with multiple media venues, as previously stated, Hispanics are completely aware of what they are and are not getting from Spanish channels. They are also aware of how programs and campaigns are customized to target particular subgroups and of the stereotypical portrayals built-in to this type of approach. The focus groups also revealed that ads summoning specific backgrounds and cultures are preferred over generic “Latinidad.” Race and racism was found to be much greater of a concern for U.S.-born Hispanics than it is for newly arrived Hispanics because U.S.-born Hispanics are more aware of “whiteness.” Additionally, due to African racial influence in the Caribbean (which is a result of their history of slavery) and that Hispanic Caribbeans typically have been employed represent color, Hispanic Caribbeans were most concerned with the matter of color in the media (Dávila 183-215).

According to a 2007 study done by Mediamark Research Inc (MRI) for Magazine Publishers of America, over 75% of adult Hispanics read magazines. On average, Hispanics read 11.2 issues per month, similar to the U.S. average. Magazine reading differs mainly by age and level of acculturation, with older Hispanics reading more magazines than younger Hispanics. Furthermore, in the Hispanic market, males read as many magazines as women.

Compared to the general market, Hispanics have a different relationship with magazines. For Hispanics, magazines generate rich and powerful emotions, a social connection, cultural relevance, aspirations, and are a personal time out. In addition, Hispanics engage more with magazines than any other major media, and their engagement is greater than that of the general market. Hispanics are more trusting of advertising in magazines, feel that magazines are the leader in providing useful information, and excel in educating.

Table 1. Percentage of Hispanics who very much associate following statements with each media

Hispanics	Magazines	TV	Radio	Internet
It entertains me	72%	73%	66%	52%
Provides me with practical advice	61%	54%	45%	45%
Provides me with useful information	61%	57%	55%	54%
It makes me smarter	44%	36%	35%	36%

Source: Connecting with Hispanic Magazine Readers

Regarding magazines as a learning medium, Hispanics, more so than the general market, use their favorite magazine to learn how to make things, are influenced by them to try new things, feel it teaches them how to do things the correct way, and really like the tips given. Compared to the general market, as a personal medium, more Hispanics feel that reading their favorite magazine is an escape, like to kick back and wind down with the magazine, say reading it is quiet time, and their goal is to relax with the magazine. Less acculturated, Hispanic dominant, readers identify with these assertions at the highest rate, followed respectively by bi-cultural Hispanics, and U.S. dominant Hispanics.

In addition, more Hispanics than the general market feel magazines are a social connection. More Hispanics feel that their favorite magazine shows them that there are good people in the world, features people who make them proud, and gives them something to talk about. Also, in conversation they bring up things they have read, show friends or family members things in the magazine, and they like to have their favorite magazine around so others may read it.

Also, compared to the general market, more Hispanics believe that magazines evoke rich emotions. More Hispanics deem that their favorite magazine affects them emotionally, and that some articles touch them deep down.

The greater part of Hispanics feel that reading Hispanic magazines is time well spent, provides them with a sense of community and connection to their heritage and their lives in the U.S., allows them to see people similar to themselves within the magazine, provides them with something they do not get in non-Hispanic magazines, attends to issues or topics that are of special concern, and is something they look forward to.

Concerning emotional connectedness, Hispanics read magazines just about everywhere, more so than the general market, except on airplanes and in the airport. More Hispanics read magazines outside the home, in transit to or from work, during other traveling, at a gym or health club, at a store or newsstand, at a library, club or school, at a beauty parlor or barber shop, at someone else’s home, and at work.

Magazine ads are a shopping media for Hispanics, more so than they are for the general market. The majority of Hispanics agree that magazine advertising presents them with something they cannot find in other media like TV, radio or the internet, good ideas of what to buy, and useful information about new products.

Table 2. Percentage who agree strongly/somewhat with the following statements about advertising

	Hispanic	GM	Hispanic Index
Magazine advertising provides me with something that I can't find in other media like TV, radio, or the internet	54%	33%	162
Magazine advertising gives me good ideas of what to buy	73%	48%	153
Magazine advertising provides me with useful info about new products	83%	70%	118

Source: Connecting with Hispanic Magazine Readers

Furthermore, most Hispanics wish more companies would offer more products and services with them in mind and feel that there should be more magazines directed specifically to them. They also prefer advertisements that include Hispanic models and are more likely to purchase products advertised in a magazine directed towards people of Hispanic origin or descent than in a general market magazine (Connecting with Hispanic Magazine Readers).

Table 3. Percentage who agree strongly/somewhat with the following statements

	Hispanic
I wish more companies would offer products and services with Hispanics in mind	86%
There should be more magazines directed specifically to Hispanics	77%
I prefer to see advertisements which include Hispanic models	67%
I am more likely to buy products advertised in a magazine aimed at people of Hispanic origin or descent than a magazine aimed at the general market	57%

Source: Connecting with Hispanic Magazine Readers

Hispanics are more sophisticated than they were five years ago; they have been exposed to cutting edge, in-language marketing communications and demand more from companies wanting to communicate with them (Faura 1).

In studying the portrayals of Hispanics, it is important to include analysis of general market media because most Hispanic consumers are regularly exposed to English language media. Research has discovered that while 70% of Hispanic consumers are exposed to some form of Spanish language media, over 50% of Hispanics report that they are exposed to at least as much English language media as Spanish language media.

Moreover, language dominance is the main driver of magazine language preference, as pictured in Figure 2. Of all Hispanics, 57% prefer to read magazines in Spanish, 27% prefer English, and 16% prefer to read both English and Spanish. Of English dominant Hispanics, 85% prefer English language magazines, 4% Spanish, and 11% both. Of Spanish dominant Hispanics, 5% prefer magazines in English, 82% in Spanish, and 13% prefer to read both (Connecting with Hispanic Magazine Readers).

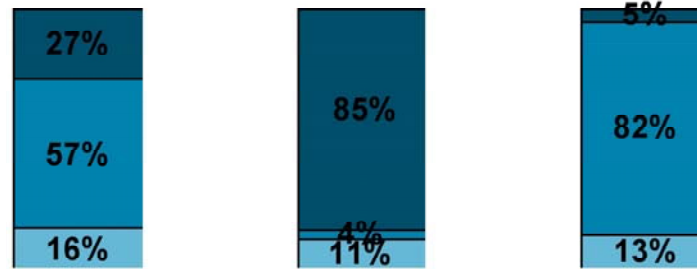


Figure 2. Preferred Language for Magazine Reading
 Source: Connecting with Hispanic Magazine Readers

Secondly, it is important to include general market media portrayals of Hispanic Americans because they impact the process of cross-cultural adaptation of individuals in a new environment. Successful adaptation into a new culture has various positive outcomes, including greater functional fitness, improved psychological health, and increased intercultural identity. Problems during the adaptation process can cause stress on the individual level and the host society can experience cultural incoherence. The degree to which a minority group identifies itself as belonging to the host society can be greatly impacted by media portrayals of that minority group during the adaptation process, as previous studies have shown. Expectancy theory postulates that expectations of what society believes common characteristics or behaviors of that minority group to be can be built or reinforced by recurring portrayals of stereotypes in advertising. This can be a contributing factor in an in-group believing an out-group is inferior (Taylor and Bang 285-286).

Also, minority groups may habitually pay less attention to mainstream media, as theorized by social-cognitive theory; therefore it is important to also study media channels preferred by the minority audiences (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 599).

METHOD

Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates did not balance the types of magazines used in their study, but rather selected magazines based on the share of ethnic group readership. This study will add to the findings of prior studies by focusing on women’s magazines, the top magazine category among Hispanic readers. *Cosmopolitan* is the fourth highest read title by Hispanics, and *Cosmopolitan en Español* is ranked eighth in the top Hispanic titles by circulation, with a circulation of 140,000 thousand (Hispanic/Latino Market Profile). Also, previous studies did not include both the English magazines and their Spanish counterparts, as this study does.

Issues of English and Spanish versions of *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* were analyzed. The March issues of *Cosmopolitan* and *Cosmopolitan en Español* were analyzed along with the February issue of *Glamour* and the March issue of *Glamour en Español*. All ads that were one or more pages were counted (ads that were more than one page were counted as only one ad). Advertisements for the magazine were excluded. In order for an ad to be coded as having models, there had to be a face on the model, therefore an ad with a model shown only from the shoulders down would be coded as having no models. Also, the entire face had to be shown, so that the model was able to be identified as Hispanic or non-Hispanic. Ads with models of Spanish, Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Latin American descent were coded as having Hispanic representation.

Multi-rater and blind evaluations were used to code Hispanic representation in the magazines. Three individuals coded the ads separately as to whether they had Hispanic models. The answers were then compared by the researcher and the researcher made the final decision in solving discrepancies between the evaluations.

Advertiser coding was based on the information available in the ad. Therefore, for example, in *Cosmopolitan* there were several Dove ads, but only those that had Unilever printed on the ad were coded as Unilever being the advertiser and the ones that did not were coded as Dove being the advertiser.

A .05 level of significance will be used for all statistical tests. It should also be noted that duplicate ads were included since the objective of the study is to look at the overall representation of Hispanics in magazine advertising; therefore including all ads represents the overall incidence of the group best.

Research Questions

The first research question will address the level of representation of Hispanics in Spanish and English versions of magazines. Hispanics make up about 14% of the U.S. population (Faura 5). Proportionality criterion affirms that a

minority group's representation should approximate its proportion of the U.S. population (Taylor and Bang 289). According to this principle, Hispanic representation should be about 14%.

Research Question 1. Is the proportion of advertisements in mainstream magazines featuring Hispanic models higher or lower than the proportion of Hispanics in the U.S. population?

There are various levels for targeting ethnic groups, in which effectiveness and cost increase, with each level. Ads featured in the Spanish issues that are the same as in the English issues will be coded as "none," as no adaptation was made. The first level involves adding subtitles to a general-market ad, this is not recommended, as it shows little effort on the advertisers' part. The next level entails adapting the language in typesetting or voice-overs, which is called "localization," and is an improvement from the first level. The third level adds Pan-Hispanic models, who represent the overall group, as they look universally Hispanic, rather than being identifiable to one specific Hispanic country. Also, (or only, if there are no models in the design) in fourth-level adaptation, other visual cues are altered to appeal to specific groups. In fifth-level adaptation, different ads are designed for each ethnic subgroup targeted. This includes different models, an adapted message, and relevant attitudes in order to build relevance because they capture what is unique about the consumer (Lipton 11). This leads to the second research question, which will measure the level at which advertisers are targeting Hispanics.

Research Question 2. To what extent are advertisers adapting their ads to appeal to the Hispanic market?

The next research question relates to the general under spending of companies on the Hispanic market and the fact that only 1% of advertising budgets are being allocated to Hispanic print media (Advertising Budget Alignment). The occurrence of advertisers' effort to appeal to the Hispanic market through magazine advertisements will be used as a surrogate indicator of whether there is an under spending in the magazine medium as there is in general print media. Therefore, the third research question will investigate the proportion of advertisers whose ads appear in both the English and Spanish versions of magazines.

Research Question 3. What is the proportion of advertisers that advertise in both the English and Spanish versions?

The fourth variable that will be studied will replicate Taylor and Bang's study concerning Hispanics relationship to others in advertisements. Ads will be categorized as family context, social context, business context, impersonal context, nobody else in ad, or other relationship. Family context includes husband and wife and any relationship between relatives, including children in addition to extended family, such as aunts or uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, adopted children, or foster children. Social context is characterized by the inclusion of other people depicted in a social setting, with the exception of family members portrayed in a social context. What appear to be romantic relationships are coded as social context, unless it is clear that they are married, in which case it would be family context. Business context is the representation of members or workers in the same company, those who are employed by the same company, colleagues in the same profession or occupation though they may be employed by different companies, or any relationship between employees or professionals who work together. Impersonal context features more than one model, but there is no evident relationship between them. Nobody else in ad features only one model. This includes ads picturing the same model more than once. Other relationship is any other relationship not covered by the previous categories. These categorizations will serve to assess whether stereotypes of Hispanics as uneducated, blue-collar workers, and the importance placed on family are portrayed. These stereotypes imply that business relationships will be infrequent and family relationships will be common (Taylor and Bang 292).

Research Question 4. In what types of settings and relationships are Hispanics frequently depicted?

Hispanics tend to respond more positively to the use of celebrities than the general market does (Lipton 54). For Hispanics, celebrities are an element of legitimacy, particularly for less acculturated Hispanics, in which the use of celebrities is comparable to word-of-mouth (Faura 54). Less acculturated, especially new immigrants, rely on recognizable figures that they recognize from back home. According to the Yankelovich Hispanic Monitor, 66% of the Hispanic respondents prefer commercials that have Hispanic spokespeople, while 63% prefer celebrities or athletes. Hispanics are proud of the general-market acceptance of crossover successes like Ricky Martin, Christina Aguilera, and Jennifer Lopez, and therefore have become prime spokespeople for targeting Hispanics (Lipton 55). For this reason, the use of celebrities in English and Spanish versions of the magazines will be studied in the fifth and final research question.

Research Question 5. Is the proportion of celebrities in ads significantly higher in Spanish versions of magazines than in their English counterparts?

RESULTS

Research Question 1

As displayed in Table 4, Hispanic representation in *Cosmopolitan* was observed in 9 of the 80 ads with models, or in 11.25% of cases. Hispanic representation in *Glamour* was found in 4 out of 41 ads with models, or 9.76% representation. Therefore, in both cases Hispanics are under-represented according to the proportionality criterion because they should be represented in 14.00% of ads, as that is their presence in the U.S. population. Furthermore, when looking only at English magazines, Hispanic representation was found to be statistically different when compared to their 14.00% representation in society with an observed proportion of 10.66% of the ads in the English magazines having Hispanic models (binomial test, p-value = 0).

On the other hand, when looking only at the Spanish magazines, Hispanics were found to be over-represented with an observed proportion of 30.59% of ads in Spanish magazines having Hispanic representation (binomial test, p = 0).

Again, a statistically significant difference was found when both the English and Spanish versions were included with an observed proportion of 18.84% having Hispanic representation (binomial test, p-value = 0).

In addition, a significant difference in Hispanic representation was found between the English and Spanish versions (Chi-Square, p-value = 0). A cross tabulation between magazine language and Hispanic representation revealed that ads from English language magazines made up 58.90% of the sample of ads, but only 33.30% had Hispanic representation. Conversely, ads from Spanish magazines made up 41.10% of the sample, but had Hispanic representation of 66.70%. These findings reveal that Hispanics are under-represented in ads in English language magazines and over-represented in ads in the magazines' Spanish counterpart.

Table 4. Hispanic representation

	Number of Ads	Number of Ads with Models	Number of Ads with Hispanic Models	% of Ads with Hispanic Models
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	107	80	9	11.25%
<i>Glamour</i>	62	41	4	9.76%
Total	169	121	13	21.01%
<i>Cosmopolitan en Español</i>	23	17	11	64.71%
<i>Glamour en Español</i>	84	70	14	20.00%
Total	107	87	25	84.71%
Overall total	276	208	38	105.71%

Research Question 2

Regarding the level of adaptation between the English and Spanish versions of magazines, only one ad, Jennifer Lopez's Deseo fragrance, was found in both versions of *Cosmopolitan* without adaptation. No ads were found to be of level one adaptation, meaning that advertisers are not simply adding subtitles to their ads and placing them in both the English and Spanish versions of magazines. Two ads in *Cosmopolitan en Español* were of second-level adaptation, or in other words, were adapted solely by changing the language to Spanish. Third-level adaptation, the addition of universally looking Hispanic models, was observed in two ads in *Cosmopolitan en Español*. Fourth-level adaptation, which entails altering visual cues in addition to translating the ad and adding Hispanic models, was found in one ad in *Glamour en Español*. No ads detected were of fifth-level adaptation, meaning advertisers are not designing entirely different ads with different models and an adapted message for the Hispanic market.

Based on these findings, shown in Table 5, most advertisers that are advertising in both versions are employing second and third level adaptations to their ads, suggesting a moderate level of adaptation by advertisers.

Table 5. Number of ads at each level of adaptation

	Same as in English Version	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
<i>Cosmopolitan en Español</i> Number of Ads	1	0	2	2	0	0
<i>Glamour en Español</i> Number of Ads	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	1	0	2	2	1	0

Research Question 3

The number of advertisers in each magazine is shown in Table 6. Of the 85 advertisers in *Cosmopolitan*, 8 (9.41%) also advertised in *Cosmopolitan en Español*. Of the 56 advertisers in *Glamour*, 5 (8.93%) also advertised in *Glamour en Español*.

Since *Cosmopolitan en Español* has about 25.00% as many advertisers as *Cosmopolitan*, and all advertisers should be appealing to the Hispanic market, about 25.00% of the advertisers, or 21 advertisers, in *Cosmopolitan* should also be advertising in *Cosmopolitan en Español*. *Glamour en Español* actually has more advertisers than *Glamour*, therefore one would expect that 100.00% of the advertisers in *Glamour* would also advertise in *Glamour en Español*. Since this is not the case, this confirms that there is, in fact, an under spending on Hispanics in magazine advertisements.

Table 6. Advertisers

	Number of Advertisers	Number in English and Spanish	% in English and Spanish
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	85	8	9.41%
<i>Glamour</i>	56	5	8.93%
<i>Cosmopolitan en Español</i>	21		
<i>Glamour en Español</i>	83		

Research Question 4

As the Table 7 shows, 2.48% of ads with models in the English magazines depict family relationships, 12.20% feature social context, 2.48% depict business context, 4.13% portray impersonal relationships, 71.07% feature only one person in the ad, and 2.48% are classified as other. Conversely, 1.15% of ads with models in Spanish versions depict family context, 14.94% feature social context, 3.45% depict business relationships, 6.9% portray impersonal context, 70.11% feature only one model, and 1.15% are categorized as other.

A cross tabulation of *Cosmopolitan* and *Cosmopolitan en Español* with context revealed that while 84.20% of ads were from *Cosmopolitan*, 100.00% of the family context, social context, and “other” context ads were from this version. In contrast, ads from *Cosmopolitan en Español* consisted of 15.80% of the sample, but business context comprised 25.00% and impersonal of 66.70%. There was a statistical difference between magazine language and context among the English and Spanish versions of *Cosmopolitan* (Chi-Square, p-value = .008).

A cross tabulation of *Glamour* and *Glamour en Español* with context shows that while 37.50% of the ads were from *Glamour*, 60% of the impersonal context and 50% of the “other” context ads were in this version. Conversely, 62.50% of the ads were from *Glamour en Español*, but 100% of the family context and business context and 72.20% of the social context ads were in this version. Nevertheless, there is not a statistical difference between the two versions of *Glamour* and context (Chi-Square, p-value = .571).

A cross tabulation of the English and Spanish versions of both magazines with context reveals that 58.90% of the ads were from the English versions, but 75.00% of family context ads, 60.60% of social context ads, and 75.00% of “other” ads were in these versions. Business context ads were split equally between the English and Spanish versions. The ads from the Spanish issues accounted for 41.10% of the sample, but only 25.00% of the family context ads were in these version. Overall the difference in context by magazine language was not statistically significant (Chi-Square, p = .861).

Table 7. Relationships depicted among all characters

	Family Context	Social Context	Business Context	Impersonal context	Nobody else in ad	Other Relationship
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>						
Number of Ads	3	15	3	2	55	2
% of Ads	3.75%	18.75%	3.75%	2.50%	68.75%	2.50%
<i>Glamour</i>						
Number of Ads	0	5	0	3	31	1
% of Ads	0.00%	12.20%	0.00%	7.32%	75.61%	2.44%
Total						
Number of Ads	3	20	3	5	86	3
% of Ads	2.48%	16.53%	2.48%	4.13%	71.07%	2.48%
<i>Cosmopolitan en Español</i>						
Number of Ads	0	0	1	4	10	0
% of Ads	0.00%	0.00%	5.88%	23.53%	58.82%	0.00%
<i>Glamour en Español</i>						
Number of Ads	1	13	2	2	51	1
% of Ads	1.43%	18.57%	2.86%	2.86%	72.86%	1.43%
Total						
Number of Ads	1	13	3	6	61	1
% of Ads	1.15%	14.94%	3.45%	6.90%	70.11%	1.15%
Overall Total						
Number of Ads	4	33	6	11	147	4
% of Ads	1.95%	16.10%	2.93%	5.37%	71.71%	1.95%

Looking only at ads that feature Hispanics, as Table 8 shows, mainstream English magazines did not feature Hispanics in any family context or in “other” relationships. They portrayed Hispanics in social context 7.69% of the time, business context in 15.38% of cases, and impersonal context at a rate of 7.69%. The majority of ads (69.23%) portraying Hispanics did not have any other models in the ad.

Like the English versions, the Spanish versions did not portray any Hispanics in family relationships or in “other” contexts. The Spanish versions depicted Hispanics in social context and business context at a rate of 8.00%. Again, like in the English versions, Hispanics tend to be represented alone in ads, as is the case 80.00% of the time.

In general, looking at all ads with Hispanic models (both the English and Spanish versions) reveals that Hispanics are portrayed in social and impersonal context 7.69% of the time, business context 10.26% of the time, and with nobody else in the ad 74.36% of the time.

Table 8. Relationships among characters in ads featuring Hispanics

	Family Context	Social Context	Business Context	Impersonal context	Nobody else in ad	Other Relationship
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>						
Number of Ads	0	1	2	0	6	0
% of Ads	0.00%	11.11%	22.22%	0.00%	66.67%	0.00%
<i>Glamour</i>						
Number of Ads	0	0	0	1	3	0
% of Ads	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	75.00%	0.00%
Total						
Number of Ads	0	1	2	1	9	0
% of Ads	0.00%	7.69%	15.38%	7.69%	69.23%	0.00%
<i>Cosmopolitan en Español</i>						
Number of Ads	0	0	1	2	8	0
% of Ads	0.00%	0.00%	9.09%	18.18%	72.73%	0.00%
<i>Glamour en Español</i>						
Number of Ads	0	2	1	0	12	0
% of Ads	0.00%	14.29%	7.14%	0.00%	85.71%	0.00%
Total						
Number of Ads	0	2	2	2	20	0
% of Ads	0.00%	8.00%	8.00%	8.00%	80.00%	0.00%
Overall Total						
Number of Ads	0	3	4	3	29	0
% of Ads	0.00%	7.69%	10.26%	7.69%	74.36%	0.00%

These findings reveal that the stereotype of the importance Hispanics place on family is not portrayed, as no ads featuring Hispanics feature family context. Regarding the stereotype of Hispanics as uneducated, blue-collar workers, it was found that in ads featuring Hispanics, Hispanics were portrayed as business context at a higher rate than the rate of business relationships in ads in general. This is revealed as 2.48% and 3.45% of ads with models in English and Spanish versions of magazines, respectively, portray business relationships, compared to 15.38% and 8.00% of ads with Hispanic models, respectively.

Research Question 5

As Table 9 displays, the percentage of celebrities in *Cosmopolitan* is 20% and in *Glamour* is 21.95%, compared to 35.29% in *Cosmopolitan en Español* and 14.29% in *Glamour en Español*. As a whole, the English versions included celebrities in 20.66% of the ads and the Spanish versions included celebrities in 18.39% of the ads.

Table 9. Use of celebrities

-	Number of Ads with Models	Number of Ads with Celebrities	% of Ads with Celebrities
<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	80	16	20.00%
<i>Glamour</i>	0	9	21.95%
Total	80	25	20.66%
<i>Cosmopolitan en Español</i>	17	6	35.29%
<i>Glamour en Español</i>	0	10	14.29%
Total	17	16	18.39%

The difference in celebrity usage by magazine language was not statistically significant meaning advertisers are not using significantly more celebrities in ads in Spanish magazines to appeal to Hispanics (Chi-Square, p-value = .545). However, the usage of celebrities varies by magazine. As in general, there was no statistically significant difference in the usage of celebrities in *Glamour* and *Glamour en Español* (Chi-Square, p-value = .203). This is seen as ads from the Spanish magazine made up 62.50% of the sample and celebrities were used in 50.00% of those ads, and ads from the English version made up 37.5% of the sample and 50.00% used a celebrity.

Meanwhile, there was a significant difference in the use of celebrities by magazine language in *Cosmopolitan* and *Cosmopolitan en Español* with a larger percentage of Spanish ads using celebrities than expected (Chi-Square, p-value = .03). While 84.00% of the sample of ads from these magazines was from *Cosmopolitan*, 71.40% used

celebrities. The other 16.00% of the ads were from *Cosmopolitan en Español*, but 28.6% of the ads in *Cosmopolitan en Español* used celebrities.

DISCUSSION/CONCLUSIONS

The most notable findings include the under-representation of Hispanics in mainstream English language magazines and under spending on advertisers' part to appeal to Hispanics through both mainstream English and Spanish language magazines. Taylor and Bang suggested that the reason Hispanics are under-represented in U.S. magazine advertising was that advertisers were advertising in Spanish language media (Taylor and Bang 297-298). However, the fact that only 9.41% and 8.93% of advertisers that advertised in *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour* also advertised in the Spanish counterpart, respectively, reveals that this is not the case. Furthermore, several English language magazines, such as *Latina* and *Hispanic*, that are directed explicitly toward Hispanics have had difficulty developing a stable advertising base (Taylor and Bang 298). This suggests that not only are Hispanics being underrepresented in mainstream English language magazines, but advertisers not advertising to Hispanics through magazines targeted specifically at them.

The U.S. Hispanic market is large and growing, as is Hispanic buying power, therefore it is imperative that advertisers increase the level of Hispanic representation in mainstream English media and increase their spending on advertising to the Hispanic market through both English and Spanish language media.

Doing so will ensure the profitability and success of the company as Hispanics react more favorably and are persuaded more by ads with Hispanic models and by advertisers that make the investment and effort to appeal to them.

Increasing Hispanic representation and spending to appeal to the Hispanic market will have societal benefits as well. Given that distinctiveness theory postulates that whites pay less attention to ethnicity than members of minority groups, advertisers could add more Hispanic representation to appeal to Hispanics without decreasing appeal for whites (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 607). Increasing representation and spending on the Hispanic market will also indicate that the U.S. Hispanic market is an important part of the U.S. culture and is accepted into society (Taylor and Bang 298).

LIMITATIONS

The first limitation regarding this study was the difficulty in coding Hispanic models. As Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates state in their study, non-Hispanic coders may overlook subtle cultural cues and therefore fail to identify Hispanic models (Knobloch-Westerwick and Coates 598). The three coders employed in this study were non-Hispanic and therefore were subject to this limitation.

The second limitation was the availability of Spanish magazines. Spanish magazines are difficult to find and have unpredictable distribution. They also come out up to several months after the English versions, making it tough to find the corresponding English and Spanish versions.

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