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Cultural Diversity in Advertising

A Case Study of Heritage and Gender Representation in Coca-Cola's
Commercials *Open Like Never Before* and *The Great Meal* from 2020

Aalborg University

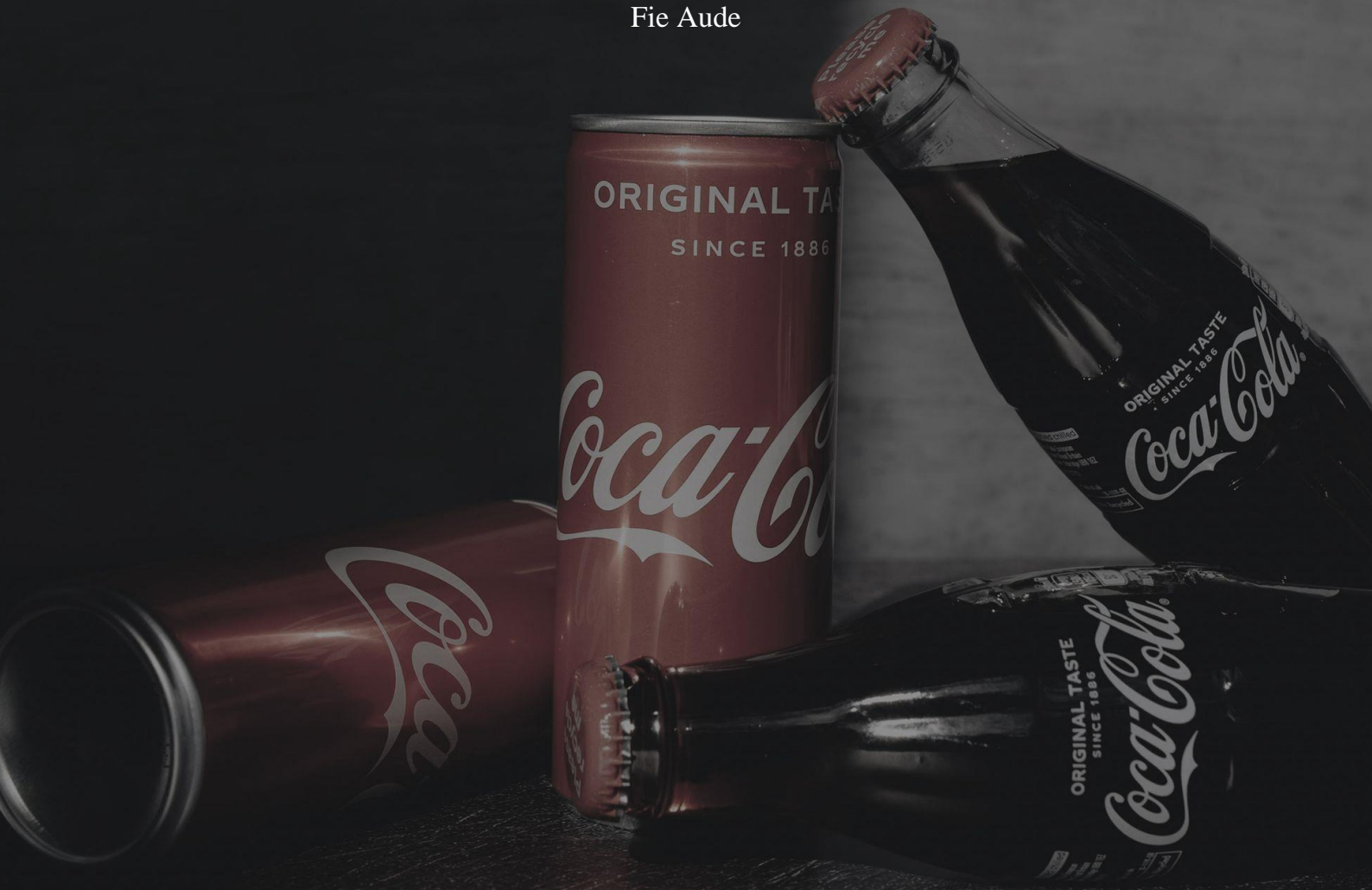
MA in Culture, Communication and Globalization

Master Thesis

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Abstract

People's understanding of the world depends on the depiction of it and all its entities. From this perspective, media has immense influence when it comes to inclusion of minorities and plays a grand part in breaking or reinforcing the reproduction of stereotypes, and thus the creation of uneven power structures in society.

The main purpose of the paper is to understand the connection between advertisement and ideological reproduction in the U.S in the context of diversity. This research is conducted investigating Coca-Cola due to the company's global status, power and potential cultural influence. Specifically, this thesis aims to examine how Coca-Cola portrays gender and people of Hispanic heritage, and how that may influence the viewer and contribute to the social and discursive construction of gender and the inclusion of heritage. Media's huge (and rising) platform makes this issue relevant to look further into.

The key focal points of this study are gender and heritage. Both are undeniably tied to culture and are categories for people to structure their ideas about identity, sense of belonging and to make sense of the world. In order to obtain knowledge about Hispanic – more specifically Mexican – culture, Hofstede's model of comparing different cultures is included. Race and ethnicity are mayor parts of identity construction, and political and cultural structures limit or present opportunities depending on one's heritage. Gender has been a subject of research for many years, and until recently, scholars accepted the binary definition of gender. However, today's view on gender has more nuances, and there are people who do not identify themselves within this traditional, binary system. This aspect is acknowledged, but for practical reasons, the study treats gender as binary. As Bourdieu is a prominent scholar in the field of gender studies, his perspectives are included however, with a critical view on his traditional understanding on gender. To elevate the theoretical considerations, a Hispanic perspective comprising prevailing gender concepts, marianismo and machismo, is incorporated. Additionally, in order to disclose how certain portrays might influence the viewer, Social Cognitive Theory is applied.

The frames of qualitative research design, and an interpretivist and constructivist approach, create flexible grounds for the execution of this project. Braun and Clarke's guide to Thematic Analysis guides the researchers through the meticulous process of transcribing, coding, and analyzing the data.

The thesis presents a comprehensive analysis of Coca-Cola's commercials "Open Like Never Before" and "The Great Meal", which were both released in the summer of 2020. The analysis

investigates and interprets underlying structures, and observations in relation to diversity. Specifically, the portrayal of gender and heritage are elucidated. Both suspected and curious observations are detected in the data set, and the discussion interprets further on these findings and relates them to theoretical considerations in order to disclose whether these commercials portray cultural diversity and contribute to an inclusive or exclusive society.

In the paragraph dedicated to the conclusion and final considerations, the problem formulation is answered. Conclusively, the thesis finds contradictions between Coca-Cola's corporate values about inclusiveness and diversity. Gender portrayal is almost evenly balanced in relation to frequency, containing both traditional and non-traditional depictions of gender roles. Moreover, regarding heritage, it was discovered that despite a broad inclusion of minorities, the portrayal does not reflect actual diverse societal composition.

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1 Introduction

People's understanding of the social world depends on the depiction of it and all its entities. Therefore, people's perception of certain elements of culture (e.g., gender and heritage) depends on how and if they are depicted, and how we, as consumers, are exposed to this depiction. From this perspective, mass media has colossal influence – and responsibility – when it comes to inclusion of minority groups and breaking the reinforcement and reproduction of stereotypes and thus the creation of uneven power structures in society. Advertising and TV commercials compose a fundamental role in the construction of people's perception of the social world, and it is argued that “advertising is the most influential institution of socialization in modern society” and thus holds power as a socializing agent to influence society (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017, p. 339). Therefore, companies, mass media and advertising agencies have immense power, when it comes to communicating messages that influence thoughts and opinions of the consumer.

As culture is an umbrella term for many different fields, this thesis mainly focuses on the depiction of gender and the portrayal of minority groups. Specifically, attention is drawn to Hispanic people with Mexican origin. The word Hispanic includes people tracing their origins back to Spanish speaking countries in Latin America or Spain itself, therefore excluding Brazil (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000). Opposed to being tied to language, the gender-neutral term Latinx is tied to geography and describes people tracing back their heritage to any Latin American country or the Caribbean (Alvarenga, 2017). As both terms refer to colonial history (Alvarenga, 2017) and as this study focusses on Mexican origin, the word Hispanic is used throughout the paper. The Hispanic focus derives from the researchers' previous experience and educational background. All have lived in Latin American countries for six months or longer, and two hold a Bachelor's degree in Spanish and International Studies from Aalborg University.

Race and ethnicity are categories for people to structure their ideas about identity, sense of belonging and to make sense of the world and evaluate experiences and behavior (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p. 12). Especially in the U.S., race plays a major role in the construction of identity (Shirayev & Levy, 2010, p. 6). Today, the political and cultural definition of race has become more important than the actual biological definition. This has to do with the social and anthropological debates and barriers in society regarding race and ethnicity. In today's society, the concept of gender is more complicated to put into a simple definition. Up until recent years,

scholars have treated gender as a binary system, meaning that people fit into one of two categories – male or female. However, today’s view on gender has more nuances, and there are people who do not belong to this traditional, binary system. This aspect is acknowledged by the researchers and has been taken into account. However, for practical reasons, this thesis will be treating gender as binary. Using Bourdieu’s understanding of gender reinforces the idea that advertising plays an essential part in constructing gender identity. Society ascribes certain traits, statuses and values to individuals solely based on their sex, and appropriate cultural norms and expectations are reflected in society. Within this social construct of gender, men and women are expected to behave accordingly (Blackstone, 2003, pp. 335-336). These behavioral patterns are so deeply rooted in society and derive from centuries stagnation in the gender debate, consolidating and reinforcing these norms and expectations. It had us wondering; do thoughts, interpretations and actions shape society or vice versa? Does society construct culture or does culture construct society? Either way, it is to say that the way in which companies (global as well as local) portray cultural values has an impact on people’s perception of the social world, and how we interact with each other. This thesis examines two Coca-Cola commercials from 2020 both revolving the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. The commercial “The Great Meal” is an homage to the silver linings of lockdown – spending more time with loved ones. “Open Like Never Before” encourages the viewer to embrace change and to appreciate things, they might have taken for granted before the pandemic. The commercials’ message about welcoming change and refreshing our mindsets seem like an adjacent context to look for diversity portrayal. Coca-Cola is a global company, with significant, potential cultural impact that claims to undertake diversity and inclusion as corporate values. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate to what extent and how these values are reflected in their commercials.

This study is conducted on commercials from the U.S., seeing that the U.S. society is not only multicultural but also multilingual and multireligious. This composition of the U.S. society has made it interesting to attempt to explore and compare cultural influences that are embedded in television commercials. This thesis addresses the following problem formulation and subsequent research questions:

This thesis seeks to investigate the relationship between advertisements and the process of ideological reproduction in the U.S. based on Coca-Cola as an example.

RQ1: Looking at cultural diversity, how are elements of gender and heritage portrayed in Coca-Cola's commercials "The Great Meal" and "Open Like Never Before" from 2020?

RQ2: Based on the representation of minority groups, how may this portrayal influence the Hispanic U.S. consumer?

This will be examined and discussed from the perspective of people of Hispanic heritage living in the U.S.

Specifically, this thesis aims to explore how Coca-Cola portrays gender and people of Hispanic heritage, and how that may influence their audience and contribute to the social and discursive construction of gender and the inclusion of heritage. It is not only relevant how it influences people with this background, but at the same time people without. This issue is relevant and deserves academic attention on account of media's huge (and rising) platform. This thesis aims to disclose whether these commercials portray cultural diversity and contribute to an inclusive or exclusive society.

In order to approach this topic, it has been deemed relevant to establish a contextual background in the literature review. This chapter charts culture in advertising, it touches upon the power of advertising, cultural branding, and depicts Coca-Cola as an international company. In order to present, analyze and make conclusions of the findings extracted in the coding process, researchers draw on existing theory. To elucidate the issues of the study, the theoretical framework includes definitions and distinctions of terminology used throughout the paper. Hofstede's dimensions on culture are presented and Bourdieu's work on gender is elaborated, critically discussed, and applied. Finally, Social Cognitive Theory is described to gain understanding of how humans learn and adopt behavior. Subsequently, a detailed explanation of methodological considerations is presented. Fundamentally, the research is carried out within the scope of case study research. Additionally, concepts of thematic analysis and both concept- and data-driven coding are applied. Initially, two Coca-Cola commercials from 2020 have been chosen. These commercials were transcribed and coded for analytical purposes. Successively, considerations

on material, such as theoretical framework, data collection process and data set are presented. Concluding the methodology chapter, thoughts regarding limitations of study and ethical considerations are included. The theoretical framework combined with the methodological considerations build the bridge to the actual analytical process. The analysis is divided into sections that revolve around the three main themes and the appurtenant sub-themes. The findings are further discussed in the discussion chapter. Finally, a conclusion deduces the investigation and prepares the ground for further research on the area.

This work contributes to a relatively large field of analysis, where quite substantive research has been conducted on advertising strategies and advertisement's influence on the viewer. However, the cultural aspect, with special focus on gender and Hispanic heritage, is what makes it differ from the already substantial research that has been conducted in the field, and therefore, contributes to the debate with a relatively new aspect.

2 Literature Review

This chapter is meant to provide the reader with a contextual background that is considered relevant in order to be fully familiarized with the topic. In order to understand the investigation of cultural values in advertising, it has been considered adjacent to explore already existing literature on the topic and elaborate on aspects of the debate, paramount to this investigation. First, culture in advertising will be explained, followed by a section on the power of advertising. Moreover, it has been deemed relevant to elaborate previous research on portrayals of cultural diversity in television commercials (emphasizing on the U.S. and gender and heritage). Concluding this chapter are some thoughts on Coca-Cola as an international company and their relation to diversity portrayals in their advertising.

2.1. Advertisement as Part of Modern Consumer Culture

The relationship between advertising and culture has been examined extensively. The study of appeals used in advertising and the portrayal of particular social groups of people represent some of the early efforts into which these relationships were studied (Wah, 2005). Lee Chun Wah (2005) argues that appeals are values that are encoded into advertisements as a powerful tool to influence consumers into buying a product (p. 61). Some of the most common appeals used in advertising include sex, fear, and humor (Wah, 2005, p. 61). Advertisements are analyzed for inherent cultural variables and compared across nations and cultures. In these analyses, it is generally found that advertising in a particular country and culture tend to reflect some but not all aspects of that particular culture (Wah, 2005).

Advertisements are part of modern consumer culture and therefore reflect and perpetuate ideas and values inherent in it. Besides bringing across messages about products or services, advertising, directly or indirectly, communicates the norms, judgements and values that have little or no relationship with the endorsed products (Wah, 2005). In this sense, advertisement perform an ideological function by shaping and reinforcing cultural modes and behavior. Media images influence the notion of what is considered good or bad, what it means to be male or female, conceptions of class, ethnicity, sexuality as well as a division between “us” and “them”. Consequently, media contributes to the establishment of a common culture as well as to people inserting themselves into this culture (Kellner, 2011, p. 7). Furthermore, as part of the consumer culture, advertisements constitute the ground on which dominant, subordinate and oppositional cultural values and ideologies meet and intertwine (Wah, 2016). By providing material that

shapes people's identities, it is also represented who has power and who does not (Kellner, 2011, p. 7).

2.2 The Power of Advertising

Advertisements are designed to simplify and typify and do not claim to picture reality as it is; rather, they emphasize how this symbolic world should be (Wah, 2016). However, advertising is, by nature, persuasive in content and form and it works psychologically to affect change of cognition, attitudes, behavior, and values to achieve its economic aims (Wah, 2005). It is generally believed that advertising influences a society's political and sociocultural institutions. Because images in advertisement are persuasive, we often take for granted the embedded social assumptions and ideology perpetuated in them (Wah, 2016). Ideology is defined as "ideas that buttress and support a particular distribution of power in society" (Wah, 2016, p. 41). These ideas emerge in the context of showing the use of a particular product or service, such as who is in charge, how society is ought to be, who is dominant and who is subordinate (Wah, 2016). These aspects taken into consideration, for advertising to be effective, it must be in harmony with the host culture in which it exists (Wah, 2005). Advertising messages must employ cultural values that are readily understood and accepted by its intended audience (Wah, 2005).

Advertisements examined from the perspective of Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) have provided insight into their possible impact on audience member's self-perceptions. SCT suggests that under certain conditions, viewers can and do learn from what they are exposed to in media (Mastro & Stern, 2010). SCT and its relation to advertising are further explained in the theoretical framework. Because television commercials not only promote consumption, but also shape images and sustain group boundaries that come to be taken for granted, it is important to consider how such representations might influence minority viewers (Mastro & Stern, 2010). It further argues that the way in which images are presented on television influences how viewers interpret and respond to the modeled acts. The viewers are looking for characters to see themselves in – somebody with whom they can identify – somebody similar to themselves (Mastro & Stern, 2010). Here, the under- and misrepresentation of certain minority groups is a salient factor. This comes to show especially in the case of race, ethnicity, and gender (Mastro & Stern, 2010).

In his work "Cultural Influences in Television Commercials", Lee Chun Wah (2005) refers to Richard W. Pollay and his metaphor treating advertising as a "distorted mirror". This mirror is

a metaphor of the reflection of only certain cultural values of the host country in which it exists but does not show the complete picture. In his “distorted mirror” theory, Pollay postulates that when talking about advertising in a cultural context, it is crucial to keep in mind that these advertisements selectively reinforce attitudes, behaviors and values that support the company’s interests (Wah, 2005). Furthermore, this theory suggests that this selective reinforcement of particular cultural values in advertising will, in the long run, influence society’s culture. He argues that society can be expected to evolve towards the values portrayed in advertising (Wah, 2005).

Kellner (2011, p. 7) calls media a source of cultural pedagogy as they play a crucial role in shaping people’s minds, behavior, desires and feelings. Therefore, it is important to learn how to read, criticize, and resist such media content and thus empower oneself. Knowing how to read behind media messages and learning how to resist them also means to have power over one’s cultural environment (Kellner, 2011, p. 7). These abilities can be derived from cultural studies. The first studies in this field took place in the 1960s and examined the effects of media messages on the audience. They also aimed to find out if and how subcultural groups and individuals can resist dominant forms of culture and thus establish an own identity. To grasp a broad impression of culture, it should be investigated within the social system and the social relations in which culture is produced. The ultimate goal of cultural studies is to provide tools for making people sensitive to encoding meanings of media messages and to get an understanding of the power relations that lay behind them. A critical cultural study approach then investigates how people can resist these messages and create their own alternative social relations and meanings instead (Kellner, 2011, pp. 7-10). In today’s world where everything is connected via the Internet and news can be distributed worldwide, media messages can also spread culture and cultural values to more people than ever before. Nonetheless, it is large institutions or media conglomerates that hold power over what is communicated across media and thus hold cultural hegemony. However, what comes along with the technological innovations is power on the side of consumers. Through social networking, people are able to produce their own content and filter by what they want to consume, including oppositional voices and resistance (Kellner, 2011, pp. 11-12).

2.2.1 Cultural Branding

Literature often describes branding as a universal technique, implying that the principles of building a strong brand are somewhat the same across cultures (Cayla & Arnould, 2008). However, Cayla and Arnould (2008) argue that a cultural approach to branding involves recognizing that international marketing is more than a technique, that it consists of a constellation of understandings such as the relationship between individuals and society (Cayla & Arnould, 2008). One of the main scholars concerned with this field of study is Douglas B. Holt. In his work *How Brands Become Icons: the Principles of Cultural Branding*, Holt (2004) initiates the conversation on cultural branding by first outlining three conventional branding models predominantly used in marketing campaigns: mind-share, emotional, and virtual branding (Holt, 2004). However, cultural branding does not comply with either of these models. Therefore, Holt sets out to establish what determines cultural branding. He defines it as: “the set of axioms and strategic principles that guide the building of brands into cultural icons” (Holt, 2004, p. 11). He further claims that while conventional brands aim to maintain consistency and work with already established principles and concepts, an iconic brand feeds on important cultural shifts in society (Holt, 2004).

It is broadly agreed in literature that innovation is not just about product design but can also come from marketing campaigns that tap into current, cultural and societal issues and events (Faninng, 2011). John Fanning states that “products or services that base their marketing communication on cultural themes reflecting current societal anxieties and desires have a better chance of achieving iconic status than by any other means” (Faninng, 2011). Current societal preoccupations (like race, ethnicity, and gender) can provide an innovative platform for marketing communication (Faninng, 2011). E.g., in 2017 Pepsi launched, and later pulled, a commercial, starring Kendall Jenner, accused of trivializing the Black Lives Matter movement (Victor, 2017). Therefore, Fanning stresses the potential risks related to this type of strategy (Faninng, 2011). Tapping into sensitive issues related to e.g., race and gender, and using them for marketing purposes might end up offending the audience. This concern about portrayal of diversity in advertising will be further elaborated in the next section. Fanning further argues that despite the risks, the potential of cultural branding for innovation and competitive advantage is too great to be ignored and should be actively considered by companies (Faninng, 2011).

Lee Chun Wah (2005) postulates that advertising is primarily seen in two forms: selling the uniqueness of a product or selling an image to be associated with the product. He continues to

argue that the latter strategy works in advertising as consumers often associate the products and brands they buy with meaning over and above their functional attributes (Faninng, 2011). The aim of advertising is to sell these meanings in the form of an image together with the product itself. Embedded in this type of image-meaning advertising are cultural values referred to as “symbolic values” (Wah, 2005). Wah (2005) refers to Lannon and Coopers stating that “brands have practical, rational values, but what makes them distinctive and unique are their symbolic values. Advertising operates more effectively at the symbolic, intuitive level of consciousness” (Wah, 2005, p. 70). Fanning (2011) refers to a study conducted on brands such as Starbucks, Nike, Patagonia, Jack Daniels and Marlboro who all cleverly used an understanding of changing societal norms and the application of cultural values in their communication. This study makes a convincing case for attributing their success to these factors rather than to any product superiority or technical advances over competitive brands (Faninng, 2011).

2.2.2 Standardization vs. Localization

Lee Chun Wah (2005) develops these notions about cultural branding into discussions about standardization vs. localization in advertising. Some scholars argue that a standardized, universal advertising strategy can be successfully used around the world, while it is also relatively cheaper and simpler to execute than that of customized strategies (Wah, 2005). However, it is then argued that having one standardized campaign might not necessarily reduce costs and maximize profit (Wah, 2005). This is because particular advertisements may not appeal to all target groups that are present in different countries (Wah, 2005). Wah goes on referring to a study conducted by Kanso in 1992 which indicated that “human’s wants and needs are universal, but the way of addressing them is not” (Wah, 2005, p. 64). Previous research has revealed that culture-specific appeals found in advertising can be explained by the Hofstede Model (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 98). These studies show that in collectivistic cultures (e.g., China and Korea) appeals focusing on group benefits, harmony and family are more effective, whereas in individualistic cultures (e.g., U.S.) advertising that appeals to individual benefits, independence and personal success is more effective (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 98). In the same context, Hofstede points to the importance of timely communication: “the direct style of individualistic cultures may be offensive to members of collectivistic cultures” (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 98). Moreover, he stresses the fact that what is relevant information to members of one culture may not be relevant to members of another culture. Hofstede proposes that whereas in individualistic cultures communication is more or less solely focused on distributing

information with the aim to persuade, in collectivistic cultures communication varies with roles and relationships and the main purpose is to build relationships and trust between seller and buyer (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 98). Practically, these distinctions and different purposes are reflected in advertising in timing and frequency of verbal or visual mentioning of the brand name (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 97).

2.3 Portrayals of Cultural Diversity in Television Commercials

Research within this field started with the concern of underrepresentation of minorities. Then the focus moved on to the misrepresentation of the same minority groups, and today's research is mostly concerned with the ideological position. Depictions of e.g., ethnicity in the media have become one of the barometers in measuring social attitude towards diversity (Higgs & Milner, 2005). What research has found is that the underrepresentation of minority groups (ethnic, racial and gender) in character roles fails to reflect the reality of population composition (Higgs & Milner, 2005). At the same time, the misrepresentation of the same groups means that they tend to be portrayed in a narrow range of roles and frequency in stereotypical ways. The depiction of stereotypes and misrepresentation of minority groups paves the way for lack of diversity in advertising (Higgs & Milner, 2005). Scholars argue that when a certain group of minorities – let it be of gender, race, or heritage, is constantly portrayed in one way, they learn to identify with this - and people from other groups learn to identify them with this, as well. E.g., although Hispanics and Latinx make up 12.5 percent of the U.S. population, they only make up one percent of speaking characters in commercials (Mastro & Stern, 2010). Since physical appearances and sexuality, rather than intellect, is how Hispanics are portrayed, these might be considered the most important components of people of Hispanic heritage (Mastro & Stern, 2010). Generally, people from minority groups with non-white backgrounds are likely to be shown in passive situations or as recipients, and white characters are more likely to be shown in working environments (Mastro & Stern, 2010).

Traditionally, the United States held the images of the melting pot, a symbol for the integration of various groups within the country. This images also holds the notion that all different cultures from all groups are melting together and mixing, thus forming one shared American culture. In recent years, this symbol has been updated and exchanged by the salad bowl metaphor which implies that every group retains some cultural values and habits from their country of origin. Also, as movement becomes easier and easier, more ethnic groups move.

Consequently, the question arises whether their mindset of cultural values is diverging or converging with mainstream cultural values of the host population (de Mooij & Beniflah, 2016). Alongside, the effects of globalization and especially the ever-growing possibilities of global communication and mass media is assumed to establish one homogenous and global consumer culture. However, the opposite is the case. People of different origins continue to have different values, habits, and tastes. It is said that globalization is increasingly supporting local cultural identities instead of creating one homogenous consumer culture (de Mooij, 2011, p. 6). It is further argued that with better education and resulting economic wealth, one's cultural identity gains relevance. Basic needs are satisfied, and thus higher levels of unsatisfied needs arise. This is when cultural values guide consumer's choice of products or brands (de Mooij, 2011, p. 8). That creates the necessity for brands to adapt their marketing strategies to consumers' preferences, which again is the discussion about standardization vs. localization.

Another argument for the importance of diversity in advertising and multiculturalism is the demographic structure in the U.S. In 2015, minority groups – Hispanic/Latinx, African-American, and Asian-American – accounted for 38 percent of the total U.S. population. Statistics of the U.S. Census predict that the population of these cultural groups will continue rising and eventually become majorities within American society (de Mooij & Beniflah, 2016). Among the different ethnic groups, differences in consumption and shopping behavior are observed, driven by their cultural values. Therefore, the basis of multicultural marketing is a segmentation on the basis of cultural differences (de Mooij & Beniflah, 2016). Representation of multiculturalism in media is important because it affirms the worth of all cultures and cultural groups displayed and gives validity and importance to oppressed or marginalized groups (Kellner, 2011, p. 9).

2.4 Coca-Cola as an International Company

Regarding the investigation of the portrayal and distribution of cultural values in television commercials, we discussed how we would possibly find two very different outcomes choosing either a small or a large company with a significant potential cultural impact. However, we decided to focus on a large, global company like Coca-Cola, seeing that it is a very well-known company that sells products in almost all countries worldwide.

De Mooij (2011) states that “there may be global products, but there are no global people. There may be global brands, but there are no global motives for buying these brands” (p. 23). Coca-

Cola is one of the brands frequently used as an example of longtime successful global advertising. For a long time, Coca-Cola's main goal was "to be within arm's reach of desire", and their longtime slogan was "Always, everywhere Coca-Cola" (de Mooij, 2011, p. 23). In 2000, Coca-Cola decided to get closer to local markets, and the company's CEO, Douglas Daft, was quoted saying "[w]e kept standardizing our practices, while local sensitivity had become absolutely essential to success" (de Mooij, 2011, p. 23). According to Daft, the general direction is away from global advertising: "We need to make our advertising as relevant as possible to the local market" (de Mooij, 2011, p. 23). About these notions, sociologist-anthropologist, David Howes, says:

The assumption that goods like Coca-Cola, on entering a culture, will retain and communicate the values they are accorded by their culture of origin must be questioned. Often these goods are transformed in accordance with the values of the receiving culture (de Mooij, 2011, p. 23).

Seeing that the aim of this study is to investigate Coca-Cola's portrayal of cultural values in their commercials, it has been deemed paramount to explore, what values Coca-Cola claim to hold and teach their employees. On the official Coca-Cola website, they state that their values "serve as a compass for our actions and describe how we behave in the world" (Coca-Cola, n.d.) They have listed seven values:

- Leadership: The courage to shape a better future
- Collaboration: Leverage collective genius
- Integrity: Be real
- Accountability: If it is to be, it's up to me
- Passion: Committed in heart and mind
- Diversity: As inclusive as our brands
- Quality: What we do, we do well

In regard to this particular study, the diversity-value is especially interesting. The company explains their choice of focus stating that:

The world is changing all around us. To continue to thrive as a business over the next ten years and beyond, we must look ahead, understand the trends and forces that will

shape our business in the future and move swiftly to prepare for what's to come. We must get ready for tomorrow today. That's what our 2020 vision is all about. It creates a long-term destination for our business and provides us with a "Roadmap" for winning together with our bottling partners (Coca-Cola, Coca-Cola Journey, n.d.).

In 2019, Coca-Cola formulated a purpose summary, where they put these values into words, actions, and behaviors. They want to "act with a growth mindset, take an expansive approach to what's possible, and believe in continuous learning to improve our business and ourselves" (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019). They want to focus on curious, empowered, inclusive and agile behavior, stating to "leverage [their] broad diversity of people, global network and learnings" (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019). Aspects of the company's values, the above statement, and further thoughts on Coca-Cola's role as a global player will be elaborated in the discussion chapter.

3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter elaborates theoretical concepts related to the topic and analysis of both gender and heritage, always in regard to diversity. Definitions and understandings of culture relevant for this study are established. Subsequently, definitions of concepts and terminology is put forth for the reader to be fully familiarized with how this study will be treating terms like *race*, *ethnicity*, *minority*. Furthermore, Hofstede's dimensions of culture are presented while Bourdieu's work on gender was chosen to develop an understanding of the construction of gender. In addition, a critical view thereof is included as well as the Latin American concepts of machismo and marianismo. They are particularly important to Mexican culture since they explain society's view on and behavior regarding gender roles. Lastly, Social Cognitive Theory is used to explain how individuals are influenced from exposure to the media, build their personality, fit into cultural environments.

3.1 Diversity

The term diversity is commonly used to refer to cultural diversity. However, its meaning is much broader. Defined by Merriam-Webster, it means "the condition of having or being composed of differing elements" and the Cambridge Dictionary definition is "the fact of many different types or things or people being included in something; a range of different things or people" (Merriam Webster, n.d.; Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). In academic research, a lot of work has been done in the fields of diversity in economy, workplaces, and medical training in the context of the U.S. Diversity as an umbrella term experiences an increasing use and at the very basis refers to differences. The more frequent use can be an indicator that these differences are more and more embraced as well as acknowledged (Embrick & Rice, 2010, p. 24). These differences which the term refers to, range from ethnical, to classes, gender and sexuality, age, culture, and religion to any multitude of differences between people living in a society (Embrick & Rice, 2010, p. 24). Especially in the U.S., diversity mostly is used in the context of race, ethnicity, and society (Hopkins, 1997, p. 3). However, this leaves out many other groups of people and therefore the use and its understanding has expanded. It

gives rise to *ethnographic* descriptors such as nationality, religion, and language, *demographic* descriptors such as age, gender, and place of residence, *status* descriptors such

as heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual and a range of other descriptors relating to formal or informal membership affiliations (Hopkins, 1997, p. 3)

The meaning of diversity is especially interesting in an American context. The American motto “E pluribus unum” means ‘out of many – one’ or, more loosely translated, one society composed of many different groups (Hopkins, 1997, p. 8). This relates to the notion of the “melting pot” vs. the “salad bowl” to describe U.S. society metaphorically spoken that was discussed previously in chapter 2 Literature Review. Different groups are able to preserve their identities and not conforming to one homogenous society. Therefore, some scholars are of the opinion that the motto above does not quite fit today's reality (Hopkins, 1997, p. 8).

Referring to diversity in a societal context, the table below gives an overview of diversity categories. It is important to note that this was deemed interesting to establish a background in this field. However, the list is not claimed to be complete ore exclusive.

Category	Descriptors
Culture	Cultural diversity refers to affinity or identification with a particular cultural dimension which may include, but is not limited to, race, ethnicity, nationality, color.
Gender	Gender diversity is usually still limited to male and female. ¹
Sexuality	Sexual diversity refers to sexual orientation which may include, but is not limited to, heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, transsexual. Error! Bookmark not defined.
Age	Age diversity refers to identification with a particular age category or generational nomenclature e.g., thirty-something, baby-boomers, generation X.
Language	Language diversity refers to linguistic identity which may include, but is not limited to, monolingual, bilingual, multilingual, dialectical.
Spirituality	Spiritual diversity refers to religious or spiritual affiliation which may include, but is not limited to, Christian, Muslim, Jewish, agnostic, atheist, denominational, non-denominational.

¹ Note by the researchers: We understand the discourse and openness about gender and sexuality is a very current topic across societies and that categories are not exclusive and borders between both categories are fluid. Moreover, we are aware that the descriptors by far are not complete which is not meant disrespectful in any way but is a matter of referring to the source.

Geography	Geographic diversity refers to affinity or identification with a particular geographic location which may include, but is not limited to, country, region, state, county, vicinity, rural, urban, suburban.
Disability	Disability diversity refers to identification with some type of visible and/or invisible impairment which may include, but is not limited to, physical, mental, visual, hearing.

Table 1: Major Diversity Categories and Associated Descriptors, based on (Hopkins, 1997, p. 5)

3.2 Understanding Culture

The term “culture” is often used with various definitions and meanings depending on its context. It can refer to social groups, organizations, or a social phenomenon. Countless scholars have, over the past decades, given their definition of this seemingly complex concept, adding to the numerous ways of defining culture. Some of these explanations are stated in the following. Geert Hofstede is a prominent scholar when it comes to culture and his model on comparing cultural dimensions becomes crucial in this study, as well. His well-known definition explains culture as “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others” (Hofstede, 2011, p. 3). This definition is related to his work on cultural dimensions that are based on the view that cultures are homogenous as national cultures and do not experience significant change over time. Consequently, culture is seen as a rather static construct and thus Hofstede’s way of approaching the topic has also been criticized. However, his work can still be applied on a modern context despite the data being collected in the late 1960s/1970s. It is legitimized by seeing it as an option to categorize and simplify the social world with principles that are well known throughout everyday life (Jensen, 2004, p. 83). Especially in the context of advertising, a simplified reality is often used to help the individual making sense of its surrounding social space, thereby maintaining a certain order within society (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017). These findings of advertising research again legitimize a rather static depiction of culture, allowing today’s use of Hofstede’s cultural dimensions.

Edgar and Sedgwick (2008) state that culture “entails recognition that all human beings live in a world that is created by human beings, and in which they find meaning. Culture is the complex everyday world we all encounter and through which we all move” (p. 82). They further argue that “culture endure even though the individuals who build them die” (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008, p. 82). In their clarification of culture, they refer to Gillian Rose and her focus on the human ability to construct and build and to use language. She highlights the key themes of

cultural studies, such as community, the conflict of diverse cultures, power, law and morality, and knowledge (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008, p. 82).

Cohen, Wilk and Stoeltje (1996) use culture as a way of interpreting and organizing the world – that be through songs, folktales, movies, and plays (Cayla & Arnould, 2008). These types of cultural forms encapsulate ideas about the way people should live, look, and think.

Other definitions include more specific aspects such as “a set of attitudes, behaviors, and symbols shared by a large group of people and usually communicated from one generation to the next” (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 3). *Attitudes* are the various beliefs of this group (e.g., political, ideological or religious), the values they hold, general knowledge as well as stereotypes, opinions, and superstitions. *Behaviors* include norms, roles, customs, traditions, habits, and practices. *Symbols* mean things or ideas that have a meaning to people (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 3). Because culture is tightly bound to a historical context as well as to the individual, language, time, and place help define culture. The individual is product of its culture and the social background that results. However, societies are never culturally homogenous, and no two cultures will be exactly the same or completely distinct (de Mooij, 2011, p. 41).

Relating culture and advertising, treating brands as a cultural expression is a way of acknowledging that branding is a specific form of communication (Cayla & Arnould, 2008). It is elaborated that brands tell stories in the context of products and services, address people and consumers, and promise to fulfill unmet desires and needs. It can be argued that branding is a specific symbolic form of culture, a particular way of talking about and seeing the world (Cayla & Arnould, 2008).

For this study, we deem aspects from several definitions relevant. Investigating diversity entails being aware of differences, thus distinctions between members of one group of people to another are made (Hofstede, 2011). The awareness of these results in certain attitudes and behavior (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 3), hence create meaning for the individual (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008) and consequently strongly impacting the individual (de Mooij, 2011, p. 41).

3.3 Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.

Regarding cultural diversity, the U.S. is an interesting case to investigate due to its multicultural society. Tightly bound to and highly important for the society structure in the country are race and ethnicity. Both terms along with culture and nationality are often used interchangeably although they are different. Moreover, terminology sometimes has different meanings when

used by different parties. As explained above, *culture* is a shared way of interaction among a group of people. A *nation* is a group of people that share geographic territory, history, and language and that are seen as a political entity, hence a nation state which other countries recognize as such (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 5). What is often called nationality elsewhere, is mostly termed race or ethnicity in the U.S. (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 6). In the following, the concepts of race and ethnicity in the U.S. are elaborated.

Race and ethnicity are common categories for people to structure their ideas about identity, to make sense of the world around them and to evaluate experiences and behavior. Race and ethnicity have the power to serve as the basis of collective identity and action (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p. 12). *Race* is mostly defined by the distinction of specific similar and genetic physical characteristics. From a biologist point of view, race describes these distinguishable physical qualities of a certain population. They can reproduce with members of other groups but tend not to. Therefore, through geographical isolation, the distinct physical characteristics are transmitted genetically. Consequently, geographic settings contributed to the creation of race in the past (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 4). Today however, it is more important to explain race culturally or politically. It is suggested that race rather accounts as a social category because race indicates “particular experiences shared by many people who happen to belong to a category that is called ‘race’” (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, pp. 4-5). Race as a social construct reflects differences between established categories of people. Social scientists argue for the creation of race under certain historical circumstances (e.g., slavery) to use it as justification for unequal treatment of white and non-white groups (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, pp. 27-28). That is why some scholars argue for the abandonment of that term and rather use more descriptive alternatives to refer to people of different heritage (e.g., colonial history for Latinx, continental origin for African and anthropological designation for Caucasian) (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 6). Nonetheless, race is still an element of identification to people. In the U.S., the government uses race to take census and organizations might ask employees to state their origin as well (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 6). *Ethnicity* in the U.S. means cultural heritage and shared experience by people with common origin, language, and traditions (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 5). The U.S. Census Bureau distinguishes between two ethnicities, Latinx or Hispanic heritage or none of them.

Race as a social construct is well observed in the U.S. by examining changes in the categories used for taking census data. The first census was taken in 1790 and only had three categories distinguishing between whites, other free people, and slaves. More and more categories were added as time passed and in the late 19th century, categories included Asian immigrants as well

as several options for Black, trying to identify “the amount of ‘blackness’” (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 24). The categories are adapted as new immigrants come to the U.S. (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 24). Up to date, the U.S. Census Bureau uses five racial classifications that were established in 1997 by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). These are defined as follows:

White – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

Black or African American – A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa.

American Indian or Alaska Native – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.

Asian – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands
(U.S. Census Bureau, 2020a).

The U.S. Census Bureau further states that racial categories reflect social definitions of race and do not aim to define race in a biological, anthropological or genetical manner. Therefore, people can identify with more than one race. As stated above, Hispanic or Latinx is not listed as race but seen as an ethnicity. The OMB standards include two categories for ethnicity which are Hispanic or Latinx and Not Hispanic or Latinx. The OMB defines Hispanic or Latinx as a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race. That is why people identifying as such can be of any race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b). The U.S. census did also change in other aspects. In 1960s, for the first time, people could state their identity themselves. Previously, race was determined by the

census taker. This not only gave people agency for self-identity, but also resulted in more precise information. In 1980, the census included Hispanic origin for the first time and in 2000 more than one category could be selected. It should also be mentioned that while numerous changes in taking census occurred over time, the category white remained remarkably consistent (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 24). In this study, we refer to race and ethnicity as heritage. The following graph gives an overview of observed and predicted population changes by heritage in the U.S.

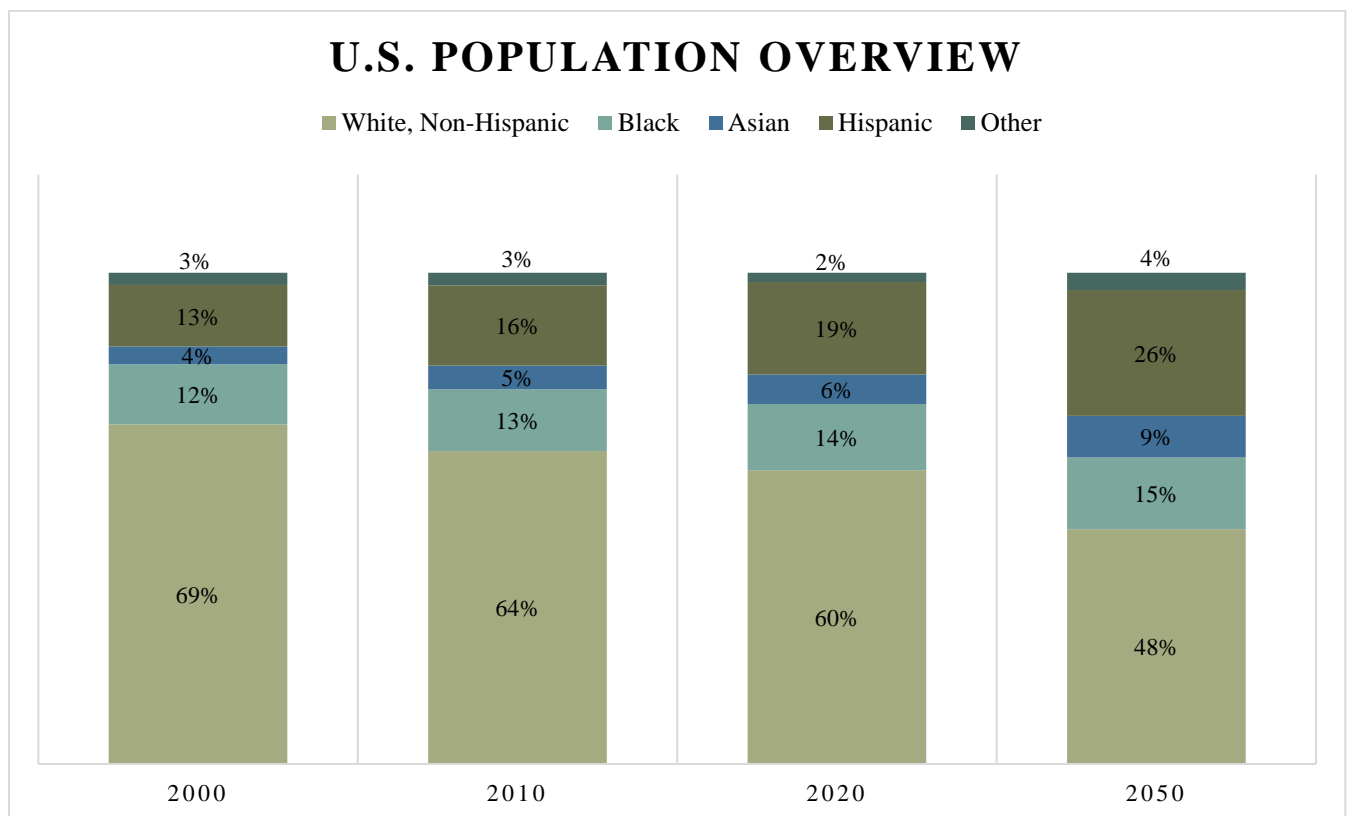


Figure 1: U.S. Population Overview, based on numbers from (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018)

3.4 Minorities

There are various definitions of the term *minority*, and they are all similar to some extent. The mathematical connotation of the term implies that a minority group is small. This, however, is not the case as minority status is not related to group size and minority groups can be quite large (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 10). From a sociological position, minority status has to do with the distribution and access to power and resources. Those with power, independent of group size, are the dominant group exercising its power over minority groups (Healey & Stepnick,

2019, pp. 10-11). Boundaries between both groups range from visible traits like skin color or gender, but also religion, sexuality, and language (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 19). The status of a minority group is found to limit one's access to wealth and income as well as prestige and power. Especially in the U.S., minority group status has been and still is one of the strongest determinants of access to resources, opportunities and hence, life chances (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 18). Minority groups can be recognized in two ways: either by others or by themselves in hope of getting recognition of their group (Berbrier, 2004). It is not only the government that confers minority status, but media also plays an important role.

Wagley and Harris (1958) established a definition of minority groups with five characteristics. According to that definition,

1. Minority group members experience a pattern of disadvantage or inequality.
2. Minority group members share a visible trait or characteristic that differentiates them from other groups.
3. Minority group members are aware of their shared status with other group members.
4. Group membership is usually ascribed at birth.
5. Minority group members tend to form intimate relationships (close friendships, dating, partnerships, and marriages) within the group

(Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 11).

In this definition, inequality refers to the pattern of disadvantage experienced by the minority group that results from the actions of a dominant group that benefits from and tries to maintain the unequal circumstances (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 11). Visibility includes both, cultural (language, religion, speech patterns, dress style etc.) and physical (skin color, stature, facial features etc.) traits (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 12). Here, a distinction is made between ethnic and racial minority groups; the latter referring to physical features and the first to cultural characteristics. However, both categories can overlap. By these traits, minority group members are identified and separated, consequently they maintain the inequality pattern. This is, because the distinction is made by the dominant group, demonstrating its more powerful position (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 12). What is important to note is that the visible traits that determine the distinction, are not significant themselves per se. They only gain importance because people imply a significance like superiority vs. inferiority (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 12). Being

aware of one's social status can create a sense of solidarity and strengthen the bonds within the minority group. Awareness can also be expressed in different worldviews among minority group members as opposed to dominant group members, e.g., equality of opportunities in the U.S. Ascription of minority status is determined at birth because the traits that identify one as belonging to a minority group usually cannot be changed (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 13). Forming intimate relationships with other members of the same minority group also is a result of segregation of e.g., neighborhoods, schools etc. Hence, it is influenced and limited who spends time with whom. This does not only apply to racial or ethnic minority groups, but also to people not identifying with a gender or sexuality that does not fit into the binary concept of gender and heterosexuality, people with disabilities, very tall or very obese people etc. (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, pp. 13-14).

As race and gender are the most visible and more permanent traits, looking beyond racial and ethnic minorities, it is often argued that women are a minority group as well. Gender makes it easy to categorize people and thus organize society, giving it sociocultural implications and meanings (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 25). When distinguishing on the basis of gender, the binary gender concepts of female and male are acknowledged and used, ultimately shaping societal gender norms. There are patterns of inequality between women and men measured with indicators like education, wage, health, and political representation (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 25). It is also argued for the social construction of gender that arose under certain historical circumstances (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 27). Women's subordination seems to have emerged only when communities started to settle down because previously living a nomad life, cooperation and sharing were crucial for survival, hence inequality between gender was minimal as everyone contributed (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 28). In modern society, gender is not experienced the same across different societies. Therefore, what people think of as appropriate for males and females varies over time and location. That is why it is difficult to argue that differences and inequality lie in the genetical distinction because if these were the foundation, variations of gender perception would not be existent (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 28). The term minority has been criticized for its mathematical connotation and expressions such as oppressed or subordinate are seen as more suitable. Despite, it is argued that the minority term implies more than inequality. "It connotes social legitimacy, profound injustice and the right to redress past wrongs" (Berbrier, 2004, p. 42). Whatever term is used ultimately, once a group is or is not recognized with minority status, the label has implications for both, members and outsiders (Berbrier, 2004).

3.5 Comparing Cultural Dimensions

Hofstede is a prominent scholar, when it comes to culture, and therefore, his perspectives have been deemed relevant to include in this study and are presented in this paragraph. Since we are constructing this project with an interpretivist approach to our data and research, we are watching the commercials through interpretivist eyes. It becomes relevant to include Hofstede, because his model on cultural dimensions provides us with specific knowledge about people of Hispanic heritage – more specifically, we have chosen to focus on the scores for Mexico. An elaboration and justification for focusing on Mexico is presented subsequently in this chapter.

International business is a dynamic market and is rapidly growing, which means that culture-focused research is becoming more widespread, as is the understanding of culture (Shi & Wang, 2010, p. 93). Within recent years, culture has become an interesting factor in global marketing and advertising, and studies point at the necessity of adapting branding and advertising strategies to the culture of the consumer (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 85). The Hofstede Model has been applied in various studies regarding global branding and advertising, and the underlying theories of consumer behavior. Seeing that the aim of this project is to examine how Coca-Cola portray different elements of cultural diversity, Hofstede appeared to be an adjacent addition to the theoretical framework.

Hofstede propounds his model on culture (known as the Hofstede Model) by putting forward a paradigm of six dimensions of culture for comparison: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, long- vs. short-term orientation and indulgence vs. restraint (Hofstede, 2011, p. 8). Each of these dimensions represent an aspect of a culture that can be measured relative to other cultures. The model provides scales from 0 to 100 for 76 countries for each dimension, and each country has a position on each scale or index, relative to other countries (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 88). This section aims to chart and explain Hofstede's six dimensions of culture. Each dimension is presented with both a table for overview as well as more detailed explanation about each dimension. Hofstede emphasized that the statements presented in the following tables refer to extremes, and that actual situations may be found anywhere in between the extremes. Moreover, the association of a statement with a dimension is always statistical, never absolute (Hofstede, 2011, p. 10).

When applying the Hofstede Model, it is important to keep in mind that his initial data was collected during the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, applying it today indicates homogeneity as well as stagnation of cultures (Jensen, 2004). This is not the case, however, because especially with increased mobility and connectedness, people move and are influenced as well as influence

each other across borders (Bandura, 2001; Bandura, 2002a). Despite, his work is legitimized to apply when seen as groundwork on culture as it points out simple structures that individuals are familiar with and the use of a simplified reality can be found in advertising too (Jensen, 2004; Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017).

The paramount reason for including Hofstede in this study, is gaining theoretical knowledge about the Hispanic community in order to disclose how the portrayals in the commercial may affect this minority group. As we are conducting this research with an interpretivist stance, we make ourselves part of the reality being researched, which means, we take into consideration both theoretical knowledge and our own experiences from living in Latin American countries.

3.5.1 Power Distance

Small Power Distance	Large Power Distance
Use of power should be legitimate and is subject to criteria of good and evil	Power is a basic fact of society antedating good or evil: its legitimacy is irrelevant
Parents treat children as equals	Parents teach children obedience
Older people are neither respected nor feared	Older people are both respected and feared
Student-centered education	Teacher-centered education
Hierarchy means inequality of roles, established for convenience	Hierarchy means existential inequality
Subordinates expect to be consulted	Subordinates expect to be told what to do
Pluralist governments based on majority vote and changed peacefully	Autocratic governments based on co-optation and changed by revolution
Corruption rare; scandals end political careers	Corruption frequent; scandals are covered up
Income distribution in society rather even	Income distribution in society very uneven
Religions stressing equality of believers	Religions with a hierarchy of priests

Table 2: Differences Between Small- and Large-Power Distance Societies, (Hofstede, 2011, p. 9).

Power Distance is the first dimension Hofstede mentions, and it relates to the different solutions to the basic problem of human inequality (Hofstede, 2011, p. 8). He propounds that this dimension refers to “the extent to which less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally” (Hofstede, 2011, p. 9). He says that in large power distance cultures (e.g., East European, Latin, Asian and African countries) everyone has his or her rightful place in a social hierarchy (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 88). This concept of “the rightful place” in society is important for understanding the role of global brands and their entry in each culture. In countries with large power distance cultures, one’s social status must be clear so that

others can show proper respect (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 88). Hofstede argues that global brands support societal inequality and people's role in a hierarchy (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 88). Luxury articles, some alcoholic beverages and fashion items typically appeal to social status needs.

Power and inequality are fundamental facts of a society, and all societies are unequal – but some more than others. Where East European, Latin, Asian and African countries tend to score high on the Power Distance Index, Germanic and English-Speaking Western countries generally have a low score (Hofstede, 2011, p. 10).

3.5.2 Individualism vs. Collectivism

Individualism	Collectivism
Everyone is supposed to take care of him- or herself and his or her immediate family only	People are born into extended families or clans which protect them in exchange for loyalty
"I" – consciousness	"We" –consciousness
Right of privacy	Stress on belonging
Speaking one's mind is healthy	Harmony should always be maintained
Others classified as individuals	Others classified as in-group or out-group
Personal opinion expected: one person one vote	Opinions and votes predetermined by in-group
Transgression of norms leads to guilt feelings	Transgression of norms leads to shame feelings
Languages in which the word "I" is indispensable	Languages in which the word "I" is avoided
Purpose of education is learning how to learn	Purpose of education is learning how to do
Task prevails over relationship	Relationship prevails over task

Table 3: Differences Between Individualistic and Collectivistic Societies, (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11).

Hofstede's second dimension deals with individualism vs. collectivism related to the integration of individuals into primary groups, and he defines this dimension as: "people looking after themselves and their immediate family only, versus people belonging to in-groups that look after them in exchange for loyalty" (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, pp. 88-89). In individualistic cultures (prevailing in developed and Western countries) people are "I"-conscious and self-actualization is important to the individuals (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89). People belonging to this culture, assume their values are valid for the whole world. On the opposite side, in collectivistic cultures (less developed and Eastern countries), people are "we"-conscious. Whereas in an individualistic culture, the identity is in the person, the identity in a collectivistic culture is based on the social system to which they belong (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89).

When it comes to the sales process, it is important to distinguish between the cultural values between individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Hofstede argues that

in individualistic cultures, parties want to get to the point fast, whereas in collectivistic cultures it is necessary to first build a relationship and trust between parties. This is also reflected in the different roles of advertising: persuasion versus creating trust (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89).

As for the understanding of the self, individualistic cultures see the self as an autonomous entity, whereas collectivistic cultures see it as a dependent entity (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 90).

3.5.3 Masculinity vs. Femininity

Femininity	Masculinity
Minimum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders	Maximum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders
Men and women should be modest and caring	Men should be and women may be assertive and ambitious
Balance between family and work	Work prevails over family
Sympathy for the weak	Admiration for the strong
Both fathers and mothers deal with facts and feelings	Fathers deal with facts, mothers with feelings
Both boys and girls may cry but neither should fight	Girls cry, boys don't; boys should fight back, girls shouldn't fight
Mothers decide on number of children	Fathers decide on family size
Many women in elected political positions	Few women in elected political positions
Religion focuses on fellow human beings	Religion focuses on God or gods
Matter-of-fact attitudes about sexuality; sex is a way of relating	Moralistic attitudes about sexuality; sex is a way of performing

Table 4: Differences Between Masculine and Feminine Societies, (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12).

The dimension concerning masculine and feminine society is particularly interesting to this study seeing that gender roles and gender role stereotypes are often portrayed in advertising, and the field of study has been explored by various scholars. About this dimension, Hofstede states: “the dominant values in a masculine society are achievements and success; the dominant values in a feminine society are caring for others and quality of life” (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89). He furthermore stresses that in this case, “femininity” and “masculinity” must be

seen as societal characteristics and not individual characteristics and refer to the distribution of values between genders which is another fundamental issue for any society (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12). According to Hofstede, masculine societies value performance and achievement and achievement must be demonstrated in order to show one's success – e.g., by wearing expensive jewelry or other status brands (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89). Furthermore, in masculine cultures, household work is less shared between husband and wife than in feminine cultures, e.g., in feminine cultures men do more household shopping and participate in domestic chores (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89). According to Hofstede's index, masculinity is high in Japan, in German speaking countries, and in some Latin countries like Italy and Mexico, and it is moderately high in English speaking Western countries (Hofstede, 2011, p. 13). On the other hand, Nordic countries and the Netherlands score low on masculinity and some Latin and Asian countries like France, Spain, Portugal, Chile, Korea, and Thailand moderately low (Hofstede, 2011, p. 13).

3.5.4 Uncertainty Avoidance

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance
The uncertainty inherent in life is accepted and each day is taken as it comes	The uncertainty inherent in life is felt as a continuous threat that must be fought
Ease, lower stress, self-control, low anxiety	Higher stress, emotionality, anxiety, neuroticism
Higher scores on subjective health and well-being	Lower scores on subjective health and well-being
Tolerance of deviant persons and ideas: what is different is curious	Intolerance of deviant persons and ideas: what is different is dangerous
Comfortable with ambiguity and chaos	Need for clarity and structure
Teachers may say 'I don't know'	Teachers supposed to have all the answers
Changing jobs no problem	Staying in jobs even if disliked
Dislike of rules - written or unwritten	Emotional need for rules – even if not obeyed
In politics, citizens feel and are seen as competent towards authorities	In politics, citizens feel and are seen as incompetent towards authorities
In religion, philosophy and science: relativism and empiricism	In religion, philosophy and science: belief in ultimate truths and grand theories

Table 5: Differences Between Weak and Strong Uncertainty Avoidance Societies, (Hofstede, 2011, p. 10).

The uncertainty avoidance dimension deals with society's tolerance for ambiguity and is related to the level of stress in a society in the face of an unknown future (Hofstede, 2011, p. 10). Hofstede and de Mooij (2015) define uncertainty avoidance as “the extent to which people feel

threatened by uncertainty and ambiguity and try to avoid these situations” (p. 89). In cultures of strong uncertainty avoidance (e.g., East and Central European countries, in Latin countries, in Japan and in German speaking countries), there is a need for rules and formality to structure life (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89). On the opposite side, uncertainty accepting cultures (English speaking, Nordic and Chinese culture countries), tend to be more tolerant of opinions different from what they are used to. They intend to have fewer rules and allow different currents to flow side by side (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11). In continuation of this, the uncertainty avoidance dimension also deals with the search for truth and a belief in experts (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89). According to Hofstede and de Mooij (2015) people of high uncertainty avoidance cultures are likely to be less open to change and innovation than people of low uncertainty avoidance cultures (p. 89). He states that

Whereas high uncertainty avoidance cultures have a passive attitude to health by focusing on purity in food and drink and using more medication, low uncertainty avoidance cultures have a more active attitude to health by focusing on fitness and sports (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89).

3.5.5 Short-term vs. Long-term Orientation

Short-Term Orientation	Long-Term Orientation
Most important events in life occurred in the past or take place now	Most important events in life will occur in the future
Personal steadiness and stability: a good person is always the same	A good person adapts to the circumstances
There are universal guidelines about what is good and evil	What is good and evil depends upon the circumstances
Traditions are sacrosanct	Traditions are adaptable to changed circumstances
Family life guided by imperatives	Family life guided by shared tasks
Supposed to be proud of one's country	Trying to learn from other countries
Service to others is an important goal	Thrift and perseverance are important goals
Social spending and consumption	Large savings quote, funds available for investment
Students attribute success and failure to luck	Students attribute success to effort and failure to lack of effort
Slow or no economic growth of poor countries	Fast economic growth of countries up till a level of prosperity

Table 6: Differences Between Short- and Long-Term Orientation Societies, (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15).

Hofstede defines long-term versus short-term orientation as “the extent to which a society exhibits a pragmatic future-oriented perspective rather than a conventional historic or short-term point of view” (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 90). It deals with people’s choice of focus for their efforts: the future or the present and past (Hofstede, 2011, p. 14). Long-term oriented cultures value perseverance, ordering relationships by status, thrift, and having a sense of shame. At the same time, long-term orientation implies investment in the future (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 90). Contrary to this, cultures focusing on short-term orientation include personal steadiness and stability, and respect for tradition. According to Hofstede, East Asian countries, followed by Eastern- and Central Europe are long-term oriented countries (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15). Short-term oriented countries are the US and Australia, Latin America, African and Muslim countries. In South- and North-European and South Asian countries a somewhat medium term is found (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15).

3.5.6. Indulgence vs. Restraint

Indulgence	Restrained
Higher percentage of people declaring themselves very happy	Fewer very happy people
A perception of personal life control	A perception of helplessness: what happens to me is not my own doing
Freedom of speech seen as important	Freedom of speech is not a primary concern
Higher importance of leisure	Lower importance of leisure
More likely to remember positive emotions	Less likely to remember positive emotions
In countries with educated populations, higher birthrates	In countries with educated populations, lower birthrates
More people actively involved in sports	Fewer people actively involved in sports
In countries with enough food, higher percentages of obese people	In countries with enough food, fewer obese people
In wealthy countries, lenient sexual norms	In wealthy countries, stricter sexual norms
Maintaining order in the nation is not given a high priority	Higher number of police officers per 100,000 population

Table 7: Differences Between Indulgent and Restraint Societies, (Hofstede, 2011, p. 16).

The sixth and final dimension was added to the research in 2010, and it focuses on aspects not covered in the other five dimensions but is known from literature as “happiness research” (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15). Indulgence versus restraint covers the gratification versus control of basic human desires related to enjoying life (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15). An indulgent society is one that allows relatively free gratification of basic human desires related to enjoying life and having fun (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15). In contrast, a restrained society stands for a society that controls gratification of said needs and regulates it by means of strict social norms (Hofstede, 2011, p. 15). According to Hofstede’s Index, “indulgence tends to prevail in South and North America, in Western Europe and in parts of Sub-Sahara Africa. Restraint prevails in Eastern Europe, in Asia and in the Muslim world. Mediterranean Europe takes a middle position on this dimension” (Hofstede, 2011, p. 16).

3.5.7 Mexico and the U.S.

The relationship between Mexico and the U.S. was always shaped, and some would say determined, by the relative weakness of Mexico vis-à-vis the economic and military preponderance of the United States. It is a complicated relationship that has been captured in the wry phrase: “Poor Mexico! So far from God, so close to the United States!” (Delpar, 1992, p. 2). Besides sharing borders, the two countries share a longstanding history of immigration, dependence, and

political disputes. Most recently is former president Donald Trump’s attempt to build a wall at the U.S.-Mexico border. This longstanding history and complicated relationship are what makes it interesting and adjacent to investigate this “aspect”. Statista demonstrates Hispanic population groups by origin in the United States in 2019. The graph shows, with convincing numbers, that the vast majority of Hispanics living in the U.S have Mexican origin. We identified the characters in our commercials, and determined age, gender, and heritage on principles of gender expression that is further elaborated in the methodology section (4.3.2.2 Determining Gender, Age and Heritage). Therefore, we can distinguish people of Hispanic heritage, but not specifically their country of origin. However, since the below graph clearly shows that the Mexican population is by far the largest among people of Hispanic heritage living in the U.S., we have chosen to focus on Hofstede’s scores of Mexico.

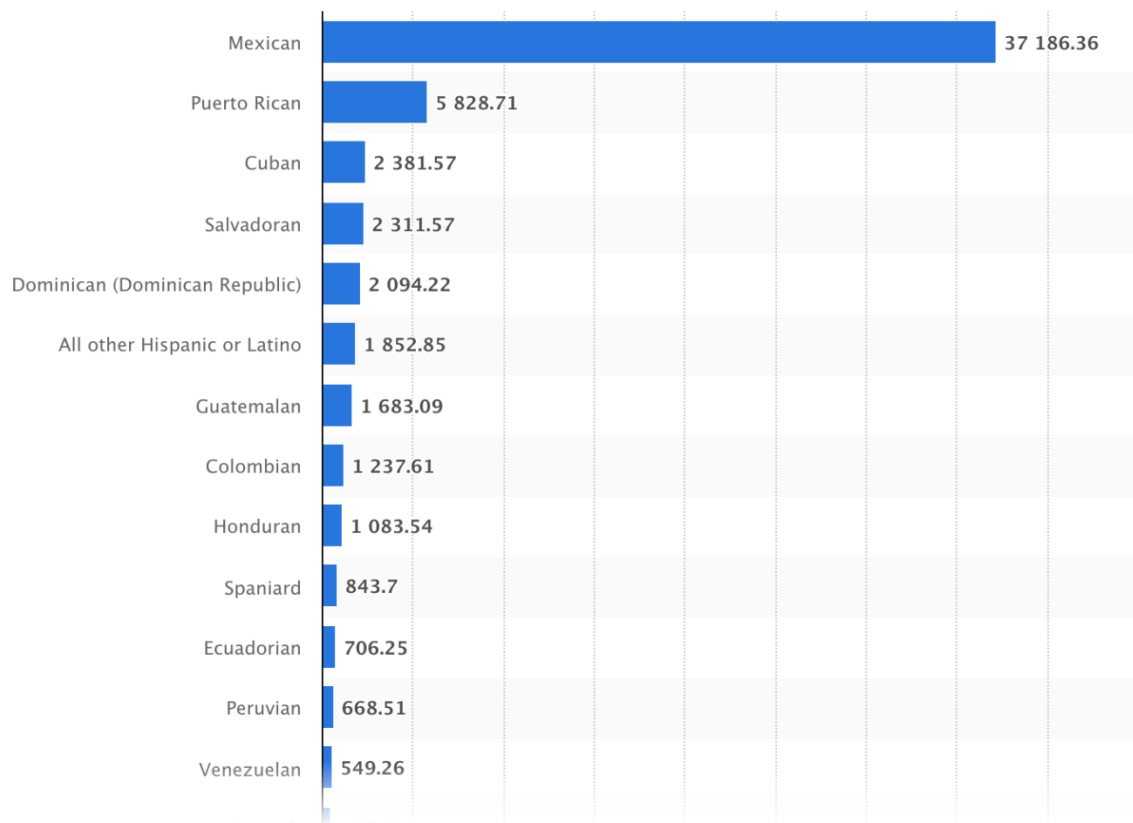


Figure 2: Hispanic Population Groups in the United States by Country of Origin (Statista, 2020)

The scores as seen in the graph for both, Mexico and the U.S. have been deemed paramount as we investigate people of Hispanic heritage living in the U.S. The scores are incorporated in the analysis to examine similarities and differences of the cultural backgrounds and its possible implications for the viewer.

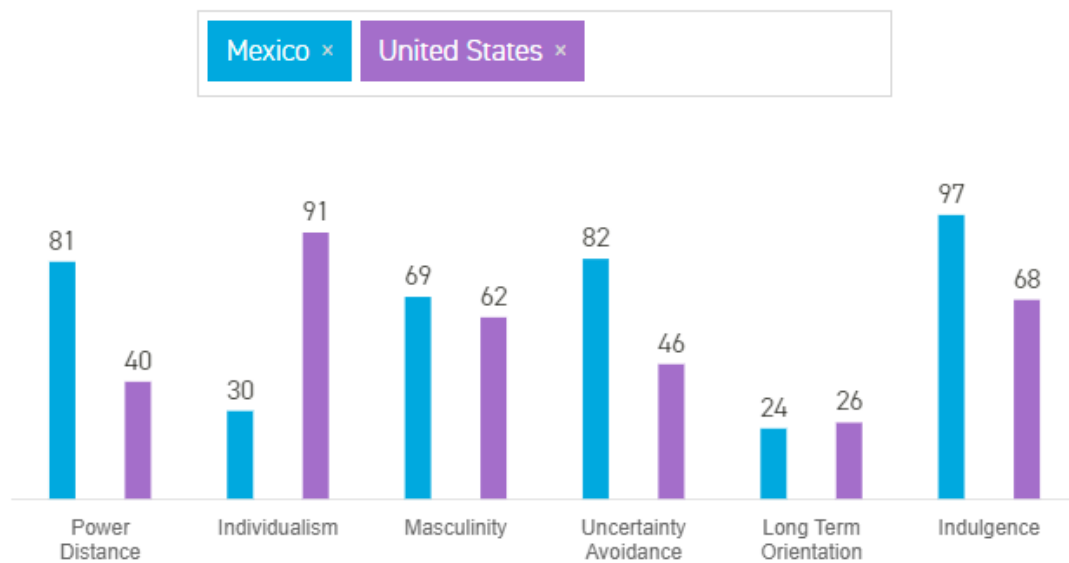


Figure 3: Country Comparison - Mexico and the United States (Hofstede Insights, n.d.a)

3.5.7.1 Hofstede's Dimensions – Mexico

On the basis of findings and comparisons of the cultural dimensions, Hofstede argues that Mexico is similar to several Latin American countries (itim International, n.d.). However, as previously explained, this thesis focuses on Mexico because of geographical and political aspects and relations between Mexico and the U.S., which makes Mexico interesting to examine. Moreover, including a Latin American/Hispanic perspective contributes to a field that is relatively little uncovered as most of the research on advertising has been carried out focusing on Europe, Asia or Africa, besides the U.S. (Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Seeing that this thesis seeks to investigate cultural elements such as gender and heritage (with sub-themes like *men vs. women*, *representation of minority groups*, and *cultural identity*), the scores from Hofstede's Model we are most interested in are in relation to individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity and power distance. Mexico's scores on these three aspects are presented in the following.

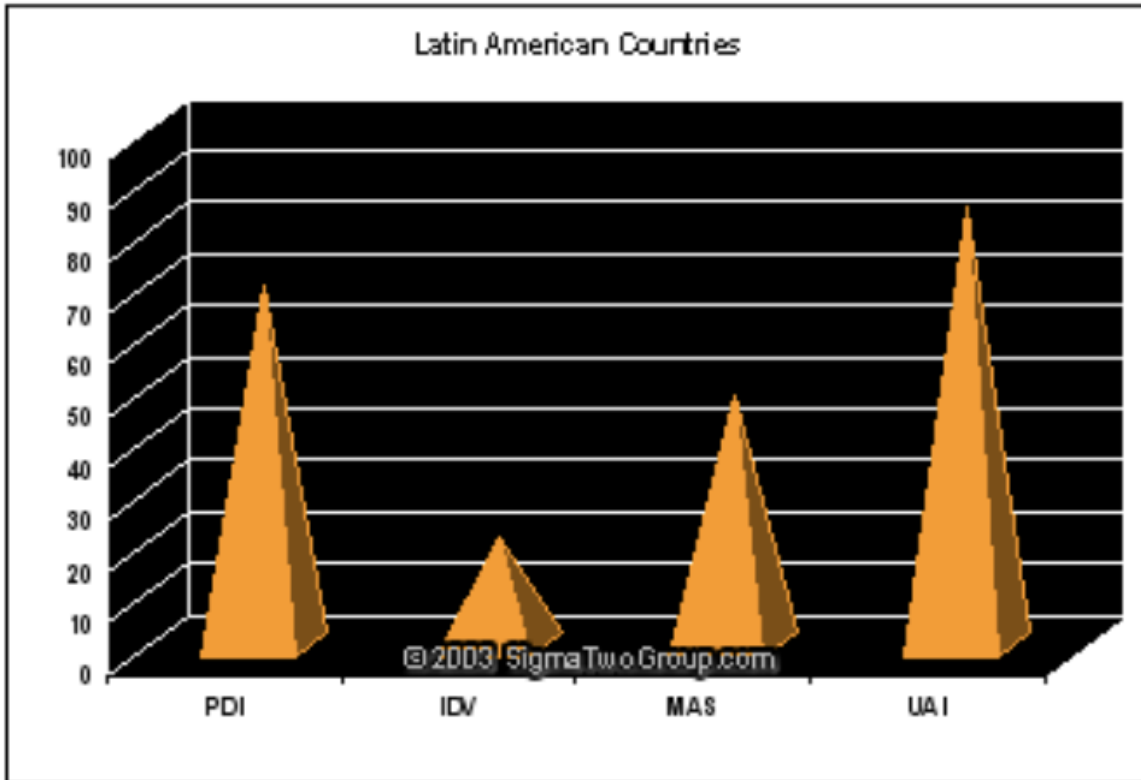


Figure 4: Cultural Dimension Scores Latin America (itim International, n.d.).

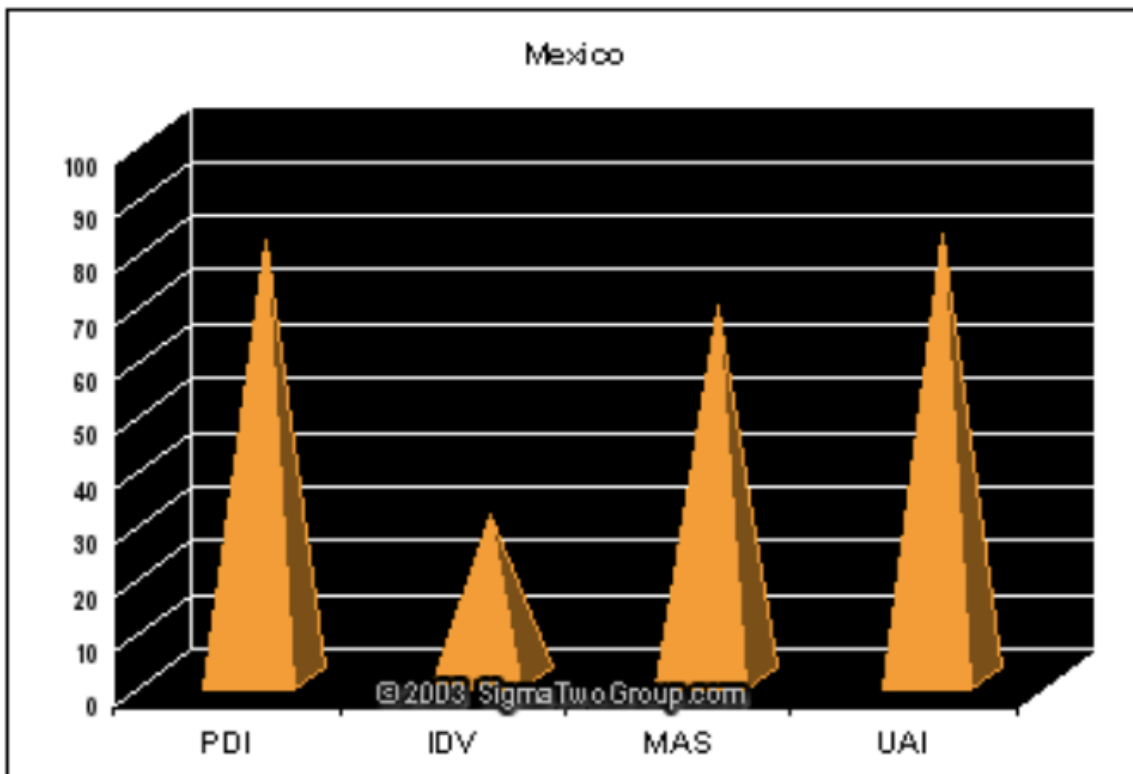


Figure 5: Cultural Dimension Scores Mexico (itim International, n.d.).

Individualism

On the scale of Individualism (IDV), as opposed to collectivism, Mexico scores 30 on the Hofstede Model. A relatively low score, but slightly higher than other Latin American countries with an average on 21. According to Hofstede, this score indicates that the Mexican society is predominantly collectivistic. However, the score slightly higher than the average, might result from Mexico's big influence from the United States. Mexico's score means that individuals from this culture often find themselves in a close long-term commitment to different member "groups" – let that be family, extended family, or extended relationships (Hofstede Insights, n.d.b). According to Hofstede, the most paramount characteristic in a collectivist culture is loyalty – a characteristic that over-rides most other societal rules and regulations. Therefore, individuals are brought up with this value, causing society to foster strong relationships where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group (Hofstede Insights, n.d.b).

In regard to this study, Hofstede's dimension on individualism vs. collectivism has been deemed relevant to include, seeing that it tells something interesting about the minority group we are looking into – people of Hispanic heritage living in the U.S. Whether a culture or society is individualistic or collectivistic demonstrates something about structures and relationships and a general view on the social world. In an individualistic society, people are expected to look after themselves and his/her immediate family. On the opposite side, in collectivistic societies, people from birth and onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive groups, where protection and unquestioning loyalty is part of it (itim International, n.d.).

Masculinity

Hofstede's dimension on masculinity (MAS) is opposed to femininity. With a score of 69, Mexico has the second highest masculinity ranking in Latin America just after Venezuela (73) (itim International, n.d.). Consistent with Hofstede, this is an indication that Mexico experiences a higher degree of gender differentiation of roles. This means that the male dominates a significant portion of society and power structure. Along with generations of patriarchal values embedded in society, this situation generates a female population that is structurally oppressed, causing women to become more assertive and competitive – although not on the level of the male population (itim International, n.d.).

In relation to this specific investigation, this dimension becomes relevant taking into consideration Mexico's longstanding patriarchal and male dominated society. The researchers have

deemed it interesting to investigate whether these close-knitted gender roles are portrayed in the commercials and how that might affect both men and women of Hispanic heritage. In extension to this, the concepts of marianismo and machismo are paramount to discuss.

Power Distance

Power Distance (PDI) is another dimension, where Mexico ranks higher than other Latin American neighbors with a score of 81, compared to an average of 70 (itim International, n.d.). This indicates a high level of inequality of distribution of power and wealth within society. Hofstede says that this condition is not necessarily subverted upon the population, but rather accepted by the culture as a whole (itim International, n.d.).

The researchers have deemed this dimension relevant to include seeing that in the portrayal of certain minorities, there is an underlying aspect of power structures that affect the consumer. In regard to both cultural aspects, gender and heritage, power structures are quite apparent in the debate of them. As previously explained, certain traits, norms and behavioral patterns are asserted to men and women – and in these societal expectations, power structures are relevant. As for gender, when it comes to debates about race, culture, and heritage some are dominant, and some are subordinate. Therefore, this dimension focusing on power has been included in this study.

3.6 Understanding Gender

The following section concerns the construction of gender. Therefore, Bourdieu's work was chosen. However, especially regarding the main theme of this research – diversity, criticism of this conservative gender construction is included as well. Feminist research specifically investigates how his work influences women and men. Bourdieu's work "Male Domination" laid the ground for discussions about his take on gender roles (Lovell, 2000; McCall, 1992). Therefore, the elaboration of gender according to Bourdieu is followed by a section presenting critical views on his theories. The chapter also includes an elaboration of two prevailing Latin American concepts of gender expectations, marianismo and machismo, that also show stark links to Bourdieu's work.

3.6.1 Bourdieu on Gender

In a previous project, Bourdieu's take on gender was used to investigate stereotypical gender role portrayals in Mexican beverage commercials, thus concluding that this rather conservative and narrow view of gender is reflected in commercials. As advertising was found to use stereotypical portrayal to depict a simpler reality (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017), Bourdieu's gender theory is found to be well applicable, even though it should be questions to what extent it can be applied.

Bourdieu established two concepts – *capital* and *habitus* – for the investigation of cultural spaces within society. These are central to his work (Thorpe, 2009). Capital refers to the distribution of power in society. It can have various forms - economic, cultural, social, or symbolic, out of which economic and cultural capital is deemed especially powerful because they are found to be crucial in the construction of social spaces (Laberge, 1995). The capital, or power, is distributed among members of society, so-called agents. It determines one's position in a social group and constructs social hierarchy (Laberge, 1995; Thorpe, 2009). Every agent can accumulate capital and “the power of an agent to accumulate various forms of capital, and to define those forms as legitimate, is proportionate to their position in the social space” (Thorpe, 2009, p. 493). Habitus is “a set of acquired schemes of dispositions, perceptions and appreciations [...] which orient our practices and give them meaning” (Thorpe, 2009, p. 499). It is “the embodiment of the set of material and objective determinations as well as the structure of social relations that generate and give significance to individual likes [...] and dislikes with regard to practice and action” (Laberge, 1995, p. 136). Habitus results from the individual's actions as well as interaction with others, but also shapes future behavior. It is the ways of doing and being and is a socialized subjectivity (Thorpe, 2009; Laberge, 1995). Consequently, one's position within a social space produces habitus and the habitus then shapes both, social relations, and social location. The latter refers to class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, generation, nationality, or gender (Thorpe, 2009). Habitus is acquired through socialization, and this learning process is derived from what one knows. However, it is not a conscious way of learning. Rather, one's perception of the social reality is shaped by being part of a particular culture and consequently one's habitus is established (Laberge, 1995; Lovell, 2000).

The links between capital, habitus and gender are explained in the following. In distinct cultures, men and women are seen and treated differently. These societal gender norms are embodied by males and females when growing up - the habitus develops. Bourdieu emphasizes that gender distinctions are a natural product due to sexual labor division and reproduction, thus

highlighting the differences of female and male bodies (Krais, 2006). Ultimately, inequality between both genders is rooted in these distinctions. Therefore, Bourdieu argues for a biological origin of gender differences and does not see gender as a social construct. But gender differentiation leads to expectations in societies that then predict and shape female and male behavior – social structures are created. Because people follow this structure through the acquired habitus, it is both produced and reproduced by members of societies (Krais, 2006). Accordingly, “the social construction of masculinity and femininity that shapes the body, defines how the body is perceived, forms the body’s habits and possibilities for expression, and thus determines the individual’s identity – via the body – as masculine *or* feminine” (Krais, 2006, p. 121). Concluding these arguments, the naturality of gender differences can be questioned, and gender may be seen as a cultural construct due to the reproduction of gendered structures by agents (Krais, 2006).

In Bourdieu’s theories, gendered dispositions are also a form of cultural capital and therefore need to be seen as a source of power. The distinctions are reproduced through gestures and body movements that ultimately lead to an association of males with power and strength, while females are associated with passiveness and humbleness (Jarvinen, 1999; Laberge, 1995). Relating these distinctions to economic capital, it is evident that men and women perform different work tasks. Typically, women do not have capital accumulating tasks but bear capital themselves and bring value to their family. While men’s work is generally seen as superior and as something that benefits the society, tasks performed by women are not as valued in society as the men’s work. Usually, females take care of the house, children and old or sick people (Jarvinen, 1999; Thorpe, 2009). Generally, in Bourdieu’s work, women are ascribed importance within society when referring to symbolic capital. Through symbolic capital, society and its structure are maintained, especially class and boundaries. While men accumulate economic capital, women transform it into symbolic capital through the display of cultural taste (Lovell, 2000). If women want to acquire capital, hence power, they often face a double bind, because

if they behave like men, they risk losing the obligatory attributes of ‘femininity’ and call into question the natural right of men to the positions of power; if they behave like women, they appear incapable and unfit for the job (Bourdieu, 2001 in Thorpe, 2009, p. 495).

Contrasting this dilemma is the argument that femininity can be seen as a form of capital itself. Being a woman can also positively influence one's success in the labor market. That is due to bodily differences as "certain women derive occupational profit from their charm(s), and [...] beauty thus acquires a value in the labor market" (Bourdieu, 1986 in Thorpe, 2009, p. 494). Throughout his work, Bourdieu uses a binary system, referring to opposites such as dominant and dominated, strong and weak, male and female to explain social structures and to ascribe attributes to men and women (McCall, 1992). Binary contrasts make it easy to explain structures but also display two extremes as it is easy to stereotype. Gender stereotypes are an extreme representation of cultures and the social agent's perception and construction of the social world he/she is part of (Laberge, 1995). However, in reality, social spaces are not composed of binary components. Gender identities and relations rather exist in numerous forms (McCall, 1992). In Bourdieu's theories, it is also stated that the binary system can be resisted. There is the possibility to cross lines between gender, especially girls can acquire a rather male habitus. However, blurring the stark lines between gender is not easy because stigmata are acquired from young age and thus are deeply rooted in society as habitus. The success of blurring the lines between genders depends on the culture's perception of gender and the willingness to loosen stigmata (Lovell, 2000). Changing one's societal habitus can only happen if the individual is conscious about it and has the freedom to do it. The consciousness alone does not lead to social changes because such liberties are regulated liberties that come from dominated structures. This means, regulated liberties are initiated by people and take place within a dominant context and the corresponding habitus. Consequently, the scope of people's freedom to leave binary gender dispositions behind is limited by social stigmata of the culture they are part of (Thorpe, 2009).

3.6.2 Critical Views on Bourdieu

Bourdieu's work on gender has been criticized by numerous feminist scholars for several reasons. Some of the arguments and critical views are elaborated in the following to give an understanding of why it is important to critically evaluate his theories when applying them in a contemporary context.

In her work "gender, home and family in cultural capital theory", Elizabeth B. Silva touches upon criticism regarding Bourdieu's work on gender. Especially feminist scholars have worked on portraying a more modern picture of gender roles and thus destabilize Bourdieu's take on it. Silva (2005) chronologically summarizes Bourdieu's work where it becomes clear that despite the time span of his work, his stance has not changed much. He elaborates a very traditional

framework in which certain traits are ascribed to men and women, resulting in male domination. The very basis of Bourdieu's explanation of differences between males and females lies in the biological differentiation where he uses the biological sex for the construction of gender – known as sexually characterized habitus. Women and men need to have different bodily functions in order to reproduce. Also, the bodily differences not only explain but also justify different hierarchical positions and the resulting distinct behavior of men and women: women mostly appear as aesthetic objects and take their role in a home and family context while men spend the day outside the house (Chambers, 2005; Silva, 2005).

While gender differences based on biological reasons has also been an accepted view among feminist scholars in the 1960s and 1970s, more recently this understanding has been rejected and focus has shifted towards how societies understand male and female bodily distinctions (Silva, 2005). Based on Bourdieu's work from the 1960s where he investigated Berber communities in North Africa, he sees a relation between gendered work and identity. He "conceives of gender as sexual difference [and therefore] [s]ocial identity is made from sexual identity (Silva, 2005, p. 86). People are divided into two kinds based on their bodies, especially judged from their genitals, and this is the very beginning of the socially constructed gender differentiation (Chambers, 2005). What follows this assumption is the understanding that culture and character are founded in biology. A feminist counter voice to this view is by MacKinnon as explained by Chambers (2005). The idea of inequality founded in biology is rejected. "[G]ender is [...] a matter of *politics* and a matter of *power*" (Chambers, 2005, p. 328). In this argumentation, the terms *gender* and *sex* lose their distinctiveness. While *sex* refers to the biological differences, *gender* describes these differences in a social context (Chambers, 2005). Therefore, the binary system of gender that is applied by Bourdieu becomes obsolete. MacKinnon further elaborates that making the distinction between sex and gender means that there must be sexual differences that are free from power. As this is not the case, gendered power is exercised when pointing out any sexual differences, also when done from a feminist stance (Chambers, 2005). In contrast, however, stands the argumentation by Mottier, who criticizes that Bourdieu's failure to distinguish between sex and gender is a very problematic aspect in his work. "[F]ailure to distinguish the two concepts equates to an analysis of gender solely in terms of sexual difference, without any reference to the role of gender power" (Chambers, 2005, p. 329).

Moreover, in his work, Bourdieu focuses on Western understandings of male and female and what implications the bodily distinctions have on societal life. However, in different cultures, different attributes and opportunities are ascribed to males or females (Silva, 2005). Central to Bourdieu's work is the concept of capital. Feminist scholars elaborate that he did not

pay attention to the relation between gender and capital and does not perceive gender as a form of capital. Since the 1990s, feminist scholars argue that femininity itself is a form of capital. As femininity is a learned competency, it can also function as a form of capital, meaning women do not only accumulate capital but also possess it (Thorpe, 2009). Furthermore, femininity as capital becomes increasingly important in the labor market as stated by Lovell (2000). Bourdieu notes gender dynamics to some extent when acknowledging that women's access to education and waged labor is increasing and distance from domestic tasks is establishing. However, he also notes that these steps towards gender equality still bear inequality as there is the gender pay gap and women still face lower status and more insecure jobs (Silva, 2005). Inequality at the workplace can be explained with the asymmetrical perception of gender that ultimately makes women face professional dilemma and obstacles. "Whatever gendered capital women possess in one respect, they lose in others" (McCall, 1992, p. 846).

Chambers (2005) argues that the similarity between Bourdieu's work and that of feminist scholars is the realization of socially constructed gender inequality. She further states that often feminist scholars face a dilemma in their work as on the one hand, gender is believed to be a social construct and thus limiting people's choices as preferences are shaped. Consequently, women might desire symbols of female inferiority. On the other hand, feminist scholars want to state that change is possible and that women themselves can be agents of such change. The dilemma that arises is the following

Feminism [...] calls up women to be the agents of their own emancipation. But valuing women's agency inclines feminists to value women's wishes and choices, and to provide a political framework within which women's real experiences and actual choices are taken seriously, even though those choices may sometimes be the result of patriarchy (Chambers, 2005, p. 326).

The section above was deemed relevant to point out aspects of Bourdieu's work that point out weaknesses and challenging arguments throughout his work. It is striking that the above-mentioned criticism is solely based on the binary distinction of males and females, questioning the gendered hierarchy and power structures from a feminist perspective. What is lacking however, are arguments that challenge the binary gender construction itself. In Bourdieu's work, the binary concept presents two extreme contrasts, male and female, dominant and submissive, strong and weak, public and private, always highlighting differences (McCall, 1992). Gender seen as

a social construct in today's world however, and especially in regard to diversity, this strict binary portrayal must be questioned as well.

For this research, Bourdieu's work on gender is used to investigate portrayal in TV commercials. Therefore, it still seems appropriate to apply as often a stereotypical depiction of gender is used in advertisement that can be also found in Bourdieu's work. The stereotypical portrayal helps to maintain a certain order within society because it displays desired roles for both genders (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017). Moreover, stereotypes function as a tool to simplify and structure information and hence help individuals to make sense of the world. Stereotypes represent the belief that there are typical attributes ascribed to male and female. Women are usually portrayed as "soft, vulnerable, fragile, powerless, dreamy, child-like, and submissive" whereas men are shown as "confident, comfortable, powerful and dominating" (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017, p. 339). However, stereotypical portrayals also bear the danger of limiting opportunities for the displayed social groups. That is why for this thesis, Bourdieu is used for the analysis of gender portrayals in commercials. Later, Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory is applied to elucidate the consequences certain depictions can have on people as well as the possibilities to change one's learned perception and behavior.

3.6.3 Marianismo and Machismo – Prevailing Mexican Gender Concepts

In the previous section, the construction of gender according to Bourdieu and a critical view on it was elaborated. In the following, the two concepts of machismo and marianismo are explained. They are particularly prevailing in Mexican culture and explain society's view on and behavior towards gender roles. To reinforce Western theories on the subject, they have been adjacent to include as well to support the analysis and to add credibility to the findings.

Marianismo describes a picture of the ideal woman who behaves passively and commits to becoming a mother, hence giving up her own interests for the family's sake. Accordingly, women are home centered and hold the family together. This traditional and conservative gender role emerged in relation to Christianity beliefs in which the Virgin Mary plays an important role. More specifically, in Mexico it is the Lady of Guadalupe that serves as a role model (Nuñez, et al., 2016; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Generally, Latin American women face a gendered double bind because in Latin American countries, there is a double standard regarding the perception of women and marianismo beliefs are part of it. On the one hand, women are supposed to follow marianismo beliefs in order to become good wives and mothers. On the other hand, women are seen as sexual objects which must be available for men. This

creates hierarchical structures in which women are subordinate and submissive and men take a dominant role (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry, 2008). The concept of *marianismo* creates a stereotype of gendered expectations in Latin America and among Hispanics. Because stereotypes are difficult to overcome, expectations towards this traditional female role remain despite the global and especially Western influence (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010).

Machismo is explained as male superiority over women in every aspect including economic, legal, cultural, and psychological matters. Machismo stands for an expression of hypermasculinity and the willingness to act aggressively, hence taking risks to demonstrate one's manhood (Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Ultimately, that leads to the suppression of women. In order to show off one's sexual dominance, women need to be conquered. This behavior can be explained psychologically along two factors, inferiority and superiority. When men use machismo acts like showing superiority, it can be to hide feelings of inferiority or insecurity. It can also be due to the socialized superiority over women that leads to macho behavior (Ingoldsby, 1991). Research found that machismo behavior differs among social classes. However, there is no agreement on the extend of this variation (Gutmann & Viveros Vigoya, 2005). Ingoldsby (1991) explains that many of the machismo studies concentrate on lower and middle classes with the argument that it is easier to collect data. This is because in the upper-class, cases of machismo are less likely to be shown. On the contrary, other scholars argue for the opposite. E.g., Beattie (2002) explains that machismo behavior can be seen as luxury which only wealthy men can display. Nevertheless, a relation between machismo behavior and the suppression of feelings of inferiority can be observed as it might be more difficult to have a sufficient income, thus providing for one's family, in low-income classes. That is why strength is expressed otherwise, e.g., through aggressive behavior (Ingoldsby, 1991). So far, only negative characteristics of machismo have been elaborated and, in the past, research has often highlighted negative traits of macho men. However, there is another aspect of machismo behavior that can also impact social life positively. An example is the responsibility to provide for as well as take care of one's family. Furthermore, fathers are likely to show dedication towards their children, thus taking care of them (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Initially, masculinity studies in Latin America were conducted to understand and combat AIDS in the context of homosexuality. However, neither masculinity nor femininity can be investigated by itself. The former closely relates to the latter and specifically looking at feminist women is an important aspect for the investigation of masculinity in Latin American countries (Gutmann & Viveros Vigoya, 2005). The expectations regarding men and women of society are intertwined, ultimately leading to the learning and

adoption of both gender role concepts. The concepts do not exclusively belong to one gender. Women are brought up with respect to male authority and patriarchy, consequently constructing space for machismo acts. Likewise, men are thought to be dominant, hence marianismo can prevail (Nuñez, et al., 2016). That is also why across Latin American societies, women are seen as physically weak, dependent, and submissive. Consequently, they need to be dominated or protected by men (Ingoldsby, 1991).

There has been more research on the concept of machismo than of marianismo. Many studies conducted on the latter investigate women with Latin American heritage outside of their country of origin e.g., Mexican women living in the U.S. Especially studies concerning health have targeted the topic. Not only overall health and wellbeing of women is researched but a focus is set on mental health. A relation between marianismo beliefs, tradition, and mental health issues could be observed, finding links between marianismo behavior and the levels of depression among Hispanic women in the U.S. (Cano, 2004).

Relating the concepts to previously elaborated theory on gender, similarities between Bourdieu and marianismo and machismo can be found. While men struggle for honor, women play a passive role as objects and are dominated by men. Moreover, women have different roles depending on whether they are married or not (being a good wife and mother vs. being seen as a sexual object) (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry, 2008; Jarvinen, 1999). Ultimately, these distinctions lead to inequality of both genders. Femininity is associated with passivity and insignificance, carried out in private settings. In contrast, masculinity is lived publicly and is considered active and meaningful (Jarvinen, 1999).

3.7 Social Cognitive Theory

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) is a psychological theory that is concerned with the understanding and explanation of human learning. It was developed in 1986 by Albert Bandura, a Canadian psychologist, and evolved from his earlier theory of Social Learning. In contrast to other learning or cultivation theories, SCT takes into account that the human has control over the own behavior. SCT can be applied to different fields related to human learning processes to observe and explain influences of behavior. The influence of technology on SCT and the relation to culture, personality, and gender are elaborated later in this section.

SCT “provides an agentic conceptual framework within which to analyze the determinants and psychosocial mechanisms through which symbolic communication influences human thought, affect, and action” (Bandura, 2001, p. 265). Often, human behavior has been explained

by one-sided influences like the environment or internal dispositions. SCT however uses a triadic reciprocal causation approach to explain psychosocial functioning. This approach considers personal, behavioral, and environmental determinants that all have a bidirectional influence. There is no fixed pattern for how the factors influence each other. Rather, it depends on the activities, situations and sociostructural constraints or opportunities (Bandura, 1999; Bandura, 2001).

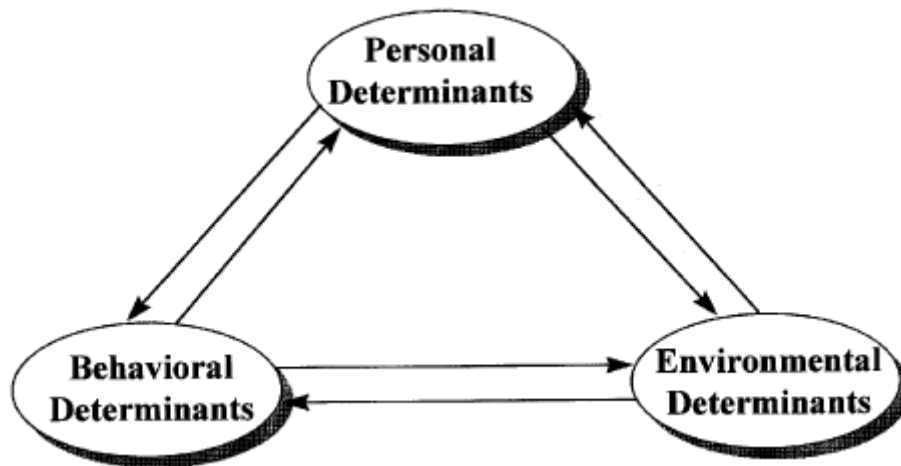


Figure 6: Schematization of Triadic Reciprocal Causation (Bandura, 2001, p. 266)

SCT was elaborated in an agentic perspective, meaning people are not only reacting to external circumstances, but also proactively shape social systems and thus social structures are created by these individuals through their activity. As self-development, adaptation, and change are enclosed in social systems, personal agency is performed within a network consisting of many sociostructural influences (Bandura, 2001). Consequently, “people are producers as well as products of social system” (Bandura, 2001, p. 266). It is of human nature to learn and to change through direct or observational experiences. This is because of neurophysiological plasticity through which the human can process, retain, and use coded information which build fundamental human capabilities.

On the very basis of these human capabilities lies *symbolizing capability* on which all other capabilities are based on. It enables people to understand their environment and to create and regulate events that are closely tied to every aspect of life. This process is based on cognitive factors that differ from individual to individual. These factors determine which events will be observed and what meaning will be ascribed, if they have a lasting impact and if they have emotional or motivational impact. Symbols of experiences are transformed into cognitive models that then guide actions or judgement. Also understanding and knowledge is created through symbolic information and symbols enable communication with each other (Bandura, 2001).

Self-regulation addresses human capability of reacting and directing through internal standards and evaluative reactions. Motivational factors are the positive or negative reactions to one's performance. The self-regulation capability works due to discrepancy production and reduction. People set challenges for themselves that they try to fulfill. Those who have a strong sense of *self-efficacy* set new and even higher goals for them to achieve, thus producing a new discrepancy after having reduced the previous (Bandura, 2001). Self-efficacy determines one's goals and aspirations as well as the view on obstacles and impediments (Bandura, 2002a). The internal standards that perform as guidelines can be altered depending on their context. Especially in areas that involve achievement strivings and the cultivation of competencies, they are adjusted in line with gained knowledge and skills and thus met challenges (Bandura, 2001). The self-regulatory behavior also includes acting according to one's morality standard as actions can either match or violate the personal standard that functions as the regulatory influence. What goes along with human behavior is the capability of *forethought*. Being able to think about the future is displayed when planning future actions, setting goals or anticipating consequences and consequently planning behavior that is likely to produce the desired outcome. Events in the future do not actually exist and therefore cannot cause motivation or action in the present. "However, by being represented cognitively in the present, conceived futures can operate anticipatorily as motivators and regulators of current behavior" (Bandura, 2001, p. 268). Because people are agents, they have the capability of *self-reflection* and can distinguish between right and wrong. Thus, they develop ideas that are evaluated based on the results, and thoughts are changed accordingly. *Vicarious capability* is related to how fast people adapt to something new. There are two ways of learning, either by experiencing effects of one's actions or through the power of social modeling. Traditionally, psychological theories have focused on the former. However, humans have the capacity to learn through observation and to expand knowledge and skills through information delivered by numerous models. The major difference between both modes of learning is that "in observational learning a single model can transmit new ways of thinking and behaving simultaneously to countless people in widely dispersed locals" (Bandura, 2001, p. 271). This becomes especially important to bear in mind when looking at the influence that communication technologies and media have on people. It is of great importance because at the societal level, symbolic modes of modeling shape the way social systems operate and thus serve as the main factor for sociopolitical change (Bandura, 2001). Depending on who one talks to, where they travel to or what they do, their reality is influenced. This is also where the influence of media is present because "people act on their images of reality. The more people's

images of reality depend upon the media's symbolic environment, the greater is its social impact" (Bandura, 2001, p. 271).

3.7.1 SCT, Communication Technologies, and the Media

As stated above, symbolic modeling and the influence of media messages are closely related. Therefore, it is deemed crucial to understand how symbolic communication influences thoughts, affects, and actions of people. With instant communication access, the nature, reach, speed, and loci of influence on people is changed. Technologies preset new opportunities for exercising control over one's development as well as challenges. Generally, changes that dislocate and restructure lives are not a new phenomenon. However, what is new about the changes technologies bring, is the speed and scope of transactions and the global interconnectedness (Bandura, 2002a). Offline, people are only in direct contact with a small part of the environment. Modeling influences are limited to the direct community and consequently, people can only observe and learn from what they experience during the course of the day. With technology and global connectedness, the capacity of observational learning is expanded enormously and goes beyond the customary environment. "Because the symbolic environment occupies a major part of people's everyday lives, much of the social construction of reality and shaping of public consciousness occurs through electronic acculturation" (Bandura, 2002a, p. 12). Ideas, values, and styles of conduct can fast and easily be distributed worldwide and thus create a "globally distributed consciousness" (Bandura, 2002a, p. 12). This also gives televised modeling the power of a very influential mode of modeling and thus be a driver of political and social change. Depending on the images that are shown, televised modeling also bears the danger of being a double-edged sword. "It can fortify social control as well as promote social change depending on the depicted consequences of militant sociopolitical action" (Bandura, 2002a, p. 12).

Another aspect of the mass media and human learning is justification. "Struggles to legitimize and gain support for one's values and causes and to discredit those of one's opponents are now waged more and more through the electronic media" (Bandura, 2001, p. 279). As a consequence of its potential influence, mass communication systems are constantly under pressure from different groups within societies that want their ideology to be presented.

Generally, communication systems operate in two ways. Directly, changes are promoted through informing, enabling, motivating, and guiding recipients. Socially mediated, participants are linked to social networks or communities in which incentives for changes are given naturally (Bandura, 2001).

Mass media influences the construction of reality. Televised influence is not defined by the amount of viewing but rather by the content people consume. Therefore, images shown on TV represent social realities that reflect ideologies e.g., social relations or norms or structures of society. Heavy exposure to these symbolic images can contribute to observational learning and thus the perception of reality; what is seen on TV is taken as reality. As fast and global connected communication is important for delivering news for example, it also bears danger of portraying misleading images. “Indeed, many of the shared misconceptions about occupational pursuits, ethnic groups, minorities, the elderly, social and sex roles, and other aspects of life are at least partly cultivated through symbolic modeling of stereotypes” (Bandura, 2001, p. 282). One distinction that is made when talking about observational learning is so called social prompting. Observers might not perform what is learned previously due to insufficient inducements, not because of restraints. Especially the fashion and taste industries rely on social prompting as modeling power. In advertisement campaigns, rewards are shown when using a certain product and thus a positive connection is established from the viewer. The consequence is that the use of this product is connected with the outcome shown, meaning the consumer is made to believe that they too can look or behave like the modeled acts shown on TV. “Because vicarious influence increases with multiplicity of modeling, the beers, soft drinks, and snacks are being consumed with gusto in the advertised world by groups of wholesome, handsome, fun-loving models” (Bandura, 2001, p. 283).

When it comes to how media models influence human behavior, different research has been conducted with different findings. Therefore, there is not a unique pattern of social influence but ideas by the media can be spread either directly or through adopters. It is claimed that only already existing styles of behavior can be reinforced by media and new ones cannot be implemented. Generally, tailored media communication was found to be better remembered and deemed more credible and relevant, thus more effective in influencing behavior than a general message (Bandura, 2001). What needs to be taken into consideration is that people and the media are in a reciprocal interplay. As much as technology influences societal life, as much is technology influenced by people (Bandura, 2002a).

3.7.2 SCT and Personality

Personality is an umbrella term that includes a complex of interacting attributes. One’s personality has many facets that are contextualized and is expressed in transactions throughout everyday life. “People express their individuality and give structure, meaning and purpose to their

lives by acting on their beliefs about themselves, their values, personal standards, aspirations and construals of the world around them” (Bandura, 1999, p. 58). Personal identity is formed upon self-characterizations. SCT’s agentic perspective explains how people are capable of doing so. Human agency is exercised and shapes the lives of people through self-structures and regulator processes. Personal identity is then derived from how life is lived and how it is reflected upon it (Bandura, 1999). Part of identity construction is how one is treated by other people - one’s social identity. According to the model of reciprocal triadic causation, selfhood is produced by a complex interplay of social and personal processes. It is an ongoing process that is influenced by the identification with national, social and political, ethnic and familial as well as occupational aspects. ”’Personality’ is the integrated self system within which the previously identified constituents operate in complex mutual interaction in the management of diverse and changing environmental circumstances” (Bandura, 1999, p. 58). Over time as people evolve, new or different aspects can be integrated in one’s self-identity (Bandura, 1999). Several factors determine if people will behave according to what they have learned. Environmental incentives are regulators. Adoptive behavior is easily influenced by material, social or self-evaluative outcomes. Some motivational incentives depend on the utility of the adoptive behavior. “The greater the relative benefits provided by an innovation, the higher the incentive is to adopt it” (Bandura, 2001, p. 289). Self-structures and regulatory processes constitute one’s agency that is exercised and thus shape one’s life and what one considers itself to be. Personal identity is created from how life is lived and how it is reflected upon it (Bandura, 1999). “To be an agent is to influence intentionally one’s functioning and life circumstances” (Bandura, 2002b, p. 270). In SCT, personal agency can be exercised in three different forms: *Direct personal agency* is exercised individually, and people directly influence themselves and their environment. However, there are various aspects of everyday life where people cannot exercise direct control. Then, valued outcomes are pursued through *proxy agency* where the individual tries to secure the desired outcome by making others with access to resources or power to act on their behalf. Ultimately, many outcomes are only achievable through group effort. To exercise *collective agency*, people have to gather knowledge, skills and resources, provide support and work together to achieve the outcomes they cannot generate on their own (Bandura, 2002b). The latter will further be elucidated in the next section in relation to individualist and collectivist cultures.

3.7.3 SCT and Culture

Technology and global connectedness also influence culture as cultures are no longer separated from one and another. Interdependencies and economic factors shape the political and social life. There is no single transnational culture, however the Internet enables certain similarities to be produced. Therefore, more and more, people will be embedded in global symbolic environments. That means, individuals are able to transcend their environment as cultures are also not static constructs but diverse and dynamic (Bandura, 2002b). This becomes visible in the intermixing through e.g., migration flows, inter-ethnic marriages, and high global mobility that create new hybrid cultures. “Growing ethnic diversity [...] [means to meet] the demands of both one’s own ethnic subculture and that of the larger society” (Bandura, 2002b, p. 284). SCT provides a framework to expound human development, adaptation as well as change in different cultural environments. However, cultural analysis must take a stand on whether there is one universal human nature or many human natures emerging from the various cultural environments (Bandura, 2002b). In SCT, human behavior is explained through the diverse experiences of direct and vicarious/indirect influences within human biological limits. There are limits to human biological potentialities, however, there is plenty of space for cultural possibilities. The question that remains is “whether nature operates as a determinist that has culture on a ‘tight leash’, or as a potentialist that has culture on a ‘loose leash’” (Bandura, 2002b, p. 272). Consequently, cultural variation is rather tied to ideology than biology. Therefore, cultures shape human basic capacities into diverse forms. Especially modeling varies across cultural environments.

SCT was found to be applicable on both, individualistic and collectivistic societies. Cultures are not static as stereotypically portrayed but evolve over time and vary across location (Bandura, 2000). This is somewhat different to Hofstede’s work on culture as it implies culture as a rather static concept. This distinction can be explained bearing in mind that SCT acknowledges a continuous learning process of the individual, hence make it possible for social spaces to change (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). It is important to bear in mind that there is no uniform individualistic or collectivistic culture. Within society, culture may be exercised differently depending on location (Bandura, 2002b). With the cultural dimensions, Hofstede provides a framework to examine a culture’s stance towards one orientation or another, making it comparable to other cultural spaces. The explanations for characteristics of the cultural dimensions present two extreme counter sides and as scores are meant to give an overview of the respective country, actual societal behavior is found anywhere between these extremes (Hofstede, 2011,

p. 10). Moreover, in both types of systems, there is heterogeneity to some extent. However, there is variation among types of social relationships for example. While members of collectivist societies tend to be communal with ingroup members e.g., family, friends and colleagues, people of individualist environments tend to be communal with outgroup members (Bandura, 2002b). The orientation towards individualistic or collectivistic can vary depending on the reference group (family, peers, academic, national). Also, it is impossible to either be solely individualistic or collectivistic. Therefore, to some extent, people show traits of both orientations (Bandura, 2002b). Relating the orientation of cultures to perceived self-efficacy beliefs, it is important to understand that it positively influences both types of cultural orientation. Because people do not live their lives isolated but produce outcome together, group performance is the product of interaction and coordination of its members. However, collective efficacy is not just the sum of many individual efficacy beliefs. It rather is people acting collectively because they share beliefs within a group (Bandura, 1999). “[A] strong sense of efficacy is vital for successful functioning regardless of whether it is achieved individually or by group members working together” (Bandura, 2002b, p. 54). However, one’s cultural context shapes the development and expression of efficacy beliefs. This can be observed in an occupational context where it was found that women’s career paths are constricted by their sense of inefficacy for skills that are needed for jobs usually performed by men. It is a form of gendered socialization that can be observed cross-culturally and will be elaborated further in the following section (Bandura, 2002b).

3.7.4 SCT and Gender

Major parts of gendered socialization do not arise from biological differences but from cultural context through which stereotypical attributes are often ascribed for males and females. SCT’s model of triadic reciprocal causation can explain gender development. It is specified “how gender conceptions are constructed from the complex mix of experiences and how they operate in concert with motivational and self-regulatory mechanisms to guide gender-linked conduct throughout the life course” (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 676). The consequence of gender stereotypes is the shaped perception, evaluation, and treatment of males and females in gendered ways. Hence, a vicarious circle is created as this behavior confirms the initial stereotypes that then again lead to a certain perception and behavior. Along with Bourdieu’s view on gender differences, differences in behavior can be derived from division of labor, sociostructural practices and the uneven status of power and gender, possibly constructing restrictions in social life.

However, it is argued that the self is not completely based on external influences as people are both, influencers of and influenced by social systems. It is social structures that impose constraints or provide opportunities for self-development. What cannot be forgotten is that social structures are created by people. Therefore, people also have the power to influence the production of such social structures that also determine gender (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

When relating SCT and gender, modeling is a crucial aspect as it is one of the most powerful and pervasive way to pass on values, attitudes, and behavior. Especially children easily imitate what they have learned from models which is crucial for gender development. Generally, rules of gender role conduct can vary depending on time and the social context. Different cultures ascribe different traits to the sexes and thus society has distinct values of what it means to be male or female (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

However, in contrast to other cognitive learning theories, SCT acknowledges the continuous development over time depending on one's environment and influences. This opens up for gender development throughout the entire lifespan and rejects a cultivation approach that only adopts identity, behavior, and worldviews in early childhood development (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Again, a relation to Bourdieu can be drawn and to the concept of habitus and its social location (generation, class, nationality, sexuality) that determines the individual's being and behaving but also may change over time (Laberge, 1995).

4 Methodology

In this section we elaborate on our methodological considerations in order to approach our problem formulation. It provides a transparent and structured overview of conducting this specific study. This section starts off with laying out the epistemological and ontological considerations, arguing how we have approached the topic of interest. Moreover, an extensive elaboration of our research design and method of analysis are provided, and lastly, we argue for our choice of material and discuss limitations of the study.

4.1 Philosophy of Science

This section provides an explanation of the researchers' philosophical stand points, when it comes to doing research, which include the epistemological and ontological considerations that are being made throughout the process of this research: "what is important is that as well as applying a method to data, researchers make their (epistemological and other) assumptions explicit" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 5). By giving a clear and descriptive idea of these, it creates a credible narrative and ensure a coherent understanding of the how the data has been processed and the results derived.

It is evident that we feel closely entangled with an interpretivist stance, because when it comes to our research, we are very aware of the fact that we interpret the data through our own perception of reality: "the human mind has a passion for finding meaning—and for creating meaning." (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 52). The results are based on our interpretation of the data, and it becomes clear that staying objective is not an option to a certain degree (Wahyuni, 2012, p. 70). Therefore, different eyes might lead to different results and conducted by other people, this study might have a different outcome, "[b]ecause these human perspectives and experiences are subjective, social reality may change and can have multiple perspectives" (Wahyuni, 2012, p. 71). It is then up to the critical reader to form their own opinion of the results through their perception of the social world. However, due to our belief that we all perceive things differently depending on our social and cultural backgrounds, one perception of the world does not necessarily negate another. By arguing for the choices made through this investigation and by being transparent, we ensure that the results from this study have validity to contribute to the academic field that we conduct research in.

The focus when taking the epistemological standpoint of interpretivism is to *understand* a phenomenon rather than trying to *explain* it (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). This especially becomes relevant when it comes to the argument of interpretivism vs. positivism, which is discussed in further detail in section 4.3.1.1 Epistemological Considerations in Relation to TA, and it further supports why we identify as interpretivists.

Ontologically, we operate within constructivism which in many ways displays similar beliefs as interpretivism, making them closely related and often these two go hand in hand (Wahyuni, 2012, p. 71) – which is the case here as well. Bryman (2012) explains constructivism as a philosophy that is concerned with social relations and how these are ever evolving. The focus is on the constant development, change and revision of the social world because of the social actors in it. Everyone has a part to play in the construction of reality, which happens through speech, actions and thought processes. This makes it impossible for one definitive social world to exist (p. 33). We find constructivism to be relevant due to the aim of this study seeking to understand the phenomenon of how diversity is portrayed in Coca-Cola's commercials and how these might influence the social actors (the consumers) and therefore the social world. When investigating cultural diversity, it should be kept in mind that humans as social actors shape the world they live in (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008). The phenomenon is created through social interactions in a social context and Coca-Cola inherently portrays certain social norms and views on gender, race, and culture through their commercials, especially due to their huge international market and therefore global influence.

4.2 Research Design

The research design provides the tools for the project's foundation. Therefore, this section gives an overview of how we have built our research design to answer the problem formulation. The nature of qualitative research is propounded and within this particular research design, case study research is presented. The methods applied for this case study research are presented later on.

4.2.1 Qualitative Research

Doing qualitative research can be an abstract process because it leaves room for interpretation of the data – at least in our case and how we make use of this approach. This means, there is

not necessarily one correct answer, but people's understanding and view of the world influence their way of interpreting. Doing qualitative analysis in relation to this study, means that the focus is on words rather than the quantification of collected data and the analysis of large amounts of data (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). Furthermore, the qualitative approach, in many cases, complies with a constructivist and interpretivist stance (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012), qualitative research uses data that is rather abstract and therefore, interpretation is needed. This leads to the argument: when doing interpretations, it is impossible to stay objective as everyone has a different view on the social world. Consequently, one will interpret some situations differently than someone else. And this is what interpretivism and constructivism is composed of. This does not imply that we are being subjective, but rather that we believe nothing can ever be solely objective. Being three researchers creates a strong foundation for credibility, and for what we consider objectivity, by working through our observations and interpretations with three different perceptions of reality. This consequently leads to having reflective conversations and discussions. As stated by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012):

We prefer simpler and more functional definition of qualitative research as offered by Nkwi, Nyamongo, and Ryan (2001): "Qualitative research involves any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values" (p. 1). The focus in this latter definition is on the data generated and/or used in qualitative inquiry—that is, text, images, and sounds. Essentially, the data in qualitative research are nonnumeric and less structured data than those generated through quantitatively oriented inquiry, because the data collection process itself is less structured, more flexible (...) (p. 5)

Due to the data and the data collection process being less structured, it is of extreme importance to be transparent through the methodological considerations and the overall scope of this project.

4.2.1.1 An Exploratory and Explanatory Approach

Embarking on any research journey, there is no "one size fits them all". This includes the research design, methods and approaches applied. In qualitative research, there are different

analytical approaches to investigate one's topic of research. These approaches include being *exploratory*, *explanatory*, *confirmatory* or *comparative* (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). However, only one approach is not necessarily going to “fit” our research. We realized that this had started out as an *exploratory* study, a content-driven approach, wanting to investigate the relationship between advertisements and the process of ideological reproduction in the U.S, using Coca-Cola as an example. This also correlated with our method, Thematic Analysis, where the repeated examination of data is crucial (4.3.1 Thematic Analysis). “[F]or an exploratory study, the researcher carefully reads and rereads the data, looking for keywords, trends, themes, or ideas in the data that will help outline the analysis, *before* any analysis takes place” (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 7). We interpret this statement in the sense that it is implied here that “analysis” is to be understood as the actual analysis writing process. We argue that some initial analysis of the data happens in the primary stages of transcribing and re-reading the data. However, the overall analysis does not happen until the themes have been found and categorized (4.3.1.2 Thematic Analysis in Practice).

Nonetheless, this study also has characteristics of an *explanatory* approach. This approach combines a deductive and an inductive process, while the exploratory approach is inductive (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, pp. 34, 36). We argue, the relation between theory and observations/findings is iterative. The iterative process is the act of going back and forth between theory and findings/observations (Bryman, 2012, pp. 26, 384). Even though it is argued by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) that the TA “is a rigorous, yet inductive, set of procedures” (p. 15), we argue that in combination with the case study research design by Yin (2009) (4.2.2 Case Study Research), we primarily approach the study in an iterative manner. This also aligns with our choice of doing coding, which is elaborated in chapter 4.3.1.3 Data-driven and Concept-driven Coding. The explanatory approach also aligns with our epistemological and ontological stances in that sense that,

because such analyses are often used to inform decision making, concerns about the validity of the research are heightened. Such concerns are in fact justified if the research is premised on a philosophical rejection of objective reality and combined with an interpretation that centers on the researcher's subjective and unchallenged interpretation of the research experience (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 36).

This underlines how this analytical approach fits with the nature of our study. As it has already been explained in the philosophy of science section, we strive for a certain level of objectivity in our research, but we do not believe the existence of the objective reality, due to our philosophical stances.

4.2.2 Case Study Research

Since the aim of this study is to do an in-depth investigation of the relationship between advertisements and the process of ideological reproduction in the U.S., based on Coca-Cola as an example, it is adjacent to do this through case study research. Yin (2009) states that “[a] case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context” (p. 18). Doing case study allows us to do a profound investigation of one single case in one setting (Bryman, 2012, pp. 46, 66). Furthermore, it complies with the overall thoughts regarding epistemological considerations. The Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences defines qualitative research as: “[r]esearch using methods such as participant observation or case studies which result in a narrative, descriptive account of a setting or practice. Sociologists using these methods typically reject positivism and adopt a form of interpretive sociology.” (Drislane & Parkinson, 2002)

However, it is important to note that case study research can be carried out in different ways, depending on the scholar within the field of case study, someone chooses as their primary source of inspiration. Meaning that different scholars might have different approaches to this research design. For some it might be beneficial to use scholars that approach case study in a looser manner and believe that “to make rule-based knowledge the highest goal of learning is regressive.” (Flyvbjerg, 2006). We do not necessarily disagree with this statement, however, having worked with case study previously, Robert K. Yin has proven to be our preferred scholar within this field, due to his iterative approach to do case study. He argues that case study is “a linear but iterative process” (Yin, 2009, p. 1). Furthermore, he provides a systematic way of doing case study, despite that it, for a long time, did not “have a legitimate status as a social science research strategy because it does not have well-defined and well-structured protocols” (Yazan, 2015, p. 134). As a result of these notions, we prefer conducting case study by Robert K. Yin.

4.2.2.1 *Embedded Single-Case Study*

Yin suggests two different ways of doing case study, either a single-case study or a multiple-case study. In order to determine which of these should be applied, some terms are important to define; what we consider the *context*, the *case* and the *unit(s) of analysis* (Yin, 2009, p. 46). As demonstrated in figure 7, single-case study provides one context and a case within that context. This is one way of looking at case study, and another is investigating multiple cases within different contexts. This, however, is within a holistic framework, seeing that there is only one unit of analysis to take into consideration. However, this study operates within an embedded single case design since we have incorporated multiple units of analysis within our single-case study. The context of our study is the portrayal of diversity in Coca-Cola's commercials from 2020. The case, we want to examine within these commercials, is concerned with investigating the relationship between advertisements and the process of ideological reproduction in the U.S. Our units of analysis are the two commercials through which we examine the case.

Due to our iterative process of doing research, quite extensive reflection of whether this study should be designed as a single-case or multiple-case study was done. Because of our desire to investigate the phenomenon of the relationship between advertisements and the process of ideological reproduction in the U.S. based on Coca-Cola commercials, additional questions were asked to further investigate this phenomenon. It is suggested by Yin (2009) to do case study when you can ask a *how* or *why* question about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator had little, or no control of the events. We asked *how* cultural dominant values are portrayed in the commercials and *how* this portrayal may influence the consumer (p. 13). These embedded units of analysis are what we investigated in order to analyze the overall phenomenon, therefore, making this an *embedded single-case study*.

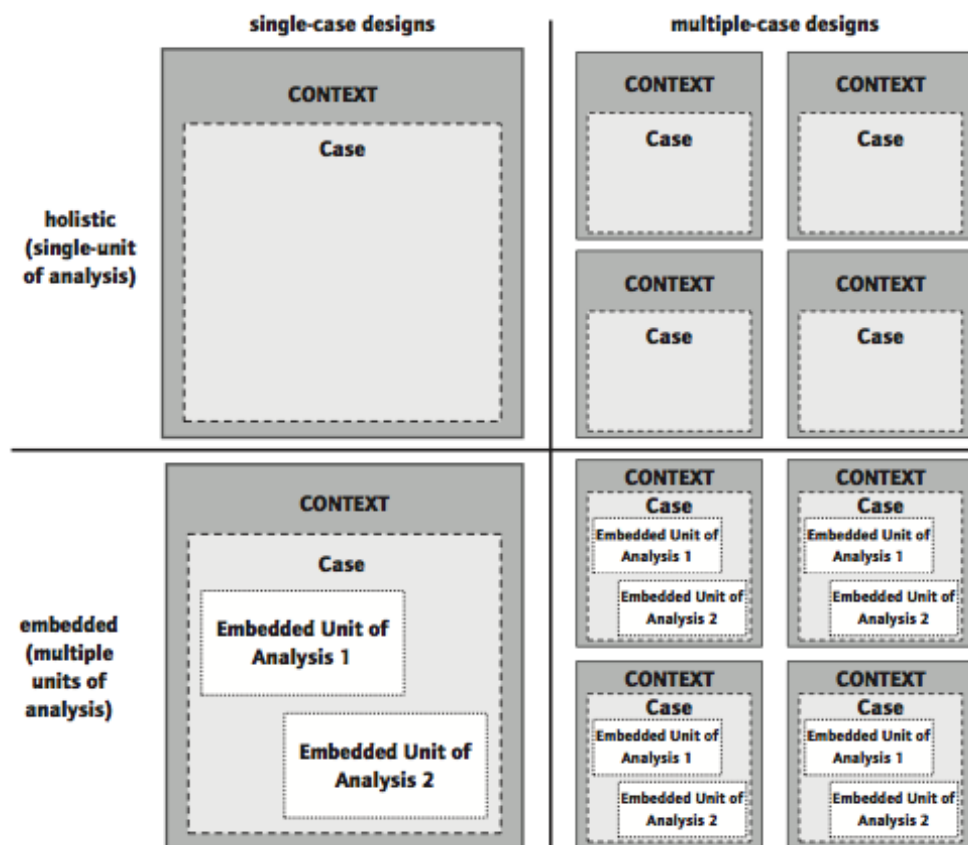


Figure 7: Basic Types of Design for Case Studies (Yin, 2009, p. 46)

Furthermore, Yin (2009) explains several different circumstances that should be taken into consideration, and he presents five rationales: *critical* case, *extreme* or *unique* case, *representative* or *typical* case, *revelatory* case, and a *longitudinal* case (pp. 47-49). Taking into account that the data consists of TV commercials from Coca-Cola, a highly global brand, that people are exposed to on an everyday basis, complies with what is described as a *representative* or *typical* case, where “the object is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation” (Yin, 2009, p. 48). We are subjected to commercials on a daily basis, and it is believed to impact us both consciously and subconsciously and in some ways the senders of these commercials have the power to influence the consumer and do so subconsciously, as well as consciously (3.7 Social Cognitive Theory).

4.3 Method of Analysis

This section elaborates on the choice of method, Thematic Analysis (TA), and how it supplies the tools for answering the problem formulation. Furthermore, this section provides the reader

with a detailed walkthrough of how the TA has been conducted, the coding process applied for working through the data, and how the data has been transcribed in order for it to be structured and organized for the analysis.

4.3.1 Thematic Analysis

To gain a profound understanding of the relationship between advertisements and the process of ideological reproduction in the U.S., we use TA by Braun and Clarke (2006), as well as Applied Thematic Analysis (ATA) by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012). By applying this specific method, it enables us to locate the dominant themes regarding cultural diversity throughout the coding process, which then helps us answer RQ1 of our problem formulation. It also structures our data in a way that facilitates the process of comparing elements found, and how certain minority groups are portrayed, helping us answer RQ2 of the problem formulation. Moreover, having different angles to a method can aid us in adapting the method for this exact study. Basically, the ATA and the TA are the same method. However, they are explained by different scholars, which can give a new way of interpreting the method and allow the researchers to adapt the process of the method for their own research. When talking about the ATA, ‘applied’ indicates the use of different methods for data collection, “[b]riefly put, ATA is a type of inductive analysis of qualitative data that can involve multiple analytic techniques.” (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 3). As it is stated previously, we take an iterative approach to the overall process of this study. However, we do not dispute that the process of doing a TA is inductive, we, nonetheless, approach it differently. Our approach has mainly been inspired by Braun and Clarke’s 6 step guide (2006), but also greatly influenced by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012). Furthermore, the themes found through coding are organized and analyzed in relation to the theoretical framework presented earlier.

When doing TA, it is important to clarify the role of the researcher: “Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). This indicates how the role of the researcher should be active. It is important to emphasize that we are conscious of how we have discovered the themes used in the analysis. We did this actively by going through our data set repeatedly, discovering themes. Themes did not “emerge” or “appear”, this meaning the role of the researcher would be passive. We are aware that our role in finding these themes was active and interpretation occurred. Furthermore, “[i]t is important (...) for us to acknowledge our own theoretical positions and values

in relation to qualitative research” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Often, Braun and Clarke (2006) explain, the way of phrasing how “themes emerged” or “appeared” can result in the misinterpretation “that themes ‘reside’ in the data, and if we just look hard enough they will ‘emerge’ (...) If themes ‘reside’ anywhere, they reside in our heads from our thinking about our data and creating links as we understand them” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Lastly, doing TA is strongly related to hermeneutics, which

was originally the practice of interpreting meaning within biblical text. Usage of the term has expanded to include interpretation of nonreligious texts in search of underlying sociopolitical meaning. To an interpretivist, the story one tells, and its effect on the intended audience, is the centerpiece of the method (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 14).

This is interesting because it correlates with the intended purpose of this study. We seek to investigate messages behind the commercials and how it might influence the consumers.

Before further elaborating on TA, an explanation of certain terms is provided, in order to avoid misunderstandings. The meaning of these terms can vary in between individuals and within the different academic fields, therefore it is important to state how they should be interpreted throughout this paper. In the figure 8 below, a description of how each term is used and understood, is provided and we have adopted these definitions for this investigation.

Data: The textual representation of a conversation, observation, or interaction.

Theme: A unit of meaning that is observed (noticed) in the data by a reader of the text.

Code: A textual description of the semantic boundaries of a theme or a component of a theme.

Codebook: A structured compendium of codes that includes a description of how the codes are related to each other.

Coding: The process by which a qualitative analyst links specific codes to specific data segments.

Figure 8: Terminology provided by (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 50)

When talking *data* we refer to our commercials – visual representation – that could be considered our raw data, which then is transcribed into text facilitating the coding process (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 12; Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). When referring to *data set* we refer to the processed data, in our case the transcription of the commercials and coded data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). The commercials are an interaction between sender (brand/company) and receiver (consumer). *Themes* are the concepts that we discover when coding our data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 50). An example of a theme could be *gender portrayal* (5.2 Gender Portrayal). The *code* is a description of a theme, which makes it easier to remember what the theme entails, to later in the process categorize and organize the themes (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 50). With the code it is evident which themes can be categorized into the same “box”, so to speak. The *codebook* is what we refer to as our notes during our coding process (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 50). The codebook contains the process from initial coding to categorizing, and this process is mainly for the researchers to derive themes and later structure them in a *thematic map*, which is less detailed than the codebook (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 101). The thematic map is structured to make it more manageable and better organized for the researchers during the process of developing the analysis. *Coding* is, as stated in figure 8, the process of going over one’s transcribed data to find themes and later categorize them into groups (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 50). Coding entails the full process from initially “looking through” the data, having ideas about themes, to the development of the codebook and to later having found one’s themes and developed a thematic map.

4.3.1.1 Epistemological Consideration in Relation to TA

As clarified earlier, we operate within an interpretivist stance, when it comes to how we perceive the world. This perception is our own subjective interpretation, making it difficult to stay objective. Nonetheless, there are ways to achieve objectivity and still acknowledging that nothing is ever completely objective. However, according to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) in some ways, it could be argued that we lean towards a positivist stance – though this is considered the total opposite of interpretivism (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Some fundamental ideas of positivism include that it is important to stay objective towards the data and the interpretations derived from there and the analysis method should be systematic and transparent. We strive for transparency in our research, as well as taking a systematic approach. As explained by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012):

The analytic process outlined in this book utilizes various data reduction techniques, and, admittedly is biased toward a positivist perspective. That said, the act of identifying themes within text, among other components of the data analysis process, is itself a highly interpretive endeavor. Throughout the book, we emphasize the need to always refer back to the raw data and caution against relying only on summarized forms of data. As such, the approach we advocate embraces key elements of the interpretive school of thought (pp. 14-15).

As it is argued in the quote, we too think of ourselves as highly interpretive. In regard to staying objective, this is considered very important when doing any academic work. This establishes credibility and reliability that the researcher has not been influenced by their own opinion or beliefs and having that influence the results of the study. Nonetheless, the way we interpret things through our own reality can only be considered being subjective. However, we are aware of how things we interpret and observe are through our own perception and we do not try to hide that fact. This supports the importance to state within what standpoint one operates, but as well how some might argue differently than what we argue. It is important to point out possible different views. This as well inherently creates credibility and reliability. Once again, it depends on transparency.

4.3.1.2 Thematic Analysis in Practice

In this section we go over the process of the TA guide, containing 6 phases, by Braun and Clarke (2006) and along the way we added our own adjustments and comments of our process. Both the ATA method by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) and the 6-step TA guide by Braun and Clarke (2006) were merely guidelines for us to follow as we developed and adapted to our own investigation.

Due to our data being videos, there are some steps that differ from the guide (figure 9). The initial step of transcribing was a bit more extensive in our case since we wanted to incorporate a very detailed transcription of verbal as well as non-verbal language. That meant to include the settings of the commercials and other elements: e.g., what heritage is presented and how is gender diversity portrayed. Seeing how the people in the commercials are portrayed allowed us to analyze how the characters and the setting of the commercial may be perceived by the viewer.

The TA “can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society.” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 80). As a general note on the TA process, having a more elaborated transcription process, with reading and re-reading as a part of the transcription process, as well as noting initial ideas down, helped us in the coding process. This was very much in line with phase 1 and it naturally led us to step 2 (figure 9), where we started to code themes. The whole process from step 1 to 4 is an organic process, where we started with a wide spectrum of themes and ideas, and then categorized the themes and discarded unnecessary themes. The analysis does not necessarily start at phase 6 as described in figure 9. As soon as we first started going over the data set, interpretations have commenced consciously or subconsciously, as “[i]n classic qualitative research, at least some of the data are analyzed as they are collected, and the results may be used in an iterative fashion to modify the data collection itself.” (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 21). The following sections provides a more in-depth description of each phase as opposed to the general notes given above.

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Figure 9: Phases of TA (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

Phase 1

In the primary stages of TA, the researchers are to familiarize themselves with their data. This can be done e.g., through transcribing or reading and re-reading the collected data material. Due to our data being two video commercials, it was necessary to transcribe it to proceed to coding. Consequently, we worked meticulously through the videos and inherently familiarized ourselves with our data. Depending on whether the data was handed to researchers, or if they found it themselves, the extent of previously established knowledge on the subject differs. While for the former usually the researchers have no previous knowledge, in case of the latter the

researchers have knowledge beforehand, which is the case for us. Moreover, this project was inspired by a previous project of ours and therefore, we did have some assumptions and thoughts on the matter. This is also why we have chosen to work both with concept-driven and data-driven coding. This ensured that even though we had some pre-assumed concepts, we made sure to stay open to our data to get as much valid material as possible. Moreover, it ensured that our assumptions did not control the overall process and outcome of this investigation. As previously mentioned, the transcription process helped us familiarize with our data in depth, since we were forced to go over it multiple times and second per second. In this process, some initial thoughts on the analysis and interpretation of the data were made. Furthermore, it was paramount that the transcription captures relevant information. Braun and Clarke (2006) state, “[w]hat is important is that the transcript retains the information you need, from the verbal account, and in a way which is ‘true’ to its original nature” (p. 88). They also point out how important it is to double check the transcriptions with the original data, since this will ensure the most accurate interpretations and analysis. The process of going back and forth should not be ignored or thought of lightly, since it is a key process in a strong study as well as important for the outcome of it (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88).

Phase 2

After familiarizing with the data in the primary phase, Braun and Clarke (2006) describe phase 2 as the initial coding round, where the search for patterns and interesting analytical points are coded. This is also the phase, where we commenced the process of comparing the themes that we initially found to see what patterns might emerge. Braun and Clarke (2006) point out some advice to keep in mind when coding, which is to

- a) code for as many potential themes/patterns as possible (time permitting) – you never know what might be interesting later; b) code extracts of data inclusively – i.e., keep a little of the surrounding data if relevant, a common criticism of coding is that the context is lost (Bryman, 2001); and c) remember that you can code individual extracts of data in as many different „themes” as they fit into - so an extract may be uncoded, coded once, or coded many times, as relevant. (p. 89)

We approached phase 2 by first coding individually. This meant watching the videos several times while writing down thoughts and assumptions made during the viewing. The process included discussions we had had during phase 1. In conclusion, this phase entailed writing down all thoughts and interpretations that came to us while viewing the videos.

Phase 3

Commencing phase 3 meant carrying out the initial analysis. This entailed finding themes in the data set, “[e]ssentially, you are starting to analyse your codes, and consider how different codes may combine to form an overarching theme” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). Because we approached the coding process through concept-driven coding and data-driven coding, respectively, we started sorting themes in relation to preliminary concepts (minority groups in regard to heritage and gender) chosen before we began the coding process. Furthermore, we remained open to our data, and coded themes that we had not necessarily thought of before starting the process. This meant that we needed additional theory to support the themes found in the data. This correlated overall with our iterative process of going back and forth between theory and data. The coding process is further elaborated in section 4.3.1.3 Data-driven and Concept-driven Coding. The process of coding is a balance between premade assumptions and staying open minded. Having some preliminary ideas on the outcome is normal, however, it is important to not let these ideas direct the study. As Graham R. Gibbs (2007) notes,

[i]f your project has been defined in the context of a clear theoretical framework, then it is likely that you will have some good ideas about what potential codes you will need. That is not to say that they will be preserved intact throughout the project, but at least it gives you a starting point for the kinds of phenomena you want to look for when reading the text. The trick here is not to become too tied to the initial codes you construct (p. 45).

This also meant that we coded things at times that seemed irrelevant. This however is a crucial part of the process. Commencing this phase, we compared our separate coding documents and noted potential themes, sub-themes, and categories. This process was carried out by going meticulously through each of our documents, discussing our notes, agreeing on themes, and writing down everything we came across as potentially important. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest

writing down all relevant data to the potential themes (p. 89). However, this was done primarily with much fewer notes and thoughts but was later done in much greater detail in cooperation by all three researchers.

Lastly, it is important to take into consideration and be transparent about how our approach at times deviated from the guide provided by Braun and Clarke (2006). They suggest making a theme for codes that does not seem to fit anywhere (p. 90). However, this seemed to be irrelevant for our research, although the step was considered during the process.

Phase 4

This phase included going over themes and codes found in phase 3 to decide if some of them needed to be changed, broken into new, separate themes, or if some should be merged or discarded (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 90). This phase, however, melted together with the previous phase and this work was done rather simultaneously, since we went through an ongoing, ever evolving and ever-changing process of discussing themes, finding new themes, discarding some and re-defining others. The argument for when a theme can be coded is that a theme can be coded whenever it is deemed relevant. This means that it does not necessarily need to be present a certain number of times, as justified in the following:

As this is qualitative analysis, there is no hard-and-fast answer to the question of what proportion of your data set needs to display evidence of the theme for it to be considered a theme. It is not the case that if it was present in 50% of one's data items, it would be a theme, but if it was present only in 47%, then it would not be. Nor is it the case that a theme is only something that many data items give considerable attention to, rather than a sentence or two (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82).

The importance or relevance of a theme does not depend on how much space or how little space a theme has been given in the data set. It can appear numerous times or considerably few times, nonetheless, if it is present, it can be relevant to the researcher and therefore, would also be relevant to include in the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Moreover, it is important to be aware that no themes are mutually exclusive, and several scenes can contain different themes, due to the scope of this study. Additionally, also because the main topics of this study do not have clear boundaries but are rather intertwined to certain extends. To give an example,

this is evident in a scene from TGM (1:02) where two males are sitting in a living room sharing a meal. Another example showing contradictions within the data set is the theme *inclusion and exclusion*, where contradictory statements occur (5.1.3 Inclusion and Exclusion). However, Braun and Clarke (2006) state that

no data set is without contradiction, and a satisfactory thematic „map“ that you will eventually produce - an overall conceptualisation of the data patterns, and relationships between them - does not have to smooth out or ignore the tensions and inconsistencies within and across data items. It is important to retain accounts which depart from the dominant story in the analysis, so do not ignore these in your coding (p. 89).

This permits interesting points to come across in the analysis and at the same time allows a much deeper understanding and a more qualified answer to the problem formulation.

Phase 5

This next phase was also approached simultaneously with phase 3 and 4. Phase 5 is for naming and defining themes, and Braun and Clarke (2006) describe this phase as “identifying the ‘essence’ of what each theme is about” (p. 92). Making a structured document of themes and defining what they are about is important in order to organize notes and not complicate things. It provides structure and can be done simply by

going back to collated data extracts for each theme, and organizing them into a coherent and internally consistent account, with accompanying narrative. It is vital that you do not *just* paraphrase the content of the data extracts presented, but identify what is of interest about them (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92).

In order to structure the data, we created a scheme (figure 10) that provides an overview of our themes and codes. This was of great importance when doing the analysis because we were able to go back and see not only where the themes appeared in the different commercials, but also how many times they were coded. As demonstrated in the excerpt below, we wrote down themes and sub-themes in the first column, commercial and time stamp in the second and the codes of the themes in the third. The codes were made to resemble the essence of the theme and

were short, to not overwhelm ourselves. However, we did also have a separate document with more elaborated notes. The scheme was used to structure and organize themes and as a tool for supporting claims made about themes appearing a certain number of times. This scheme was not deemed necessary to include in the appendix, and this also applies for the document further elaborating the themes, since these documents include our initial notes, thoughts, codes, etc. Therefore, it is not considered relevant to the reader but for us as part of the coding process. Structuring the themes allowed us to, as in phase 3, observe if there were any themes that contained sub-themes. This was helpful for cases, where some themes that did not necessarily need to be its own theme and instead was merged with another. Again, it all helped creating structure and transparency, seeing visually how we organized our themes and how we coded them.

Themes	Commercial + timestamps	Codes
Main theme: Gender Portrayal		
Sub-theme: Display of emotions	OLNB: 1:13 1:10	Men showing affection Woman looks devastated
	TGM: 0:24, 0:29 0:10	It is okay for men to cry It is okay for women to cry
Sub-theme: Female empowerment	OLNB: 1:16	Woman saying “sexy” instead of a man
	1:23	“what if my dreams never take the back seat again”
	1:36	Woman at polling station
	1:43	“I’ll lead like a woman”

Figure 10: Excerpt from Researchers Coding Scheme

At the end of phase 5, it should be evident what our themes are (figure 11). Since themes can be interpreted differently, it is important to explain in the analysis how they have been used in

the context of this study (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). As already mentioned, phase 5 was done in extension to phase 3 and 4, since these three phases in general were heavily intertwined during the process. A research process is seldomly carried out according to the chosen method, and it is also important to make the method your own to some degree, in order to fit it to the exact research you are doing.

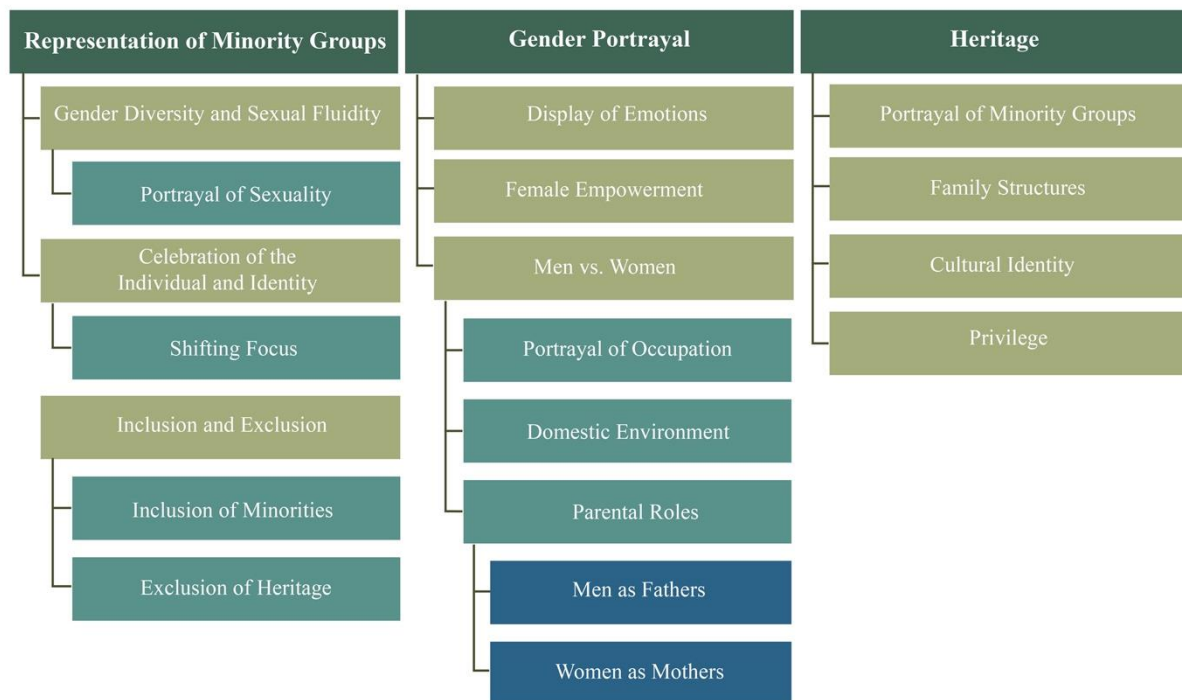


Figure 11: Thematic Map: Representing Themes, Sub-Themes, Categories and Sub-Categories.

Phase 6

In this final step, the analysis was carried out. The analysis should shed light on how the themes fit into the overall framework of the research and the problem formulation (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 92). The researchers justified and demonstrated findings and their relation to the overall theoretical framework and the problem formulation.

It becomes the duty of the researcher to tell the intricate narrative presented through the findings in the data in such a way that convince the reader of validity and merit behind the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93). Braun and Clarke (2006) note the importance of having sufficient examples to support the interpretations and claims being made, though without making it overly complicated. The analysis should demonstrate transparency, which makes it far more convincing. Extracts are important parts of the analytical narrative, and it supports and

demonstrates the findings (p. 93). The analysis is presented in chapter 5 Analysis. Moreover, aspects and findings are further discussed and put into relation in section 6 Discussion.

4.3.1.3 Data-driven and Concept-driven Coding

When doing research, in any form, it requires the researcher to stay objective to one's data and findings, to some extent. However, at the same time being conscious that the way we interpret things objectively might differ from how others would interpret the same results and findings. Braun and Clarke (2006) explain,

[c]oding will to some extent depend on whether the themes are more „data-driven“ or „theory-driven“ – in the former, the themes will depend on the data, but in the latter, you might approach the data with specific questions in mind that you wish to code around (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 90).

We applied the terminology developed by Graham R. Gibbs (2007). Braun and Clarke (2006), use a different term when addressing concept-driven coding, they refer to it as theory-driven. However, it should be noted that both terms signify the same: that themes are derived via pre-made assumptions from one's theory, rather than deriving the themes from the data itself. Starting this investigation, we already had some pre-made assumptions and concepts in mind, due to the groundwork for our theoretical framework that helped shaping the further investigation process. This implies that we have taken a concept-driven approach towards our coding process rather than doing data-driven coding. However, Gibbs (2007) states that

[t]hese two approaches to generating codes are not exclusive. Most researchers move backwards and forwards between both sources of inspiration during their analysis. The possibility of constructing codes before or separately from an examination of the data will reflect, to some extent, the inclination, knowledge and theoretical sophistication of the researcher. If your project has been defined in the context of a clear theoretical framework, then it is likely that you will have some good ideas about what potential codes you will need. That is not to say that they will be preserved intact throughout the project, but at least it gives you a starting point for the kinds of phenomena you want to

look for when reading the text. The trick here is not to become too tied to the initial codes you construct. (p. 45)

Therefore, having developed some preliminary concepts is inevitable since this study seeks to investigate aspects of cultural diversity, an umbrella term including various elements found in Coca-Cola commercials from 2020. In order to investigate this, it was important to have some already established boundaries for the study, which led to choosing some cultural concepts to focus on, preliminary to the coding process. It guides the investigation in a certain direction with certain concepts in focus. This suggests that the researchers, when coding, are approaching it with already established concepts and therefore are doing concept-driven coding. However, one coding method does not necessarily exclude the other, as stated above, and even though we had some pre-made assumptions it is crucial to stay open minded when viewing the data and not force any interpretations, but rather let the data unveil organically. As described earlier, we make use of an iterative process, which means going back and forth in the process of the investigation. This allowed us to adapt our methods to the progress and findings during the process. We therefore approached the task by doing data-driven coding – or open coding – which allows the raw data to “speak for itself”, but also having some already developed concepts that are open for change depending on what the raw data reveals.

Through the coding process we were able to make an overall scheme to demonstrate the occurrences of the themes (table 8). This led to some clear contrasts between the frequency of certain sub-themes, categories, and sub-categories. These are demonstrated in the following tables 9 and 10. In order to understand the numbers in the tables and the process behind the coding of frequency, it should be explained how we arrived at these numbers. After having settled upon the themes, sub-themes, categories, and sub-categories, we derived from our coding scheme that certain themes appeared more often than others and that demonstrated a high contrast, which was interesting to investigate further and to integrate in the analysis. However, to demonstrate these findings in a clear manner, it was decided to go over the commercials, write down timestamps for every time the different themes appeared, and lastly, count the timestamps to create the following tables. The purpose of table 10 was to code whenever males or females were portrayed in certain situations. Characters were only coded the first time they appeared in order to not code characters several times, as this would distort the results. The importance here was to code how many men and women were portrayed in certain situations, and not code how many times they are each shown. As for the table 9, timestamps were noted whenever a group

of people of the same heritage was shown and as a contrast, it was also marked whenever inter-heritage² groups appeared.

Frequency:		
Commercial:	OLNB	TGM
Themes/sub-themes:		
Representation of Minority Groups		
• Gender and Sexual Fluidity	2	1
• Celebration of the Individual and Identity	4	0
• Inclusion and Exclusion	48	46
Gender Portrayal		
• Display of Emotions	1	3
• Female Empowerment	4	0
• Men vs. Women	16	19
Heritage		
• Portrayal of Minority Groups	2	0
• Family Structures	0	21
• Cultural Identity	0	8
• Privilege	6	0

Table 8: Frequency of Themes

Frequency:		
Commercial:	OLNB	TGM
Sub-theme: Inclusion and Exclusion		
• Inclusion of Minorities	30	23
• Exclusion of Heritage	18	23
Same Heritage	15	19
Inter-Heritage	3	4

Table 9: Demonstrating High Contrast in Sub-Theme: Inclusion and Exclusion

² Inter-heritage is used to refer to relations between people of different heritage.

Frequency:		
Commercial:	OLNB	TGM
Sub-theme: Men vs. Women		
• Portrayal of Occupation	8	0
• Domestic Environment	3	15
Females in Kitchen	1	9
Males in Kitchen	0	6
• Parental Roles	5	4
Men as Fathers	3	2
Women as Mothers	2	2

Table 10: Demonstrating High Contrast in Sub-Theme: Men vs. Women

4.3.2 Transcription

The following section elaborates the tools chosen in order to cut the commercials into smaller sections and structured bits in the registration scheme. This process required certain tools in relation to media analysis. E.g., the process of transcribing included writing down scenery as well as sound and background music. Since we chose two video commercials as data, we transcribed our data in a registration scheme, to facilitate the coding process. This ensures that the data and the analysis is transparent and approachable for the investigators, as well as for the reader.

The process of transcription, while it may seem time-consuming, frustrating, and at times boring, can be an excellent way to start familiarising yourself with the data. Further, some researchers even argue it should be seen as ‘a key phase of data analysis within interpretative qualitative methodology’, and recognised as an interpretative act, where meanings are created, rather than simply a mechanical one of putting spoken sounds on paper (Riessman, 1993; Bird, 2005; Lapadt & Lindsay, 1999 in Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88).

In the following, an explanation of our transcription key is presented. The transcription key has been developed to ensure the best possible description of our data, which then enabled the

coding process. Here we argue why it makes sense to have a specific set of keys for transcribing our data and why we have chosen certain concepts within media analysis over others. In the end it all comes down to what we have deemed relevant for analyzing the data with the aim of answering the problem formulation. It should be made clear though that this is not a media analysis of the commercials, but merely we used certain tools in order to transcribe the commercials. Therefore, in alignment with the interpretivist stance, if the data is approached differently than how we have gone about it, it might show different results. The different findings do not necessarily negate one another.

4.3.2.1 Transcription Key

Finding the analytical tools for the transcription key (table 11) has been carried out in the following manner. Before coding, a registration scheme was created of how we thought the transcribing should be done. During the coding process, we realized that some categories were not necessary, while we were lacking others. Therefore, the registration scheme was gradually developed and adapted as we progressed. This same approach was used developing the transcription key table. However, the transcription key was inspired by a previous study (Aude, Leutzbach, & Sørensen, 2020, p. 23), but has been adapted to this specific study. This transcription key takes great inspiration from Conversation Analysis (CA) developed by Harrie Mazeland (2006). However, as mentioned, it has been adapted along the process of transcribing our data, since it varied from the previously developed transcription key.

It was agreed upon to include a key that expressed whenever some words were excessively stressed, this was then marked with a ‘#’ to indicate certain pressure on words or words that were emphasized in an unnatural way (Mazeland, 2006). In our the previous work (2020), it was deemed unnecessary to incorporate a key for words being stressed and the reason for this, was due to how in commercials often words are excessively pronounced or emphasized in order to influence the consumer into buying that specific product, “[i]ntonation of voice contributes directly to the [i]ntent to buy” (Gélinas-Chebat, Chebat, & Vaninsky, 1996, p. 254). However, this aspect was not relevant in the Coca-Cola commercials as the spoken is not specifically referring to the product itself. Rather, a story is constructed that delivers a message and the product is placed visually only. Another important aspect to make is that the punctuation in the dialogs in the transcriptions are not based on grammar rules or a transcription key, it is taken

from how it was shown in the subtitles in the videos. Except for a few instances, when there is a pause, this is marked by ‘(...)’ to indicate a longer pause than two seconds (table 11).

Transcription key	
Without [] (squared brackets)	Description of action
[] (squared brackets)	Description of physical scenery
“ ” (quotation marks)	Direct speech from character
Without “ ” (quotation marks)	Narrator/voice-over
‘ ’ (apostrophe)	Narrator/voice-over speaking on behalf of character
... (three full stops)	Pause for 2 seconds or more
<i>Italics</i>	Description of non-verbal language cues such as face expressions and gestures
# (hashtag)	Exclamatory utterance
* (asterisk)	Words on screen
Red	Female talking
Blue	Male Talking
Green	Male talking simultaneously as narrator/voice-over
Orange	Female talking simultaneously as narrator/voice-over

Table 11: Transcription Key

4.3.2.2 Determining Gender, Age and Heritage

When transcribing data, some interpretation occurs in the process of determining the characters’ gender, heritage, or age. Once again, our interpretations may vary from how someone else would determine these before mentioned pointers. The transcription is a product of our interpretation of the commercials, as well as the people and actions within the commercial. However, being a group of three researchers doing these transcriptions, discussions occurred on how to determine certain elements in the commercials. This adds to the credibility, since decisions are not based on one person’s perception of the world, but rather three people. It ensured a more academic approach and created validity of the findings. Furthermore, it aided in opinions never

being fully subjective, instead they became more generalized and therefore to a certain degree more objective.

As mentioned in theoretical framework, gender and heritage are among the most obvious characteristics people notice, as they are not only visible but also rather permanent traits (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, pp. 19, 24). Moreover, both distinctions make it easy to categorize people and to organize societies which also creates meaning and social implications, e.g., minority groups, inequality etc. (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 25). Based on this, we justify our choice of distinguishing between heritage and gender of the characters shown in the Coca-Cola commercials.

It is important to be consistent and structured about the approach to distinguish between gender, age, and heritage. Female and male gender was distinguished by gender expression. This concept entails how gender is expressed through the way we dress or how we do our hair (Cummins, 2017), meaning that we determine gender from socially developed and determined norms of what to wear as a male or female and how to do one's hair. Bourdieu argues that natural gender differentiations are a biological outcome (Krais, 2006). It draws from sexual labor division and reproduction, which have to do with the bodily differences and furthermore the abilities of both genders (Krais, 2006). Consequently, these aspects were used in order to determine whether a character could be distinguished as female or male. As for the practical part, we used the terms woman/man, while the adjective female/male was used for descriptive purposes to determine gender of teenage characters.

Age is only used as a minor concept in the analysis as a matter of diversity. It was considered relevant to include to distinguish between characters in the commercials and to get a more diverse description of the characters. Furthermore, in advertising research, it was found that there is an unequal inclusion of different age groups. Elderly people were deemed as more unattractive and portrayed in a less desirable manner. Therefore, they are shown fewer times, unless the product is specifically targeting them as a consumer group (Wah, 2005). To portray a diverse picture of the characters shown in the commercials, age has been determined through the previously mentioned 'gender expression'. The distinctions have been made based on the physical appearance of the characters in the commercials, e.g., if the characters had grey hair/not grey hair or wrinkles/no wrinkles, their body movements/language, and their way of dressing. These indicators formed the perception of the characters approximate age.

Abbreviation	Gender/Age definition	
G/B	Girl/boy	Age 0-12
FT/MT	Female/male teenager	Age 13-19
YW/YM	Young woman, -men/man, men	Age 20-35
W/M	Woman, -men/man, men	Age 36-49
EW/EM	Elderly woman, -men/man, men	Age 50+

Table 12: Gender and Age Definitions

Abbreviation	Heritage
W	White
B	Black
A	Asian
L	Hispanic
?	Unidentified
X	Non categorized

Table 13: Heritage Groups of Interest

When determining characters' heritage, we move to a rather fragile contemporary topic. In order to make these generalizations and depictions, it is important to note, in great detail, how we have gone about this process. As previously mentioned, the U.S. is multilingual, multireligious and multicultural. With this in mind, the choice to limit the transcription of certain minority groups was due to statistics, stating the more dominant minority groups in the U.S. (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). This led to the choice of the groups that are depicted in table 13. As the transcription process progressed, it became evident that at times it was not possible to justify the labelling of some characters within a specific heritage in our table. This could either be due to lack of visibility in the commercial, which was then marked with a "?" as "unidentified" or it could be due to their heritage not being a category in the table that we were using, then marked as an "X" for "non-categorized." The latter being the result of above mentioned, regarding our choice of the dominant minority groups in the U.S. This selection was further based on our aim to investigate larger minority groups, such as, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the U.S. We focused on Hispanics because of our own backgrounds and links to Hispanic culture, especially Mexican culture due to a previously conducted study. Additionally, the rather scarce research that has been done concerning Latin American/Hispanic perspectives made it adjacent to focus on Hispanics.

When transcribing certain scenes with larger groups, rapid camera movements consequently made the frames unclear. This created chaotic moments, where coding characters in these scenes became too random and much determination of heritage, gender and age would have been guesswork. Also, transcribing certain characters twice could have been a pitfall. It was therefore decided to do an overall categorization in the descriptions of the transcriptions, e.g., the scene with a larger group of Black people, where then one person was filmed in a close-up, making it possible to determine the heritage, age and gender, as the only character. Lastly, for the transcription, we used abbreviations for the characters as can be seen in figure 12. Furthermore, in order to avoid confusion between ‘W’ for ‘woman’ and ‘W’ for ‘white’, the following order of the abbreviations for describing the characters is heritage, age and gender: e.g., BYM → Black, Young, Male.


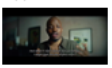


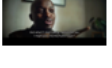
0:59 	BM sitting at a drum set playing. [garage] <i>Face expression confident</i>	<u>My music can do?</u>	Music downplayed. Drum roll.	Close up of BM's face from front Zooms out to scene Moves with BM
1:01    	BYM (narrator) talking and looking into camera. [indoors] <i>Face expression neutral</i> WYW twirling around with arms stretched out. [big city/street] <i>Face expression joyful/playful</i> Cars driving on road. [traffic scenery, big city]	<u>And what if I don't dance, but just for you</u>	Music downplayed. Vocalizing choir joining music in background. Sound of cars driving, train passing	Fast paced changing imagery: Front view of BYM WYW from below Full frame of city/car lanes, bridge and train Front view of BYM

Figure 12:: Excerpt from Registration Scheme (Appendix)

4.4 Choice of Material

In this section we provide explanations of why the chosen theoretical framework is relevant for this study, how we collected our data and how we justify choosing this specific data. This ensures the transparency, credibility and validity of the study.

4.4.1 Theoretical Concepts

Theoretical considerations should be seen as the foundation for the further research process and what will later illuminate the interpretations of the results of the research (Bryman, 2012). This has come to show in how the theoretical framework has helped us derive concepts to use in our coding process. It has been developed both pre-coding, during coding and post-coding. As

emphasized continuously, this iterative process is necessary, since it allows us to not only develop a theoretical framework of knowledge before our coding process and analysis, but during and after, as well. This then creates the best possible scenario for learning and developing through this process by going back in the research process and gather more supportive or explanatory material for the data gathered and the results found in the data. Hofstede's dimensions of culture were included to provide specific knowledge about people of Hispanic heritage – more specifically, we have chosen to focus on the scores for Mexico. Moreover, we chose to focus on Mexico due to the field is scarcely uncovered, as most research is done in Europe, Asia, Africa besides the U.S. (Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). To understand gender and its distinctions, Bourdieu's work on the subject was chosen. Seeing that his work dates back to the 1970s, societal circumstances may have changed since then. As the umbrella theme of this study is diversity, criticism upon his take on gender was adjacent to be elaborated too. Much research has been conducted on gender role portrayals in advertising, but only few studies incorporate Latin American or Hispanic perspectives. To support Western theories in that regard, *marianismo* and *machismo* as two important Mexican concepts were incorporated. To investigate how the representation of Hispanics in the commercials by Coca-Cola influences U.S. consumers, it was deemed necessary to incorporate Social Cognitive Theory. This provides a basis for how people's perceptions are shaped by what is shown on TV. This inherently leaves brands and companies with a lot of power to determine or maintain certain portrayals of gender and heritage.

4.4.2 Data Collection Process

Choosing data and the data collecting process is a conscious and continuous reflection, and it is an important step for the further analysis and for the entire outcome of the investigation. In other words, the data collection process is a conscious process of collecting data for answering the problem formulation (Bryman, 2012, p. 14). The process of collecting data starts out with a wide range of materials and then slowly the field is narrowed down, as we start to see our problem formulation form through the interesting themes and topics found in the data set. Seeing that Coca-Cola is one of the biggest brands in the world, finding their commercials was not difficult. Our preferred channel for viewing the commercials is YouTube – this is if you are consciously searching for them. TGM's duration is 1 minute and 30 seconds. It was posted on YouTube on July 1st 2020 and has been viewed 547.659 times. OLNb's duration is 2 minutes and 11 seconds. It was posted on YouTube on August 1st 2020 and has been viewed 323.328

times. It is important to consider, these are only the views on Coca-Cola's official YouTube channel by May 31st of 2021, and it does not include other channels or platforms. Therefore, it does not represent the actual number of views.

YouTube, as a social media platform, does not only feature private content, but also official video material by brands, e.g., commercials. Through the comment section, viewers can engage in conversations about the topic. Therefore, YouTube offers a convenient and easily accessible way to see and store content. Finding commercials on YouTube is a conscious activity. However, it also implies that people are exposed to these ads through different channels, as well. This could be on TV, through posters, or ads on social media platforms. Another decision to make when gathering data is limiting yourself to a specific timespan to make data comparable (due to similar context). We agreed to limit ourselves to the year 2020 because it was important for us to stay as contemporary, hence relevant in our research as possible.

4.4.3 Data

The choice of including two commercials in this study was based on the argument that we wanted to be able to thoroughly analyze both commercials. As both commercials are relatively long, they were believed to provide enough data for the study's intent. This is important when doing thematic analysis since it "involves the searching across a data set – be that a number of interviews or focus groups, or a range of texts – to find repeated patterns of meaning" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). Furthermore, having fewer commercials does not necessarily mean that the research will have less data to analyze or that the research could be considered "weak" or lacking credibility. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that

one of the reasons why qualitative research tends to use far smaller samples than, for example, questionnaire data will become apparent – the reading and re-reading of data is time consuming. It is, therefore, tempting to skip over this phase, or be selective. We would strongly advise against this, as this phase provides the bedrock for the rest of the analysis (pp. 89-90).

Choosing Coca-Cola as the subject of our investigation was partly due to the international status of the brand and therefore its reachability. As an international brand, Coca-Cola is well known worldwide and is a global power with potential cultural influence. Moreover, Coca-Cola being

a beverage brand makes it relatively neutral when it comes to the target group of consumers. This means it is a diverse product that reaches out to many different groups of people and cultures, other products only target a specific customer group e.g., razors, face creams, toys etc., hence already limiting the portrayal of diversity (especially regarding gender). This makes the commercials produced by Coca-Cola in 2020 relevant and interesting to analyze.

4.5 Limitations of the Study

Limiting the area of research, geographically, to the U.S. has its strengths and weaknesses. First of all, it enables the researchers to gain knowledge about a particular phenomenon in a particular setting. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration that this study might have played out differently in other areas of the world. Secondly, as argued previously in the literature review, the U.S. is a multicultural society, and therefore the researchers were comfortable that different point of views would be presented in the commercials. Moreover, it should be noted that the choices made in this study, justified in this chapter of methodological considerations, only allow a particular perspective of the debate to be disclosed. As mentioned earlier, different approaches, methods and philosophical stances might have led to different conclusions.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Seeing that this study deals with contemporary and sensitive issues related to gender and race, some ethical considerations have been made to not exclude (or offend) anyone, who might read this paper. This chapter already explained and justified the inclusion of certain heritage groups. The theoretical framework explained objective reasons for determining heritage that has been adopted for this study. However, the researchers are aware of certain limitations and points of critique related to the definition of race given (Parker, Menasce Horowitz, Morin, & Lopez, 2015). Ethical qualms related to this, could be the chance of reproducing concepts of race. Nonetheless, the definitions have been used, seeing that they are common terms in the U.S. society and are officially recognized. It should be considered that different origins and different countries make it difficult to put a person into a box. However, with these considerations in mind, we have chosen to do so for analytical purposes.

Another subject that requires transparent thoughts and considerations regarding terminology and phrasing is gender differentiation. As already explained in greater detail in the theoretical framework, this study treats gender as binary. Binary contrasts make it easy to explain structures but also display two extremes as it is easy to stereotype. However, it is important to explain to the reader, that the researchers acknowledge genders that do not fit into this binary system. Though for analytical purposes and taken the nature of the commercials into consideration, the binary understanding of gender was deemed fitting for this study. These ethical considerations are both part of the discussion presented after the analysis.

5 Analysis

In the following chapter, the analysis is presented. The process of concept- and data driven coding has led the researchers to design various themes and sub-themes, as presented in the thematic map (figure 11). These themes and sub-themes name the sections in the following analysis and guide the reader through the analytical process. In each part, a detailed analysis of the themes and sub-themes from the thematic map are presented. It is essential to note that the themes are not mutually exclusive. Therefore, one data extract may belong to a sub-theme, e.g., *female empowerment*, but at the same include elements from another sub-theme, for example *inclusion and exclusion*. This connectedness between themes and sub-themes is seen as useful, since it strengthens the analysis and supports the overall aim of this thesis to examine aspects both in relation to gender and heritage. The analysis is followed by a discussion chapter, where specific findings from the analysis are examined further. Moreover, reflections on Coca-Cola's responsibility as a global company is shared, as it is discussed whether they live up to their company values.

It is paramount to mention that there is the obvious story on the surface level of each commercial, but the following analysis uncovers some underlying constructions. As mentioned before, both commercials are released in the context of the COVID-19 situation and have messages related to the new way of living (e.g., “we discovered ourselves again” (TGM 0:23)). However, this analysis seeks to go further than surface level and to discover structural patterns regarding Coca-Cola's way of portraying certain elements in relation to gender and heritage.

The points of view presented in this analysis is the footwork of what has already been done during the process of coding the data set. The meticulous assessment of the commercials initiated discussions among the researchers, and this chapter seeks to chart these thoughts and reflect further on the findings from the data set. The observations are then related to notions from the theoretical framework. Once again, it is paramount to consider that the philosophical stances that have been taken in this project, presuppose that the researchers do not aim, nor can, stay fully objective, since the goal is to understand rather than explain the phenomenon (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Through observing, analyzing, and discussing portrayals in the commercials, the researchers intend to disclose how Coca-Cola portrays gender and people of Hispanic heritage in their 2020 commercials “The Great Meal” and “Open Like Never Before”. However, even though this analysis is investigating Hispanic related aspects, it does not mean, the analysis only focuses on Hispanic identified characters. These characters will of course be of special focus,

but as we set the context of the diverse U.S. society, we focus on every character and every scene and analyze it regarding its portrayal of Hispanic concepts (marianismo and machismo), as well as Hofstede's dimensions of culture and its implications for people of Hispanic heritage. As explained in 3.5.7 Mexico and the U.S., the large amount of people with Mexican heritage living in the U.S. have made it interesting, and adjacent, to focus on this particular heritage group. Therefore, out of the 15 Latin American countries included in Hofstede's work on culture, Mexico was chosen for this study.

Many different factors determine how one views and interprets commercials. Our point of views (being three White women, around the same age, all from Northern Europe) are different, and we see and interpret things differently. This contributes to a variety of interpretations and therefore a more profound and in-depth analysis in the end. Different point of views, and discussions internally, strengthen our findings.

As previously explained, since the Mexican population is by far the largest among people of Hispanic heritage living in the U.S., we have chosen to use Hofstede's cultural dimensions on Mexico. Before initiating the analysis, three tables regarding representation in the commercials are presented, as they are often referred to for analytical purposes and present an overview to the reader. These tables demonstrate representation in regard to heritage, gender and age.

Commercial:		
Heritage:	OLNB	TGM
White	18	6
Black	18	7
Asian	2	11
Hispanic	3	13
Unidentified	15	7
Non categorized	3	2
Total	59	46

Table 14: Representation of Heritage

Commercial:	OLNB	TGM
Gender:		
Female	28	26
Male	28	20
Unidentified	3	0
Total	59	46

Table 15: Representation of Gender

Commercial:	OLNB	TGM
Age:		
Girl/boy 0-12	4	4
Female/male teenager 13-19	6	4
Young woman, -men/man, men 20-35	19	17
Woman, -men/man, men 36-49	26	7
Elderly woman, -men/man, men 50+	2	6
Unidentified	2	8
Total	59	46

Table 16: Representation of Age

5.1 Representation of Minority Groups

This first part of the analysis revolves around representation of minority groups. Previously, it was elaborated what defines a minority group (3.4 Minorities). A paramount disclosure is that when in this chapter refers to “minority groups” it is either of gender or heritage. These elements have special attention, where age is not part of the scope of this project and is only briefly touched upon. As explained in the methodology section, this analysis is carried out on the basis of both data- and concept-driven coding. Therefore, the problem formulation, the theoretical concepts, as well as the data set, guide the decision on what is relevant to focus on. In this specific case, *representation of minority groups* is both present in the data set and an essential element in the theoretical framework and the problem formulation. Seeing that RQ2 is concerned with the portrayal of minority groups and its influence on U.S. consumers, this theme’s relevance was established. At the same time, looking through the data set, several minorities are presented, and the relevance is reinforced. However, a broad representation of minorities does not equal a representation of diversity. The following section analyzes some of the nuances

regarding portrayal of minority groups. The sub-themes *gender diversity and sexual fluidity*, *celebration of identity and individual* and *inclusion and exclusion* aim to disclose these nuances.

5.1.1 Gender Diversity and Sexual Fluidity

As demonstrated in the tables above, the representation of gender is almost evenly balanced in both commercials. Still, it is important to note that this study is treating gender as binary, and therefore only recognizes two genders – male and female. Therefore, people who do not identify themselves within this binary system are not included in this study. This traditional view on gender was consistent throughout the commercials, and it was our observation that not much gender diversity was portrayed in either TGM or OLNb. However, an important notion to make, and an interesting discussion that took place between us was, how can we determine what gender³ people identify as? Or their sexual orientation for that matter? One factor is the pace of a commercial that is naturally fast, and many scenes and characters are shown in very short time. Often in these commercials we see the characters for only a few seconds – and sometimes in no interaction with other people. Therefore, we discussed how we could be moving onto unsteady grounds if we wanted to include non-binary gender differentiations or determine people's sexuality. In the theoretical framework it is mentioned how stereotypes often are part of commercials because stereotypes are an extreme representation of reality (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017). But how can we start to conclude anything about these characters' sexuality without undertaking these stereotypes ourselves? Observations regarding this are discussed in the following paragraphs.

5.1.1.1 Portrayal of Sexuality

When watching the two commercials and examining the portrayal of minorities, it becomes clear that even though the overall picture seems diverse at first, there is a lack of representation, as well. Especially when it comes to the portrayal of sexuality. Although taken into consideration that the overall messages of the two commercials are not concerned with showing diversity in regard to gender and sexuality, it was still striking how little these aspects were portrayed, when considering Coca-Cola's values as a brand (2.4 Coca-Cola as an International Company).

³ Considering there might be more than two genders.

This aspect will be further debated in the discussion chapter. However, two specific scenes were coded as demonstrating portrayal of diversity in regard to sexuality.

First, for a few seconds in OLNb, we see a couple embracing (OLNB 1:50). When watching the commercial for the very first time, all researchers saw a man and a woman in a loving embrace, while the narrator said, “I’ll stay right beside you” (OLNB 1:50). However, when taking a closer look in the meticulous process of coding the data, the researchers started doubting the first impression of a man and a woman. It was discussed how only the character to the right is showing distinctive male features. The other character has a rather androgynous look and no distinguishable features, causing us to not identify the gender of this character, who is listed as “WY?” in the transcription (Appendix). Therefore, this scene was found to be of great importance and highly interesting in regard to the scope of this study. If this scene is to be interpreted as a portrayal of same-sex couples, the utterance “I’ll stay right beside you” could hold a double meaning and be of great significance and maybe entail a political statement, as well. Besides it being something one would say to his or her life partner, “I’ll be right beside you” could be a statement from Coca-Cola to show support of gay people’s rights. Seeing that Coca-Cola wants to focus on inclusive behavior and “leverage [their] broad diversity of people” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019), this interpretation could be read into this specific scene.



Open Like Never Before (1:50)

The same discussion took place in regard to a scene from TGM, where two males are eating together in a living room. One man is sitting on the couch, the other on the floor (TGM 1:02).



The Great Meal (1:02)

When comparing initial notes from the first round of coding, one of us coded them as friends, where another coded them as a couple. This discovery was interesting and initiated the debate about how these subtle clues might be the intention of Coca-Cola. In both cases, more interpretations of the scene are possible. In the previous example from OLNb it could be a man and a woman embracing, or it could be two men. In this scene from TGM it could be two friends, or it could be a couple.

Additional observations concerning the lack of portrayal of same-sex couples were made regarding a photo montage in OLNb. While the narrator says “I’ll say yes, yes, yes, I do” a montage of wedding photos and videos is shown (OLNB 1:50-1:53). All couples are heterosexual couples of different heritage, but no same-sex couples or inter-heritage couples are shown. The interpretation of this montage of heterosexual couples getting married, is that it emphasizes the lack of acceptance for same sex marriage. In spite of same-sex marriage being legal in all 50 states of the U.S. since 2015, some states still cling to the same-sex marriage bans (Moreau, 202). Same-sex marriage is, to this day, a highly debated topic in the U.S. and around the world. We discussed how the interpretation of these abovementioned scenes depends on the eye of the

beholder and the viewer's understanding of the world. We further discussed how this way of portraying sexuality is a safe way for Coca-Cola, since people who refuse to accept homosexuality probably will not interpret these as same-sex couples, whereas people with the opposite view might see it and applaud Coca-Cola for its "openness" and diverse portrayal of sexuality. However, this limited portrayal of homosexual couples does not raise awareness on this highly contemporary issue and contradicts Coca-Cola's wish of inclusive behavior and leverage of broad diversity (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019). This is further debated in the discussion chapter.

Drawing upon theory, according to both Bourdieu and machismo and marianismo beliefs, only two genders are established, and this binary depiction of men and women means that heterosexuality is seen as the natural occurrence. Furthermore, this can be related to Bourdieu and his thoughts of habitus and social location that depend on an individual's environment and what one has learned (Laberge, 1995). Not being used to seeing homosexuality may affect people's understanding of the world, the same way that only being exposed to heterosexuality may have people think and feel like this is the normal way to be and live. Using Bourdieu's habitus, it could be said that heterosexual habitus does not leave room for homosexual habitus. Relating this to SCT, then rises the implication of neglect/rejection of homosexuality in a societal level, but also on a personal level, where some people find it hard to stay true to one's sexuality, because homosexuality is not considered "the norm" in society.

Linking these observations to a Mexican context, view on and acceptance of homosexuality and gender fluidity is still not as developed as in other parts of the world (Lopez, 2020). As previously discussed in greater detail, the concepts of marianismo and machismo are still deeply rooted in Mexican societies today. This means, there are strict expectations to men and women, and they are expected to behave according to these societal norms. In spite of this, in 2015, it was ruled that the banning of same-sex marriages was unconstitutional, and same-sex marriage should be legal in all Mexican states. However, there are still states that are to amend this (Murray, 2021; Milenio, 2020). Seeing that Mexico is predominately catholic, there is still a lot of opposition to same-sex marriage (Gonzales, 2012). Especially in catholic Christianity, the roles of men and women are seen strictly traditional with heterosexual marriages. The discussion about homosexuality is a current topic in many Latin American countries and leads to conflicts between church and society. Again, limiting the portrayal of homosexual couples might be a strategic decision from Coca-Cola, ensuring that they will not offend cultures opposing same-sex marriages. However, in that case it would be a contradiction to their claim to

“leverage [their] broad diversity of people, global networks and learnings” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019).

5.1.2 Celebration of the Individual and Identity

This theme was only found and coded in the OLNb commercial, which probably has to do with the overall message of the commercial – to be open and rethink old ways of thinking and doing. Throughout the commercial, the narrator is asking questions “what if I...?”, while we see different characters in different settings. This rhetorical instrument serves the purpose of making people rethink their choices and daily habits. In one specific scene, the narrator says, “what if I celebrate my skin, my body, my hair, every day?” (OLNB 1:29), while he is running his hands over his bald head. It was our common interpretation that this statement was a message to leave behind “values”, where one is concerned with physical appearance, and people strive to look and act a certain way. Especially with this study focusing on heritage, special emphasis was put on the fact that a Black man is talking about celebrating skin. What we read between the lines in this statement concerns not only celebrating skin (soft, rough, tight, or wrinkly skin), but also celebrating skin color. Contemporary issues related to the Black Lives Matter movement taken into consideration, this statement could be a hint that Coca-Cola is supporting this movement (Coca-Cola, Together, 2021). It is believed that this message about celebrating our bodies just the way they are, will positively influence viewers’ understanding of “beauty” and celebrate and accept who they are.

At the same time, it was also discussed how the positive message might be misunderstood, when the scene only shows one character – the narrator. A general technical mean utilized throughout this commercial is fast paced scenes with rapidly changing photos or film sequences – which is a great indicator to show diversity in just a few seconds. It would have been possible to show quite a diverse portrayal of gender, heritage, age, people of different build, disabled people etc., yet during this specific statement, only the narrator is shown. We concluded that Coca-Cola’s intention behind this choice, may have to do with the narrator also being the main character in this commercial and that adds a certain factor of identification for the viewer and makes it more personal. This means, even though the viewer might be a white female, it does not necessarily mean, it is not possible to reflect yourself in the statement though expressed by a Black male.

5.1.2.1 *Shifting Focus*

In extension to the sub-theme *celebration of the individual and identity*, a message about shifting one's mindset was noticed through the OLN commercial. As previously explained, during the coding process we discussed many times, how the COVID-19 situation is clearly reflected in both commercials. Both commercials send a message about rethinking our way of living and learning how to pause and cherishing what we have. Even taken the contemporaneity into consideration, a few statements in particular stood out and caught our eyes. These examples of a shifting focus were discovered through certain verbal statements, use of characters and filmic instruments.

As previously mentioned, we see and interpret things differently. One example of how statements were coded and interpreted differently, is in relation to the statement by a BYW saying, simultaneously with the narrator, "funny beats sexy", while she is cutting a WYM's hair (OLNB 1:18). From one perspective, this statement is reinforcing the beforementioned interpretation of eliminating today's focus on appearances, and how what matters should be what is on the inside. However, another understanding is that this statement may indicate that men need to be funny in order to attract a partner. It is seen as an exclusion of people who are not funny, possibly making them uncomfortable with their limitations. Even though the statement is most likely supposed to shift focus from the pressure of appearance and outside features to the inside qualities, it possibly just shifts the pressure to other areas of what it means to be a man, and what one needs to do in order to attract a female. At the same time, it was discussed how the statement about "funny beats sexy" almost is negated, when followed by the narrator saying, "but I'm still cute anyway" (OLNB 1:20). This phrase, however, could be meant as a reminder that people should love themselves and know that they are "cute" in their own way – inside and out.

In continuation, so far, the focus has been on bodily aspects and physical appearance. Another statement with a more political message has been coded, as well. While showing the picture of a HYW the narrator says, "I'll make my vote count" (OLNB: 1:36). The woman, who has been identified as of Hispanic heritage, is standing in front of a sign in English, suggesting that she is of Hispanic heritage, but living in U.S. The interpretation is that she, as well as any other U.S. citizen, must know their power, as a woman and as a citizen, to influence their reality by going to the polls and make their vote count. The narrator continues "make my voice heard today" and the scenes cuts to a BYM standing in front of a wall, smiling as he looks towards to sun (OLNB 1:38). The latter part of the statement is heavily emphasized, as "heard today" is almost echoing, as if expressed by more people. This is supporting the message to women,

people of all heritage, and all U.S. citizens to remember that voting does matter and that this is how one's voice can be heard.

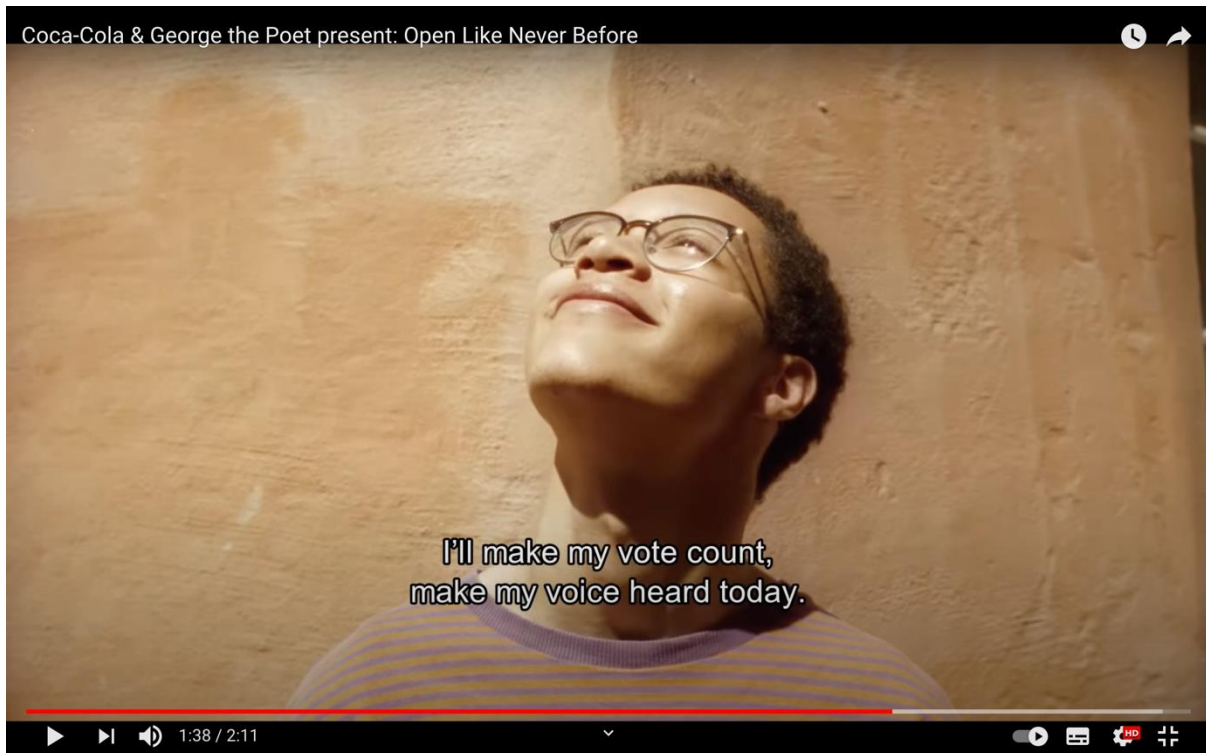


Open Like Never Before (1:36)

It was discussed how depicting a Hispanic woman and a Black man with this utterance, draws attention to contemporary issues, both in the U.S and around the world. Women's fight for equality is especially seen at the moment in Mexico, where protests and demonstrations have been ongoing in 2020 alongside the pandemic, due to how women's rights have been ignored for a long time. This debate stems from the grave issue of femicides that happen all over Mexico and Latin America in general (Joseph, 2017). From a SCT perspective, this portrayal is a positive reinforcement of Hispanic women, women, and people of Hispanic heritage in general, and a call to people to use their inviolable right to vote and influence their reality. Also, relating to marianismo and machismo beliefs, where women have been oppressed and not always been considered to have their own opinion (Ingoldsby, 1991), it is a portrayal of a strong and independent woman, who uses her right to vote and take control of her existence.

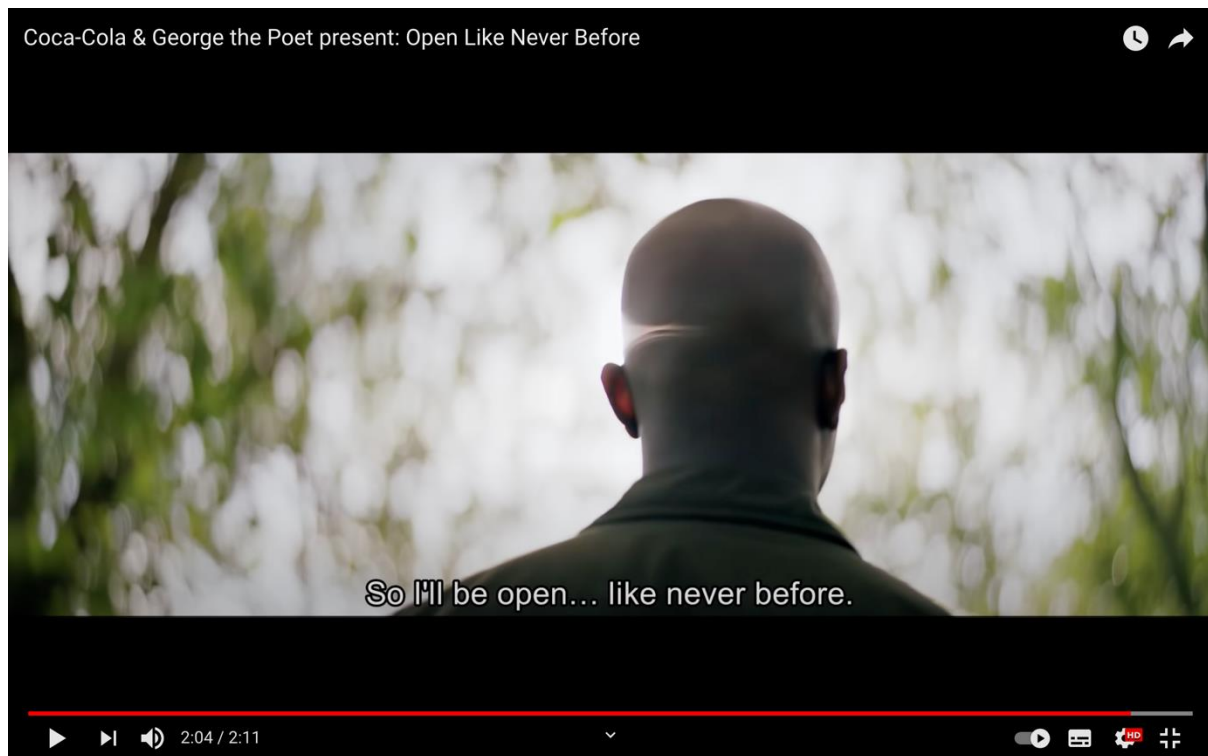
At the same time, focus on Black people's rights has been highlighted and much debated over the past decade, and the culmination of it all was the brutal murder on George Floyd on May 25th 2020. Since 2013, the Black Lives Matter movement has been calling for justice and action, and George Floyd's murder took the movement to areas it had never reached before (Maqbool, 2020). These contemporary events taken into consideration, it was discussed how this particular

utterance “make my voice heard” and this particular character, a BYM, is a very strong statement and a wish to support Black people’s fight for equality.

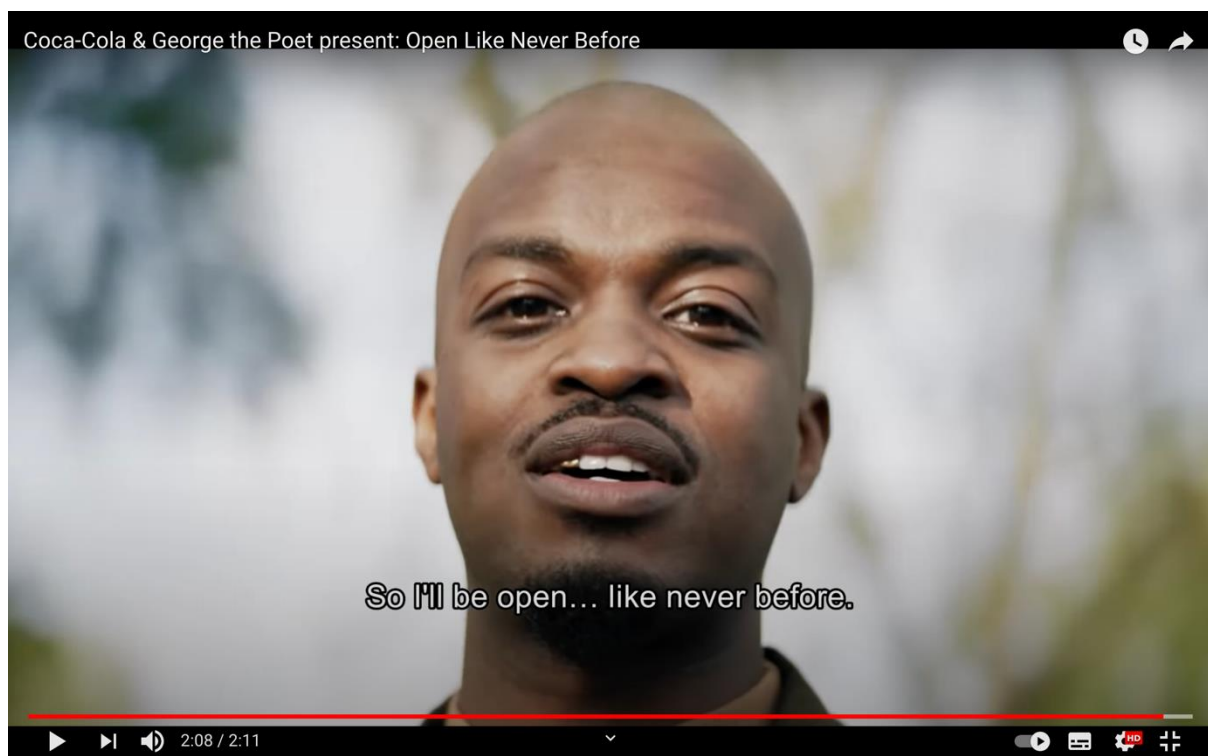


Open Like Never Before (1:38)

An observation regarding interesting filmic techniques that also supports this shifting focus and emphasizes the openness, that is a consistent theme throughout the commercial, is in relation to the commercial’s outro. As the music starts to slow down, to the same pace as the beginning of the commercial, we are, once again in the inside (living room) setting, where we are first introduced to our main character/narrator. As he is looking out the window he is whispering “We’ll weather the storm” (OLNB 2:02). It is believed that “the storm” he is referring to here, might be related to breaks with our old way of thinking and doing – both in an individual and societal context. Now, the scene cuts to him walking in an outdoor setting between trees, sun, and chirping birds. As the camera turns from his side to his front, he looks into the camera and says, “so I’ll be open like never before” (OLNB 2:05-2:08). Here, while filming the main character, the frame goes from narrow to wide. Then the frame cuts to the sun shining through the treetops with “#OpenLikeNeverBefore” written across the screen before it cuts to the Coca-Cola logo. We discussed how this change from narrow to wide screen is definitely intentional and highlights the aspect of “opening up” – opening up to new people, new habits, new behaviors and opening up to change and diversity.



Open Like Never Before (2:04)



Open Like Never Before (2:08)

As stated before, both commercials communicate a message about rethinking our lives and refreshing our minds. In TGM the narrator states “from now on we are not gonna leave anything on our plates” (TGM 1:06-1:09). Seeing that this commercial is about meals, this statement might have a literal meaning. However, figuratively, this statement is believed to be a metaphor for slowing down and appreciating what is right in front of us, instead of always rushing through things – it could be in relation to education, jobs, relationships etc.

Another, arguably subtle, message about shifting focus was found in TGM in a montage of scenes believed to reinforce the message about rediscovering ourselves again and connecting with each other in the middle of a pandemic and learning to let go and start a new beginning. In these scenes, we see a HYW pass a plate. When the scene cuts, a person of Asian heritage receives a plate. The scene then cuts to a WG receiving a plate. The scene cuts and the plate from WG is passed on to a BTF. In the next scene, a plate knocks over a Coca-Cola bottle on the table, causing the liquid to float all over the table (TGM 0:47-0:50). The next scene shows a baby crawling on the floor and a Coca-Cola bottle being opened (TGM 0:53-0:54). It was discussed how the knocked over bottle symbolizes old behavior, old ways of thinking and doing, and the baby and new bottle being opened symbolizes a fresh, new beginning. It is believed the advertisement strategy here is to endorse people to break free of old behavior and outdated beliefs and start a new beginning.

5.1.3 Inclusion and Exclusion

This theme is interesting to incorporate, seeing that there is a heavy portrayal of minority groups, as demonstrated in table 14: Representation of Heritage. However, at the same time, we did not observe many examples of minorities being mixed, e.g., inter-heritage couples or families. Thoughts on both inclusion and exclusion are discussed in the following. An explanation may be given by the five characteristics of minority groups that have been presented in 3.4 Minorities. These observations were made on visible traits that make it possible to differentiate people from another. This characteristic already highlights minority group status. Moreover, as minority group members tend to form intimate relationships with members of the same group (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 11), the underrepresentation of scenes showing people of different heritage can be explained. As members of minority groups are usually aware of the shared status with other group members (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 11), it is clear why an exclusive portrayal is not surprising. However, this characteristic may also be understood the other way around, namely that minority group members are not only aware of their own status but also of

other minority group members' status and therefore a shared sense of belonging may arise. This might be represented in the more inclusive scenes.

5.1.3.1 Inclusion of Minorities

A high representation of different minority groups related to heritage was depicted, and therefore coded, in both commercials, which can be seen in table 9: Demonstrating High Contrast in Sub-Theme: Inclusion and Exclusion. What can be derived from the table is that in OLNb, portrayal of minority groups was coded 30 times, and 23 times in TGM. Not only is the representation of different heritage groups high, but the representation of gender is almost evenly balanced, as well. The following section analyzes inclusion of minority groups. This is mainly in regard to heritage, but observations on age are included, as well.

One example showing people of different heritage together is in OLNb, where a BYW is cutting a WYM's hair (OLNb 1:18-1:20). We can assume that they have a close relation, meaning that they are either a couple or two friends, mainly because of the way they interact with each other, and the fact that they are in a private setting. Another example in the OLNb commercial is when a WM and a BM are playing the drums together (OLNb 1:58), giving the impression that the two of them are good friends. Another scene in OLNb portrays a HYW riding the bus. This scene is interesting because she is sitting alone on the bus. She is portrayed with characters of different heritage, but since she is in a public setting, and she is not interacting with any of them, it is not considered of great importance in relation to *inclusion of minorities*. However, another interesting interpretation is made from this scene. In this scene, we hear the narrator, almost as the sound coming from her earphones, saying "my ears are not my earphones" (OLNb 0:44). She then removes the earphones and says, "what if I listen?" (OLNb 0:46). Our interpretation is that there is a message and a deeper meaning to be read into this scene. Her rhetorical, almost provocative, question expressed in this public scene with different people, might be a message about learning to listen to people different from you.

In TGM two scenes were coded in regard to inclusion of minorities. First, the scene with a WYM and a BYM having dinner together (TGM 1:02), this scene could be demonstrating an inter-heritage couple, but at the very least it portrays an inter-heritage relation. Another scene from TGM portrays a larger group of people of different heritage (TGM 1:16). Here we see a group of Black people and one HYM celebrating and having a meal together in a garden. We saw this group as friends spending time together. This has led to the following interpretations.

First, it is only two scenes in the whole commercial that show characters of different heritage together while interacting. Both scenes show a rather friendship-like relation (despite leaving room for interpretation of a gay couple), leaving out inter-heritage families and couples. It must not be forgotten that the commercial shows homes from around the world during the COVID-19 pandemic, but no country is culturally homogenous (de Mooij, 2011, p. 41). Because of globalization, people are more connected, and it is easy and common to travel and to live abroad. Therefore, not depicting these relations while showing large families implies it is not the usual or culturally accepted habitus to form relationships, hence becoming a family, when having different heritage. Secondly, this portrayal confirms and contradicts at the same time characters of minority groups as defined in 3.4 Minorities. The first because minority groups tend to form intimate relationships with group members. The latter because it refutes the beforementioned. Another interpretation may arise in the context of how culture is explained within the scope of SCT. The focus lies on characteristics of individualistic vs. collectivistic societies and it is acknowledged that cultures evolve and vary across location (Bandura, 2000). Moreover, it is stressed that no culture shows exclusively characteristics of individualism or collectivism, and no two cultures are uniform (Bandura, 2002b). It is argued that members of collectivist societies tend to form relationships with ingroup members whereas members of individualistic societies rather bond with outgroup members (Bandura, 2002b). Bearing this in mind, the portrayal of characters outside a family setting may also stem from a distinct cultural background that is rather individualistic. Thus, it may be assumed that these individuals do not focus on ingroup relationships e.g., family as much but rather spend time with people they bond with for other reasons. As it is also said that global connectedness and higher mobility lead to growing ethnic diversity, the accompanying demands of both, the subculture and the prevailing culture must be met (Bandura, 2002b). Therefore, a scarce portrayal of characters outside a family setting especially in comparison to the frequent familial environment does not seem to reflect such ethnic diversity.

Another observation regarding the portrayal of certain minority groups has been made concerning the depiction of age. As previously stated, age is not a large part of the scope of this project, but in order to make the distinction between characters clearer, as well as to get a more diverse depiction, they have been defined according to age – when possible. Therefore, discussions about age diversity became part of the analysis. As demonstrated in the representation table, the two categories where the largest numbers of characters fall into are the 20-35 and 36-49 (table 16: Representation of Age). In OLNb 2 out of 59 characters, and 6 out of 46 in TGM are

characterized as “elderly” and have been deemed to be more than 50 years old. A possible explanation for this, has to do with the inclusion/exclusion of age in advertising generally. Because elderly people were found to be perceived as rather unattractive, often they are not included in advertising, unless the product is specifically targeting them as a consumer group (Wah, 2005).

5.1.3.2 Exclusion of Heritage

Though both commercials portray characters of different minority groups related to heritage, it was discussed among the researchers, whether this portrayal actually invited to inclusion or exclusion. Except from the abovementioned scenes, and perhaps scenes, where it has not been possible to distinguish heritage, all scenes depict people of the same heritage interacting. This comparison between same heritage scenes and inter-heritage scenes was coded and presented in table 16: Demonstrating High Contrast in Sub-Theme: Inclusion and Exclusion. What can be seen from the table is that we coded 15 scenes in OLNb with same heritage groups and 19 times in TGM, while inter-heritage groups were only coded 3 times in OLNb and 4 times in TGM. It became an interesting point for the analysis how the intend of portraying diversity in regard to heritage, may end up creating an “us vs. them” narrative instead.

As demonstrated in table 14: Representation of Heritage, throughout TGM many different minority groups are represented. We observed that the depicted families consisted of family members only of the same heritage. In many cases, families are likely to be of same heritage and displaying same biological features. Examples of less separation and more depictions of inter-heritage families could be by portraying families with adoptive children, families with different heritage backgrounds being brought together in marriage or even families that are not blood-related, but the family you choose. The latter could be interpreted in the scene mentioned above, where several young people of mixed gender and race are sitting in a garden and eating (TGM 1:16). Furthermore, another example could be showing families that consists of only one parent or same-sex couples. It seems that OLNb is more focused on the individual and his/her choices, and that might be a reason why we do not see a lot of different heritage, besides the abovementioned examples.

Seeing that Coca-Cola focuses on inclusive behavior and wants “leverage [their] broad diversity of people, global network and learnings” (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019), the discussion

chapter will examine whether they live up to this statement through their diversity portrayal in the commercials.

5.2 Gender Portrayal

To include the portrayal of gender in commercials was paramount in the context of investigating diversity. Especially because gendered stereotypes are often used to show desired roles for both genders, but also to simplify societal structures (Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017). Thereby, this portrayal limits opportunities for the characters as prevailing mindsets are reinforced (Åkestam, Rosengren, & Dahlem, 2017). Communicating these messages specifically via televised images, heavily influences the viewer through observational learning and social prompting (Bandura, 2001). Therefore, in the following section, scenes of the commercials related to the portrayal of gender are analyzed and related to relevant theoretical concepts.

5.2.1 Display of Emotions

In masculine societies certain attributes are ascribed to women and men; accordingly, women are, stereotypically speaking, soft and prone to display emotions such as crying, whereas men are harsh, more physical and do not cry (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12). The result is an emotional and social role differentiation between both genders. This is also further supported by the concepts of machismo and marianismo. In the commercials, two prevailing states of emotions are shown – happiness and sadness. Happiness is the prevailing emotion shown among all gender and minority groups which is due to the nature of the commercials, and the message Coca-Cola wants to spread – being surrounded by loved ones and having a good time. In this section, the focus is on the display of negative emotions as these have, according to Hofstede (2011, p. 12), certain implications in relation to gender. In TGM (0:23), an AEM man is shown crying while standing next to an AYM, presumably his son. Showing these emotions, and also showing them in front of other people, and more importantly in front of his own son, is not the usual behavior for males according to what was elaborated in the theoretical framework. In Bourdieu's construction of male gender, boys grow up developing a habitus of what it means to be manly. This is associated with dominance and strength for example. Being “weak” and allowing oneself to show emotions and vulnerability thus contrasts the traditional depiction of males. However, it can also be seen as a sign of strength, as it means overcoming learned habitus, behavior, and

norms. In psychology, men showing hypermasculinity is explained with the argument that it is a counter reaction to hide insecurity (Ingoldsby, 1991). Here, the opposite is portrayed. The scene is accompanied by the words “we discovered ourselves again” (TGM 0:23). In relation to the context of the commercial, the COVID-19 pandemic, both the commercial itself and this phrase stress the change of people having to deal with this situation and consequently, with themselves. Drawn from there, it may also be understood as a suggestion to rethink or reevaluate one’s vision on gender appropriate behavior and free oneself from learned habitus, hence stay true to one’s own values.

In OLNb (1:13) a ?YM looking devastated is seen, as a crying WYW is walking away from him. It can be assumed that they were a couple and just broke up, since the action of her walking away is followed by the statement “and I’ll keep social distance from bad energy”. The young man is visibly affected by the emotional situation, allowing himself to be sad. However, machismo men were often found to fight for a woman and to conquer her (Ingoldsby, 1991). Therefore, this scene again is showing very different behavior of males. However, distinct cultures have different understandings of what kind of emotions men can show and whether it is a public or a private concern (e.g., Arabic cultures where many emotions are shown in public also among men (Bussey & Bandura, 1999)).

Linking the findings to a Hispanic perspective, it needs to be noted that Mexico scores high on masculine societal values and therefore, it is accepted for women to show emotions, such as crying (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12). This is evident in both commercials. In OLNb, as mentioned previously, a WYW is walking away from a male person, looking devastated and having tear-stained eyes (OLNb 1:10). Likewise, in TGM a mother and a young woman are shown. While the young girl looks sad, the mother kisses her daughter’s hands and lovingly puts her hands around the daughter’s face (TGM 0:10). This is a very caring gesture, showing the mother dealing with her daughter’s feelings and being there for her. In masculine societies, this is a typical behavior among women – especially when it comes to how mothers behave towards their children. Fathers, in contrast, rather deal with facts than feelings (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12). However, a contradiction is shown in TGM where the AEM is crying in front of his son, showing emotions (TGM 0:24). Hence, both men and women, in this case fathers and mothers, are seen dealing with feelings. The difference is that the father is expressing his own feelings, whereas the mother comforts her daughter’s sadness. What can be drawn from the four scenes depicting sadness and vulnerability, is that there is no emotional role differentiation between women and men, which contrasts high societal masculinity values (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12).



The Great Meal (0:10)



The Great Meal (0:24)

How displaying emotions may be perceived by women or men strongly depends on social gender construction and the development of personality. In SCT, it is drawn from a standpoint similar to Bourdieu, where distinct behavior of males and females results from uneven power structures, hence sociostructural practices and the division of labor (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). These factors have the power to construct restrictions or to provide opportunities for development as social structures are both influenced by and influencing people (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). One's personality is linked to one's identity. It is partly influenced by how one is treated by other people and that also depends on the social location (Bandura, 1999; Laberge, 1995). However, it is not a static attribute but evolves and new or different aspects can be adopted (Bandura, 1999). Just because people learned certain behavior, they do not necessarily behave accordingly. Whether this conforms or not, depends on incentives and regulators. As environmental factors act as major motivators, behavior is adopted depending on its utility and the material or social consequences (Bandura, 2001). Because people are active agents, behavioral changes occur through direct personal agency (Bandura, 2002b). The link between this explanation of SCT, personality as well as gender construction and the previous elaborated interpretations of scenes from the commercials is drawn in the following. Mexico scoring high regarding masculinity values in society was already stated. But the difference to the U.S. is not as high as one might think with the U.S. score being 62 (Hofstede Insights, n.d.a). Therefore, incorporating scenes showing men contrasting these masculine values, is challenging learned behavior of both, U.S. born consumers and those of Hispanic heritage. However, the range of portrayed characters showing sadness is limited as it is an AEM who is crying. Some Asian countries rather lean towards feminine societal values (Hofstede, 2011, p. 13) and therefore it can also be seen as a stereotypical portrayal. Moreover, portrayal of men showing negative emotions may lift social restriction and influence thoughts toward acceptance and development. Once viewers adopt thinking, they have the ability to impact social structures as agents over time.

5.2.2 Female Empowerment

What was observed as female empowerment is closely related to self-determination of the portrayed women. Only OLNb was found to show scenes where women are seen as strong, determined, and equal to men. Depictions of female empowerment in commercials were striking because often a stereotypical gender role portrayal is still used in media (Åkestam, Rosengren, & Dahlem, 2017). The roles women are portrayed in align with Bourdieu's construction of gender differentiation, as these are related to looks, behavior and occupation (e.g., being a wife

and mother) (Åkestam, Rosengren, & Dahlem, 2017; Rodríguez Pérez & Gutiérrez, 2017). Moreover, focusing on Hispanic heritage, female empowerment was also striking because it exceeds the limited roles of women according to marianismo beliefs. Showing empowered characters implies that there has to be some form of underlying inequality and by highlighting the empowerment, inequality is combated. Because inequality is closely linked to power (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, pp. 10-11), showing women in strong positions is a form of relocating power structures. Women are a minority group themselves as being female relates, to some extent, to the five characteristics of minority status as explained in 3.4 Minorities. Therefore, it was deemed relevant to highlight converse female depiction. In OLNb, four scenes touching upon this topic were observed. The first is when a BYW is cutting a WYM's hair (OLNB 1:16) while both are laughing. "And I'll prove that funny beats sexy any day" is said during this scene. The empowering component here is that the BYW says the word "sexy" herself, not a man. She is saying the word "sexy" as she is confidently smiling into the camera indicating that she has taken control over her own sexuality. In relation to marianismo, this is especially important because women face a double bind, as they are supposed to become good wives and mothers but are also seen as sexual objects at the same time. The consequence is a hierarchical structure between men and women in which the latter take a submissive role (Cianelli, Ferrer, & McElmurry, 2008). When a man refers to a woman as "sexy", it objectifies her, hence pointing out the hierarchical structure and her submissive role. That is why the female referring to sexuality herself shows control and dominance. Both, the BYW and the WYM laughing while stressing that being funny is more important than being sexy is a shift away from looks towards personality. It entails that a female is valued for her character and identity rather than being judged solely on the body and her relation to males. This interpretation was already touched upon under 5.2.2.1 Shifting Focus. Furthermore, leaving behind typical female attributes questions the power structures between males and females as it challenges the male dominant positions in society (Thorpe, 2009). Thus, moving towards a flatter power structure which also means less inequality. However, what contrasts the empowering message in this scene is the word "prove". Although spoken by the narrator and not by the BYW, it questions the degree of empowerment. It implies that this shift from looks to internal values is not a given, but actively needs to be implemented. Moreover, it means women have to prove their personal value to men and "fight" for their recognition. Bourdieu explains a related conflict when he elaborates that is possible to resist the acquired habitus and change behavior, but the degree of success depends on the society's willingness to accept such change (Lovell, 2000).

The second empowering scene is when a XYW is sitting in a car in the driver seat and is about

to start the car (OLNB 1:23) while intensely looking over her sunglasses directly into the camera. “What if my dreams never take the backseat again?” is asked simultaneously. As the woman is wearing a headscarf, it can be assumed she identifies with Muslim traditions. Here, this is an important context, as not all Muslim cultures allowed women to drive a car and the question asked is clearly related to these circumstances. For example, Saudi Arabia was the last country to legalize female drivers in 2018 (BBC, 2018). However, the underlying implication can be taken further. According to Bourdieu, femininity is associated with passivity and insignificance, and is carried out in private settings (Jarvinen, 1999). The call to never let one’s dreams take the backseat again then means to become an active agent engaging in pursuing one’s own path. This is symbolized by the woman starting the car - taking action and “just doing it”. A similarity can be found when a HYW is standing next to a sign pointing the direction to a polling station, while the narrator says, “I make my vote count” (OLNB 1:36). This scene, and its possible political message, was already analyzed in 5.2.2.1 Shifting Focus and has an empowering message, as well. Women have not always had the right to vote. In 1893, women in New Zealand won the right to vote as the first country in the world. Saudi Arabia was the most recent country in which women have won the right to vote in 2015. Mexico included women in all elections in 1953 (Miller, 2020). Historically, in many countries, women of color and indigenous women did not win the right to vote simultaneously as White women (Miller, 2020). Therefore, this specific scene is not only a portrayal of female empowerment, but also an empowerment of women belonging to minority groups regarding heritage. Furthermore, another scene from OLNb was coded to entail female empowerment and an underlying political message. As the narrator says, “I’ll lead like a woman”, a BYW is seen holding a picture of another Black woman (OLNB 1:44).



Open Like Never Before (1:44)

Besides *female empowerment*, the interpretations related to this specific scene touch upon other sub-themes, such as *shifting focus* and *representation of minority groups*. The character portrayed in this scene is both a gender and heritage minority – a Black woman. She is holding a picture of another Black woman. The fact that it has not been possible for us to determine whether the woman in the picture is her mother, sister, another relative or a public figure, whom the character admires, makes us believe it could be anybody. The message behind this unidentified character makes the viewer believe that anybody can be the source of somebody's inspiration. "I'll lead like a woman" is an indicator that more women are capable of taking positions with responsibility – leadership. It again contrasts female passivity (Jarvinen, 1999) as being in a leading position requires action, hence, being an active agent. However, by interpreting the photo to show a mother, it is limiting female's role to a home context, as "leading" is then understood as leading the family, which complies with marianismo beliefs (Nuñez, et al., 2016; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010).

5.2.3 Women vs. Men

This sub-theme was found in the different portrayal of women and men in the commercials and ultimately was broken down into several categories including *portrayal of occupation*, *domestic environment* and *parental roles*. The last category was further divided into two sub-categories *men as fathers* and *women as mothers*. These are presented in the following sections.

5.2.3.1 Portrayal of Occupation

This category of characters shown in occupational positions is only evident in OLNb, as TGM takes place exclusively in a home context. It is striking that it is mostly men being shown working (OLNB 0:04, 1:38, 1:41, 0:32, 1:34, 1:42) and only one woman (OLNB 1:40) in a short scene. The working positions that are shown are taxi drivers and a cashier at the supermarket. As these occupations do not necessarily require a long academic education to be performed, they can be seen as lower-income jobs. Also, when looking at who performs the jobs, the majority of scenes shows members of minority groups. As the WEM has an accent when saying “tourists again” (OLNB 1:42), we argued that he is a foreigner and can account for a minority group member as well. However, it should be noted that this is our interpretation, and the accent can have several explanations. It can stem from the social environment he is part of, from his mother tongue that is not English or even just having an accent of another English-speaking country. The other taxi driver was transcribed as XM because it was not obvious to what of the relevant heritage categories he might belong to. In the transcription and description process, we favored characterizing someone as uncategorized or not identified instead of falsely putting them into one category. Consequently, this implies that we did not identify him as White, which makes him a member of a minority group when looking at the commercials from an American perspective. A society composed of members of minority groups bears aspects of power distance due to the disadvantages for some society members as opposed to others. Power distance explains to which extent people in a society accept inequality and unequal distribution of power. That includes uneven income distribution, inequality is sustained by hierarchy, and subordinates expect to be told what to do (Hofstede, 2011, pp. 9,11). These aspects can be identified in OLNb as taxi drivers of foreign heritage are shown. Usually, taxi rides are quite expensive and therefore will mostly be afforded by people with certain level of income. As driving a taxi is seen as a rather unskilled work, lower income can be expected. Therefore, at least to some degree, unequal income distribution arises. Taking this further and moving away from the exact

depiction in the commercial, the underlying context can be the following. Usually, belonging to a minority group means limited access to resources and access to education means access to resources (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 25). Limited education results in lower paid jobs, which means less income. In turn, low income means fewer financial means to pay for one's children's education for example. Consequently, children of people with low-income jobs again have limited access to higher education (e.g., university because it is costly). Hence, a vicarious circle is created. It is not impossible to break, however it takes a lot of dedication and effort as well as sacrifices (e.g., parents having several jobs and therefore having less time to spend with family). Another aspect is that in some cultures (e.g., Latin cultures) it is not unusual to have a big family (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000). Of course, having more people to provide for is expensive and might require the younger generation to start working instead of pursuing academic paths or in order to be able to afford going to university.

In relation to machismo, showing men in a working environment contributes to the social construction of men as the breadwinner of the family. As machismo men are seen as economically superior to women, they have to be the ones providing for the family (Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). An exception is only seen when the female taxi driver is visible (OLNB 1:40). These findings also are supported by Bourdieu's concept of capital that includes economic, cultural, social, and symbolic forms of capital (Laberge, 1995; Thorpe, 2009). Capital equals power and in his construction of gender, Bourdieu elaborates that, women bear capital themselves as they do not generate economic capital but through their work at home and with the family, they generate cultural capital. On the contrary, men perform tasks that accumulate economic capital and that benefit society (Jarvinen, 1999; Thorpe, 2009). Consequently, women are financially dependent on men, and this is strengthened by not showing working females. This traditional distribution of work is displayed in OLNb, both implicitly and explicitly. The latter because, as stated above, it is men working apart from the female taxi driver (OLNB 1:40). However, this scene is noticeably short compared to the ones showing male taxi drivers so that it cannot really contribute to the portrayal of working women. The above explained is implicitly expressed in two ways. On the one hand, by what is shown which is a mother picking up the child from school (OLNB 0:38) and a woman cooking (OLNB 0:58). On the other hand, it is conveyed by what is not shown which is females working outside a home or family context. This argument however can also be weakened and looked at from another angle when taking into account the scenes where loving fathers are seen together with their children (OLNB 0:47, 1:07, 1:25). This is further elaborated in 5.2.3.3 Parental Roles.

In one specific scene in OLNb, a WW in a car shown. Because of the next scene, where a WG appears next to car and exclaims “school sucks” (OLNB 0:40), it is assumed that the woman is a mother who is picking up her child from school. According to marianismo believes, women are dedicated mothers who give up their own interests for the sake of the family (Nuñez, et al., 2016; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Therefore, being a mother can be seen as the main occupation. However, it also displays women as parents which is analyzed later in 5.2.3.3.2 Women as Mothers.

Occupational positions cannot be examined isolated from culture for two reasons. First, the general societal orientation (individualistic vs. collectivistic) plays an important role as it influences its members’ self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1999). Secondly, how society perceives gender roles and differences impacts career opportunities for males and females (Krais, 2006; Bandura, 2002b). The general view on gendered abilities then opens opportunities or imposes restrictions. Consequently, the individual is likely to adopt these views (*habitus*) and acts upon them. Research found that often women perceive themselves as incompetent for jobs that are usually performed by men (Bandura, 2002b). Not depicting women while working consequently strengthens these restrictions. However, because men are also not seen in diverse occupations in OLNb, the negative impact on females might not be as serious as through another portrayal. However, the portrayal of occupations in OLNb is not diverse generally, also limiting opportunities for men.

5.2.3.2 Domestic Environment

There are great differences between the depiction of women and men in a domestic environment in both commercials. While both commercials show many different characters in diverse scenarios, OLNb focusses on life events generally that do not necessarily have to take place in a home context, whereas TGM shifts the focus to a home perspective only. That is why the majority of the scenes analyzed in this section are shown in the latter.

In OLNb, the scenes taking place in a domestic setting are shown right after one and another, one depicting a woman cooking (OLNB 0:58), the other showing a man at a drum set in a garage (OLNB 0:59). The first thing that came to our mind was the contrast between both characters. Seeing a woman in a kitchen preparing a meal supports a very traditional female gender role, as it shows the responsibility to take care of the home and family. In contrast, a man having fun while playing an instrument shows him pursuing his hobby. Especially as he is shown again later in the commercial, where he is playing together with a WM (OLNB 1:58). Investigating

the portrayal of the XW more thoroughly, the traditional depiction in line with marianismo beliefs can be refuted for two reasons. Firstly, taking into account her face expression, she looks fondly at the camera and smiles. Secondly, when showing the cooking process, images of preparing the food are inserted. This is why we argue that cooking is her hobby, not a duty after all, as usually pictures are taken when having a good time which a hobby should give one. This interpretation is further supported by what is said: “What if I believe in [...] my cooking, my music can do?”. It is an encouraging message to believe in one’s skills or talent and to be confident about what one likes doing.

In TGM, focus is first put on the cooking process, then on the food itself and ultimately on the groups of people enjoying the food together. The first three characters are shown explicitly while starting the cooking process. It was striking that one out of three is a man (TGM 0:12), whereas in the rest of the scenes it is women standing in the kitchen (TGM 0:11, 0:13-0:16). The second time these three characters reappear, they are accompanied by family members. An AEW and an AB join the AEM and are looking at the food being prepared (TGM 0:34). The AEM points at the food as to show it to the AB and then pads the AB’s hair (TGM 0:34). Cooking, involving the child, and showing affection are positive outcomes of machismo and contrast Bourdieu’s elaboration in gender roles (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). When a ?M accompanies an AW in the kitchen (TGM 0:28) and when he later carries a bowl of food towards the table (TGM 0:39), the traditional depiction of women in the kitchen and taking care of the food is refuted. By sharing the tasks, a sense of togetherness is created which of course also supports the overall message of the commercial. Moreover, according to Hofstede, in masculine societies work in the household is less shared life (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 89), so that these depictions weaken this view. On the contrary, this view is also supported by the portrayal of traditional female gender roles, when they are shown in the kitchen as demonstrated in table 10: Demonstrating High Contrast in Sub-Theme: Men vs. Women. This is taken further when a HEW and a HYW are shown in the kitchen together (TGM 0:28). The HYW watching her grandmother prepare food is a sign of passing on heritage to the next generation. As Bourdieu elaborates, women bear symbolic or cultural capital and that is their form of power (Lovell, 2000). Both characters reappear when playing a board game (TGM 1:16) and when hugging and holding hands (TGM, 1:24, 1:27). Dedicating time to each other, both as a grandmother to pass on traditions and as the granddaughter to take care of the elderly, strongly relates to Bourdieu’s construction of gender and marianismo beliefs. Moreover, it reinforces Hofstede’s claim that Hispanic societies are collectivistic. This observation is further elaborated in 5.3.2 Family Structures. This portrayal

reinforces prevailing conceptions of how women should behave in a domestic environment and thus may influence the viewers accordingly. As explained in the theoretical framework, research on relations between marianismo restrictions and mental health issues has been conducted and a correlation was found (Cano, 2004). Knowing that in the U.S. a rather modern and free lifestyle is promoted, being familiar with expectations inherent to marianismo, the correlation is not surprising. Being close to both lifestyles may rise awareness of one's boundaries tied to cultural (and/or familial) traditions. Seen from a rather positive perspective, it shows an adequate cultural representation that may create a feeling of belonging and understanding.

It was evident that almost all scenes take place in a family setting, only very few depict groups of friends or couples. Especially for people not being in a relationship and not having family anymore, not having a close relationship with relatives or simply living too far apart, this focus might create a feeling of not belonging or missing an important factor to happiness. In 5.1.3.2 Exclusion of Heritage and 5.3.2 Family Structures, the highly represented family setting is further taken into consideration.

5.2.3.3 Parental Roles

In both commercials, parental roles of both mothers and fathers are shown in quite equal frequency, although the role of fathers is more obvious in OLNb. Surely this stems from the context of the commercials, as they take place in a home environment and emphasize family relations. However, the scenes where men are portrayed as fathers were more striking to us than the ones where women are shown as mothers which can be due to the contradiction of traditional gender role depiction.

5.2.3.3.1 Men as Fathers

In OLNb, there are three scenes (OLNb 0:47, 1:07, 1:25) in which *men as fathers* has been coded, which can be seen in table 10: Demonstrating High Contrast in Sub-Theme: Men vs. Women. They are very similar in the sense that they portray love and affection for the children as well as time that is dedicated to them. This is also reflected in what is said in each scene. Generally, being a dedicated father, both contradicts and confirms machismo behavior. This is because men in societies influenced by machismo usually interact outside the home, accumulate economic capital, and rather take a dominant role. However, the results of this responsibility

can be the willingness to provide for the family and to be dedicated fathers (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008; Jarvinen, 1999; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010).

The father sitting in his living room and cuddling his son, while he is sleeping on his chest (OLNB 1:07) has a very loving face expression. When looking into the camera and talking, he is whispering as to not wake up the BB. The question “What if I refuse to be a stranger in my own living room?” (OLNB 1:07) is the acknowledgement of the struggle between going to work and still having enough time to spend with the children. In masculine societies, work prevails over family (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12), thus here the opposite is shown. By refusing to be the stranger, an active decision is made that entails an empowering message for fathers. It is taking action against the stereotype that men spend a lot of time without the family, thus being in danger of not connecting enough with ones’ children, consequently being the “stranger”. It also entails taking responsibility as a father and sharing the upbringing with the mother. Being a metaphorical stranger at home also means missing out. In the case of parenthood, it is missing out on the development of one’s children. This is reflected when a father picks up his daughter and spins her around, nose to nose, both smiling and giggling (OLNB 0:47). This shows intimacy, love, and affection. The concern of missing important moments in the children’s life is expressed by the phrase “What if I’m missing how bright your eyes glisten?” The father and son playing miniature football and having fun is accompanied by the phrase “What if I am there whenever you need a friend?” (OLNB 1:25). It portrays showing an interest in children’s life and taking the child serious. As friends, one can have fun and do things that are enjoyed, but friends are also there when one feels sad or is worrying. The father wanting to take time to get to know the child so well it almost equates friendship shows trust and the willingness to be there for the child, not only when having a good time but also in sadness.

In TGM, the focus on fathers is not as explicit as in OLNb, because it is rather groups that are shown instead of smaller groups of people. The focus is more on the family as a whole, than on relations of individuals within the family. In two scenes however, an AEM and an AYM are shown while interacting (TGM 0:23, 0:31). At first, the AEM takes off his glasses and wipes his eyes while the AYM puts his hand on the AEM’s shoulder, as they then continue into an embrace. Because of the intimacy between both characters, a father son relation is assumed. As explained in the first section of this chapter, showing emotions and closeness is contradicting machismo principles. Opening up to each other, shows trust as well as love and affection.

5.2.3.3.2 Women as Mothers

For the depiction of women as mothers, in TGM again the focus is on groups not on individuals which is already elaborated above. The consequence of this depiction is that we found this category in the commercials, however it does not give as much room for discussion as in OLNb. In TGM, mothers are shown in two scenes outside of a group (TGM 0:10, 0:21). The first was already elaborated in 5.2.1 Display of Emotions as a XYW is looking upset and a XW is comforting her by kissing her hands and lovingly stroking her cheeks (TGM 0:10). It supports masculine societal values where mothers deal with feelings and it is acknowledged that females show emotions publicly (Hofstede, 2011, p. 12). In the second scene, a WYW picks up a WB displaying care for her baby (TGM 0:21). Generally, in TGM, scenes are quite short with a high frequency of cuts which results in the impression that the focus should not be on individual characters but groups and the message as such. OLNb also has many changing frames, however some scenes are slightly longer, specifically the ones where men as fathers are depicted. Especially in OLNb, the depiction of fathers and mothers is quite different. While fathers are shown in direct interaction with children, mothers are portrayed rather implicitly. They are not shown together with children in the same frame, the relation rather is assumed based on the following scenes. A WW is shown sitting in a car saying, “I’ll never say that teacher’s holidays are too long” (OLNb 0:38). Because of this exclamation as well as the next frame in which a WG appears on the car window, we assumed that it is a mother picking up her child from school. The scenes relate to Bourdieu’s labor division between both genders. It is stated that women usually do not perform capital accumulating tasks but bring value to the family by taking care of domestic tasks and the family (Jarvinen, 1999; Thorpe, 2009). Usually, the mentioned work tasks women perform are not as recognized in society as capital generating work (Jarvinen, 1999; Thorpe, 2009). Therefore, the time these tasks consume is often not acknowledged and being a mother is seen as the natural female role. This also goes hand in hand with marianismo beliefs as women are expected to give up their own interest for the family’s sake (Nuñez, et al., 2016; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010).

The second scene in which assumingly a mother is shown is when an AEW is on a video call with an AYM blowing kisses into the camera and smiling (OLNb 1:27, 1:28). We identified her as a mother and him as her son staying in contact while being physically apart. In OLNb, this is the only scene where a mother is shown expressing love and affection for her child, whereas for fathers, we could identify three scenes. The implication could be that it is given as natural that mothers are loving and dedicated to their children and therefore this relation does

not need to be stressed by an explicit portrayal. The opposite is the case for father-child relations as men usually do not spend as much time with their children as mothers do. The positive implication for both men and women is that through the portrayal of loving and dedicated fathers, a counter perspective to the macho man is constructed. It delivers the message to fathers to actively spend time with the family, to show interest, and to be there for one's children. It also has a positive impact on women. The explicit counter machismo portrayal of fathers in line with few typical marianismo portrayals frees women from the traditional role of caring for the family on their own. It shows the efforts of fathers to not only be the breadwinner but also to take an active role in family life. Because both concepts are co-dependent, the combination of these portrayals impacts both gender roles positively. However, it can also be argued that the positive impact for women is limited by the exclusion of depicting females in working positions. Showing positive outcomes of machismo frees men and women to some degree and empowers men. However, this empowerment cannot be found for women as not working means no access to resources e.g., generating economic capital which depicts inequality between males and females and consequently is an indicator for minority group status (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, p. 25).

5.3 Heritage

With the overall topic of this project concerning the portrayal of diversity in advertising, this theme was discovered early in the process. Due to the researchers' common interest in, and educational background focusing on, the Hispanic part of the world, it has been deemed interesting and relevant to look further into this area. This background means that all have knowledge about social, political, and cultural relations in Latin America, and from an interpretivist point of view, are able to insert ourselves in the reality and social world in this part of the world. Therefore, this section of the analysis draws attention to the portrayal of people of Hispanic heritage in Coca-Cola's commercials. More specifically, the focus is on frequency and way of portraying the characters (environments, relations etc.). This theme touches upon sub-themes such as *portrayal of minority groups, family structures, cultural identity and privilege*.

5.3.1 Portrayal of Minority Groups

The first sub-theme is related to the portrayal of minority groups. When initiating the research for this thesis, different minority groups, all in relation to heritage, were discussed to be included. However, with the purpose of a more specific and targeted study, it was decided to limit the aim to people of Hispanic heritage.

The aim of this thesis is to disclose to which extent Coca-Cola presents and contributes to diversity in their commercials. As presented in the beginning of the analysis, the frequency of characters with different heritage backgrounds is presented (table 14: Representation of Heritage). However, it is important to read these numbers considering that we have a category of unidentified characters, and a percentage of these characters might be of Hispanic heritage, even though not possible for us to determine. Nevertheless, these numbers help us conclude the frequency in which certain heritage groups are presented. The tables demonstrate that people of Hispanic heritage are underrepresented in OLNb, with only three out of 59 characters. At the same time, people of Hispanic heritage are the most represented group in TGM with 13 of 46 characters (table 14: Representation of Heritage). It is important to note, however, that this number is due to one scene in which a group of ten Hispanic people is shown (TGM 1:19). Therefore, the high number of representations is not due to characters being shown in different scenes or settings, but because of one scene with a large number of characters. Related to Hofstede's cultural dimension of individualistic vs. collectivistic societies, the following may be implied. Mexico scoring relatively low on individualism consequently means a rather collectivistic societal orientation. Characteristics of such are a focus on "we" rather than "I", stressing belonging and extended families that emphasize loyalty and the maintenance of harmony (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11). Displaying a large family reflects these values. However, The U.S., is the opposite with a score of 91 (Hofstede Insights, n.d.a), hence being a very "I" focused society that puts the individual first (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11).

Besides the frequency of characters with Hispanic heritage, another interesting aspect is in which relations and environments these characters are portrayed. As previously explained, a common advertising strategy is the use of stereotypes. Stereotypes arise from pictures in people's minds and are not necessarily constituted by one's own experience, but also through interaction with others (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Laberge, 1995). However, stereotypes are recognizable for the viewer, and since research has shown that television and commercials influence people across age, gender, culture, and heritage, it is an interesting subject to investigate. The way people, or groups of people, are portrayed adds an element of social pressure and

creates norms that are supported and reinforced by stereotypical portrayal – let it be of gender or heritage.

When coding the data set from a U.S. perspective, and discussing portrayal of minority groups in relation to stereotypes, the observation was made that in OLNb, the taxi drivers appear to be foreign (OLNB 0:06, 1:39-1:42), as argued in 5.2.3.1 Portrayal of Occupation. Though none of them have been determined to be of Hispanic heritage, it is a portrayal of a stereotype, that is being reproduced through this commercial. This is an example of the connectedness between themes and sub-themes. As previously analyzed, under the sub-theme *men vs. women* in the category *portrayal of occupation*, this portrayal of foreign people working a lower-income job demonstrates one of Hofstede's dimensions of culture – power distance. As previously stated, there are certain implications linked to the unequal distribution of power. That includes uneven income distribution, inequality is sustained by hierarchy, and subordinates expect to be told what to do (Hofstede, 2011, pp. 9,11).

5.3.2 Family Structures

The combination of an iterative approach towards research and data as well as both data-driven and concept-driven coding, resulted in the creation of this category “family structures”. The theme goes hand in hand with Hofstede's dimension of culture regarding individualism vs. collectivism. As demonstrated in table 8: Frequency of Themes, numerous scenes from TGM appear under this sub-theme. As mentioned before, this has to do with the nature of the commercial. When coding for this theme, the researchers noticed that close to all scenes occur in a family setting, while groups of friends and couples are less represented in the overall picture in this commercial. Focusing on characters of Hispanic heritage (13 out of 59 characters in this commercial), the researchers identified two groups – whom we assume to be families (table 14: Representation of Heritage). First, a grandmother and her grandchild are presented (TGM 0:28) and later we see a big family gathered for a meal outside (TGM 1:19). Previously, the concept of *marianismo* was discussed and put in relation to the scene with the HEW. The curiosity of this analysis is the fact that none of the themes are mutually exclusive, and besides revealing something about gender roles, this scene also tells something about heritage and family structures. According to *marianismo*, Hispanic women are expected to be loving and caring mothers and to be in charge of domestic tasks – e.g., cooking (Nuñez, et al., 2016; Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Besides cooking for her family, the interpretation of these scenes is that the

grandmother is passing on her knowledge about traditional dishes to her granddaughter, who will be cooking them for her family for many years. This can be seen as symbolic or cultural capital, accumulated and shared by women. By bearing and passing on such symbolic capital, structures in social spaces are maintained and culture is reproduced and stabilized (Lovell, 2000). Now it becomes interesting to link these interpretations, based on marianismo and personal experience in Latin America, to Hofstede's dimension on individualism vs. collectivism. As stated in 3.5.7 Mexico and the U.S., according to Hofstede, Mexico's score on individualism (31) indicates that the Mexican society is predominantly collectivistic. This means that individuals are brought up with strong family values, causing Mexican society to foster strong relationships, where everyone takes responsibility for members of their family (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11). Another example of people of Hispanic heritage nourishing collectivistic values is related to the group of people having a dinner party in the garden (TGM 1:19). Even though most of the people showed in these scenes have not been possible to determine regarding age, we have distinguished a group of four women and six men, indicating it could be more than one family sharing this meal together. Again, this depiction coexists with Hofstede's description of a collectivistic society, where individuals often find themselves in a close, long-term commitment to members of their group (Hofstede, 2011, p. 11). In contrast, only the characters labelled WYW (TGM 0:14) and BYM and WYM (TGM 1:02) are shown alone or in a couple, close to all other scenes depict families. Possible explanations as well as implications have already been elaborated in 5.1.3.1 Inclusion of Minorities. One thing to be very aware of, is that it is close to impossible for us to determine origin of the characters, and our strategy for determining has been solely on the principle of gender expression – as explained in 4.3.3.2 Determining Gender, Age and Heritage. Therefore, in the case of these three characters, who we have distinguished as White and Black, we cannot know with certainty their country of origin. However, our assumptions that they all come from Western countries, align with their individualistic portrayal and the score on the Hofstede Model. Where Mexico scores 30 on Individualism, the United States has a score of 91 (Hofstede Insights, n.d.a).

Relating these observations to Lee Chun Wah's notions about localization vs. standardization in advertising, the researchers deem that this commercial very much takes into consideration the different cultures presented herein. This is a strategy that ensures to target individuals belonging to certain groups in order to address the potential buyer with some recognizable values. Research on advertising strategies have shown that "human's wants and needs are universal, but the way of addressing them is not" (Wah, 2005, p. 64). Studies show that in collectivistic

cultures, appeals addressing group benefits, harmony and family are more effective. On the other hand, in individualistic cultures, advertising that appeals to individual benefits, independence and personal success is more effective (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 98). In conclusion, it appears that Coca-Cola uses a standardized advertising strategy, where the viewer, either belonging to collectivistic or individualistic cultures, may feel targeted, but does not have to be. Characters of Hispanic heritage are portrayed in large groups depicting collectivism. The few cases where characters are portrayed in individual or small settings, are characters that have been identified as belonging to cultures scoring high on individualism according to the Hofstede Model – in this case the United States.

In continuation of this perspective, it is important to take the contemporaneity of the commercial into consideration. It has been released in 2020, and the events of the COVID-19 situation are clearly addressed in the commercial, where the opening sentence states: “the day the world stopped, was the day we found where to go” (TGM 0:03). Generally, the voice-over does not compose a strong presence in this commercial (TGM), but the focus is more on the characters and their interaction with each other. However, from the few words spoken throughout the commercial, the message is very clear: when our world was turned upside-down, we learned to be grateful for the small things and learned to cherish the moments in the bosom of the family. Therefore, it can be argued that family and collectivistic values are part of the overall message of the commercial.

What is curious about this analysis, is how the result not only derives from what is found, but also what is not found. As demonstrated in table 8: Frequency of Themes in relation to this sub-theme dealing with family structures, only observations from TGM have been noted. In our quite meticulously survey of the two commercials, no remarks about family structures have been made in OLNb. We think there might be several explanations for this. First, close to all scenes only have one character. Therefore, thoughts about family structures did not occur when coding the commercial. Another interesting aspect that makes the commercials differ, is the narrative. Where the voice-over in TGM says things such as “the day the world stopped, was the day we found where to go” (TGM 0:03-0:07) and “because we have learned how to savor the moments that were always there” (TGM 1:13-1:16), the focus in OLNb is different. The narrative of TGM is more “we”-focused, whereas OLNb targets the individual, when the narrator, and the characters, asks themselves “What if I listen?” (OLNB 0:46), “What if I refuse to be a stranger in my own living room?” (OLNB 1:07) and “So I’ll be open like never before”

(OLNB 2:04). What we conclude from these observations is that the overall focus in the two commercials is simply different, and that affects in which settings the characters are shown.

5.3.3 Cultural Identity

What we describe as cultural identity refers to scenes where cultural symbols were shown that imply one's identification with that specific culture. A group of people with a shared cultural identity have things in common such as religion, language, social behaviors, cuisine, art, literature, music etc. (Cayla & Arnould, 2008). The individual, language, time and place shape culture meaning that the individual is not only influenced by its culture, but simultaneously influences culture, as well (de Mooij, 2011, p. 41).

One central aspect concerned with cultural identity is the cuisine and traditional dishes. TGM, as described in the title of the commercial, shows many meals – traditional meals belonging to people of different heritage. The beginning of the commercial shows a variety of people, in different settings, preparing the kitchen to start cooking their meal (TGM 0:08, 0:11, 0:12, 0:13, 0:15-0:20). We follow the preparation (chopping, stirring, frying etc.) and we then see short clips of meals being brought to the tables, almost in a fluent motion, making it seem like all the people are carrying the dishes to the same table. This filmic affect seems to have another purpose than just displaying different, traditional dishes. This way of cutting the scenes contributes to the overall message of “togetherness”, this commercial intends to communicate. As if they are all going to sit down and enjoy a meal together at the same table and at the same time. Some of the dishes were easily identifiable as belonging to specific cultures. An example occurs when a popular Mexican dish, Chiles En Nogada⁴, is shown in a close-up, while being carried to a table (TGM 0:41).

⁴ Chiles En Nogada: Mexican dish that originates from the city of Puebla in the state of Mexico City. The dish demonstrates the three colors of the Mexican flag and is often made around the Mexican Independence Day (Barker, 2019).



The Great Meal (0:41)

Carrying the dishes, representing a culture, to a table and making it seem like the characters are carrying them to the same table reinforces the narrator's line in the beginning of this commercial "lost together, we found ourselves again" (TGM 0:21-0:23). Likewise, an interesting technique related to Coca-Cola's product placement is taking place in this sequence. In this montage of dishes being brought to the table, the last cut is of four Coca-Cola bottles being placed on the table (TGM 0:40-0:42). This is almost suggesting that Coca-Cola is as an essential part of cultural heritage, as the dishes presented. Another observation made to support this statement, is the scene with the Asian man "cheering" his glass of Coca-Cola with his grandson's soup (TGM 1:06). Although a general notion made throughout the two commercials is that the way of presenting the product is very subtle, we are sure that everything in these commercials is very thought through.

TGM is analyzed in the belief that the scenes in the commercials should portray families living in their country of origin – e.g., Asian family in China, and Hispanic family somewhere in Latin America. This was determined since local Coca-Cola bottles appear in the commercial with labels in Spanish and Chinese (TGM 0:43, 0:48). Since the researchers have already determined that TGM takes place in different countries, another observation and interpretation has been made regarding cultural identity. The scenes taking place in HEW's kitchen show traditional, hand-painted Mexican tiles (TGM 0:28) and in general a very traditional interior reinforcing

the belief that this family's home is located in Mexico. Besides the traditional interior, it is clear that the grandmother's kitchen is a focal point for many family gatherings and has a rather practical purpose. Relating these observations to Hofstede's dimension of individualism vs. collectivism, it is interesting to look at the interior of WYW's kitchen (TGM 0:14, 0:21). Whereas the grandmother's kitchen has soul, traditional interior, and a clear, practical purpose, WYW's kitchen is rather small, and the interior is rather modern or "Western" – it is quite simple, minimalistic, white and bright. It is paramount to remember, these are interpretations, and of course the size of a kitchen may have to do with financial stability. However, the portrayal reinforces the notions already made regarding Hispanic culture nourishing collectivistic values, and Western culture being individualistic.

Whereas the cultural identity in TGM is a present theme throughout almost the entire commercial, in OLNb one specific scene has been coded in relation to cultural identity. This is one scene from a montage of wedding pictures and videos, where we see a couple getting married (OLNB 1:53). The woman is wearing a white wedding dress and a veil, and the man is wearing a black skullcap. They have a cloth over their shoulders, and the man is breaking the glass – a Jewish wedding tradition. During the montage of wedding photos, it is the only scene including a religious link. Generally, in OLNb, there are no other relations to portrayal of religious diversity. Therefore, this specific scene was striking, however curious as well as due to its exclusiveness. We are aware of religion being a major factor of cultural diversity, but it is not the focus of this study. Consequently, we do not investigate this portrayal further apart from what has been already established above.

5.3.4 Privilege

This sub-theme was found based on the overall message of OLNb, which endorses people to change their mindset, think differently about their normal way of living and habits. In the initial rounds of coding, some of the following statements were coded as "spoiled", which ended up as "privilege" that named this sub-theme.

Three utterances have been coded to support the argument that some characters are portrayed as privileged: "I'll never call my job unimportant again" (OLNB 0:37), "I'll never say that teacher's holidays are too long" (OLNB 0:39) and "school sucks" (OLNB 0:40). The first thing, the researchers noted about these statements, was that they are all said by White characters.

The character who has been identified as a WTM is standing in a supermarket and proudly saying over the microphone “I’ll never call my job unimportant again” (OLNB 0:37). As previously mentioned, the two commercials analyzed in this thesis are both from 2020 and have been filmed in the context of the COVID-19 situation, where many people’s lives have been turned upside-down, and people lost their jobs. This might be the reason, he is now grateful for a job, he before had considered to be unimportant, because he was “just” a cashier at a supermarket. The researchers first labelled this statement “spoiled” and have placed it under “privilege”, seeing that many people (even before COVID) would be grateful simply to have a job. The unemployment rate in the U.S. rose significantly in 2020, according to numbers from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. From the total unemployment rate being 3.5% in February of 2020, it rose to 14.8% in April. Among Hispanics or Latinx it increased from 4.4% to 18.9%. The numbers also reveal that between White, Asian, Black or African American and Hispanic or Latinx, the unemployment rate is highest for Hispanic or Latinx (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, n.d.).

The character uttering “I’ll never say that teacher’s holidays are too long” (OLNB 0:39), is identified as a WW. That “teacher’s holidays are too long” is something parents might have thought before lockdown. However, the interpretation of this quote is that after spending a lot of time homeschooling, parents realize how great of a responsibility and task teachers have taken upon them.

The next scene shows a WG being picked up from school while saying “school sucks” (OLNB 0:40). As related to the abovementioned statement, after being away from school and friends, many children around the world probably also appreciate going to school, learning, and seeing their friends. This scene cuts to a HYW, who is sitting on the bus. This cut from the scene with the WG being picked up at school, to a brief scene of the narrator, to the HYW on the bus was coded as privilege, as well (OLNB 0:40-0:44). An observation was that the WG was privileged to be picked up by a parent at school, whereas the HYW was using public transportation. A relation to the dimension of power distance can be drawn, as hierarchical structures within societies are accepted (Hofstede, 2011, p. 9). Mexico scores comparably high (81), which indicates an established acceptance of uneven power structures and unequal wealth distribution in society (itim International, n.d.). It further means that hierarchical structures remain because they are closely tied to showing respect as a subordinate person and to be shown respect as a dominant member of society (de Mooij & Hofstede, 2015, p. 88). As power relations are concerned with financial wealth, riding the bus vs. being picked up by car indicates uneven

financial backgrounds. In the bus, it is not only the HYW but also several BYMs (OLNB 0:40-0:44). As the described characters show characteristics of minority group status, hierarchical structures with privilege are represented. Large power distance also entails that inequality is not questioned but accepted as given.

Following the above utterances is one by a character, who has been identified as HM: “travel less and love every mile of it” (OLNB 0:53). More aspects have been analyzed in regard to this statement and the circumstances of it. First of all, we now have a character who is not White, like the characters from the above statements. Where the former statements have been regarding everyday situations; work and school, the HM is now talking about travelling. As travelling is costly and takes place on days off work, it has two implications. First, one must have sufficient financial means to afford to travel. Secondly, one must also have an occupation that pays not only a sufficient salary but also offers paid days of holiday. “Travel less and love every mile of it” shifts the focus from quantity to quality. It fits into the message of the commercial to rethink and reevaluate one’s lifestyle. However, it may imply that someone who easily can afford such vacations might forget the privileged situation one is in as the focus is on reaching destinations, not the journey itself. Showing a HM, opens the discourse about privilege due to minority group status. As explained previously, often inequality means unequal distribution of access to resources and power (Healey & Stepnick, 2019, pp. 10-11). Resources may be education that will also increase one’s chances of finding a good job and power may be economic power in form of economic capital, hence money. Consequently, showing a member of a minority group while talking about affording to travel, is depicting disadvantages in society for certain members.

Throughout OLNb, Coca-Cola is using an interesting technique regarding the narration. The narrator, George the Poet, is narrating the story, but in some sequences, the narrator and the characters speak simultaneously. This is also shown in the transcription table (Appendix) E.g., “travel less and **love every mile of it**” (OLNB 0:53) or “what if I refuse to be a stranger **in my own living room?**” (OLNB 1:10). We have been discussing whether this technique is used as an instrument to make each statement seem more relatable to the viewer, reinforcing the message of “togetherness” and “openness”, Coca-Cola is trying to bring across. The same thing is in evidence in the narrator’s physical role/appearance throughout the commercial. He is the first character, whom we are introduced to and the last character, we see, when the commercial ends. Throughout the commercial he appears in between the scenes of the other characters, as if he is always with us on the journey.

6 Discussion

In this section, parts of the preceding analysis are further elaborated. The section discusses contradicting findings, highlights remarkable observations, handles implications, and asks further questions. Additionally, in order to disclose RQ2, Social Cognitive Theory is applied to emphasize the importance of the content shown in commercials and their possible power of influencing society.

What is shown on TV has the potential to reach many people due to the increasing popularity and accessibility of this medium across societies (Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007). The average U.S. household was found to watch TV several hours a day, on average a little over eight hours. From September 2004 until September 2005, the daily amount of watching television of individuals was investigated, concluding that the average person tuned into TV for four and a half hours on a daily basis. In the U.S., 25% of each broadcasting hour is comprised of advertising (Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007). The influence of televised images depends on the content that is conveyed and not on the quantity of exposure. This is why heavy exposure facilitates an adoption of the televised reality. The more people are reached by the same messages, the heavier the influence may be.

The portrayal of gender showed both expected stereotypical portrayal and diverse portrayal. A previous study conducted on stereotypical gender role portrayal was what caused these presumptions regarding stereotypical portrayal. Generally, women were depicted in relation to domestic or motherly roles in both commercials. What was curious in OLNB is the focus on men as fathers in three scenes (OLNB 0:47, 1:07, 1:25), almost leaving out the portrayal of women as mothers. It was questioned whether this implies that women naturally have a stronger bond to their children and therefore this role does not need to be highlighted specifically. Not being portrayed as a loving and dedicated mother may create the feeling of being left out. In contrast, advertising research found that women are often depicted in traditional and dependent roles in a home setting (Villegas, Lemanski, & Valdéz, 2010). Therefore, not including such portrayals, e.g., women as mothers, may also be an aspect of diversity because it is moving away from the stereotypical gender role portrayal. Especially in the context of *marianismo*, the scarce portrayal of females in motherly roles combined with the emphasized depiction of father-child relations, may lift a burden for women. Specifically, Hispanic women may face a double bind when growing up with, as well as being exposed to, these traditional beliefs but at the same time acculturate to rather Westernized female gender roles by living in the U.S. Therefore, it can be

argued that the above-described portrayal in OLNb positively influences both men and women. Women as they are not alone in raising the children and men as it is acknowledged and desired to be a dedicated father. What contrasts this argumentation is that despite their influencing power, media messages usually reinforce already existing behavior and social structures, but do not have the power to implement completely new ones (Bandura, 2001). Hispanics living in the U.S. were found to watch the same amount of English and Spanish speaking television programs. However, the individual was found to be more likely to be influenced by what is shown on Spanish programs (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000). Accordingly, research on *marianismo* disclosed that often it is difficult to overcome stereotypes, meaning these remain despite Western influence. Additionally, a different lifestyle moving away from traditional *marianismo* beliefs was often found to be rejected by one's family, hence making it hard to acculturate as a Hispanic woman living in the U.S. (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). This may be a possible explanation for the link between *marianismo* gender roles and depression levels that was discovered, as explained in 3.6.2 *Marianismo and Machismo – Prevailing Mexican Gender Concepts* (Cano, 2004).

Referring to SCT, media influence is the strongest when using tailored messages as these are better remembered because of one's identification with them (Bandura, 2001). We argue that despite, or because of, Coca-Cola's efforts to show diversity, a standardized advertising strategy is used, contradicting the previously explained influence. It seems as if the commercials are meant to please a variety of consumers, although creating the feeling of "one size fits all". But societies are both active influencers of and influenced by media images, creating a dependency on the cultural background. Therefore, a standardized strategy may not result in the desired positive impact because no two cultures are the same (de Mooij, 2011, p. 41), meaning the same images and messages may be received differently across places.

Another curious observation we made was that the men in parental roles in OLNb all were ascribed characteristics of minority groups, and no father transcribed as White is shown. As seen in table 14: Representation of Heritage, almost a third of the characters is transcribed as White, another third as Black. The majority of the remaining third could not be identified, meaning that these characters may also belong to a minority group. An explanation might be given on the basis of what has been analyzed in 5.2.3.1 Portrayal of Occupation in regard to minority groups. We argued that due to limited access to resources, lower paid occupations are taken, possibly leading to work more in order to provide for the family. This implies having

less time to spend with the family. Consequently, showing fathers with a minority status background may be a reminder to make time to spend with one's children.

In the two commercials, we coded both, portrayal conforming and rejecting traditional gender roles, as elaborated by Bourdieu as well as *marianismo* and *machismo*. Looking at the rejection of these, some arguments critically questioning Bourdieu's take on the subject are strengthened. It is argued that until the 1970s, feminist scholars accepted the argumentation of gender differences being a biological phenomenon only (Silva, 2005). However, now moving away from this view and seeing gender as a social construct is supported by seeing men in counter-typical positions. This is because if the distinctions were solely biological, they were impossible to overcome. As they are socially and politically constructed, blurring and crossing the lines between gender becomes possible. Now seeing an AEM (TGM 0:09) in the kitchen preparing the meal for his family, demonstrates that certain cultures and individuals do not conform to the traditional and limiting view of men being harsh and rather living their lives in public settings whereas women are soft and rather operating in private settings (McCall, 1992).

What could not be observed or clearly determined in the commercials is a portrayal aside from the binary gender construct. Likewise, Bourdieu does not distinguish between sex and gender which is seen as a shortcoming of his work and is therefore criticized. Sex refers to the biological distinctions of male and female bodies, whereas gender relates these differences to a social context (Chambers, 2005). The failure to make this distinction, consequently, rejects a social construction of gender. It excludes people not conforming with either male or female, let it be biologically or socially. Therefore, one prevailing observation regarding gender portrayal was the lack of diversity. Despite the fact that this study treats gender as binary, and therefore only recognizes two genders – male and female, surprisingly little portrayal regarding gender diversity was detected in the commercials. Looking at gender against the backdrop of SCT, gender as a social construct is acknowledged. Through gendered socialization in a cultural context, stereotypes arise and determine roles for males and females, respectively. “[G]ender conceptions are constructed from the complex mix of experiences and [...] they operate in concert with motivational and self-regulatory mechanisms to guide gender-linked conduct throughout the life course” (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 676). Using the model of reciprocal triadic causation as an explanation, especially modeling is crucial for the understanding of gender. Modeling is one of the most pervasive ways to communicate and pass on values, attitudes, and behavior and especially children learn from modeling through imitation (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). It is powerful because the message of a single model can be received by numerous people

around the globe simultaneously (Bandura, 2001). Considering this enormous power of media messages, it is not only important what is communicated, but also what is not. Leaving out non-binary portrayal of gender conveys the normality of this prevalent binary view. Consequently, it is adopted as one's reality and determines how one acts. As social structures are created by people, they, as active agents, also have the power to influence the construction, passing on, and existence of these structures. LGBTQIA+ movements raise awareness for their member's minority status, thus enlarging visibility and awareness of the prevailing binary reality in societies.

Chapter 3.3 Race and Ethnicity in the U.S. stated that Hispanic and Latinx is not counted as a race but as an ethnicity and people can identify with any race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b). This may become problematic as it is found that race serves as an element of identification for people (Shiraev & Levy, 2010, p. 6). Moreover, the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan fact tank conducting research on demographics and public opinions, investigated this topic in-depth. It was found that two thirds of Hispanic adults consider their heritage as being part of their racial identity (Parker, Menasce Horowitz, Morin, & Lopez, 2015). This also impacts the results of the U.S. Census because Hispanics and Latinx, "more than any other group, [...] say 'some other race', mostly writing in responses such as 'Mexican', 'Hispanic' or 'Latin American'" (Parker, Menasce Horowitz, Morin, & Lopez, 2015). As this study focusses on a Hispanic perspective, and seeing that the Hispanic population in the U.S. constitutes the largest minority group that is also predicted to grow steadily (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), a curious observation we made was the strikingly scarce inclusion of characters of such heritage. A limited portrayal might create a falsified impression of what the U.S. society is composed of. In accordance with SCT, this portrayal has implications for people regardless of heritage.

The examples given regarding inter-heritage couples, -friendships or -interactions support the assumption that Coca-Cola wants to emphasize the value of including diversity. It is a positive portrayal and reminder of diversity. However, scenes with families of the same heritage outnumber these including portrayals. An explanation for this way of portraying characters may be the COVID-19 background and that they were produced during a pandemic. Nonetheless, knowing that the U.S. is a diverse country regarding cultures, heritage, languages, religions etc., leaving out portrayal of inter-heritage relations, questions the actual representation of this society. This then leads to the question if viewers feel addressed, and if they feel adequately represented? Investigating these and finding answers might also provide insight on how the viewer

(consumer) react to the commercial. This might also disclose if the consumer is likely to buy the product and remembers the message.

Investigating advertising also means looking behind the images and understanding that the brand's goal is to make profit. It was found that Coca-Cola was one of the most valuable soft drinks brand in 2019. It reached a brand value of roughly 70 billion U.S. dollars and to put that into relation, Pepsi for example only reached 11 billion U.S. dollars in the same period (Statista, 2019). This confirms Coca-Cola's global power as a brand. That being said, it is important to also consider the target group(s) of that brand or product. The Coca-Cola commercials chosen for the research advertise, though very subtle, a soft drink. Because of Coca-Cola's status as a global and well-established brand, the company has the "luxury" to use a natural way of presenting the product instead of obviously displaying it. This also creates the opportunity to construct a story around the product presentation to convey a (emotional) message.

In 2019, the highest per capita consumption of carbonated soft drinks was found, by far, in Mexico and the U.S. (Statista, 2019). Looking at the main consumers of soft drinks, a relation between consumption and socioeconomic status is observed (Lobstein, 2014). Whereas "in high-income countries the greatest intake is often observed in populations with lower socioeconomic status, [...] the greatest intakes in low- and middle-income countries are frequently observed in populations with higher socio-economic status" (Lobstein, 2014). Seeing that the U.S. is a high-income country (World Bank, 2021), consumers of soft drinks are likely to have a lower socioeconomic status. That means having lower income, thus fewer financial means to spend and accordingly, lower social status as well. Our first impression of both commercials was that it was striking how many different heritage groups are shown. Table 14: Representation of Heritage provides insights to exact numbers of heritage categories. In OLNb, 23 out of 59 characters have been identified as belonging to minority groups, whereas 18 characters were transcribed as White. In TGM, 31 out of 46 people are part of minority groups and only six characters are White. The remaining characters could either not be identified or were not categorized, meaning that these too could belong to a minority group. This is why we thought of the commercials as depicting diversity regarding heritage at first. However, knowing that often minority groups have lower income, taking the above stated into account, the diverse portrayal must be questioned. Is the inclusion of diverse minorities really to show openness, awareness and acceptance or is it rather a way of selling a product by specifically showing the consumers, who are the likeliest to buy a product?

An essential discussion throughout this project has been in regard to Coca-Cola's role in the construction and reproduction of certain portrayals regarding gender and heritage. Previously, thoughts behind choosing either a small, local brand or a large, global brand were disclosed, and based on availability and potential cultural influence, Coca-Cola was chosen. With the successes of being an established, global brand that can be found in almost every country, there comes a certain responsibility. In addition to that, the company itself makes claims about inclusive behavior and diversity on their website, "[they] nurture a culture with a passion to refresh the world. [They] make a difference. [They] act with a growth mindset, take an expansive approach to what's possible, and believe in continuous learning to improve [their] business and [themselves]" (The Coca-Cola Company, 2019). Being a beverage brand, Coca-Cola's products do not create diversity in itself, however, their alleged values and strategies become apparent in their way of portraying the social world in their commercials. It is important to remember that Coca-Cola is a company selling beverages, so their main concern is about profit and accumulating capital. Despite this, Wah (2016) states that "Coca-Cola's television commercials are samples in the field of popular culture, whose main function within this capitalist system is to reconcile social and cultural differences within the economy" (p. 43).

Looking at the findings from the analysis, and the cases discussed above, does Coca-Cola live up to their promise of inclusive behavior and diversity? The answer to this question is not black and white. What was found throughout the commercials was a high representation of minority groups in relation to heritage and a balanced depiction of gender. This portrayal supports Coca-Cola's statement about inclusive behavior. However, when it comes to diversity, we found that Coca-Cola falls short of expectations to live up to their corporate values. These observations as well as findings from the analysis are combined to draw a conclusion in the following chapter.

7 Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to disclose the relationship between advertisement and ideological reproduction in the U.S. More specifically, how Coca-Cola portrays gender and heritage, and how that might influence the viewer. This has been investigated from a Hispanic perspective. The iterative nature of this qualitative study allowed us to weave back and forth between theory and data. This aligned with the case study research design and chosen method of analysis – thematic analysis. Furthermore, it helped finding the focus of the problem formulation. Braun and Clarke’s approach to thematic analysis set the overall frame for the analysis. Their six-step model to conducting thematic analysis was followed to a great extent, with additional inspiration from Applied Thematic Analysis, proposed by Guest, Macqueen and Namey. The collected data, two Coca-Cola commercials from 2020, was first transcribed, coded into themes, then structured and analyzed in order to disclose Coca-Cola’s portrayal of diversity in relation to gender and people of Hispanic heritage. Each section presented the themes deduced in the coding process, and they were thoroughly analyzed in relation to the theoretical considerations presented in the theoretical framework. Seeing that this study focuses on people of Hispanic heritage living in the U.S., additional Latin American theoretical concepts were incorporated to elevate Bourdieu’s understanding of gender. These concepts are particularly important to Mexican culture, since they explain society’s view on gender roles. In order to obtain more specific knowledge about Mexican culture, Hofstede’s model comparing cultural dimensions was included, as well. To investigate the possible impact on viewers, SCT in relation to media, culture and gender was applied.

A previous project conducted on stereotypical gender role portrayal in Mexican television commercials planted the seed for the creation of this project. The interest and wonder arose when initially looking at Coca-Cola’s commercials throughout the years and the different means of advertising. Initial discussions about whether to focus on a small, local company or a large, global company led to interesting debates. However, seeing that Coca-Cola is a global company, with significant, potential cultural impact, that claims to undertake diversity and inclusion as corporate values, it was deemed interesting to investigate to what extent and how these values are reflected in their commercials.

The study disclosed an evenly balanced portrayal of gender – in relation to frequency in both commercials. Further investigation into the data set exposed both diverse portrayal and stereotypical portrayal of gender regarding environment, setting and occupation. E.g., previous research on advertising reveals that women are often portrayed in motherly or domestic roles.

Marianismo beliefs support this portrayal. However, it was found that especially OLNb portrayed fathers in parental roles, leaving out mothers as care takers completely. It was discussed how this portrayal affects both men and women, as it supports being a loving father and consequently takes a burden of mothers. The portrayal of men as loving fathers also supports the positive outcome of macho values – which are the willingness to provide and care for the family. Gender stereotypical portrayal of women was frequent in TGM, where the portrayal of characters cooking or in the kitchen was more often women than men. In relation to the sub-category *portrayal of occupation*, male characters were coded in 7 of 8 cases. The dominant depiction of men in working environments coexists with machismo traditions, where the man is usually seen as the provider of the family. Mexico's scores 69 on Hofstede's masculinity dimension, and this portrayal of men as breadwinners is an identifiable factor among Hispanic viewers.

The numerical equal portrayal of gender was only found because this study considered gender as binary. However, this does not correctly reflect reality and people not belonging to either male or female, let it be biologically or socially, are part of societies. Movements in this regard have started to raise awareness and to increase visibility as well as acceptance across cultures. Therefore, regarding a diverse portrayal of gender, one would expect an inclusion and reflection of this concern as well.

Furthermore, the commercials disclosed an initial high representation of minority groups, 23 out of 59 in OLNb and 31 out of 46 in TGM (quite a few groups are non-categorized/unidentified and could therefore portray minorities). Nevertheless, further investigation into the data set revealed that this representation of minorities is actually not portraying diversity, even though it demonstrates high representation. The portrayal of characters of same heritage might be high, but inter-heritage relations were rather scarce. Nevertheless, in relation to inclusion of minorities, two statements in OLNb invited to inclusiveness – both in relation to gender and heritage. The BYW holding a photo of another BW, where the narrator says, "I'll lead like a woman" (OLNb 1:44) and the HYW in front of the polling sign with the statement, "I'll make my vote count" (OLNb 1:36) followed by "make my voice heard today" while portraying a BYM (OLNb 1:38). All scenes send empowering messages to minority groups (in this case women, Hispanics and Blacks).

Conclusively, it can be said that the portrayal of gender and heritage in Coca-Cola's commercials show diversity, to some extent. Male and female characters are shown in both diverse and stereotypical portrayal, which leaves room for both men and women to break free from the expectations that are assigned to certain gender roles. In regard to heritage portrayal, Coca-Cola

represents a broad variety of heritage, but does not meet actual society compositions, since not many inter-heritage relations are included. Taking everything into consideration, the commercials show diversity, but they do not challenge or push boundaries of how diversity is lived and accepted in society.

Linking the findings to SCT, the portrayals and messages in commercials from a brand like Coca-Cola may have immense power to influence people's perception due to its prominence, hence many people see the advertisements. "Indeed, many of the shared misconceptions about occupational pursuits, ethnic groups, minorities, the elderly, social and sex roles, and other aspects of life are at least partly cultivated through symbolic modeling of stereotypes" (Bandura, 2001, p. 282). That is why with a certain portrayal, companies are in danger of contributing to the reproduction of prevailing cultural and societal structures.

Eventually, the conclusions made in this investigation are established on the researchers' interpretations and do not claim general validity. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the philosophical stances presented in the methodology. A different methodological approach, philosophical stance and researchers, who see and interpret the social world differently, might have led to different results.

Much research has been conducted on advertising and advertising strategies, however the cultural dimension addressing gender and heritage added a new dimension. Therefore, the implications presented in this study are suitable for further research e.g., a similar study focusing on characters of Black or Asian heritage, or the investigation of a small, local brand. Another interesting aspect to examine would be to incorporate research on how the commercial's portrayals and messages are perceived from a minority group perspective.

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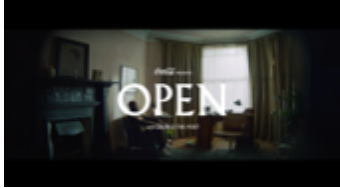

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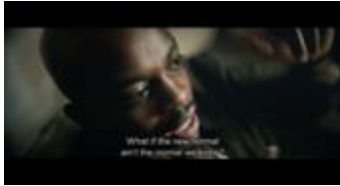

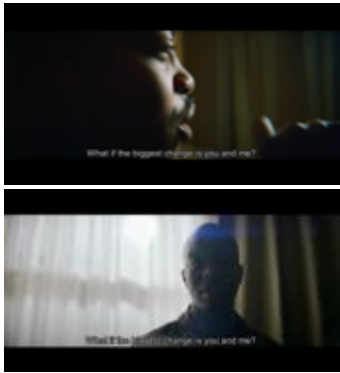
Appendix

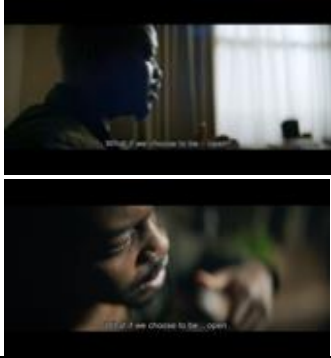


Open Like Never Before





<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SukwNeHMMhQ>




Screenshot	Description	Dialog	Sound	Technical
0:00 	INTRO: Text appears *Coca Cola presents OPEN with George the Poet* M sitting in chair, tilts head upwards. [living room]		Silence.	Wide angle of room
0:04 	[Big city overview, skyline] WYW sleeping, opening her eyes. [indoors, in bedroom] <i>Face expression tired/sleepy</i> XM taxi driver, driving. [inside moving car]		Sound of cars honking Noise from radio.	Wide angle from above, panning in Close up of WYW's face Close up from behind




				
0:07 	BYM (narrator) opens his eyes. Sits in a chair with his head tilted back. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>	Stop	Silence.	Close up of BYM's face from above
0:09 	BYM (narrator) with eyes open, looks quickly to the side and back. Sits in a chair with his head tilted back. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>	Wait...	Music downplayed.	Close up of BYM's face from above
0:13 	BYM (narrator) slowly opens and closes eyes. Sits in a chair with his head tilted back. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>	Who says we have to go back to normal?	Music downplayed.	Close up of BYM's face from above
0:17 	BYM (narrator) looks to the side and back. Sits in a chair with his head tilted back. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>	Back to anything?	Music downplayed.	Close up of BYM's face from above
0:19	BYM (narrator) is standing, making gestures with his hands.	What if the new normal...	Music downplayed.	Close up of BYM's face from front






	[indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>			
0:21 	BYM (narrator) sitting down, gesturing with hands. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>	ain't the normal we knew?	Music downplayed.	Camera angle moves around BYM's head
0:23 	BYM (narrator) is standing, gesturing with hands. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i>	And we can't just do what we'd formerly do?	Music downplayed.	Close up of BYM's face from front
0:26 	BYM (narrator) profile only. BYM from front standing with light shining through window and curtains behind him. [indoors] <i>Face expression searching/epiphany/light bulb moment</i>	What if the biggest change is you and me?	Music downplayed.	Close up of BYM's face from the side Close up of BYM's face from front slightly from below
0:29	BYM (narrator) profile, sitting, stands up, hand gestures while talking.	What if we choose to be ... open.	Music downplayed.	Camera moves to side Close up of BYM's face from above




	<p>[indoors] <i>Face expression searching/epiphany/light bulb moment</i></p>			
<p>0:32</p> 	<p>WTM standing, grabs microphone, talks into microphone. [supermarket by checkout] <i>Face expression neutral, then smiling.</i></p>	<p>And say, “I will never call my job unimportant again.”</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Noise from microphone.</p>	<p>Zoomed out Zooms in on microphone, moves up to close up of WTM’s face slightly from below and from front</p>
<p>0:38</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) walking while talking, looking up, gesturing hands in the air affirming statement being made. [street] <i>Face expression affirms statement being made</i></p> <p>WW sitting in car, shaking her head affirming statement while talking [inside car] <i>Face expression serious/affirms statement being said</i></p>	<p>I will never say that “teacher’s holidays are too long.”</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Singing choir joining in the background.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM’s upper body and face from slightly below and from front</p> <p>Filmed into the car from side, zooming out</p>
<p>0:40</p>	<p>WG standing in front of car passenger side. [inside car] <i>Face expression neutral</i></p>	<p>“School #sucks”</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p>	<p>Filming from inside of car to outside through side window</p>





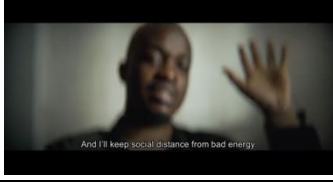
				
0:41 	BYM (narrator) walking [street] <i>Face expression grinning.</i>	Or that school is #dry, and I can't wait to move on.	Music downplayed. Traffic noise	Close up of BYM's face from side, moves with BYM
0:45 	HYW sitting with headphones, takes them out. 5 people besides HYW on the bus: 2 Women, 2 Men, 2 not identified. 2 Blacks, 1 White, 1 Hispanic, 2 not identified. [on public bus] <i>Face expression of HYW looks around curiously</i>	My ears are not my earphones.	Music downplayed.	Films into bus from front from within
0:46 	HYW sitting, sun shining through bus window. [on public bus] <i>Face expression friendly and thoughtful.</i>	“What if I listen?”	Music downplayed. Singing choir joining in the background.	Camera zooms in on HYW from front

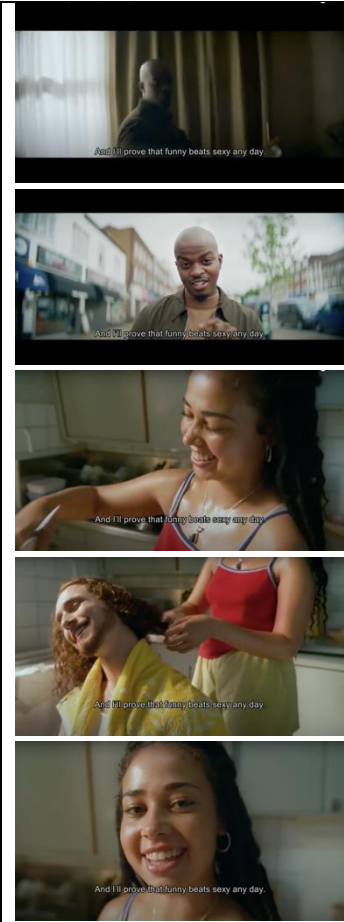

0:47	 <p>BYM (narrator) gaze goes up. [living room] <i>Face expression blank stare/serious</i></p> <p>BYM lifts up BG, sun is shining/glistening, spins her around and snuggles nose against nose. [outdoors] <i>Face expression BG giggles/wide smile</i></p>	What if I'm missing how bright your eyes glisten?	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Giggles</p> <p>Singing choir joining in the background.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM's face from</p> <p>Angle from below, camera moves with BYM and BG</p>
0:51	 <p>BYM (narrator) walking while talking. [street] <i>Face expression serious, thoughtful</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) face is shown while talking. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious, thoughtful</i></p>	What if I just...	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Street noise.</p>	<p>Angle from front moving with BYM</p> <p>Close up from face from side</p>
0:52	 <p>BYM (narrator) walking while talking. [street] <i>Face expression cracks into a wide smile</i></p>	smile a bit?	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Street noise.</p>	Angle from the front moving with BYM
0:53	<p>HM standing at beach looking towards the sea. [beach]</p>	Travel less and love "every mile of it?"	Music downplayed.	Zoomed out to panorama view

	<p>HM at beach with sun behind him and beach scenery. [beach] <i>Face expression looking longing into the distance</i></p>		<p>Sound of seagulls, waves crashing at shore.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining music in background.</p>	<p>Zooms in at HM's face from the side</p>
<p>0:56</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) standing, moving head around while talking as to emphasize the words/the sentence. [living room] <i>Face expression blank/serious</i></p>	<p>What if I believe in the change,</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining music in background.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM'S face from side</p>
<p>0:58</p> 	<p>XW looking into camera. [indoors] <i>Face expression looking fondly/smiling</i></p> <p>Shifting pictures of cooking in progress, eggs cracked in a bowl, flour, pasta being made.</p>	<p>"my cooking,"</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Sound of eggs cracking against bowl.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining music in background.</p>	<p>Close up of XW'S face from front</p> <p>Zooming into cooking process from above</p>
<p>0:59</p>	<p>BM sitting at a drum set playing. [garage]</p>	<p>"my music can do?"</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p>	<p>Close up of BM's face from front</p>

	<i>Face expression confident</i>		Drum roll.	Zooms out to scene Moves with BM
1:01    	BYM (narrator) talking and looking into camera. [indoors] <i>Face expression neutral</i> WYW twirling around with arms stretched out. [big city/street] <i>Face expression joyful/playful</i> Cars driving on road. [traffic scenery, big city] BYM (narrator) talking while sitting and pointing to emphasize spoken words. [living room] <i>Face expression slight smile</i>	<i>And what if I don't dance, but just for you</i>	Music downplayed. Vocalizing choir joining music in background. Sound of cars driving, train passing	Fast paced changing imagery: Front view of BYM WYW from below Full frame of city/car lanes, bridge and train Front view of BYM
1:03	WTF and WTM doing synchronized dance choreography. [indoors/dance studio]	<i>I might give into the rhythm soon?</i>	Music downplayed.	Full frame of empty room and of WTF and WTM dancing

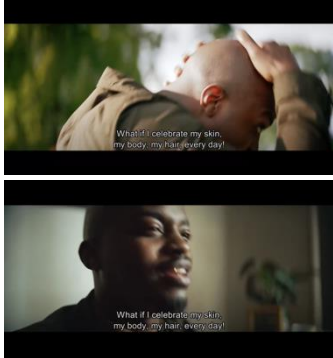
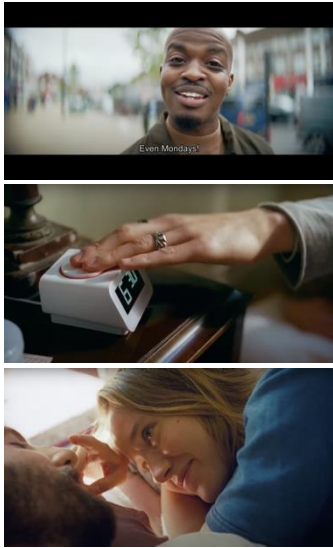

	<p><i>Face expression serious, concentrated</i></p> <p>Three BTF doing synchronized dance choreography. [outdoors/small street] <i>Face expressions smiling wide</i></p>		<p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full (phone screen) frame from front of three BTF and surrounding.</p>
<p>1:06</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) walking around, talking, while looking into the camera. [indoors/living room] <i>Face expression confident</i></p>	<p><i>I might give into the rhythm soon.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed. Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM from front, slightly from below Camera is turning around BYM</p>
<p>1:07</p> 	<p>BB yawning and going to sleep on BM chest. <i>Face expression sleepy</i></p> <p>BM looking into camera while whispering/talking. [living room] <i>Face expression loving, content, devoted</i></p>	<p><i>What if I refuse to be a stranger “in my own living room?”</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed. Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Close up of BB from behind BM's shoulder Close up of BB and BM from side</p>

1:10	 	<p>BYM (narrator) looking out window while talking. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious/thoughtful</i></p> <p>WYW walking away from person in background, while putting her hair behind her ear, sunset shining behind her. [outdoors/bridge] <i>Face expression is sad/upset/distraught</i></p>	<p><i>And I'll learn my lesson from a bad memory.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM from side</p> <p>Full frame of WYW and scenery Camera slightly zooming out and moving with WYW</p>
1:13	  	<p>?YM rubbing forehead with fingers looking after something/someone → WYW from earlier scene. [outdoors] <i>Face expression distraught/upset/powerless/distressed/worried</i></p> <p>WYW walking away while mouthing word. [outdoors/bridge] <i>Face expression is upset/powerless/giving up</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) blurred image, gesturing with his hand held up</p>	<p><i>And I'll keep social distance from 'bad' energy.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Close up of ?YM from side and above</p> <p>Full frame of WYW and scenery Camera moving with WYW</p> <p>Close up of BYM from front Camera zooming out</p>
1:16		<p>BYM (narrator) turns around while talking. [living room]</p>	<p><i>And I'll prove that funny "beats sexy" any day.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM and scenery</p>


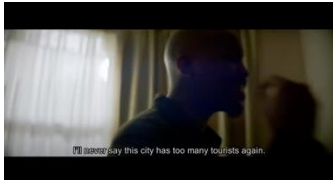

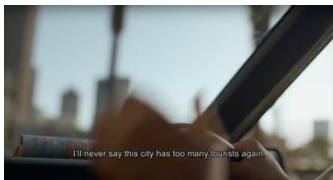
	<p><i>Face expression neutral/raised eyebrow</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) walking while gesturing with hand. [street] <i>Face expression convincing/serious/smiling/raised eyebrows</i></p> <p>BYW laughing while cutting hair. [kitchen] <i>Face expression joy/happy</i></p> <p>BYW cutting WYM's hair both are laughing. [kitchen] <i>Face expressions joy/happy</i></p> <p>BYW looking into camera while talking. [living room] <i>Face expression smiling/confident</i></p>		<p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p> <p>Laughter</p> <p>Sound of scissors cutting</p> <p>Instruments (violins) playing in the background.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM from front</p> <p>Close up of BYW from side Camera moving around BYW zooming out</p> <p>Shifting to full frame of WYM and setting</p> <p>Close up of BYM slightly from side</p> <p>Full frame of BYM and scenery from front, camera is moving around BYM</p>
<p>1:20</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) walking while talking and touching his chin/beard. [street] <i>Face expression serious changes to smiling/joking</i></p>	<p><i>But I am still cute, anyway.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM and (blurry) surroundings from side Camera moves with BYM</p>

<p>1:22</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) talking to camera, image blurred. [living room] <i>Face expression serious/intense</i></p> <p>XYW looking intensely above sunglasses into the camera and talking while sitting, wearing a scarf around her hair. [inside car] <i>Face expression serious/intense, sassy gestures with head</i></p> <p>XYW turning head to side. [inside car] <i>Face expression sassy, smirking</i></p> <p>Hand turning keys in ignition, starting car. [inside car]</p>	<p>What if my “dreams never take the backseat again?”</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Sound of car door slamming and ignition starting.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM from front and slightly below</p> <p>Full frame of XYW from side (through car window) Close up of face of XYW from side</p> <p>Close up of XYW hand</p>
<p>1:25</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) walking, talking, appears to be looking upwards due to camera angle, gesturing with hands. [street] <i>Face expression slightly smiling/content</i></p> <p>?B and ?M playing with miniature table football on the floor. [living room]</p>	<p>What if I am there whenever you need a friend?</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Child laughing</p>	<p>Close up of BYM slightly from side and from below Camera moves with BYM</p> <p>Full frame of ?B</p> <p>Close up ?M’s face from side</p>






	<p>?B face expression happy/joyful, big smile/laughing</p> <p>?M laughing. [living room] Face expression joyful, happy, devoted</p>			
<p>1:27</p>	<p>AEW looking at something while talking. [indoors] Face expression happy, smiling</p>		Music downplayed. Utterance	Close up of AEW's face from above
<p>1:28</p>	<p>Hand holding smartphone on a video call with an AYM, AYM blowing a kiss at the camera. [indoors]</p>	What if I celebrate my skin, my body, my hair, every day!		Full frame of hand holding smartphone
<p>1:29</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) looking into the camera. [indoors] Face expression calm, slightly smiling/smirking, trustworthy</p> <p>Feet moving around on top of bed. [bedroom]</p> <p>BYM (narrator) stroking his bald head with his hands while talking. [outdoors]</p>		<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM's face from front</p> <p>Full frame of feet and bed</p> <p>Full frame of BYM's upper body from side</p> <p>Close up of BYM's face slightly from side</p>

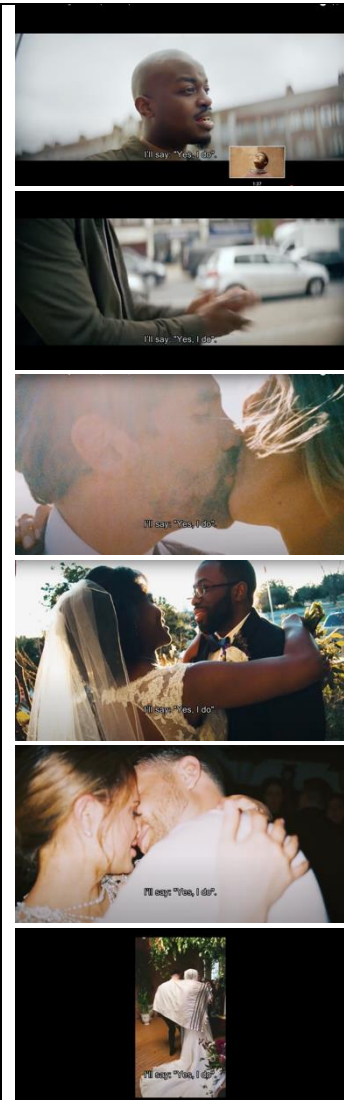
	<p>BYM (narrator) moving head downwards while talking looking into the room. [indoors] <i>Face expression smiling</i></p>			
<p>1:32</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) walking and talking [street/outside] <i>Face expression smiling wide</i></p> <p>Hand turning off alarm clock [bedroom]</p> <p>WYW and ?M laying on bed, WYW poking ?M's nose while laying down. [bedroom] <i>Face expression loving, smiling, in love, playful</i></p>	<p><i>Even Mondays!</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p> <p>Street noise.</p> <p>Sound of alarm-clock going off.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM</p> <p>Close up of hand</p> <p>Close up of WYW and ?M faces from slightly above and slightly from the side</p>
<p>1:34</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) gesturing wildly with hands while talking/emphasizing what is being said, blurred image. [indoors]</p>	<p><i>And I stand by every word I say.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM from side</p> <p>Full frame of WTM</p>

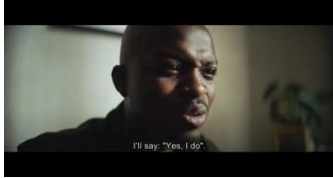




	<p>WTM holding microphone while looking around. [supermarket] <i>Face expression slight affirmative nodding, smirking</i></p>			
<p>1:36</p>    	<p>HYW standing by sign reading POLLING STATION. [hallway] <i>Face expression smirking/smiling</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) moving face upwards while talking. [indoors]</p> <p>BYM with face towards the sun, standing against wall, finishing the movement of the previous frame of BYM (narrator). [outdoors] <i>Face expression smirking/smiling, content</i></p> <p>Image of shop windows from outside. [street]</p>	<p><i>I'll make my vote count, make my voice heard today.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p> <p>“Heard today” is echoing</p> <p>Street noise.</p>	<p>Full frame of HYW’s upper body</p> <p>Close up of BYM’s face from side</p> <p>Full frame of BYM’s face and surrounding</p> <p>Full frame of street setting Camera moves along</p>
<p>1:38</p>	<p>Image of street/road with cars/scooters/people on bikes. [busy road]</p>	<p><i>“You know what?”</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p> <p>Street noise.</p>	<p>Full frame of street setting Fast change</p> <p>Full frame of ?M in taxi from back seat</p>


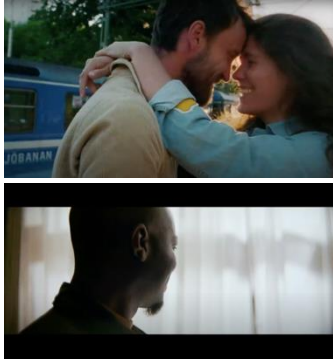
	<p>XM taxi driver, turning around towards camera talking and driving, gesturing with hand. [inside moving car]</p>			
<p>1:39</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) aggressively/determined speaking while walking and gesturing with hands [indoors]</p>	<p>I'll #never,</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Street noise.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM's upper body. Camera moves around BYM</p>
<p>1:40</p> 	<p>?W driving by in yellow taxi while talking [street/road] <i>Face expression serious</i></p>	<p>“#never”</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Street noise.</p>	<p>Full frame of driving taxi</p>
<p>1:41</p> 	<p>Hand slamming on to steering wheel [inside car]</p> <p>XM taxi driver talking while driving, looking out of car window [inside car] <i>Face expression concentrated/serious/intense</i></p>	<p>“#never say this city has too many”</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Street noise, honking cars.</p>	<p>Close up of hand Close up of ?M's face from side</p>

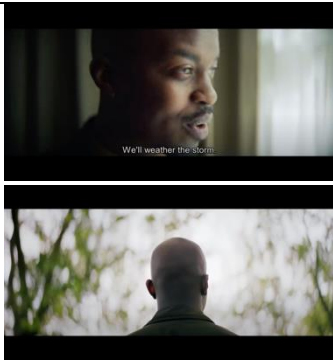
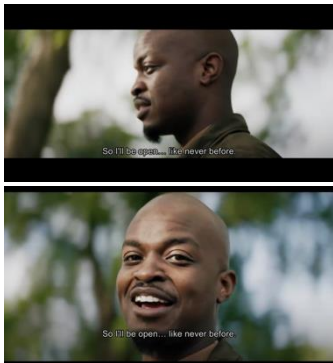
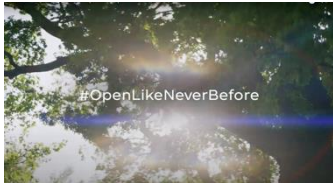
				
<p>1:42</p> 	<p>WEM standing in front of car [outdoors, skyline in the back- ground] <i>Face expression neutral face</i></p>	<p>“tourists again.”</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p>	<p>Close up of WEM’s face</p>
<p>1:43</p>  	<p>BYM (narrator) walking and talk- ing [street] <i>Face expression serious, thought- ful</i></p> <p>BYW holding photo of another BYW [garden, outdoors] <i>Face expression proud, slight smile</i></p>	<p>I’ll lead, like a woman.</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM’s upper body. Camera moves with BYM</p> <p>Full frame of BYW and sur- roundings</p>
<p>1:45</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) turning around while talking [indoors/living room] <i>Face expression slight smile</i></p> <p>Non-identifiable group of people gathering cheering with another group of non-identifiable people across fence (age and gender non- distinguishable/non-identifiable) [terrace/outdoors]</p>	<p>I’ll have a family of dozens.</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM from side Camera moves around BYM</p> <p>Full frame of non-identifia- ble group of people</p>

				
<p>1:47</p>   	<p>Non-identifiable group of people gathering cheering with another group of non-identifiable people across fence (age and gender non-distinguishable/non-identifiable) [terrace/outdoors]</p> <p>Non-identifiable group of people moving tables closer to fence. Lifting bottles of coca cola to cheers. [terrace/outdoors]</p>	<p>I'll give my little nephews and nieces some cousins.</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Singing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full frame of people from the back Camera moving slightly above them</p> <p>Full frame of non-identifiable people across fence from side angle Camera moving to left to show first group of people</p> <p>Camera moves right again, Close up of bowls on the table and hands reaching them around</p> <p>Camera moves up and films left Angle from above</p>
<p>1:50</p> 	<p>WY? And WYM embracing, WY? arm around WYM neck. [outdoor] <i>Face expression of WYM happy, content, loving, cracking into wide smile</i></p>	<p>I'll stay right beside you.</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Close up of WY? and WYM' faces from the side</p>
<p>1:51</p>	<p>BYM (narrator) walking and talking. [outdoors] <i>Face expression neutral/serious</i></p>	<p>I'll say #yes, #yes, #yes I do.</p>	<p>Music downplayed.</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM from side. Close up of BYM's hands.</p>

	<p>BYM (narrator) hands gesturing. [street]</p> <p>Montage of photos and one video of different couples, the different couples have different heritage/religion, dressed fancy, embracing and about to kiss. Images changes to emphasize the dialog. 1st photo: ?W and ?M 2nd photo: BM and BW 3rd photo: WW and WM Video: ?W and ?M</p> <p>BYM (narrator) shaking head slightly while talking and sitting. [indoors] <i>Face expression confirmatory, serious</i></p>		<p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p> <p>Sound of clapping, party, champagne popping</p>	<p>Fast frame changes three times in a row to full frame present close up images of couples faces getting married</p> <p>Fast frame change to video recorded on phone of couple from behind</p> <p>Close up of BYM's face slightly from side</p>
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<p>1:55</p>    	<p>Black people dancing around, celebrating/partying. [inside a tent] <i>Face expressions are happy, joyful</i></p> <p>Two ?YW smiling and in movement. [outdoors/terrace] <i>Face expression happy, wide smiles, joyful</i></p> <p>?YW placing Coca Cola bottle to her mouth and takes a sip. [outdoors] <i>Face expression from smiling to enjoyment</i></p> <p>?M and ?W embracing intensely. [outdoors] <i>Face expression of ?M happiness</i></p>	<p><i>See? I'll never forget how much stronger we are together.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed – intensifies.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full frame of BWs and BMs</p> <p>Full frame of two ?YW's upper bodies and surrounding Camera moves slightly</p> <p>Close up of ?YW face from side</p> <p>Full frame of ?M and ?W and surrounding Camera shifts to the right</p>
<p>1:58</p>	<p>WM and BM each sitting by a drum set and jamming together. [garage/indoors] <i>Face expression WM smiling/laughing, joy, enjoyment,</i></p>	<p><i>I'll carry that in my heart forever.</i></p>	<p>Music intensified.</p> <p>Vocalizing choir joining the background music.</p>	<p>Full frame of WM and BM and surrounding Camera is moving</p> <p>Close up of two BYM's faces from side</p>



	<p><i>happiness. BM serious, concentrated, dancing with body indicating joy</i></p> <p>Two BYM side by side, one clear and one blurred. [indoors] <i>Face expression the visible BYM laughing/big smile, not visible BYM moving head indicating that he is also laughing</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) gesturing hands in front of chest/heart, emphasizing what is being said in dialog. [street]</p>			<p>Close up of BYM's hands slightly from side</p>
<p>1:59</p> 	<p>WM and WW in close loving embrace, foreheads against each other. [train station] <i>Face expression loving, happy, smiling, joyful</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) standing with face against window with curtains pulled closed. [indoors] <i>Face expression assumingly smiling, since cheek is pulled up which could indicate a smile.</i></p>		<p>Music downplays.</p>	<p>Close up of WM and WW upper bodies Camera moves around them</p> <p>Close up of BYMs head from side Camera moves around him</p>
<p>2:02</p>	<p>BYM (narrator) looking out of window/out into room. [indoors] <i>Face expression serious, concentrated, thoughtful</i></p>	<p>We'll weather the storm.</p>	<p>Music downplayed. Sound of birds singing.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM's face slightly from side Camera moves around BYM. Close up of BYM's head from back Camera follows BYM</p>

	<p>BYM (narrator) seen from behind, walking. [outdoors]</p>			
<p>2:04</p> 	<p>BYM (narrator) seen from profile. [outdoors] <i>Face expression thoughtful, serious</i></p> <p>BYM (narrator) looks straight into the camera and starts talking. [outdoors] <i>Face expression cracks into a smile while shaking head in affirmation with dialog.</i></p>	<p><i>So I'll be open (...) like never before.</i></p>	<p>Music downplayed. Sound of birds singing. Music intensifying.</p>	<p>Close up of BYM's head from side Camera moves around BYM</p> <p>Frame changes from narrow to wide</p> <p>Close up of BYM's face from front</p>
<p>2:09</p> 	<p>OUTRO:</p> <p>Text appears <i>*#OpenLikeNeverBefore*</i> while treetops and the sun shining through is pictured in the background. [outdoors]</p>		<p>Intensified music. Instrumental violins. Sound of birds singing.</p>	<p>Full frame of trees and sky from below Camera moves along</p>





	<p>Coca Cola logo appears with sun-shine rays behind the logo making it appear illuminated.</p>			
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The Great Meal

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vUMQeNw2QDA>


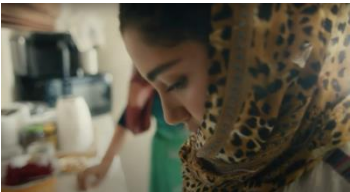



Screenshot	Description	Dialog	Sound	Technical
0:00 	Shifting images of house facades, neighborhoods and empty streets.		Whirring Sound of birds chirping	Full frame of street with restaurant Camera zooms out Cut Full frame of neighborhood Camera zooms out Cut Full frame of street with garden, house and car Camera zooms out
0:03 	Shifting images of house facades, neighborhoods and empty streets.	The day the world stopped	Whirring Rustling/wind noise in tree leaves	Full frame of street with house, trees, filmed from a terrace Camera zooms out




				
0:05 	HYW standing staring out into room and slightly turning upper body, moving around. [indoors] <i>Face expression neutral/blank stare.</i>			Close up of HYW's face from front Camera turns slightly left
0:06 	BYM standing staring out into room and slightly turning upper body, moving around. [indoors] <i>Face expression neutral/blank stare.</i>	Was the day		Close up of BYM's face slightly from the side Camera turns slightly left
0:07 	WYW closing door making the image go dark and only a dim light from a lamp is on. [room/indoors]	We found where to go	Noise Sound of door closing	Full frame of WYW and hallway/room
0:08 	AEM standing with hands on kitchen counter, wearing an apron. [kitchen]		Song	Full frame of AEM and kitchen Camera slightly shaking



0:10 	XW kissing XYW's hands and places her hands around her head in what looks to be a loving gesture. [kitchen] <i>Face expression of XW worried, loving. XYW sad</i>		Song Kissing sound	Close up of XW and XYW's upper bodies in kitchen
0:11 	AW taking pan out from shelf under kitchen counter. [kitchen]		Song Kitchen sound	Full frame of AW and kitchen slightly from below Camera moves backwards
0:12 	AEM tying an apron around his waist. [kitchen] <i>Face expression blank/neutral</i>		Song Utterance	Full frame of AEM full body in kitchen from front Camera moves from head to toe, slightly shaky
0:13 	Hand with ignition device. Gas stove, with pan on, being ignited and flames appear. [kitchen] HEW opening fridge. Coca Cola bottle is visible, discretely. [kitchen]		Song Sound of gas stove being started/lit Utterance	Close up of gas stove and lighter in hand Camera zooms in Close up of HEW's upper body from back and the open fridge Camera zooms in






				
0:14 	WYW standing by open fridge, takes out Coca Cola bottle and closes fridge. [kitchen]		Song/instrumental	Full frame of WYW in kitchen from behind
0:15 	AW standing and cutting things on cutting board. [kitchen]		Song/instrumental Cutting sounds	Full frame of AW in kitchen Camera zooms out
0:16 	HEW standing and looking down. [kitchen] <i>Face expression blank/neutral, concentrated/focused, serious</i>		Song/instrumental Cutting sounds	Close up of HEW's face from slightly below Camera moves slightly
0:17 	Two frames of hands chopping onions. [kitchen] Hands cutting open pomegranate. [kitchen]		Song/instrumental Cutting sounds Utterance Sound of pomegranate being opened	Close up of hands cutting onions from front Cut Close up of hands cutting onion from above Cut Close up of hands and knife






				cutting pomegranate
<p>0:18</p> 	<p>Almonds being crushed in mortar.</p> <p>Dough being kneaded in bowl. [kitchen]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of crushing nuts</p>	<p>Close up of almonds in a mortar</p>
<p>0:19</p> 	<p>Hand throwing/spreading flour across onto table. [kitchen]</p> <p>Fingers pressing down onto rolled out dough on table. [kitchen]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of flour being thrown on table</p> <p>Utterance</p>	<p>Close up of kitchen table</p> <p>Close up of fingers working dough</p> <p>Close up of XYW's face from side</p>

 	<p>XYW standing looking down onto kitchen counter. [kitchen] <i>Face expression concentrated/focused</i></p>			
<p>0:21</p> 	<p>WYW lifting WB up. [kitchen]</p>	<p>Lost together</p>	<p>Song/instrumental Toddler makes sound</p>	<p>Full frame of toddler and W in kitchen Camera moves upwards</p>
<p>0:23</p> 	<p>AYM standing in front of AEM. AEM taking off glasses and wiping eyes. AYM putting hand on AEM's shoulder. [indoors] <i>Face expression of AYM guilty, sad, upset. AEM sad, crying.</i></p>	<p>We discovered ourselves again</p>	<p>Song/instrumental Sobbing sounds</p>	<p>Close up of AYM and AEM from the side Camera zooms slightly out Camera slightly shaky</p>
<p>0:25</p> 	<p>BYM finishing taking a sip of a Coca Cola. [indoors] <i>Face expression blank/neutral</i></p>		<p>Song/instrumental Sound of liquid in glass bottle</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM's face from side</p>





0:26 	Artichokes boiling in pot. Hand adding one more artichoke to the pot. [kitchen] Coca Cola being poured into pan with chicken. [kitchen] Flat bread being baked on open flame from gas stove. [kitchen]		Song/instrumental Sound of boiling water Frying sounds	Close up of pot on stove from slightly above and front Close up of pan on stove slightly from the side Close up of dough on stove from the side and slightly above
0:28 	HEW from front and then face profile, looking towards HYW and clapping the side of her head. HYW from front while looking down onto something and inspecting (food). [kitchen] <i>Face expression of HEW focused/concentrated, serious. HYW curious, hungry, intrigued</i>	And we realized that the things	Song/instrumental	Close up of HYW and HEW's faces from slightly below and the side
0:28 	?M and AW standing and going into an embrace. [kitchen]	that matter	Song/instrumental	Full frame of kitchen and AW and ?M


0:31	 <p>AYM embracing AEM lovingly. [indoors] <i>Face expression of AYM comforting.</i></p> <p>?M stirring/shaking frying pan, flambéing content of pan, big flames. [kitchen]</p>	Deserve time	<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sounds of hands patting on someone's back</p> <p>Frying pan sounds</p>	<p>Close up of AYM and AEM from the side</p> <p>Close up of ?M's hands holding pan</p> <p>Camera shifting downwards and to the right</p> <p>Close up of stove and frying pan from the side</p>
0:32	 <p>AW standing and moving arm, while looking down on what she is doing. [kitchen] <i>Face expression concentrated/focused, looking knowingly, experienced</i></p> <p>Hand stirring wok pan on stove with food. [kitchen]</p> <p>Lid being taken off pot steaming dumplings. [kitchen]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of flames</p> <p>AW humming</p> <p>Sound of stirring pan</p> <p>Sound of lid being lifted</p>	<p>Close up of AW's face slightly from side</p> <p>Close up of pan on stove</p> <p>Camera slightly shaky/moves with AW's hands</p> <p>Close up of pot</p> <p>Camera slightly shaky</p>
0:34	<p>AEM, AEW and AB standing by stove and looking at the food being prepared by the AEM. AEM</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Indistinct chatter</p>	<p>Full frame of Asian family in the kitchen</p>




 	<p>pointing to the food. AEW resting her hands on AB's shoulders. [kitchen] <i>Face expression of AEM happy, smiling, proud</i></p> <p>AEM's face in focus. AEW and AB not in focus. AEM padding/caressing AB's head/hair. [kitchen] <i>Face expression of AEM happy, smiling, proud, laughing</i></p>			<p>Close up of AEM's face from side</p> <p>Camera moves slightly upwards</p>
<p>0:36</p>   	<p>AEM full face. [kitchen] <i>Face expression wide grinning/laughter, happiness, joy,</i></p> <p>Shrimps being poured off frying pan on to plate. [kitchen]</p> <p>Hands cutting meat on cutting board. [kitchen]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Laughter</p> <p>Utterance</p>	<p>Close up of AEM's face from the side Camera moves around AEM</p> <p>Close up of food/plate/pan slightly from the side</p> <p>Camera moves downwards; follows movements of food being poured on the plate</p> <p>Close up of hands cutting beef from front</p>
<p>0:38</p>	<p>AB and AYW holding tablecloth, spreading it out on to dining table. [dining room]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p>	<p>Full frame of AYW, AB (family) around table Camera moves to the right</p>



	<p><i>Face expressions both joy, happiness, smiling with teeth/grinning</i></p>			
<p>0:39</p>    	<p>Roasted fish and potatoes in pan being pulled out of oven by two hands. [kitchen]</p> <p>AYM walking through hallway while talking and holding bowl with food. [hallway/indoors]</p> <p>Traditional Mexican⁵ dish on plate being taken to table. [dining room/indoors]</p> <p>Bowl with soup/sauce being taken to fully set table. [dining room/indoors]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Indistinct chatter</p>	<p>Close up from above of food coming from the oven</p> <p>Full frame of AYM Camera moves with AYM and moves downwards</p> <p>Close up of food on a plate from above</p> <p>Full frame of laid table in background and close up of hands carrying soup bowl Camera moves with soup bowl towards table</p>



⁵ Chiles En Nogada: Mexican dish that origins from the city of Puebla in the state of Mexico City. The dish demonstrates the three colors of the Mexican flag and is often made around the Mexican Independence Day (Barker, 2019).






0:42 	Two hands carrying 4 Coca Cola bottles to fully set table with people sitting and eating. [balcony/outdoors]		Song/instrumental Utterance	Full frame of laid table Camera moves downwards and zooms in on hands carrying (Coca Cola) bottles Camera moves slightly
0:43 	AB sitting by set table full of food. AEM putting bowl into table, AYW helping to set it down. AEW in the background with unidentified person. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression of AEM and AYW anticipation, concentration/serious, blank/neutral. AB anticipation, excitement.</i>		Song/instrumental	Full frame of AYW, AEM, AB Camera slightly shaky
0:44  	AEW sitting down on chair by dining table. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression smiling, laughter, happiness, joy</i> AEM and AYM reaching for food on table along with other hands reaching for food. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expressions anticipation, excitement</i>		Song/instrumental Sound of chair being pushed back Indistinct chatter	Close up of AEW sitting down on table Camera zooms out Close up of hands grabbing bread Camera zooms out Full frame of AYM, AEM, Cut Full frame of AM, ATM Camera moves





<p>0:47</p> 	<p>ATM reaching over table with plate with food in hand. Sitting at table with people (AYM, AEM) eating. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression ATM smiling, excitement, happiness, joy. AYM happiness, joy, smiling while enjoying food.</i></p> <p>Plate being passed around, as if received almost from the previous scene. HTM, two HYW sitting at table with food and Coca Cola bottles. [outdoors/garden/terrace] <i>Face expression HYW smiling, happiness, joyful. HTM laughing. HYW neutral/blank face.</i></p> <p>Bowl of soup being passed between two sets of hands. [indoors]</p> <p>WG passing plate of food in front of her face across the frame. [indoors] <i>Face expression neutral/blank, concentrated</i></p> <p>Plate with food being passed and received making it appear in connection with the previous scene. BTF sitting behind plate with food, looking to the side at person while in conversation.</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of cutlery on plates</p> <p>Laughter</p> <p>Indistinct chatter</p>	<p>Close up of people around dining table. ATM boy in focus, AYM out of focus, but in front of frame. Camera moves/shakes.</p> <p>Full frame of HTM, HYW, HYW Camera moves along the table slightly from above</p> <p>Close up of hands holding bowl from the side</p> <p>Close up of WG passing plate from front Camera moves with plate</p> <p>Close up of hands and BTF</p>
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	<p>[dining room/indoors]</p> <p><i>Face expression smiling, laughing, intensely talking</i></p>			
<p>0:50</p> 	<p>Plate ramming into Coca Cola bottle making it fall and spill on the table. Hand moving above in a failed attempt to catch it. Liquid pouring on to the table.</p> <p>[dining room/indoors]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of Coca-Cola bottle being knocked over - clinking sounds when plate hits bottle</p> <p>Exclaiming</p>	<p>Close up of plate hitting Coke bottle from the side</p> <p>Camera moves downwards</p> <p>Close up of liquid running from the bottle</p> <p>Camera moves from side to side</p>
<p>0:53</p> 	<p>WB crawling on floor.</p> <p>[indoors]</p> <p><i>Face expression excitement, happiness, joyful, mouth wide open, explorative</i></p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Toddler making noises</p>	<p>Full frame of WB crawling from front</p> <p>Camera moves with WB</p>
<p>0:54</p> 	<p>Coca Cola bottle being opened with bottle opener.</p> <p>People reaching for food with chopsticks. AEW making exclamatory utterance and looking at food. AEM in the background looking at food and uttering something.</p> <p>[dining room/indoors]</p> <p><i>Face expression both excited, anticipation, happiness, joy</i></p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of bottle being opened, fizzling sound and clinking from bottle opener hitting glass bottle.</p> <p>Music upbeat</p>	<p>Close up of Coke bottle being opened</p> <p>Camera moves upwards (Follows opened lid)</p> <p>Close up of plates on the table and chopsticks reaching food</p> <p>Camera moves around plate</p>



				<p>Close up of AEW and AEM from side Camera moves to the right</p>
<p>0:56</p> 	<p>BW seen from the side. [indoors] <i>Face expression wide smile, laughing, joy, happiness</i></p> <p>BYW sitting by table with hand to her nose, covering up a laugh. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression laughing, smiling, joy, happiness</i></p> <p>WYW, WG, WYM sitting by table and eating. Only WG and WYM in focus, WYM talking to WG, WG listening while looking at WYM. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression of WYM blank/neutral. WYM neutral while talking.</i></p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Laughter</p> <p>Indistinct chatter</p> <p>Sound of chopsticks against bowl</p>	<p>Close up of BW's face from the side Camera moves around her head</p> <p>Full frame of BYW's face</p> <p>Full frame of WYW, WG, WYM</p>
<p>0:59</p>	<p>WG barely reaching the table while eating and looking towards one side. [dining room/indoors]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p>	<p>Close up of WG from the front</p>


	<p><i>Face expression appears to be smiling, happy</i></p> <p>AB holding bowl to mouth while holding chopsticks inside of the bowl, appears to be finishing his food. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression appears to be happy</i></p> <p>BTM putting food into mouth. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression appears to be happy, satisfied</i></p>			<p>Full frame of AB from the side</p> <p>Close up of BTM's head slightly from the side Camera moves around head</p>
<p>1:02</p> 	<p>BYM and WYM sitting and eating and talking. BYM sitting on couch and WYM sitting on floor. [living room] <i>Face expression of BYM interested, joy, smiling while talking, nodding. WYM chewing and nodding head slightly.</i></p> <p>BYM, in focus, sitting on couch looking at WYM in foreground of the picture, though blurred/out of focus. [living room] <i>Face expression attentive, listening while chewing, slight smile</i></p> <p>Dog getting piece of food by table.</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of dog barking/cheeping</p>	<p>Full frame of BYM and WYM Camera moves</p> <p>Close up of BYM from front Camera slightly shaking</p> <p>Close up of dog from side Camera slightly shaking</p>

	[dining room/indoors]			
1:05 	Group of Black and non-identifiable people sitting by garden table (gender or age are non-distinguishable). Passing around bowls of food. [garden/outdoors]		Song/instrumental	Full frame of group of Black and non-identifiable people and surrounding
1:06   	Coca Cola being poured into glass with ice cubes. [indoors] AEM cheering with AB with his glass filled with Coca Cola clinking against AEs food bowl. Both AEM and AB out of focus. Focus on food and drink. [dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression of AEM happy, wide smile while saying cheers in Chinese</i> AB sitting by drum set and playing while AEW and AYW standing behind him, swinging along. AEM sitting by dining table and cheering/moving arms around. [living room/dining room/indoors] <i>Face expression of AB concentrated/focused. AEW and AYW</i>	<i>From now on (...) we are not gonna leave</i>	Song/instrumental Sound of liquid being poured Sound of drums	Close up of Coke bottle and glass, slightly from the side Full frame of AEM from front and table setting Full frame of AB, AEM, AEW; AYW and surrounding

		<i>happy smiling, proud. AEM smiling, happy, joyful, proud</i>			
1:09 	WYW full face. [indoors] <i>Face expression smiling, with closely pressed lips due to chewing</i>	<i>Anything on our plates</i>	Song/instrumental	Close up of WYW's face slightly from the side	
1:10  	?M drinking of Coca Cola bottle. [indoors] <i>Face expression content, blank/neutral</i> ?B eating corn cob. [terrace] <i>Face expression blank/neutral, focused</i>		Song/instrumental Indistinct chatter	Close up of Coke bottle and ?M from the side Camera moves upwards Close up of ?B's face from the side	
1:13 	Family seated by table. A ?B, Two ?M and a ?W. ?B jumping down from chair, leaving the table. [balcony/terrace/outdoors] AW face from side, covering her mouth with hand. AEW in the background, blurred, hand in front of face.	<i>Because we have learned to savor the moments</i>	Song/instrumental Laughter	Full frame of ?B, ?W, two ?M Close up of AW's face from side Camera moving	

	<p>[indoors] <i>Face expression of AYW laughing hysterically.</i></p> <p>Table set with empty/almost empty plates, hands reaching in over the table picking up the last food from the almost empty plates. Coca Cola bottle with Coca Cola written in Chinese on label. [dining room/indoors]</p>			Full frame of table from above
<p>1:16</p> 	<p>HYM sitting by table with group of Black and non-identifiable people. People talking and eating in the background. [outdoors/garden] <i>Face expression laughing out loud, open mouth</i></p> <p>HYW and HEW sitting by dining table playing game. Coca Cola bottle on table next to HYW. [dining room/living room/kitchen in the background] <i>Face expression of HYW grinning, laughing, smiling with teeth, happy, joyful. HEW smiling more subtle, happy, joyful.</i></p>	That were always there	<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Laughter</p>	<p>Close up of HYM's face from the side and Black and non-identifiable people in the background (blurry) Camera slightly shaky</p> <p>Full frame of HYW and HEW and surrounding Camera slightly shaking</p>
<p>1:19</p> 	<p>Group of Hispanic people (six M and four F) sitting at/standing by table (age is non-distinguishable). One HM playing guitar. People clapping and swaying along to the music. [garden/outdoors]</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Cheering</p> <p>Laughter</p>	<p>Full frame of people and surrounding</p> <p>Close up of two BYW and BW Camera moves with them</p>

	<p><i>Face expressions are happy and joyful.</i></p> <p>Group hug between two BYW and BW. [indoors]</p> <p><i>Face expressions joyful, happy, content, loving.</i></p> <p>AEM sitting at table looking at ?YM. ?YM puts hand on AEMs shoulder while talking to him. AEM is listening and laughs. [indoors]</p> <p><i>Face expression of AEM attentive, slight smile</i></p>			<p>Full frame of AEM</p>
<p>1:24</p> 	<p>Group of Black and non-identifiable people cheering with bottles of Coca Cola or glasses filled with Coca Cola, presumably. [garden/outdoors]</p> <p><i>Face expressions expressing happiness, joy</i></p> <p>HYW and HEW leaning in and embracing lovingly. [dining room/indoors]</p> <p><i>Face expression of HYW happy, loving, warm.</i></p>	<p>And they have never tasted this good</p>	<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Sound of glasses clonking in cheer</p> <p>Indistinct chatter</p>	<p>Full frame of hands cheering with glasses and Coke bottle Camera moves along them</p> <p>Close up of HEW and HYW hugging Camera moves with them</p>
<p>1:27</p>	<p>OUTRO: Elderly persons hands (HEW from previous scene) holding pair of hands (HYW from previous scene), elderly hands</p>		<p>Song/instrumental</p> <p>Music fades away</p>	<p>Close up of hands Camera slightly shaking</p>

	<p>clapping the hands of the younger person. [indoors] Coca Cola logo appears. Text appears *TOGETHER TASTES BETTER*</p>			
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