Perceptions of Cultural Sensitivity through Language Choice in Online Advertising: The Effects of Medium and Gender

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ABSTRACT
This paper investigated the relationship between ethnic language in online and offline advertising and perceptions of advertiser cultural sensitivity. An experiment was conducted among bilingual Arabic/English speakers. In offline advertising, bilingual or Arabic-only ads were seen as more culturally sensitive than English-only ads. In online advertising, no overall differences in this perception were found based on language used. However, by examining gender, an important interaction effect was observed. Specifically, men viewed bilingual online advertising as most culturally sensitive, while women perceived Arabic-only advertising as most sensitive. This gives further support for the inclusion of individual-specific variables when investigating ethnic groups.

Keywords (Required)
Web content, cultural sensitivity, online advertising.

INTRODUCTION
Debate continues over whether it is better to use standardized versus localized content in cross-cultural and international advertising (Kanso and Nelson 2002). One motivation for localizing advertising content is for the advertiser to appear more culturally sensitive. Perceptions of advertiser cultural sensitivity (ACS) have been shown to be positively related to affect for the advertisement (Koslow, Shamdasani and Touchstone 1994). This is important because the degree of positive or negative affect experienced by consumers can strongly influence their purchase intentions (see Oliver, Roland, and Varki, 1997).

In terms of international audiences, ways to be perceived as culturally sensitive (also referred to as accommodating) may be to incorporate local language into the advertisement, use actors of corresponding ethnicity and/or incorporate cultural values into the advertisement. However, one must first perceive the advertiser as culturally sensitive in order for the advertisement to result in a higher degree of affect (Koslow et al. 1994). Differences in perceptions of ACS may vary within ethnic groups. Thus, it is important to understand these differences to better understand the need to localize language content.

Past research has focused on the perception of ACS in offline media. For example, Koslow et al. (1994) found that using at least some level of Spanish in print advertising led to increased perceptions of ACS among Hispanics living in the U.S. Regarding the online medium, however, it is uncertain how attempts at localizing Web content influence this perception. This is important to understand from a cost/benefit analysis. For example, regarding the use of English in online advertising, Warden, Lai and Wu (2002) state, “Maintaining multiple-language websites does incur additional costs that may not be justified if English is indeed an international language that can effectively act as the communication channel between consumers and the firm” (p. 72). Alternatively, many companies have realized that, in general, country borders have been ignored in their online marketing messages and product offerings (Marken 2002). In response, companies have started to design their Websites in ways that accommodate different cultures. However, what has not been investigated is the degree to which people of these cultures view Web content favorably in English as compared to their native language. Specifically, whether or not the advertiser benefits from using local language Web content is unknown in terms of perceptions of ACS. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine further the effects of languages in online advertising. Specifically, how
language used in online advertising effects perceptions of ACS will be examined and extended (Koslow et al. 1994) by asking:

1. Does language used in advertising affect perceptions of advertiser cultural sensitivity differently in the online medium than the offline medium among non–native English speakers?

2. Do perceptions of advertiser cultural sensitivity vary according to individual-specific variables such as gender, attitudes toward the home country language, and attitudes toward English or English language ability?

To examine the implications associated with the use of differing languages in advertising online, the Arabic language was selected. The Middle East is one of the most under-researched parts of the world (Human Rights Watch 1997). However, by the end of the 20th century every Middle Eastern country, except Iraq and Libya, had some kind of access to the Internet through local Internet service providers (Human Rights Watch 1999). Government policies toward freedom of information, the availability of computer equipment to the public, and the country’s telecommunications infrastructure affect the extent of Internet connectivity in these countries (Human Rights Watch 1997). Although the infrastructure in the Middle East region is not one of the best in the world, this region has one of the best potentials for growth (Human Rights Watch 1999; Lincoln 1999). The rapid growth in the last decade is an indicator for higher growth rate in Internet usage. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly important to know how Arabic speakers respond to Web language content.

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ADVERTISING

Past studies have shown consumers to react more positively to advertising that employs their ethnic language (Roslow and Nicholls 1996). Koslow et al. (1994) propose speech accommodation theory (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis 1973) as a way to explain this finding. They state (p. 576):

Accommodation theory has its roots in the sociopsychological theories of the effects of similarity on attraction (Byrne 1971). It suggests that, as person A becomes more similar to person B, the likelihood that B will like A increases. The desire of person A to become more similar to B is perceived as acknowledgment of the inherent worth of B’s self-and cultural-identity, which results in positive feelings toward A and often in reciprocal accommodation behavior (Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire 1982).

Concerning language in advertising, as the advertiser appears to be putting more effort into accommodating a person of another language; the advertiser will be viewed as more culturally sensitive.

Regarding language choice on the Web, it has not been investigated if Internet users perceive the advertiser as culturally sensitive by translating Web content into the local language. It is not known how the medium of the Internet in advertising and language content affects this perception. On the one hand, advertisers would expect there to be no effect of this medium and language choice on perceived ACS among non-English speakers, since advertisers still must put effort into accommodating speakers of other languages. That is, advertising medium should make no difference—perceptions of ACS due to language content will affect online advertisers no differently than offline advertisers.

However, Lynch and Beck (2001) state that Internet users do not expect to have Web content in their own language. This may be due to the strong evidence that English is the most dominant language of the Internet. According to Vilaweb.com (as quoted by eMarketer, March 2004), 68.4% of Web content is in English. To put this into perspective, the next most used language of the Web is Japanese—with a share of only 5.9% (Global Internet Statistics 2004). Therefore, using all-English in online advertising may not lead to differences in perceptions of ACS among non-English speakers, since advertisers still must put effort into accommodating speakers of other languages. That is, advertising medium should make no difference—perceptions of ACS due to language content will affect online advertisers no differently than offline advertisers.

Regarding Arabic speakers in particular, they may be used to accommodating to English on the Web. Therefore, to investigate how language choice in online advertising is viewed by Arabic speakers, we propose the following hypothesis:

H1: In online advertising, no differences in advertiser cultural sensitivity will be perceived among advertisers that use all-English, bilingual English/Arabic and all-Arabic.

For purposes of comparison with offline advertising, we also examine if differences between ACS based on language are perceived in this context. We expect that the advertiser that uses at least some amount of Arabic in offline advertising will be perceived as more culturally sensitive than the advertiser that employs only English. Thus, hypothesis 2 is an extension of Koslow et al.’s (1994) findings to Arabic speakers.
H2: In offline advertising, differences in advertiser cultural sensitivity will be perceived among advertisers that use all-English, bilingual English/Arabic and all-Arabic. Specifically, viewers will perceive the advertiser that uses some amount of Arabic to be more culturally sensitive.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN ETHNIC GROUPS

Although it is uncertain that overall differences will occur in the online condition regarding perceptions of ACS among Arabic speakers, it is possible that there will be differences in ACS based on characteristics of the respondents. This logic is based on Hirschman’s (1981) seminal article on ethnicity, which advocates that researchers examine differences within ethnic groups rather than merely looking at all members as a homogenous whole. Varying perceptions of ACS could be due to individual-specific characteristics of respondents such as attitudes towards Arabic, attitudes toward English, gender or bilingual language ability.

Language Attitudes

Attitudes toward languages used in advertising may serve as an important role in the perception of ACS. For example, people with negative attitudes toward Arabic may not feel that the advertiser is being culturally sensitive by using increasing amounts of Arabic. Similarly, individuals that hold high attitudes toward English may also not perceive the advertiser as being more sensitive by using increasing amounts of Arabic. Theoretical support for these potential differences among Arabic-speakers may be examined under the umbrella of the language-related inferiority complex.

Language-related inferiority complex (LRIC) refers to the belief that a particular language is inferior to another in some way. This term has been used by both Haarmann (1986) and Koslow et al. (1994) in previous research. The LRIC phenomenon has been found in many countries and in many cultural groups, and varies by severity. For example, Dominicans that speak Cockoy—a language having Creole features associated with Antigua—outside the home invite ridicule from non-speakers (Christie 1990). Further, using Patois instead of English among Dominicans is considered uneducated and “countrified,” despite its use being encouraged by the government (Christie 1990). Haarmann (1986) found similar results among Patois-speakers in France, who believed their language to be an obstacle to social advance and even a stigma.

Applied to offline advertising, Koslow et al. (1994) were among the first to introduce the theory of the LRIC to advertising. Koslow et al.’s study found support for the LRIC phenomenon in the advertising context. Specifically, Hispanics demonstrated a higher affect for advertising that used at least some amount of English as compared to advertisements that used all Spanish when controlling for cultural sensitivity of the advertiser. It should be noted that Koslow et al. (1994) proposed that the LRIC affects liking for the advertisement based on the language used in advertising. It is also proposed that the existence of the LRIC may affect perceptions of advertiser accommodation—that is, it may be that the degree to which an individual perceives the LRIC, the more or less he will perceive the advertiser as being accommodating. For example, if a person feels his language to be inferior and would rather not be communicated to by it, the more he will perceive the advertiser as being culturally insensitive.

H3: Arabic speakers with more negative attitudes toward Arabic will perceive the advertiser that uses increasing amounts of Arabic as less culturally sensitive than speakers who hold more positive attitudes.

H4: Arabic speakers with more positive attitudes toward English will perceive the advertiser that uses increasing amounts of English as more culturally sensitive than speakers who hold more negative attitudes.

Gender Differences and LRIC

Regarding the LRIC and differences among members of ethnic groups, there is some evidence that men may experience a LRIC more than women in the presence of a more dominant or “superior” language. For example, a goal of the Kazakhstani language policy is that all citizens master Kazakh, as opposed to a more indigenous language. In Rivers’ work (2002), males showed more of a desire to raise their children in Kazakh rather than an indigenous language as compared to women. Rivers (2002) sums up her findings on gender by saying, “Given the primacy accorded mother tongue, the relative disinclination among young Kazakh women to raise their prospective children in Kazakh, which parallels patterns of language choice among women in minority language communities in Austria, Brittany, and east Sutherland, poses a challenge for the spread of Kazakh” (p. 159). Therefore, women do not appear to experience the LRIC to the same extent as men, preferring local language over more dominant ones. Thus, perceptions of ACS among women in our study are expected to follow a more standard pattern, in which increasing amounts of Arabic (as compared to English) in advertising will result in greater
perceptions of ACS. However, men will not follow this pattern in regard to English vs. Arabic online content, as English is more dominant than Arabic in terms of amount of Internet language content. Therefore, men will perceive advertisers that use increasing amounts of English as more culturally sensitive than women.

H5: Gender and language interact in terms of perceptions of cultural sensitivity of the advertiser in online advertising.

H5a: Men will perceive an online advertiser as more culturally sensitive than women when at least some English is included in the advertisement.

H5b: Women will perceive an online advertiser as more culturally sensitive than men with increasing amounts of Arabic.

Bilingual Language Ability

Although English is the most dominant language of the Internet, the majority of Internet users are not English-speaking. Global Reach estimates that only 35.8% of the world’s Internet users are English-speaking (global-reach.biz/globstats, http://global-reach.biz/globstats/index.php3, March 30, 2004). Therefore, 64.2% come from non-English speaking countries, with 37.9% coming from non-English speaking European countries. Advertisers that do not want to localize language content must be aware of these conditions. In terms of perceptions of ACS and language choice in online advertising, it is expected that respondents who have lower levels of English language ability should perceive the advertisements that use an increasing amount of Arabic as more culturally sensitive. This is because persons with lower levels of English ability require that advertising content be in their language so to understand it. They will recognize more easily the accommodating effort of the advertiser than those who have high levels of English ability.

H6: Arabic speakers with lower abilities in English will perceive the advertiser that uses increasing amounts of Arabic as more culturally sensitive than speakers who have higher abilities in English.

METHOD

Data was collected from students at a Kuwaiti University. Students were chosen not only because of convenience but also because young people in Kuwait represent the largest sector of Kuwait society and constitute the highest concentration of Internet users (approximately 63%) (Wheeler 1998; Abbas 2001). Research in the past at this particular university revealed that almost three-quarters of the students surveyed were active Internet users (Abbas 1997, 2001). The sample consisted of 173 subjects who volunteered to participate in the study (88 males, 85 females) in which they were to view an Internet advertisement or a print advertisement. However, no adequate facility for individual examination of the online ad was available for the entire sample. Therefore, a pretest was undertaken to investigate if viewing an Internet advertisement on paper with frames versus viewing it on a computer screen had any effect on ACS. 34 respondents participated in the pretest and viewed either the Web ad on paper (n=16) or on a computer (n=18). ANCOVA was performed in which no significant effects between language and method of viewing the ad were found on the results (p=.81).

A between-subjects design was used. Subjects were exposed to either the printed online version of a Web advertisement (n=87) of an unbranded MP3 player or a print version (n=86). The subjects were told they were viewing a test version for either a Web ad or a magazine ad. The only difference between the three advertisements was the text which was written in either all-English, all-Arabic or both English and Arabic (also referred to as “mixed”). A brief introduction about the MP3 player and its uses took place in the classroom prior to showing the advertisement to the students. This device was chosen because of its growing use among young people in different parts of the world. In addition, both males and females show similar interest in such devices. A professional graphic designer was hired to design the advertisements for the purpose of this study.

Translation Process

The surveys and the advertisement text were first written in English and then translated into Arabic. Two native bilingual Kuwaiti teaching assistants translated the survey into the Arabic language independently. Some disagreements occurred when the word “friendly” was used to describe a language. A Kuwaiti professor was consulted who identified a phrase that could be used in Arabic to explain the meaning of a friendly language.

Based on Brislin (1970), the back-translation process was then used to insure the equivalence between the English surveys and the Arabic surveys. The Arabic version of the survey was then submitted to two bilingual university graduate students...
who were not familiar with the original survey. They then translated the survey back into English. A native English speaker compared the back-translated version with the original one to judge their equivalence. Several iterations took place until a satisfying level of equivalence was reached between the two versions.

MEASURES

All variables were measured on seven-point Likert scales (strongly disagree to strongly agree) throughout the survey for convenience and less chance for confusion for the respondent. Each point received a corresponding label (1=strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3=somewhat disagree, 4=neutral, 5=somewhat agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree). All reliabilities were greater than .70 (Nunnally and Bernstein 1994) and are also reported for each multi-item construct in Table 1.

Attitudes toward Arabic and English were measured following Koslow et al. (1994). Respondents evaluated the perceived friendliness, convincing ability and influence of both Arabic and English. The average of the three responses was taken as the corresponding attitude measure. Respondents were classified as having higher attitudes (Arabic attitudes, n=46; English attitudes, n=46) or lower attitudes (Arabic attitudes, n=36; English attitudes, n=36) based on their scores for these measures in an approximate median split.

Respondents were asked to self-assess their English language ability in terms of speaking, reading and writing proficiency. The three responses were averaged to arrive at one overall English ability score. Respondents were classified as having higher (n=41) or lower (n=46) English language abilities based on an approximate median split.

The dependent variable of ACS was measured with the two questions used by Koslow et al. (1994). Respondents evaluated the advertiser’s perceived awareness of the needs of Arabic consumers and their respect for Arabic consumers. The average of the two questions was taken to represent perceived ACS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward Arabic</td>
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<td>5.56</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English language ability</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.52</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived cultural sensitivity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Summary of Measures

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Table 2 is provided for ease of analysis for all results. ANOVA was used to test all hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 predicted that no differences in a main effect for language used in online advertising resulted in overall differing views of accommodation \[F(2, 87)=0.27, p=.76\]. The means for all-English, all-Arabic and mixed were 3.9, 4.1 and 4.1, respectively. Therefore, support was found for hypothesis 1 which predicted that there would be no overall differences in perceived ACS based on language used in advertising (see Figure 1).

Hypothesis 2 revealed a main effect for language used in offline advertising and language used in advertising on perceptions of ACS \[F(2, 86)=5.44, p=.006\]. The means for all-English, all-Arabic and mixed were 3.46, 4.4 and 4.5, respectively. Differences were found only between the all-English condition compared to the other two conditions. That is, no differences in ACS were detected between the all-Arabic and mixed conditions (see Figure 1).

Hypotheses 3 and 4 predicted that the language used in advertising and attitudes toward Arabic and English would interact to affect perceptions of ACS. No interaction effects were found in either case [Arabic attitude and language: \(F(2, 87)=2.00, p=.14\); English attitude and language: \(F(2, 87)=1.17, p=.31\)]. Thus, hypotheses 3 and 4 were not supported.
Hypothesis 5 predicted there would be an interaction effect between gender and language and perceived ACS. This was supported \(F(2, 87)=3.58, p=.03\). Hypothesis 5a predicted that men perceived the advertiser that uses at least some English to be more culturally sensitive. This was partially supported, in that no differences between all-Arabic (mean=3.6) and all-English (mean=3.54) were found, but greater ACS was ascribed to the advertiser that used bilingual English/Arabic advertising (mean=4.5). Hypothesis 5b stated that women would perceive the advertiser as more culturally sensitive with increasing amounts of Arabic. This was also only partially supported, in that women perceived the all-Arabic advertiser (mean=4.6) as most sensitive. However, the all-English ad (mean=4.15) was seen as more sensitive than the mixed ad (mean=3.6) (see Figure 2).

Finally, hypothesis 6 predicted that those with inferior English language abilities would perceive the advertiser as more culturally sensitive with increasing amounts of Arabic. This interaction effect was not found to be significant \(F(2, 87)=0.59, p=.55\).
DISCUSSION

The study offers further credence to Hirschman’s (1981) exhortations that differences within ethnic groups be examined rather than studying these groups as a whole. Without some examination of individual differences, it could be concluded that standardized advertising in terms of language content among both men and women is adequate for the online context, with no differences in ACS. However, this is not the case when looking at individual differences. If gender differences had not been examined in this research, it could falsely lead international advertisers to believe that online language content does not have to be localized—using all-English in an online advertisement does not negatively affect perceived ACS. Therefore, they may conclude that the language decision, at least among Web users who know some English, is inconsequential. However, a closer examination shows that men and women differ in preferences for language content, at least in terms of ACS. In no case do Arabic-speaking men or women in this study perceive an advertiser as most culturally sensitive that uses only English. Instead, women in our study prefer advertisers to use only Arabic, whereas men prefer advertising that incorporates both English and Arabic. Perhaps women are more suspicious of advertisers that appear Westernized, whereas men prefer at least some amount of Westernized content in advertising. This gives support for the existence of an online LRIC in terms of English and Arabic among men but not among women. It must be noted that in neither case is only English in advertising preferred. Therefore, when making decisions concerning standardization of online advertisements in the international context, individual differences within ethnic groups must be taken into consideration. Believing that peoples of another language or culture constitute one homogenous group simply because they share the same national boundary can lead to poor advertising decisions.

In terms of attitude toward Arabic or English, more negative or positive attitudes did not affect perceptions of ACS. This is possibly good news to advertisers, so that future advertising decisions regarding language do not necessarily have to account for individual differences in attitudes when seeking to achieve ACS. However, it is still recommended that attitudes be examined on a country-by-country basis as they may be important among other language groups or may affect other perceptions such as product quality (as suggested by Bishop 2005).

Surprisingly, language ability also did not impact perceptions of ACS. That is, those with lower self-assessed levels of English did not perceive the advertiser as being any less accommodating when using increasing amounts of English. This result corresponds, to an extent, to the findings of Koslow et al. (1994) in which English-dominant Hispanics thought advertising that employed Spanish was more culturally sensitive than less English-dominant Hispanics.

Finally, perceptions of ACS did follow the predicted path in the offline context. That is, using some amount of Arabic in advertising resulted in greater perceptions of ACS than using only English. Thus, the results originally found by Koslow et al. (1994) were also replicated among Kuwaiti Arabic speakers.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

A main limitation of this study was that it focused on Arabic speakers in Kuwait, one small subset of the much larger Arabic population as a whole. Results should not be generalized to all Arabic speakers, especially as attitudes toward English or America in general may greatly vary from country to country. They should only be used as a starting point for advertisers wishing to reach this population. Future research should focus on other Arabic-speaking nations or Arabic immigrants living in the US.
Another limitation was the use of a student sample for this study. While the largest percentage of Internet users in Kuwait is university students, generalizing the finding to the population may be troublesome.

Future research should also focus on examining these hypotheses among speakers of other languages besides Arabic. For example, it would be interesting to see if Europeans perceive a type of online language-related inferiority complex in relation to their native language and English. This may exist as English is the most dominant language of the Web, far more pervasive than any other single language of Europe (Global Internet Statistics 2004).

This study is a preliminary study that could be expanded to incorporate more than just the marketing aspects of e-commerce. Future research could explore whether the same results can be applied to the entire e-commerce site.

In conclusion, the purpose of this paper was to more fully investigate the role of language choice in the context of online advertising as compared to offline advertising in an international context as it relates to perceived ACS. Our goal was to contribute a little more to the current state of findings as provided by previous researchers in the language in advertising arena. Increased understanding of how individuals differ in their perceptions of advertiser accommodation awaits further study.

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