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Super Bowl Ads and the Donald Trump Culture War

by

Jessica Barron

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

With a concentration in Media Studies Department of Mass Communication

College of Arts and Sciences

University of South Florida

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ABSTRACT

There have been studies that have looked at how television commercials represent or portray minorities such as gender or race. Very few have tried to look at how commercials compare to the culture, specifically in regards to a presidential term and the culture they promote. This present study examines Super Bowl commercials during the culture war led by the Donald Trump administration and looks to discover if these advertisements are becoming more diverse in comparison to the previous presidency. Using content analysis, the researcher analyzed and compared 50 commercials from three different time periods 2009-2010, 2013-2014, and 2017-2018. The categories looked at were gender, families, racial minorities, and messages of inclusivity, immigration, and patriotism. The results from this study show that Donald Trump did not win the culture war and Super Bowl commercials are becoming more diverse during the Trump term by including more minority diversity, themes of inclusivity, and themes on immigration.

INTRODUCTION

Television commercials are not only focused on a product, they also react to changes in the culture of the population that they are advertising to. The influence of commercials cannot be overlooked, when people are shown ads everyday. Despite all the newer media platforms, television continues to have a large impact, reaching 304.5 million television viewers in 2018 (Quora, 2019, paras. 2-5). When it comes to television, no other event in the United States gets as many people to watch their TVs and commercials than the Super Bowl (Breech, 2020). With so many viewers every year, the Super Bowl has become part of American tradition and culture. The commercials in the Super Bowl also play a significant part in the game and viewers expect them every year. Commercials that get to play in the Super Bowl are airing on one of the largest televised events in the world. In 2020, a 30 second Super Bowl commercial cost approximately 5.6 million dollars (DiLella, 2020, para. 1). With less than one-minute commercials costing millions, it's clear to say that the companies behind these ads put in a lot of thought into making them. Each scene that makes it into the ad must be intentional, because each clip costs millions. If commercials are being carefully planned, analyzing each ad can provide information on what themes are present. Looking at the nationalities of the actors, the context of what they are doing, and the frames that are used can provide lots of information. The information from these national ads also needs to be compared throughout different time periods to see if they're reactive to what is going on culturally in the country.

Changes in political leadership can create shifts in culture if certain values are promoted more than others. In recent years, the presidencies have been complete opposites. Former President of the United States, Barack Obama, completed two terms in office from 2009 to 2017. Barack Obama was a part of the Democratic Party and during his campaign, Obama's platform promised to bring change to the country with his progressive views. For example, during Obama's presidency same-sex marriage was legalized (Dimock, 2020) marking a cultural shift in a country that had previously only promoted conservative views. After eight years of Obama being in office, Donald Trump would become president and in contrast to the previous administration, Trump campaigned with the promise to "Make America Great Again" by restoring the conservative and predominately European American culture by undoing changes that his predecessor had enacted (Hartman, 2018, p. 51). Trump's term in office would mark another cultural shift in the United States that focused on winning the culture war (Hartman, 2018). Donald Trump's former chief strategist Steve Bannon advised Trump during his campaign that in order to secure the American vote in the 2016 elections, Trump would need to fight and win a culture war (Sharkov, 2018). In 2018 a whistleblower from Cambridge Analytica, a data analytics company, appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee and said that the Trump campaign collected user information from Facebook to help Trump win the presidential bid (Sydell, & Wren, 2018). Whistleblower, Christopher Wylie, also told the committee that "[Bannon] sees cultural warfare as the means to create enduring change in American politics" (Sharkov, 2018, para.3).

Culture wars have been a reoccurring topic in the United States. In 1990, James Davison Hunter defined the culture wars as an ideological "struggle to define America" (Manis, 2008, p. 177). Defining what America is and looks like are major issues in the culture war and just like

Donald Trump's campaign it has been used in previous campaigns as well. During the 1992 Republican National Convention the term culture war was used by presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan, who said his campaign was a participant in "a religious and cultural war...for the soul of America" (Manis, 2008, p.177). Unlike in 1992, however, Trump's culture war involved the misuse of public information and raised questions on whether it threatened the online privacy of Americans. Researcher, Andrew Hartman, described the culture wars as a "fundamental debate about the nature of the United States and about its future" (as cited in Long, 2016, p. 328). This battle over what America is and will be in the future was what made Trump's slogan "Make America Great Again" so popular. The slogan said that the nature of America was in bad shape and that its future, if he was elected, would be restoring it into the powerful nation it once was by following an America-first agenda (Edwards, 2018, p.180).

Commercials have become a large part of the culture, because they can influence the public's views through the frames they use (Bennett, 1975). In previous research, it's been found that the themes in ads can impact how people perceive others (Davis, 2003). However, research is lacking in the area of comparing commercials and culture. If it's been shown that commercials influence people's views, than it's necessary to look deeper into these commercials and compare them to the culture of the time to see if there are any patterns. In a world where people are exposed to advertising on a daily basis, it's important to understand how companies are portraying individuals in their commercials. There have been many studies on analyzing commercial advertisements and how they portray the American household and American social norms, but none have examined how these advertisements reflect or oppose the presidential

narrative, specifically in the era of Donald Trump. The era of Donald Trump is important because he was advised to win a culture war demonstrated through his "Make America Great Again" slogan (Grunwald et al., 2018).

This research will look at the Super Bowl commercials during pre-Trump and post-Trump presidency to determine whether commercials have had a change in how they show individuals. Previous research has mostly only gone as far as looking at how people are portrayed in ads (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000) instead of taking it a step further and comparing it to cultural narratives during a specific presidential term. A presidential candidate willing to hire a data analytics company to take private information from over 50 million Facebook profiles without users permission (Bloomberg, 2018, para. 1) shows the value of analyzing commercials and the culture war. This research will offer perspective into possible culture shifts that have become apparent through Super Bowl commercials. It also aims to discover that if Trump won the election using the culture war, if the culture his campaign favored is also reflected in the Super Bowl commercials.

BACKGROUND

Cultivation and Framing Theory

In 1969, researcher George Gerbner began developing the concept of "cultural indicators" to explain the effects on people growing up with television (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999, pp. 6-8). Cultivation theory was meant to understand the influence of television and the basis of Gerbner's research was, that the amount of time a person spent in front of a television was correlated to the way he/she perceived the real world (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010).

According to Gerbner, people would view the world in a way that reflected the most common messages they saw on television. Gerbner stated that television had the ability to actually affect the culture of society (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). He believed that messages created "a common culture through which communities cultivate shared and public notions about facts, values, and contingencies of human existence" (Gerbner, 1969, pp. 137-138). The cultivation theory suggests television is a tool that brings a system of images and messages into every home. Therefore, understanding how viewers interpreted television messages was useful in learning to predict viewer responses to media (Potter, 2014).

Erving Goffman developed the concept of framing in psychology in 1974 and he referred to frames as a "social framework and mental schema" that allowed people to make and organize their experiences (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 428). In 1993, Robert Entman advanced framing by introducing framing theory as it relates to media and how it influences the audience. Entman explained how framing allows information to become important to media consumers through

positioning, manipulation, and replication of words and images (Entman, 1993). Framing has also been described as the process of message construction and the way it affects the consumer's interpretation of the message being delivered (Shah et al., 2009, as cited in Brooks, 2016). Commercials can therefore be made to highlight specific ideas or themes through the use of images or relationships within their ads. The viewers then interpret the themes in commercials either consciously or subconsciously and the frames help them make sense of the end product (Bennett, 1975). Framing theory may then explain why commercials have influence on viewers. The Super Bowl is a cultural sporting event and the commercials aired during the game may or may not be using frames that reflect this culture. Previous research looked at Super Bowl commercials in regard to the perceived affect of the ads and found that they use emotional appeals, avoid straight announcements as a message format, include animals, and don't make any quality claims (Kelley & Turley, 2004). Previous research has also looked at gender and race portrayals in commercials that have aired during the Super Bowl (King, 2012). Another study (Drewniany, 1996) looked at how older adults were being framed in regard to gender, age, race, and role portrayals in commercials in the Super Bowl between 1989 to 1994. It found that males were predominately casted for celebrity roles and voice-overs and did roles that showed disrespect toward older adult populations.

In the present study, both theories will be used to analyze each commercial and the messages they portray. The cultivation theory is important to understand the impact that changes in commercials can have. The theory states that the more time people watch television the more their worldviews match what they see on television (Gauthier & Graziano, 2018). Based on this theory, by watching Super Bowl commercials people have been influenced over time to see the world in a similar fashion as messages are presented in the ads. If commercials historically

showed predominately male European Americans in their ads, then that's what viewers would always expect to see. If commercials never change the representation in commercials then people have become accustomed to seeing the same portrayals. If Super Bowl commercials were to suddenly change this portrayal then it would be significant and it would be obvious to many viewers because it strays away from what they have become accustomed to. Any possible change in popular commercials like the Super Bowl would then overtime change the way people view the world or at least view America. The framing theory will be used to look through each commercial and analyze characteristics portrayed to understand what message it may be sending to viewers. Framing has to do with the construction of the ad and the individual parts that make it whole and has been described as unifying information to viewers (Bryant & Oliver, 2009). Therefore, the current study will focus on characteristics such as how the actors are framed and the framing of messages that appear in the commercial. Framing tells viewers what to focus on and this can lead people to come to conclusions. This could unfold in commercials by an ad framing a couple as heterosexual by showing two people of the opposite gender showing affection. On the other hand, a homosexual couple might be portrayed as two people of the same gender together or as someone wearing the LGBTQ flag. Both theories work together. Framing theory creates the theme while cultivation theory explains the long-term effects and impressions these frames leave on viewers.

The Influence of Television

The influence of television, including its commercials, has been questioned for many decades. One of the pivotal moments in history was on May 9, 1961, when FCC Chairman Newton N. Minow spoke to the National Association of Broadcasters in Washington, D.C. Minow criticized the fact that, although television had the ability to uphold the public interest, it was failing to do so, especially when it came to children's programming (Krotoszynski, 1997). In his speech Minow states:

When television is good, nothing — not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers — nothing is better. But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite each of you to sit down in front of your television set ... Keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that what you will observe is a vast wasteland (Rothman, 2016, paras. 3-4).

The phrase "vast wasteland" would become synonymous to describing what value television can actually offer people. Although, Minow wasn't able to make lasting changes in the quality of content being offered on television (Krattenmaker & Powe, 1995) he did get people to start looking deeper into what impacts television can have on viewers watching.

The impact of television continued to be questioned and in 1985, Neil Postman wrote his book, *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, which critiqued TV and its popular programs. Postman said that the major problem with television was not "in *what* people watch. The problem is in *that* we watch. The solution must be found in *how* we watch..."(Postman, N., p. 160). Postman saw a problem with television packaging important topics such as politics into entertainment shows. He warned that this hurt the public and people had stopped thinking for themselves (Beentjes & Va der Voort, 1988). Instead they were becoming slaves to television (Rich, 2015). Even outside the

United States, television had proved to be a great influencer. In 1956, Indonesian President Akhnad Sukarno made a visit to Washington D.C. and spoke to Congress. During his speech, Sukarno described how Indonesia has felt the cultural impact of the United States through its films (Liem & Lindsay, 2011). He states:

Americans and Indonesians are no longer strangers to each other. We know each other from the films; the beams of radio reach into our very homes; and the magazines and daily press provoke us to think of each other...(Liem & Lindsay, 2011, p. 123).

From the early years of television, the influence TV has on people has been examined. Every medium of television is being looked at including Hollywood films (Banjo & Jennings, 2016), TV programs (Parrott & Parrott, 2015), and even television commercials (Gray et al., 2017). Commercials sell viewers a product and these commercials often use actors and actresses portraying the every-day customer. In the past, companies in the United States have normally branded themselves in a way that would have mass appeal to buyers and showcased the typical "All-American family" in their ads. The typical "All-American family" was usually a middle class family, in stereotypical roles, and predominantly not a minority. There has been a shift in demographics and minorities are becoming the majority. During this shift, there's also been an alteration in culture. It's important to understand the changes in the American population and the culture to see whether commercials have changed to reflect it.

Super Bowl

Culture can mean many different things to different people. In the United States the sport football has become a part of American tradition and culture (Nelson, 2018). No football game gets the same amount of attention as the Super Bowl, which gathered approximately 98.4 million viewers in 2019 and 99.9 million viewers in 2020 (Coster, 2020). With so many viewers

watching every year, companies know the amount of exposure they can receive for their products by advertising in the Super Bowl.

Companies compete to have a spot in the Super Bowl despite the cost. In 2019, a 30-second ad slot in the Super Bowl cost \$5.25 million (Handley, 2019). The amount of viewers and the amount of money that goes into the Super Bowl shows just how important the game has become in the United States. As stated by Peter Hopsicker and Mark Dyreson (2017):

The Super Bowl is now an American institution, producing an experience that exudes the qualities of a quintessential American holiday – a holiday that, paradoxically, frequently seems to treat the NFL's championship game as an ancillary to the festivities (p. 2).

Commercials that air during the Super Bowl are an investment, but the commercials themselves have become a part of the Super Bowl experience. Americans don't just watch the game they also watch the ads. Research has found that in contrast to commercial breaks for regular advertising, the number of people in a room and the attention they give TV increases during the Super Bowl commercials (McGranaghan et al., 2016, as cited in Hartmann, 2018). People are staying during commercial breaks in the Super Bowl to watch the ads. With the millions of viewers watching the game, these ads then get a lot of attention. One study found that when a commercial would air during the Super Bowl it would receive a lot of searches online while it was still airing, showing that there may be a pattern between commercials and people's interest (Lewis & Reiley, 2013). With the amount of attention that the Super Bowl receives every year, the ads that appear during the game have also become an important part in American Culture. The companies that produce the ads are some of the largest because of how expensive

the ad spot costs. Companies make their Super Bowl commercials with the intention of having mass appeal, so the commercials might be able to give insight into the culture in the United States.

Changes in Culture

What makes up the demographic in the United States had gradually shifted from a majority of individuals who identified as European American to becoming a population where the minority is expected to become the majority in 2044 (US Census Bureau, 2015). This included African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and other racial minorities. According to the Census Bureau, in 2020 more than half of the nation's children will be part of a minority group (US Census Bureau, 2015). As minority groups grew larger so did their voices when it came to being represented and this was seen when former U.S. President, Barack Obama, was inaugurated in 2009 and became the first African American president. During the Obama presidency, the United States saw progressive changes in policy that benefitted minority groups such as DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals), the Supreme Court decided Obergefell v. Hodges and recognized marriage for same-sex couples, and the administration undid the military's ban on openly serving trans troops (Winters, 2016). These were progressive policies that opened up a lot of opportunities for minority groups that had often been underrepresented.

On January 20, 2017, Barack Obama's second term in office ended and Donald Trump was inaugurated as the next President of the United States. This marked when things in the United States would begin to change. Trump led a polarizing campaign in which he made very controversial statements. Trump's political views and comments about marginalized groups such

as minorities and women would begin to divide the country. For example, regarding Mexican immigrants Trump stated:

They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people (Reilly, 2016, para. 1).

Trump's views on women and how he behaves around them also became a controversial topic. In 2016, women from previous Miss Teen and Miss USA pageants claimed that Donald Trump made sexual advances towards them and said that he would regularly walk into contestants' dressing rooms while women were undressed (Relman, 2020). Weeks before the election, on October 2016, an *Access Hollywood* videotape was released where Trump can be heard making comments about groping women's genitals without their consent:

I've got to use some Tic Tacs, just in case I start kissing her, Trump says. You know I'm automatically attracted to beautiful - I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it, Trump says. You can do anything. Grab them by the p---y, Trump says. You can do anything. (Fahrenthold, 2016, paras. 16-19)

After Donald Trump became president he faced multiple accusations by at least 15 women who said they were sexually harassed and groped by Trump (Blau & Vazquez, 2019). Four women accusing Trump of sexual misconduct asked Congress to investigate Donald Trump and this led to people in the country and in government asking that Trump consider resigning (Lima, 2017).

Ever since the 2016 presidential campaigns, minority groups such as Hispanics, women, and more have felt targeted negatively by Trump. In contrast to Trump's supporters who agree with the controversial comments he makes. Therefore, America split into two sides; Trump supporters vs. non-supporters. The non-supporters began to push back against the culture that

Trump was encouraging in America (Prokop, 2017). A day after Trump's inauguration, over four million people turned out to the Women's Marches in over 600 US cities (Prokop, 2017). The Women's March was a signal of people's support for women's rights and also against the election of Trump (Prokop, 2017).

On January 27, 2017, Donald Trump signed an immigration and travel executive order that halted people from seven mainly Muslim countries from entering the U.S. for 90 days (BBC News, 2017a). This controversial travel ban took effect immediately after it was signed and led to people being detained in airports and others being turned away or sent back after landing in the U.S. (Prokop, 2017). Once again, people across the country turned out to protest against the order in airports. The courts eventually blocked the ban.

These massive protests were a result of Americans feeling divided and it also reflected the culture war that was occurring in the United States. Donald Trump's former aide, Steve Bannon saw the value of a culture war in politics. As tensions grew, companies found themselves in a time where the traditional "All-American Family" unit had evolved into being more diverse with more minorities who have often not been represented in advertisements. These minorities included, people of color, women, Muslims, and the LGBTQ communities. Bannon "saw cultural warfare as a means to create enduring change in American politics" (Hosenball, 2018, para. 2). According to Reuters, a whistleblower from Cambridge Analytica stated that user information from Facebook was improperly collected and used to exploit racial tensions for the 2016 election (Hosenball, 2018). Trump led his campaign on the platform of going after minorities and placing blame on them for many problems facing the general public. He specifically went after Muslims, immigrants, and women (O'Hara, 2017, p. 32).

During his presidency, Trump has also sought to reinstate the military's ban on openly serving trans troops in order to undo Barack Obama's policy. Many in the LGBTQ community saw this as a step backwards. The issue of police brutality, which was an issue during Obama's term, has continued under the Trump presidency and led to protests by the African American community (Greenberg, 2017). Events like the Charlottesville protests further fueled the growing culture wars in the United States, when a neo-Nazi drove his car into a crowd of anti-racist protesters in Charlottesville, Va., killing one person (Wamsley, & Allyn, 2019). After the incident, Donald Trump initially condemned the KKK, neo-Nazis, and white supremacists but then said "there's blame on both sides" (Taylor & Farrington, 2017, para. 82). By not taking a strong stance against far-right groups Trump only added fuel to the fire that is the culture wars.

Throughout the previous decades, television has had experts question the influence media consumption has on the public. In the 1950s, Indonesian President Sukarno referenced Hollywood's influence on Indonesia's culture and Robert Entman helped develop the Framing theory in media. In the sixties George Gerbner introduced the cultivation theory to understand the influences of TV on people (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999) and Newton Minow declared TV to be a "vast wasteland" (Rothman, 2016, para. 4). Then in the eighties, Neil Postman warned the public that people might stop thinking for themselves because of television. As research into the effects of television including commercials continued, the culture being portrayed in these medias became an important topic as well as the state of the culture in reality (Dittmar, 2007, p. 17). With Americans feeling more divided during the time of the Trump presidency, this research aims to determine whether companies are choosing to go against their past conservative behavior and are now picking sides in order to appeal to their targeted consumers. This thesis will look at different advertisements to see if there is a correlation between the rejections of the

"all-American Family" during the Trump administration. This study hopes to add information on how cultural views of customers can shape advertisements. In addition, this research will analyze the Super Bowl ads to understand the frames being used. Each commercial will be coded for a theme. The goal of this study is to find out if the common cultural themes that show up in the Super Bowl commercials have changed since Donald Trump became president.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A significant amount of previous research has looked at the stereotypes found in commercial advertisements (Davis, 2003). Studies have looked at the way gender (Matthes et al., 2016), race (Rogers, 2012), sexual orientation (Tsai, 2006), and other minority groups have been portrayed (Rubie-Davies et al., 2013). Reviewing the previous research and their analysis of commercial ads and how they've portrayed individuals will provide a means to compare how ads are currently depicting individuals and ethnic groups during the era of Donald Trump and the revived culture wars.

Television commercials can be very influential forms of media. Comstock and Scharrer have found that "television characters, in addition to parents, siblings, family members, friends, teachers, and so on, are models that viewers can use for comparison purposes," (as cited in Peruta & Powers, 2017, p. 1144). Commercials are also everywhere and people spend so much time looking at screens, that as stated by Cottle, can have an "impact on the way individuals create an image of themselves and of others," (as cited in Daalmans & Odink, 2019, p. 2). With this in mind it's important to see if commercials are being made in opposition to the culture wars or in line with the position Donald Trump promotes, because it could be influencing the characteristics that Americans perceive as making up the traditional American family.

Some past studies have focused on analyzing ads based on gender stereotypes.

For example, there has been prior research that has suggested that gender stereotypes are likely

to vary across product categories (Ganahl et al., 2003). This finding showed that commercials were purposefully tailoring their ads to a specific demographic and promoting an accepted stereotype.

Television and video media is a powerful persuasion tool and in past research, commercial ads have been found to affect the public's views (Taylor & Stern 1997). This is significant for two major reasons: (1) commercials persuade a viewer to purchase a product or service and it implies (2) commercials are choosing what stereotype to portray. As early as 1984, researchers have been analyzing how media such as television and commercials affect viewers. For example, in one study it was found that television and radio were better suited for using humor appeals to get viewers' attention (Madden & Weinberger, 1984). Since 1986, Jeffrey A. Trachtenberg has discussed how the use of sex appeal has been found throughout advertising (Gunter, 2014). Another study looked at gender portrayal in U.S. magazine advertisements over a span of 50 years and it:

Found advertisements showing women in the private and public sphere, and fulfilling a variety of roles not only maternal but also executive. However, women are still shown as dependent on men and are used increasingly as sexual objects in ads (Mager, J., & Helgeson, J., 2011, p. 248).

As early as 1972, studies were finding differences in gender portrayals, with female actors usually found to be younger than their male counterparts (Ferrante et al., 1988, p. 232). In a similar manner, the new study also analyzes ads over a timespan and looks to find trends in how they are portraying their actors and actresses. Instead of focusing on the evolution of feminism, the new research hopes to fill in the gap of information, relating gender stereotypes to what is occurring politically.

Male figures in advertisements have also continued to be portrayed in their traditional stereotypical roles as the head of the household and in authority positions (Gentry and Harrison, 2010). In terms of nationality, minority groups have received less important roles when it comes to commercial ads. Over twenty years ago, Hispanics appeared in fewer primetime network television commercials than other minorities (Wilkes & Valencia, 1989). In children's programming, however, it was found to have a different representation. One study looked at commercials on Nickelodeon and found that Latinos/Latinas are severely underrepresented; African Americans are overrepresented; European Americans/majority characters are represented in numbers that we should expect; Asians are overrepresented; and American Indians/Alaskan Natives and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders are absent (Peruta, & Powers, 2017). Hispanics are now one of the largest minorities in America and were an important topic during the Trump campaign. Analyzing more recent commercials to see where Hispanics and other minorities fall in regard to their roles in ads would be beneficial to this research.

Culture War

As the commercial ads changed so did the society and politics in the country. In regard to the newer generation, the ideological shift has been described by Howe and Strauss as:

Growing up in decades marked by politics of governmental recognition framed by feminism, gay rights, non-traditional families, and sexual freedom, as well as being profoundly shaped by technologies that are globally connective, millennials are thought to be more progressive and idealistic than preceding generations (as cited in Sunday & Kaplan, 2017, p. 13).

It's the changes in demographics and political stances that have energized culture wars in the United States. Judith Butler's concept of "culture wars situated 'traditional' family values –

normalized as European American, middle class, hetero-normative, and patriarchal – against the struggles of minority and oppressed groups for representation, recognition, and political agency," (as cited in Sunday & Kaplan, 2017, p. 15). Some of the first culture wars began in the 1960s with social and activist movements for civil rights and gender equality that "shook up normative America" (Hartman, 2019, p. 19). Movements such as Black Power, Chicano nationalism, the American Indian Movement, and Sexual Politics are some of the most well known that challenged the status quo.

There have been more recent studies that analyzed the role that political culture in American states had during the 2016 presidential campaigns. One study looked at the comments made by Donald Trump regarding race and immigration (Fisher, 2016). The study defined what it called, political culture, and defined one category as moralistic political culture. Moralistic culture sees politics as a positive activity in which citizens have to participate (Fisher, 2016). Fisher (2016) found that Trump's statements were, "less attractive to those in moralistic states, who pride themselves on good citizenship. Attitudes toward race and immigration, therefore, appear to have been a much more important factor in explaining Trump's relative weakness in moralistic states," (Fisher, 2016, p. 746). The article goes on to explain that Trump's race-baiting may have been off-putting to many European American voters in these states. Fisher (2016) also suggested that Trump's campaign slogan "Make America Great Again", played upon fears about generational societal change for Americans who wanted the country to revert back to what it was like in their youth. As Donald Trump steered far to the right and advanced further through the 2016 campaign, the more the public became divided on issues (Campbell, 2018, p. 252).

Despite the previous research involving commercials, there have been no current studies that have examined Donald Trump's culture war as it relates to television ads. This new study

will be based off the previous work that examined gender, race, sexual orientation, and minority groups, but expand to include other characteristics. It will use similar coding methods to analyze Super Bowl commercials, but unlike former studies it will also evaluate ads based on the year they aired in relation to the existing culture of the United States. The existing culture of the United States will be looked at in this study, using earlier work on culture wars to examine how it may manifest in Super Bowl ads and in the country. The findings of this present study will therefore contribute information regarding Super Bowl commercials and the culture wars during the era of Donald Trump.

In order to better understand whether the depiction of the American household in advertisements has changed since the Donald Trump presidency, it's important to look at the characteristics of these ads to see how they portray Americans throughout time and if it's changing.

RQ1: What are the characteristics of the actors in the commercial advertisements? (Look at gender, nationality, relationship dynamics, etc.)

- a. Do commercials where actors have no speaking lines show more females?
- b. Do commercials where actors have significant lines show more females?
- c. Are there more commercials with families included?
- d. Are the families in commercials from an unorthodox family group (homosexual/single parent)?
- e. Do the commercials include foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color (minority)?
- f. Do people of color (minority) have significant lines in commercials?

It will also be important to analyze the main characteristics found in advertisements that are framing the commercial.

RQ2: During the Presidency of Donald J. Trump, have broadcast TV ads from the Super Bowl reflected his war on "elitist" culture? (Analyzing the content of the message)

- a. Are commercials including more messages of inclusivity?
- b. Are commercials including more messages of immigration?
- c. Do the Super Bowl commercials include more language regarding patriotism?

H1: Super Bowl commercial advertisements are becoming more diverse by including more minorities and underrepresented groups since the Trump candidacy in comparison to the Obama presidency.

METHOD

Sampling

Television was selected as the primary medium for analysis because it's still one of the leading platforms for advertisers to share commercials and has a strong immediate impact on recipients (Weibel et al., 2019). The Super Bowl was selected due to its cultural relevance and advertising impact (Frank & Silverstein, 2020). To analyze commercials throughout the years, the present study will sample Super Bowl ads that aired during the inauguration year combined with the consecutive year of each president between 2008-2020. They will be divided into three cohorts titled, A: 2009-2010, B: 2013-2014, and C: 2017-2018. Years A and B were chosen as a non-Trump baseline and compared to 2017-2018, which is Trump's time in office. The samples of commercials were collected from Adland, the largest archive of Super Bowl commercials in the world. A randomization tool was used to select 50 commercials from each time period, creating a sample size of 150 ads (n=150). To be included in the sample the commercials had to meet the following criteria: (1) they needed to be available through Adland (2) only the original ad that aired during the Super Bowl was included and not altered versions (3) Ads where an animation or animal played a human were not included.

Procedure

The research was designed using content analysis and focused on examining the diversity in commercials listed in the coding sheet. The data collected was then compared between the three time periods (A, B, and C). Given the current cultural and political climate the following

data from commercials was recorded: gender and spoken lines, single units and family units, unorthodox and traditional families, ethnic diversity and spoken lines, inclusivity, immigration, and patriotism.

Coding Imagery

Gender & Commercials with No Speaking Lines: In the Super Bowl there are commercials where actors have no speaking lines. The current study is looking to see if women are becoming the main actor, therefore the research measured if ads focused on either a female or male. Commercials that included only women were counted as female; if an ad showed a man or both genders then it counted as a male focused commercial.

Gender & Commercials with Significant Speaking Lines: There were commercials where actors had spoken lines and these were also coded for gender as either primarily female or male. Significant spoken lines would be measured as an actor having the only lines, speaking more than one sentence, or having equal lines as the actor with the most lines. In addition, if there were more than one female actor with significant lines, then the coder still coded it as being primarily female.

Single Unit or Family Unit: To measure the portrayal of families, the study measured if actors were portrayed as single or as a part of a family in a commercial. Single would be portrayed as someone not in a romantic relationship and not married. A family would include someone with a romantic partner or parents and guardians with children.

Unorthodox or Traditional Families: A commercial would be considered unorthodox by including actors in a homosexual relationship such as having a same-sex partner, showing romantic interest in an actor of the same sex, or being a member of the LGBTQ¹ community. An

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¹ LGBTQ is an acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer or questioning. These terms are used to describe a person's sexual orientation or gender identity (The Center, 2020).

unorthodox family would also include showing a single parent instead of two parents. A traditional family would include someone of heterosexual orientation, having a partner of the opposite sex or someone who shows interest in the opposite sex. In addition, if no partner is shown then it will be counted as a traditional family unit.

Ethnically Diverse: Ads that are ethnically diverse included actors who are African American, Hispanic, Asian, or other nationalities apart from European Americans. If the ad included a non-English language or non-English music then it would also be considered diverse. For an actor to be counted, the ad would have to show their full face. If the actors were an all-European American cast, the ad was not considered ethnically diverse.

Diverse Actors with Spoken Lines: If an ad was ethnically diverse, it was important to see if the actors had significant spoken lines. It would include ads where minority actors had the only lines, spoke more than one sentence, or had equal lines as the actor with the most lines. If no person of color was included, then the commercial was not coded as having diverse actors with spoken lines.

Coding Text/Speech

Inclusivity: To measure whether commercials were opposing Trump's divisive² culture war, commercials with words supporting inclusivity were coded such as "accepted", "equal", "included", "together", "belong", and "united". The opposition to Trump's campaign also used the slogan "love trumps hate" as a way to push back against his divisive rhetoric (Lee, M. J., & Merica, D., 2016) so phrases such as "love over hate" or similar speech were counted.

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² Donald Trump's campaign often targeted different minority groups from different nationalities and this created a culture of "us" versus "them" and separation (Grunwald, 2018, para. 4).

Immigration: Commercials using any language related to the issue of immigration, such as "immigrant", "immigration", "wall(s)", and "borders" were coded. In addition words or images that alluded to immigrants traveling to America would also be coded such as crossing a United States border, being asked for documentation into the country, and being welcomed or harassed for coming to the USA.

Patriotism Culture: Ads that were counted as patriotic³ emphasized that a product is "American made", includes the American flag, or it uses "America" to describe a product.

Language including, "America", "American", "American-made", and "USA" were coded. If the name of the product or company had any of the language it was not counted.

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³ To contrast the tone of immigration and diversity, it was important to see if there would be any references to patriotism and nationality in commercials.

RESULTS

The research was designed using 150 commercials, 50 commercials from three different cohorts were reviewed. The cohorts were, 2009-2010, 2013-2014, and 2017-2018. If a specific code was present then it was coded as, Presence: 1. If a variable was absent then it was also given a number, Absence: 0. If a variable didn't apply to the category then it was coded as, Not Applicable: x. Each category in the data set was then individually evaluated throughout each group year.

RQ1a examined if the commercials where actors have no speaking lines showed more females than males. The data looked at 50 commercials from years A: 2009-2010, B: 2013-2014, C: 2017-2018. From group A the data found that 12 of the 50 advertisements had commercials

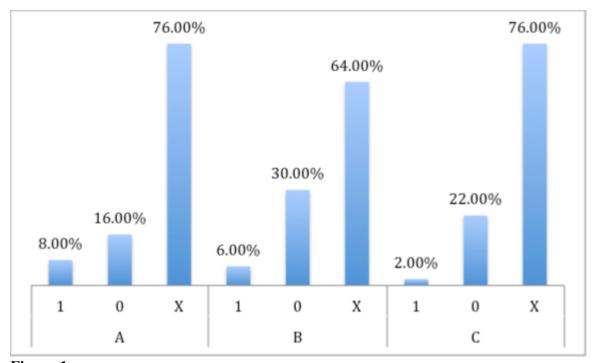


Figure 1 Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ1a (Cohort A, B, C)

where actors had no lines. Of the 12 ads, four had a female as the main actor of the ads (Yes: 8%, No: 16%, Not Applicable: 76%). These results are listed in Figure 1.

One example would be the Kellogs Frosted Flakes commercial titled "Plant a Seed". The ad had a male voiceover, but the ad was talking about planting seeds to grow confidence and friendship in children. It then mentions that Kellogs was reopening fields for children to play and children appeared on the screen getting ready to play. The commercial only showed the faces of two little girls who don't have any spoken lines but were smiling as they ran to play (Figure 2).



Figure 2
Plant A Seed Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2009, February 02). *Plant a Seed*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/kellogs-frosted-flakes-fields-grow-2008-30-usa

In Figure 2, the viewers could see a little girl who was running into a baseball field. The framing in this commercial showed a clean and peaceful ballpark that lots of happy kids were running towards ready to play. Playing sports in a beautiful park would most likely be a luxury that is accessible to more affluent communities such as European Americans. Although this commercial aired during the Super Bowl, which is a football event, the ad depicted a different sport. The change in sport might have been to help the ad stand out, but baseball was also considered an

"American pastime" sport and is very popular (Barra, 2013). Both Baseball and football are male dominated games, yet this ad was framed to only show the faces of females as seen in Figure 2.

This commercial was showing that these sports play a part in the lives of females.

For group B the data found that of the 50 ads, 18 had actors with no lines. Of the 18 ads, there were three where the main actor was a female (Yes: 6%, No: 30%, Not Applicable: 64%). These results can be seen in Figure 1. For group C the data found that 12 of the 50 ads had actors with no speaking lines. Of the 12 ads, one had a female as the main actor (Yes: 2%, No: 22%, Not Applicable: 76%). The results are depicted in Figure 1.

RQ1b looked to see if commercials where actors speak significant lines were predominately women. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials 33 had actors with significant lines and only nine were females (Yes: 18%, No: 48%, Not Applicable: 34%). The findings are displayed in Figure 3.

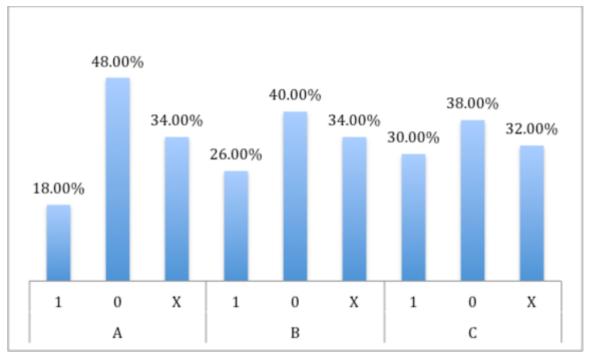


Figure 3 Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ1b (Cohort A, B, C)

In group B, the data showed that 33 of the ads had actors with speaking lines and 13 were female lead actors (Yes: 26%, No: 40%, Not Applicable: 34%). Results are in Figure 3. For group C, the data showed that 34 commercials had actors with significant lines and 15 were female actors with significant lines (Yes: 30%, No: 38%, Not Applicable: 32%). Results are in Figure 3. An example of ads showcasing more women can be seen in the 2018 Diet Coke ad, "Mango Groove", that featured one female actor (Figure 4).



Figure 4
Mango Groove Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2018, February 05). *Mango Groove*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/diet-coke-mango-groove-2018-30-usa

As the only actor, she had lines throughout the entire commercial and had video shots that zoomed in and out of her face throughout. She drank the coke and said her lines as she began to dance. Her lines (00:01), "Diet Coke twisted mango because, oh that's why. Can't help it. Yayah. Still going. Maybe slowing it down. Maybe it's getting sexier. I don't know, mango does". The screenshot showed what the ad primarily consisted of. The female lead actor was constantly in view and was in front of a solid colored background to not create distractions. This ad was framed in a straightforward manner and didn't have special effects or busy settings. It focused on

the actor who was framed in a more comical way due to the drink that made her dance. The ad showed that one sip of the product and it could make people want to dance and have fun. Also, contrary to her message asking, "maybe it's getting sexier?" the actor was dancing while fully clothed and her colorful outfit consisted of a polka dot top, rainbow striped socks, and gold shoes that made the scene amusing.

RQ1c looked to see if commercials included families. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials nine included families and 36 showed someone single (Yes: 18%, No: 72%, Not Applicable: 10%). The findings are displayed in Figure 5.

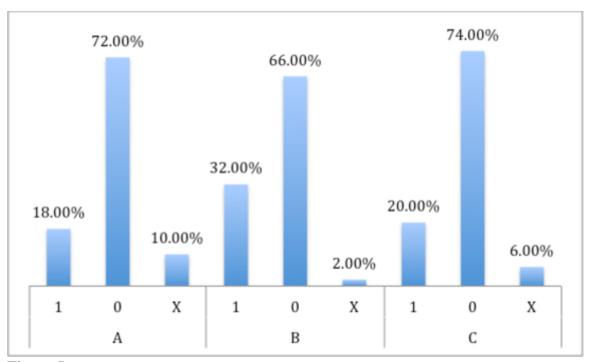


Figure 5Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ1c (Cohort A, B, C)

The 2009 Coca-Cola commercial had a simple story line. There was a young man asleep in a field with his Coca-Cola drink by his side. He was sleeping alone and it's assumed that he was single, because no one showed up with him throughout the ad. The man didn't have a partner nor

did he have kids. Instead he woke up to see that his drink had been stolen and didn't suspect the culprits (Figure 6).



Figure 6
Heist Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2009, January 29). *Heist*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/coca-cola-heist-2009-30-usa

This Super Bowl ad showed a European American man asleep at the park during a picnic with food, a basket, and a Coke, around him. The ad focused on the main actor, the Coke, and the bugs trying to steal it. The product was framed as a coveted item that everyone wanted to steal.

After the bugs successfully stole the drink, the commercial ended with a message that said "Open Happiness" implying that the product would bring customers happiness.

For group B, 16 commercials showed families and 33 showed a single actor (Yes: 32%, No: 66%, Not Applicable: 2%). The findings are displayed in Figure 5. For group C, 10 commercials displayed a family unit and 37 showed an actor that was presumably single (Yes: 20%, No: 74%, Not Applicable: 6%). The findings are displayed in Figure 5.

RQ1d looked to see if commercials included families portrayed from either a homosexual household or single parent household. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials 42 included actors portrayed as either homosexual or from a single family (Yes: 84%, No: 6%, Not Applicable: 10%). The findings are shown in Figure 7.

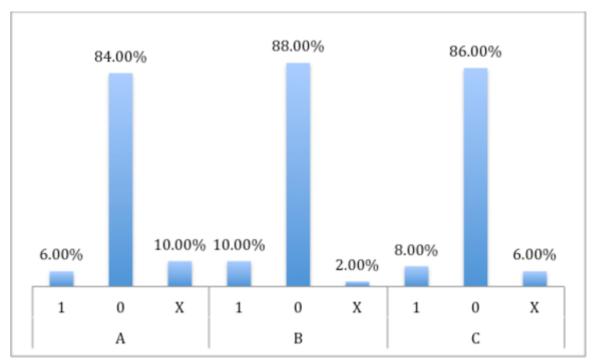


Figure 7 Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ1d (Cohort A, B, C)

For group B, the data showed that five commercials of the 50 showed a family that portrayed either a homosexual household or a single parent household (Yes: 10%, No: 88%, Not Applicable: 2%). The findings are displayed in Figure 7. For group C, of the 50 ads only eight commercials included actors showing either a homosexual household or a single parent household (Yes: 8%, No: 86%, Not Applicable: 6%). The findings are displayed in Figure 7. The company Google aired their ad titled "Google Home" in 2017 that focused on showing what "home" looked like for a variety of people. At the beginning of the ad, there was a video shot of a car driving past a house with a LGBTQ flag on the outside (Figure 8).



Figure 8Google Home Commercial Screenshot (1)
Adland. (2017, February 06). *Google Home*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/google-google-home-2017-100-usa

This commercial used very quick frames, but they all portrayed family gatherings as the viewer followed different people on their way to their homes. There were clips that showed people of different skin tones and different ages. The clip with the LGBTQ flag was at the beginning of the commercial and the bright rainbow pattern stood out on the house that was white and gray. Immediately the viewers got the impression that this ad spoke to underrepresented groups. The ad showed people driving and traveling until finally reaching their homes and showed others welcoming guests. Some people had families and others were by themselves. The ad also showed a father reading to his daughter by himself and no mother present (Figure 9).



Figure 9Google Home Commercial Screenshot (2)
Adland. (2017, February 06). *Google Home*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/google-google-home-2017-100-usa

This image focused more on showcasing a family relationship in the ad. It was distinct in that it showed a father and his daughter reading a book about whales. No woman or mother was depicted in this scene so viewers could interpret a family that was not the traditional two-parent household, but rather a single parent. The focus was the little girl who was shown laughing while looking at her father, whose face was omitted to keep viewers attention on the girl. The actors were both non-European Americans and appeared to be middle class in a nice home while owning a Google Home device.

RQ1e looked to see if commercials included foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color (minority). For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials 20 included a foreign language, foreign music, or actors who were a person of color or minority (Yes: 40%, No: 50%, Not Applicable: 10%). The findings are displayed in Figure 10.

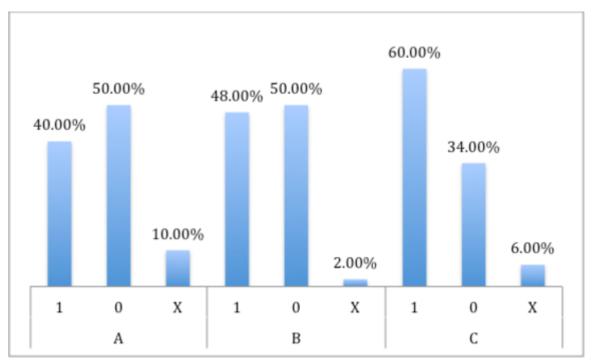


Figure 10
Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ1e (Cohort A, B, C)

In the 2009 commercial by Pepsi called "I'm Good", the ad included people of color in their ad. The ad showed different men getting injured or hurt that said "I'm good" as a way to assure people around them that they were okay and could take the pain. One scene (00:08) had three African American men at a bowling alley and one man got a bowling ball dropped on his head before he said, "I'm good" (Figure 11). There were five groups of men shown in the ad and Figure 11 showed the only non-European American group in the ad. This commercial made sure it included three well-dressed African American men in the ad and had them bowling. The surrounding environment in Figure 11 hinted that they are in a popular or upscale bowling alley because the area was well maintained and a team of bowlers could be seen in the background wearing their uniforms.



Figure 11
I'm Good Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2009, January 29). *I'm Good*. Retrieved from
https://adland.tv/adnews/pepsi-max-im-good-full-version-2009-30-usa

The ad was focusing on a variety of different men engaged in different activities such as building something in a garage, golfing, bowling, having a fun night in a limo, and fixing an electrical problem. These activities were all activities that would appeal to men and the ad ended with the suggestion that Pepsi Max was the drink for men. These scenes showed that no matter what kind of man (based on activities) you were that everyone went through a similar experience (accidents) and everyone enjoyed their Pepsi.

In another scene (00:16), there is a person who is African American but they are not the central focus. In Group B, the data found that 24 commercials had a foreign language, foreign music, or actors who were a person of color or minority (Yes: 48%, No: 50%, Not Applicable: 2%). The findings are displayed in Figure 10. In Group C, the data found that 30 commercials had a

foreign language, foreign music, or actors who were a person of color or minority (Yes: 60%, No: 34%, Not Applicable: 6%). The findings are displayed in Figure 10.

RQ1f looked to see if commercials that included a person of color or minority, had them speaking significant lines. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials 10 included a person of color or minority speaking significant lines in a commercial (Yes: 20%, No: 68%, Not Applicable: 12%). The findings are displayed in Figure 12.

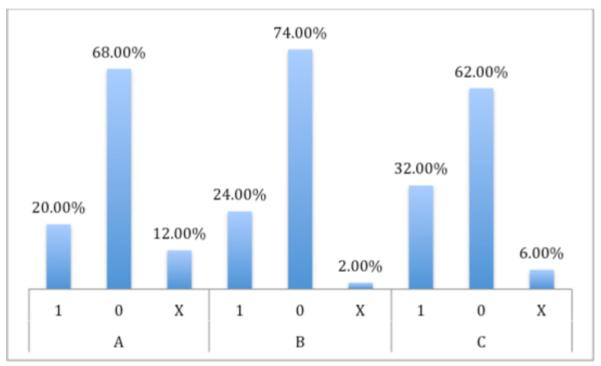


Figure 12 Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ1f (Cohort A, B, C)

The commercial by Bud Light called "Light House" had actors that were people of color talking throughout the commercial (Figure 13). In this image, an African American actor spoke lines in the commercial and was given close up shots. Even though in this clip he shared the screen with a European American woman, she was slightly out of focus and her face was getting cut out of the frame while the African American actor was not. The actor owned the house made of the



Figure 13
Light House Commercial Screenshot (1)
Adland. (2010, February 08). *Light House*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/bud-light-light-house-2010-30

product and everyone in the ad praised him for it and this led to a party at his home. This ad led viewers to think that if you had an abundance of their product you could be popular with friends. Their faces were clearly shown in the video and a second actor of color also had speaking lines in the ad (Figure 14). In this commercial the main actor was of African American decent and he started and ended the commercial. Also in this clip the viewer got to see another actor that was also African American. While there were also European Americans in the commercial, they shared screen time with the African American actors if they had any spoken lines. In comparison



Figure 14
Light House Commercial Screenshot (2)
Adland. (2010, February 08). *Light House*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/bud-light-light-house-2010-30

to the minority actors that were shown alone such as in Figure 14. This focus was possibly catering to more African American consumers to get them to see themselves in the ad and want to purchase the product. For group B, of the 50 ads there were 12 that had a person of color or minority with significant spoken lines (Yes: 24%, No: 74%, Not Applicable: 2%). The findings are displayed in Figure 12. In group C, of the 50 ads there were 16 commercials that included a person of color or minority speaking significant lines in a commercial (Yes: 32%, No: 62%, Not Applicable: 6%). The findings are displayed in Figure 12. The 2017 commercial by T-Mobile called "All That" included a minority as a part of their cast. Celebrities Martha Stewart and Snoop Dogg starred in this commercial (Figure 15) in which they had a conversation regarding why T-Mobile was such a great phone company.



Figure 15
All That Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2017, February 06). *All That*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/t-mobile-all-2017-100-usa

As the conversation continued the camera switched back and forth between the two actors even at times when Snoop Dogg didn't say anything. Although Martha Stewart spoke more, Snoop Dogg had an equal number of lines in the commercial and had individual screen time (Figure 15). Both celebrities are well known to the general public and known to be wealthy. In case the viewers didn't know either celebrity, their wealth was shown through the setting as both sat in a large house decorated with all white furniture, marble countertops, ceramic vases and lamps. This image of affluence was contrasted by the T-Mobile plan which was advertised as an accessible product for Americans. As both celebrities agreed that it's a great plan, the ad sent the message that if the wealthiest of individuals wanted this plan then the audience should too.

RQ2a looked to see if commercials included messages of inclusivity. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials zero included messages of inclusivity in a commercial (Yes: 0%, No: 100%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are displayed in Figure 16.

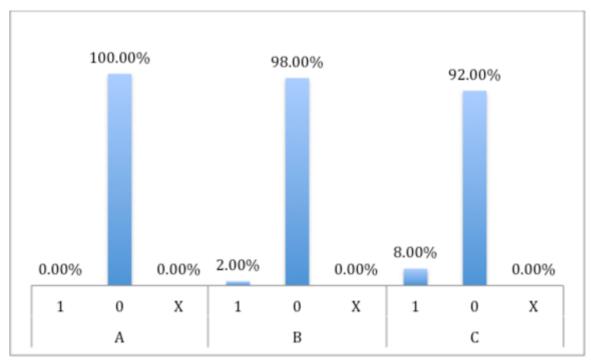


Figure 16Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ2a (Cohort A, B, C)

For group B, there was one commercial of the 50 ads that included a message of inclusivity (Yes: 2%, No: 98%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are displayed in Figure 16. One commercial, the Axe commercial titled "Peace" from their campaign "Call to Arms", included messages of inclusivity by having messages that promoted love instead of war or fighting. The ad began with what appeared to be a military official from the Middle East carrying a locked briefcase. The second scene showed a military helicopter flying over a forest. The third scene showed a military tank driving though a destroyed city. The last scene included what looks like North Korean officials presiding over a military parade. The ad progressed with the actors showing serious and tensed expressions. At one point, we see that the briefcase included buttons inside and resembled a bomb or detonator. The helicopter from earlier was landing in a small village somewhere in Asia. At one point a young European woman in the destroyed city confronted the tank and stood her ground in opposition. The official in North

Korea was prepared to give a command to the parade, and the Middle Eastern official was ready to press a red button in the briefcase. It appeared everyone was getting ready for war, but then a young man exited the tank in the city and the woman recognized him and gave him an embrace. The young soldier in the helicopter jumped out and embraced a young woman from the Asian village that looked happy to see him. The North Korean leader gave his command and the soldiers showed a portrait of him and his wife in the shape of a heart. Finally the Middle Eastern leader pressed the button and it turned out to be fireworks to make his wife happy. The words "Make Love, Not War" (Figure 17) appeared on the screen (1:44) followed by a shot of the Middle Eastern leader spraying on Axe with the logo that read "New Axe Peace. Supporting Peace One Day".



Figure 17Make Love, Not War Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2014, February 01). *Make Love, Not War*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/axe-peace-2014-150-usa

In the selected clip, the military officials surrounded a couple that was holding hands at the center of the screen. Everyone's positioning gave the impression that the couple was powerful. The leaders and officials appeared to be wealthy due to the gold decorations and lavish furniture. Red fireworks were exploding in the sky behind the couple as a representation of their love and sparks flying between them. This was further emphasized through the text, "make love, not war" that was on the screen. For group C, the data found that four commercials included messages of inclusivity (Yes: 8%, No: 92%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings can be found in Figure 16. The Airbnb commercial titled "We accept" used a compilation of photos with the faces of men and women of different ages and nationalities. The faces continued to change and even merged with the faces of others. Words appeared in the middle of the screen (00:01-00:25) that read, "We believe no matter who you are, where you're from, who you love, or who you worship we all belong. The world is more beautiful the more you accept" (Figure 18 & Figure 19).



Figure 18
We Accept Commercial Screenshot (1)
Adland. (2017, February, 06). We Accept. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/airbnb-we-accept-weaccept-2017-30-usa

In Figure 18, half the face of a woman and half the face of a man were cropped together to create one complete face. The woman appeared to be of non-European decent and had purple-dyed hair. The vibrant colored hair stood out from people with natural hair colors and gave viewers the impression that this person is nonconforming. The man in the image was also a non-European man and was wearing a turban. A turban is symbolic of the Sikh people and is worn as a part of their religious traditions (Khalsa, 2016). This detail was included on purpose to show the variety of religions in the United States. The merged faces of different people in the ad showed that despite differences in appearance, like hair color or turbans, everyone had similarities like loving others as emphasized by the text, "who you love" from the ad's message.



Figure 19
We Accept Commercial Screenshot (2)
Adland. (2017, February, 06). We Accept. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/airbnb-we-accept-weaccept-2017-30-usa

Figure 19 continued the theme of the commercial that combined two different faces together to create one face staring at the viewer. In this frame, a European American was on the left side

based on the light skin tone and blue eye. Based on the monolid brown eye, a feature predominately seen in Asia (Holland, 2019), there was an Asian man on the right side. The presence of a European American on the screen while text appeared that read, "We all belong" is significant because it delivered the message that European Americans were telling viewers that everyone was accepted despite differences. At the end of the commercial (00:26) a red background appeared and the only words on the screen read #weaccept.

The 2018 commercial by Coca-Cola titled "The Wonder of Us" used a poem read by different narrators that says: "There's a Coke for he, and she, and her, and me, and them. There's a different coke for all of us, especially one for him. No feet have wondered where you've walked. No eyes saw what you've seen. No one's lived the life you live. No head has held your dreams. To act the same would be mundane. What a boring thing to do. That's why there is just one 'me' and a billion unique 'yous'. We all have different looks and loves, likes and dislikes too, but there is a Coke for 'we' and 'us', and there's a Coke for you". As the poem was read the ad showed images of people of different nationalities (Figure 20), people with disabilities, different genders, sexual orientation (Figure 21), and even mixed racial couples (Figure 22).



Figure 20
The Wonder of Us Commercial Screenshot (1)
Adland. (2018, February 02). *The Wonder of Us*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/coca-cola-wonder-us-2018-60-usa

The woman and child in Figure 20 showed how the commercial aimed to include a variety of people. In this case the woman wore a headscarf and represented religious diversity. The scarf is called a hijab and is symbolic of the Muslim religion in which women cover their head and neck as a sign of modesty (BBC, 2018). This frame showed the woman accompanied by a child and they were smiling while riding bumper cars. This clip might have sent the message that despite someone being from a different religion they still partake in similar activities like the general public.



Figure 21
The Wonder of Us Commercial Screenshot (2)
Adland. (2018, February 02). *The Wonder of Us*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/coca-cola-wonder-us-2018-60-usa

The clip displayed in Figure 21 showed a young woman wearing an iridescent jacket with a collar that had rainbow stripes. The rainbow colors were reminiscent of the LGBTQ flag and community. When describing who Coke's are for, this image appears and the voiceover says "and them". After listing that there's a Coke for he, she, her, and me, the inclusion of the word "them" makes it clear to the audience that Coke was referring to pronouns in the LGBTQ community. The pronoun "them" and "they" are both used in this community when referring to a singular person (LGBT Life Center, 2020). Therefore, by having paired the voiceover's use of "them" and the image of an individual person wearing a jacket with a rainbow collar, the public was led to understand the meaning. The commercial also showed images of same sex couples to further emphasize that it had referenced the LGBTQ community.



Figure 22
The Wonder of Us Commercial Screenshot (3)
Adland. (2018, February 02). *The Wonder of Us*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/coca-cola-wonder-us-2018-60-usa

The Coca-Cola commercial also used the image seen in Figure 22. It showed a European American man lying next to an African American woman and both were holding hands. At the same time the voiceover was heard saying there's, "a billion unique yous". In the past, interracial relationships were seen as a negative relationship and were not preferred in society (Thompson-Spires, 2011). With this clip, the ad framed interracial relationships as normal with a loving couple on the beach and the voiceover that celebrated uniqueness.

RQ2b looked to see if commercials included any key words or images regarding immigration in the ads. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials zero included messages regarding immigration (Yes: 0%, No: 100%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are displayed in Figure 23.

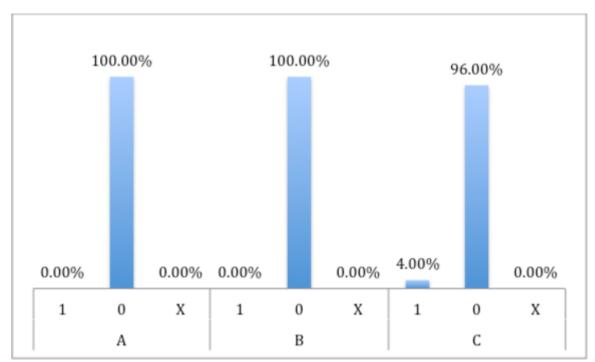


Figure 23Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ2b (Cohort A, B, C)

For group B, the data showed that zero commercials included key words or images regarding immigration (Yes: 0%, No: 100%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are in Figure 23. For Group C, the data showed that there were two commercials that showed key words or images regarding immigration. (Yes: 4%, No: 96%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are displayed in Figure 23. For reference, in the 2017 Budweiser commercial titled "Born The Hard Way", there were words and images that related to the topic of immigration. It began with a young man at a bar being asked by an older gentleman "You don't look like you're from around here" (0:02). The young actor then had a flashback. We saw that the main actor was a traveler and was asked, "Why leave Germany?" (0:10). He responded, "I want to brew a beer", which explained to the audience that he was leaving his native country to pursue a better opportunity to start a business. The next shot (0:15) showed an immigration identification card being stamped and the actor



Figure 24Born the Hard Way Commercial Screenshot (1)
Adland. (2017, February 01). *Born The Hard Way*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/budweiser-born-hard-way-2017-60-united-states

being greeted with the phrase, "Welcome to America" (Figure 24). The clip verifies that the main actor is an immigrant who has arrived to the United States. The clips leading up to this shot used dark imagery while he traveled on a ship and braced a storm that caused him an injury. When he arrived in America the setting was bright as his identification card was stamped, followed by him holding it up and grinning contently. This change in lighting was framed to show that the actor's future in America was now bright and full of opportunities for him to pursue his dream. The main actor was immediately met by a nearby crowd (0:17) and pushed as someone shouts, "You're not wanted here" (Figure 25). In this image there was a large crowd of Americans who were facing the immigrants in an opposing way. No one was seen smiling at them and the crowd was very unwelcoming as one man wearing a hat approached the main actor and got into his face angrily.



Figure 25
Born the Hard Way Commercial Screenshot (2)
Adland. (2017, February 01). *Born The Hard Way*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/budweiser-born-hard-way-2017-60-united-states

The American man in the crowd was visible to viewers (0:19) as he yelled, "Go back home" (Figure 26) and purposely bumped into the main actor. In this image we saw a close up of the main actor as he was pushed but continued walking straight forward. This image continued the same theme as the previous figure that showed that the large crowd stretched behind the main



Figure 26Born the Hard Way Commercial Screenshot (3)
Adland. (2017, February 01). *Born The Hard Way*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/budweiser-born-hard-way-2017-60-united-states

actor and other immigrants were rushing through the crowd as well. This clip was carefully set up to show viewers that the immigrant was non-aggressive and that he was being treated rudely upon arriving. As soon as the immigrant arrived he was judged and told to leave without being given a chance to do well. With the knowledge that the immigrant is German, him being told to get out of America led viewers to make a connection to Donald Trump. Trump has German ancestry (Frost, 2018) and he was very vocal about being anti-immigrant (Zurcher, 2016).

The main actor continued his journey until he arrived at a town and was welcomed again (0:39) by a man that said "Welcome to St. Louis son". The scene ended with the main actor waking up from his flashback into his present where he spoke to the older gentleman at the bar and said "next time this is the beer we'll raise" (0:46) coupled with an image of a beer bottle sketch. The older man shook his hand and introduced himself as Eberhard Anheuser and we find out that the main actor was named Adolphus Busch; both were the co-founders of Anheuser-Busch beer. The commercial ended with the Anheuser-Busch logo and a caption that read, "When nothing stops your dream, this is the beer we'll raise".

Another commercial to reference is the ad by 84 Lumber Company called, "The Journey Begins". At the start of the ad we saw a woman and her daughter waking up. In Spanish, the mother asked her daughter, "Are you ready?" and the little girl said "yes" (0:12). With a concerned expression the mother looked through old photographs and then leaves their home with backpacks. They got to a truck driver who had passengers in the back (0:22) and the mother handed him money and he told them to get on (Figure 27).



Figure 27The Journey Begins Commercial Screenshot (1)
Adland. (2017, February 05). *The Journey Begins*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/84-lumber-journey-begins-2017-130-usa

By looking at Figure 27, it was apparent that the woman was a hopeful immigrant trying to leave her country. In the clip the woman approached a truck driver and pleaded with him to let her and her daughter on. Based on the other people also in the back of the truck, the image indicated that the driver was possibly a coyote, or people smuggler (McDonnell, 2019). This detail let the viewer know right away that this woman was an immigrant. The mother and daughter got off in a rural location and began walking on foot. We saw multiple shots of them traveling through rain and agricultural fields. They appeared to be in Mexico as they went through a small town with green, white, and red decorations, which are the colors of the Mexican flag (0:54). They later joined a group of immigrants (Figure 28) following train tracks.



Figure 28The Journey Begins Commercial Screenshot (2)
Adland. (2017, February 05). *The Journey Begins*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/84-lumber-journey-begins-2017-130-usa

The little girl is seen eating a small snack while slowly walking alongside train tracks. This image told the viewer that they've been traveling for a significant distance, because they are following train tracks in the dessert with no visible towns or cities. Behind the girl there were other migrants carrying their belongings and this shows that this was not an isolated case.

As they continued to travel, they jumped into moving trains (1:01-1:14), crossed a river, walked through a field (Figure 29), and cities. Figure 29 was one of the simpler images shown in the ad. It's a wide shot that included the landscape to show how far the mother and daughter had walked. They were no longer anywhere near a city and were in a secluded area with the sun going down. As the sun disappeared, the sky appeared a gray color and viewers could only see the outlines of the two travelers. The viewer got the sense that this journey is lonely and dangerous due to the rough journey.



Figure 29The Journey Begins Commercial Screenshot (3)
Adland. (2017, February 05). *The Journey Begins*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/84-lumber-journey-begins-2017-130-usa

The commercial ended with the mother looking at her daughter as they sat around a campfire at night. The final shot was a close up of them holding hands as they walked through the dessert the next morning. The words "See the conclusion at Journey84.com" appeared on the screen followed by the logo "84 Lumber". This version aired during the Super Bowl and the extended version was on their website.

RQ2c looked to see if commercials included any key words or images regarding patriotism in the ads. For group A, the data found that of 50 commercials two included messages of patriotism in a commercial (Yes: 4%, No: 96%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are found in Figure 30.

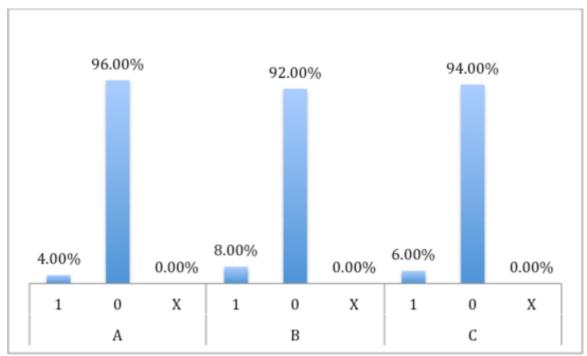


Figure 30
Graphical Representation of Distribution for RQ2c (Cohort A, B, C)

For group B, there were four ads that showed key words or images regarding patriotism in the ads (Yes: 8%, No: 92%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are displayed in Figure 30. One commercial was the Coca-Cola ad titled "America the Beautiful". The ad used only images and a song throughout the video. The ad was considered patriotic because the song it used was "America the Beautiful". The song itself was described as a "national hymn" (Westervelt, 2019, paras. 4-6) and is a patriotic song for Americans. This ad also used different languages to sing the song while showing diverse Americans across the country enjoying a coke. The ad ended with the words "America is Beautiful" (Figure 31).



Figure 31
America the Beautiful Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2014, February 02). *America The Beautiful*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/coca-cola-america-beautiful-2014-60-usa

This image showed the only text in the commercial. It encompassed the entire message that the ad said, which was that despite all different languages spoken those differences made the country beautiful. The final image included two young kids playing in what looked like the Arizona Grand Canyons or desert. The neutral background with shade provided a contrast to the red and white Coca-Cola logo and text.

For group C, there were three ads that included key words or images regarding patriotism in the ads (Yes: 6%, No: 94%, Not Applicable: 0%). The findings are displayed in Figure 30. The commercial by the American Petroleum Institute had the commercial "Power Past" that was patriotic. The commercial started off by putting the statement "This ain't your daddy's oil" and then showed images and text of how oil is used in a wide range of products. One subtle but important image used is a video shot of an astronaut with an American flag on his back, emphasizing that this is American oil used by Americans. Another ad that included key words or images regarding patriotism was Hyundai with their commercial called "A Better Super Bowl". The ad began with an aerial shot of a military base in Poland and the words, "Millions of people

just watched the Super Bowl. Which wouldn't be possible without our troops. That's why Hyundai made their Super Bowl a little better" (0:04). The ad also includes images of the American flag (Figure 32).



Figure 32
A Better Super Bowl Commercial Screenshot
Adland. (2017, February 06). *A Better Super Bowl*. Retrieved from https://adland.tv/adnews/hyundai-usa-2017-130-usa

This commercial depicted sports as patriotic by highlighting American soldiers who enjoyed the Super Bowl, the largest football game in the United States. Although Hyundai, a car company, produced the commercial vehicles were never physically advertised. Instead the ad focused on showing soldiers watching the game that many Americans watched at the same time. In this clip (Figure 32), the American flag was seen on the left corner of the screen. Although it is blurred out, the bright red, white, and blue stand out next to soldiers in camouflage uniforms.

This commercial made American soldiers feel like they were with their families in the stadium watching the game using satellite technology and immersive pods. Although Hyundai is a car company, in the ad American soldiers were the main focus.

DISCUSSION

The current study looks at television commercials to research the culture of a society, specifically commercials that are aired during the largest television program in the United States, the Super Bowl. The research argues that Super Bowl commercial advertisements are becoming more diverse by including more minorities and underrepresented groups since the Trump candidacy, starting in 2017, in comparison to the previous presidency from 2009 to 2017. The research specifically looked to see if there was a change in the characteristics of the actors in commercials by examining gender, families, and minorities. The research also examined ads to see if they reflected Trump's war using "elitist" culture, by looking at inclusivity, immigration, and patriotism.

Summary of Key Findings

There were three sets of findings from three time periods, A: 2009-2010, B: 2013-2014, and C: 2017-2018. In order to analyze and interpret the Super Bowl commercials, the framing theory was used to look at commercials in their entirety and then place them into a theme.

Frames in advertisements help lead the consumer to a certain idea or message (Bennett, 1975). By using context analysis the goal was to look at the framing being used in Super Bowl commercials, quantify the images, and determine if ads were becoming more diverse during the Presidency of Donald Trump. Each commercial was analyzed and placed into a category.

RQ1 (a): Do commercials where actors have no speaking lines show more females?

There was no increase change in non-speaking commercials that included females. From 2009-2010 to 2017-2018 there had been an overall 6% decrease. Commercials that did include females resembled Figure 2. In this image the camera shows the face of a female child actor. In the ad, the female actor does not speak but is simply shown running into a baseball field, however there were not many ads that included females in the same manner. Donald Trump has used gendered language when speaking about politicians by saying comments such as, "she's a woman-we have to be nice" (Prasad, 2019); therefore if commercials were to oppose Trump's negative comments against women, it would be expected for the study to find more commercials with female leads. The study wanted to find out how gender representation played out in commercial advertisements during the Super Bowl. There are some ads where the actors don't have speaking lines and either a voiceover or music plays in the background. The study was looking to find out if gender differed in these "non-speaking" ads and to discover if ads were showing more females. The research found that throughout all three groups the genders of the actors in the ads are predominately male and so did not support the research question.

RQ1 (b): Do commercials where actors have significant lines show more females?

There was a 12% increase for females with significant lines in ads from 2009-2010 to 2017-2018, but the data (Figure 3) showed that men still dominate commercials overall. There was a steady increase in females speaking in commercials and the gap between males and females changed from a difference of 30% in 2009-2010 to a difference of 8% in 2017-2018. Female dominating ads included for example, Diet Coke and their ad titled, "Mango Groove" that casted only one actor, a woman, for their entire ad (Figure 4). In the commercial, she is not just a prop but also speaks to the camera and gets a variety of close up and wide shots

throughout. Even though males still dominate commercials in Super Bowl ads, the amount of ads with females as the lead are increasing steadily.

RQ1 (c): Are there more commercials with families included?

There was no increased change of families in Super Bowl ads. There was a 12% decrease in the portrayal of families during Trump's presidency in 2017-2018 in comparison to the previous years 2013-2014. The ads, including the commercials post-Trump, include families but are predominately showing single actors. For example, in Figure 6, we see an ad that shows a male actor sleeping in the park by himself and he does not have a partner or a child that appears during the ad, which implies that he is single. Donald Trump is a Republican and this political party values marriage and families (Wilcox, 2015, para. 4). The research looked to see if, post-Trump, there would be an increase in the portrayal of families in commercials to align with Republican ideals; or if post-Trump, the commercials would do the opposite and include fewer families. Ads such as Figure 6 do not include families and therefore do not cater to the Trump agenda.

RQ1 (d): Are the families in commercials from an unorthodox family group (homosexual/single parent)?

There was no increased change in representation of unorthodox family groups.

Commercials with unorthodox families stayed under 10% throughout the three cohorts.

Representation dropped 2% during Trump's presidential year in 2017-2018. The data collected (Figure 7), shows that most of the families shown are not unorthodox families, however there were still commercials that showed an increase in representation in these families. In Donald Trump's first year and also his first Super Bowl as president there were ads such as "Google Home" (Figure 8) that focused on diverse families. The ad begins showing a variety of different

people traveling home and shows the similarities between all families. In one shot, the LGBTQ flag is shown hanging in the front porch of a house as someone is driving (Figure 8). There are also images of some families where there is only one parent and their child together in the camera shot (Figure 9). Although this ad doesn't specifically say anything directly about homosexual families or single parent households, it does show images that stray away from what a traditional family would look like. The Republican Party promotes families to be in line with Orthodox values, meaning that they are less willing to accept unmarried parenthood (Livingston, 2018, para. 6). Previous studies had found that Republicans tend to oppose same-sex marriage (Jost et al., 2017). Despite the representation, majority of commercials show a household with the traditional two parents and heterosexual relationship instead of a single parent household or a homosexual relationship.

RQ2 (c): Do the Super Bowl commercials include more language regarding patriotism?

Regarding American patriotism in commercials there was no change. The data set found that less than 10% of ads included patriotic themes throughout 2009-2018. During Donald Trump's presidency, patriotism in ads dropped 2%. Throughout his campaign, Donald Trump repeatedly said "Make America Great Again" and advocated for foreign policy that focused on putting America and its interests first (Beckwith, 2016). With this perspective being pushed by the Trump administration, it was expected that post-Trump, there would be more commercials with the theme of America and American products in ads. The study found that there had actually been a slight decrease. Examples of patriotic commercials were by Hyundai and the American Petroleum Institute. The ads included patriotic messages by using images of the United States flag in their ads (Figure 32). The Hyundai ad, focused on highlighting American soldiers and making them feel like they were part of the game. In both of these two commercials

the company's actual product is never focused on. Instead, the commercials highlight and showcase how their company or product affects people. In the case of Hyundai (Figure 32), the company's overall message through the use of images is that the company takes care of America's soldiers who sacrifice luxuries like watching a Super Bowl game to keep people safe.

Changes In Data

The following research questions collected results that were the most surprising and the least expected in the study. They showed that there were changes in the data over the years examined.

RQ1 (f): Do people of color (minority) have significant lines in commercials?

There was an increase of 12% throughout 2009-2010 to 2017-2018 of people of color with significant lines in ads. The commercials included more people of color as the main actor, showed an actor's full-face, and included more than one minority in their ad (Figure 13 & 14). The Super Bowl ads would also include celebrities who were minorities (Figure 15) and had them speak throughout the ads. Although the percentage of minorities having the most significant lines in a Super Bowl ad is still less than half of the commercials aired, it's important to point out that the percentage still increased during Donald Trump's presidency. This is a contrast to the all-European American male image that Trump often shows to the public such as his national security team made up of European American men (Brannen, 2020). The data shows that between 2009-2014 the percentage increased from 20% to 24% (Figure 12). This coincided with the first two Super Bowls under Barack Obama when he was president in 2009-2017. This could be a reaction to the United States having the first African American president in history

and having a steady increase to the percentage. However, the data reached its highest percentage in 2017-2018 after Donald Trump's term began with 32% of commercials including minorities with significant lines.

RQ2 (a): Are commercials including more messages of inclusivity?

Inclusivity in commercials increased by 4% during the presidency of Donald Trump and by 8% throughout 2009-2018. When looking at all the groups, the data supported that there had been a shift to incorporate more commercials with messages of inclusivity. When comparing inclusivity in ads, there was 0% in group A (2009-2010), 2% in group B (2013-2014), and 8% in group C (2017-2018). In the 2014 Axe commercial, the ad promotes inclusivity by showing different groups of men and women across the world preparing for what appears to be war. However, the men in the ad are in actually preparing romantic gestures and reunions with their loved ones. The ad ends by stating that everyone should "Make love, not war" (Figure 17). This message is subtle but it's saying that everyone in the world experiences love and that everyone around the world should express this love instead of choosing the opposite, war.

After Donald Trump became president, group C (2017-2018), the data showed that the number of commercials with the theme of inclusivity increased. The Airbnb commercial titled "We Accept" showed people of different ages and nationalities on the screen with a message about acceptance (Figure 18 & Figure 19). Brian Chesky, CEO of Airbnb, had previously spoken out against Trump's travel ban on refugees and seven Muslim countries stating that it "is a policy that I profoundly disagree with, and it is a direct obstacle to our mission at Airbnb" (Airbnb, 2017, para. 6-8). With Airbnb's stance on the ban, the public saw the ad as an opposition to Donald Trump's executive order that he signed a few weeks before the game (Visser, 2017, paras. 3-5). Although the ad doesn't clearly state the executive order, it hints at the ban using a

message of embracing differences in love, religion, and nationalities (Graham, 2017). Once the ad aired, the CEO Brian Chesky posted the ad on Twitter with the message stating, "No matter who you are, where you're from, who you love, or who you worship, you deserve to belong", (as cited in Graham, 2017).

The 2018 Coca-Cola ad titled "The Wonder of Us" was another ad from the era of post-Trump that promoted inclusivity. The ad uses a poem that highlights the differences of individuals and how those differences bring people together around the world (Brady, 2018). The opening line of the poem says, "There's a Coke for he, and she, and her, and me, and them". The commercial is using gender nonconforming pronouns and shows a same sex couple during the ad to celebrate diversity and the LGBTQ community (Daw, 2018). When using the nonconforming pronoun "them" the ad shows a woman wearing a jacket with a rainbow collar (Figure 21). The rainbow is also the color of the LGBTQ flag (Black & Prince, 2019). The ad also makes a reference to people of different religions by showing an image of a woman wearing a hijab (Figure 20). Mixed racial couples are included in the commercial as seen in Figure 22, where there appears to be a Caucasian man and an African American woman holding hands while lying on the beach. The Vice President of Content and Creative Excellence for Coca-Cola, Brynn Bardacke, said that the commercial's message is that their brand is meant "for everyone" and represents, "one of the most democratic brands," (Steinberg, 2018). With this statement alongside the images of the commercial, one can interpret that the ad was meant to represent inclusion.

RQ2 (b): Are commercials including more messages of immigration?

Immigration in commercials increased by 4% in total. The data found that in group A and B there were no ads that included immigration themes, as opposed to group C that had 4% of ads

include messages of immigration. By looking at the data in groups A and B (2009-2014), the topic of immigration in Super Bowl commercials was not previously done. Then when Donald Trump became president companies made ads that included messages related to immigration, shown in group C (2017-2018). The beer company Budweiser aired the Super Bowl commercial, "Born the Hard Way". This commercial shows the immigrant roots of its co-founder Adolphus Busch as he emigrated from Germany to the United States in order to follow his dream and create his beer company. The ad begins with Busch being told, "You don't look like you're from around here" (0:02). Busch is shown arriving to America and being met with xenophobia from Americans (0:17) telling him "You're not wanted here" and "Go back home" (Figure 25 & Figure 26). This scene appeared to make the statement that even a co-founder of one of the largest beer companies in the world wasn't welcomed to the United States; he was an immigrant who came to America to follow a dream and now his beers are in the coolers of some of the people watching the game (Framke, 2017). These scenes in the ad hint at what the commercial is about, the cofounder and his migrant roots. The commercial aired during a very controversial time. Donald Trump had recently been inaugurated on January 20, 2017. Then on January 27th he signed an executive order, nicknamed the Muslim Ban. The ban barred immigration from seven predominantly Muslim countries and banned Syrian refugees from entering the United States (BBC News, 2017b). The Budweiser commercial was released on YouTube on January 31, 2017 and then aired during the Super Bowl on February 5th. Although Super Bowl commercials are planned and created months in advance, many people saw this commercial as a direct critique on Trump's ban (Taylor, 2017). It's important to note that throughout the campaign in 2016, the topic of immigration was a big topic, especially from Donald Trump's team (Collinson & Diamond, 2016). Therefore when planning for the commercial during a campaign year where

immigration is an important topic, it's hard to believe executives didn't notice their ad appears to be pro-immigration. Also, if Budweiser wanted to avoid being seen as taking a political stance, then it could have stayed away from the immigration topic all together. Budweiser also could've done a last minute edit to the ad before airing it at the Super Bowl the way other companies have edited their ads when facing possible backlash (Graham, 2020). The commercial "The Journey Begins" by 84 Lumber Company, made sure that its ad was more direct on the topic of immigration by including a Hispanic mother and her daughter immigrating to the United States. Through the use of video clips, viewers can assume that they're traveling from Mexico, with video clips that include decorations in the colors of the Mexican flag (0:54) and also when the mother buys tamales, a traditional Mexican food, to eat for their journey (0:56). This commercial aired during Trump's first Super Bowl year and by being pro-immigration the ad goes against Trump's anti-immigration stance (Boghani, 2019, paras. 1-4). The 84 Lumber Company ad that aired in the Super Bowl invited viewers to their website to watch how the story ends. Although, this second part of the ad did not air during the game and therefore not included in the study, the second half of the ad shows the mother and daughter reaching the U.S. border, but a wall is preventing them from entering the country. They continue walking until they reach two large doors that let them into the country and the ad ends with the words "The will to succeed is always welcome here" (O'Reilly, 2017, para. 6). The original Super Bowl ad by 84 Lumber included the wall, but it was "rejected by Super Bowl broadcaster Fox for being too political" (O'Reilly, 2017, para. 5). Unlike Budweiser that claimed to not be making a political statement, 84 Lumber was vocal about their intentions. Rob Shapiro, the chief client officer of 84 Lumber's ad agency Brunner, stated, "If everyone else is trying to avoid controversy, isn't that the time when brands should take a stand for what they believe in?" (Diamond, 2017, para. 3). The

company responded to accusations of supporting illegal immigration by saying that it doesn't support illegal entry but mentioned how President Trump had previously stated that America should have "a big beautiful door in the wall so that people can come into this country legally" (Hill, 2017, para. 10). The company 84 Lumber says that they agree with Trump on this matter and that's why they included a wall with doors, made from lumber, into the United States (Hill, 2017, para. 10).

RQ1 (e): Do the commercials include foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color (minority)?

There was an increase in commercials that included foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color the data (Figure 10). Surprisingly, during the post-Trump era, 60% of the Super Bowl commercials included foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color. Trump's term saw the highest percentage of these ads and also produced the largest increase of 12% compared to the previous measurement in 2013-2014. When compared to 2009-2010, this meant there had been a 20% increase overall. Commercials such as the 2009 Pepsi ad titled "I'm Good" (Figure 11) shows three African American men bowling and is an example that people of color were being included in ads. The 2014 Coca-Cola ad (Figure 31) used images of people of different nationalities and had the song "America the Beautiful" sung in English, Spanish, Hindi, Mandarin, Hebrew, Keres, French, Arabic, and Tagalog (Younge, 2014, para. 3). The commercials including these characteristics seem to be a response against the "vision of America offered up by the President" (Cillizza, 2018, para. 2). It's also important to point out that despite America having the first African American and first non-European American president under Barack Obama in 2009-2017, the ads including the most minorities in commercials happened during Donald Trump's presidency.

H1: Super Bowl commercial advertisements are becoming more diverse by including more minorities and underrepresented groups since the Trump candidacy in comparison to the Obama presidency.

By analyzing the entire results, the data shows that the hypothesis is not entirely supported but is supported in some areas. Post-Trump, it's been found that commercials still include females less in commercials both in silent and speaking roles, as opposed to men. Families are not a main focus in ads; single actors are the dominant portrayal. Families in commercials are still mostly portrayed as the traditional family, however despite Trump's culture war commercials are still showing unorthodox families. After Donald Trump took office, more ethnicities and people of color are appearing in ads. Minorities are being included in ads, but are still receiving less speaking roles. The topic of patriotism in ads seems to have always been included, but it decreased slightly in 2017-2018 which is opposite of the Trump rhetoric that promotes America. The results also showed that the topics of inclusivity and immigration have also increased post-Trump compared to the presidency before him.

By looking at the data collected, the hypothesis is partially supported. The hypothesis was not supported in terms of commercials including more females, more females with significant lines, including more families overall, more unorthodox families, and by not including more language on patriotism. However, the Super Bowl commercial advertisements are becoming more diverse during the Trump Presidency in terms of including more minorities speaking more significant lines in ads, including more messages of inclusivity, including more messages of immigration, and including more minorities.

CONCLUSION

The overall goal of the current study was to answer if Donald Trump had won the culture war he set out to win during his presidential campaign in 2016. If Trump had won, then the culture he promoted might be reflected in popular mediums such as commercials. To test this theory the present study would only look at television commercials, because unlike newer platforms television has existed longer and maintained its relevancy among advertisers and viewers (Weibel et al., 2019). Super Bowl commercials were analyzed because the Super Bowl became known as a cultural event that is distinctly American with millions of viewers every year (Beahm, 2015, para. 2). This study would build upon previous research on television commercials by analyzing a representative sample of commercials. Super Bowl commercials that aired during both the inauguration year plus the consecutive year of different presidents were randomly selected. The ads were taken from between 2009-2018, because this time period includes the presidential term before and during Donald Trump's presidency to provide a comparative sample. Using content analysis characteristics such as the actors, music, dialogue, and imagery in Super Bowl commercials were examined to understand how they portrayed: gender and spoken lines, single units and family units, unorthodox and traditional families, ethnic diversity and spoken lines, inclusivity, immigration, and patriotism. The study used previous literature to create themes and chose categories based off major issues that were divisive in America when Donald Trump became president. In regards to gender with spoken or without spoken lines, the research found women had less significant roles compared to men and

supported previous research that men have more dominant roles (Furnham & Paltzer, 2010). The data showed that more families were not included after the Trump administration and instead Super Bowl commercials continued to show single actors in their ads. When looking at the types of families being shown in the ads, there was not a major change when it related to including more unorthodox families. Although it did not become a majority, there was still inclusion during the Trump administration, which shows resistance to Trump rhetoric. For the theme of patriotism, it was expected there might be an increase in the number of commercials that included patriotic American symbolism due to Donald Trump's slogan "Make America Great Again". Instead, there wasn't much of a change and slightly decreased in percentage during Donald Trump's presidency.

Major shifts in the data came when examining the commercials and how they relate to ethnic diversity. Regarding the percentage of ethnic diversity and spoken lines, it was expected there'd be a higher percentage of minorities speaking significant lines during the Obama administration since he was the United States first African American president. However it was during Donald Trump's administration in 2017-2018 that the percent reached its highest peak with 32%. When looking at the themes for inclusivity and immigration, both themes had never appeared in between 2009-2010 and commercials with inclusivity characteristics made up only two percent of ads in 2013-2014. After Donald Trump became president, commercials in both categories increased. In 2017-2018, eight percent of ads had inclusivity characteristics and immigration made its first appearance with four percent of commercials using the theme. In the years prior to Trump's presidency, the percentage of foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color in ads was never the majority. After the Trump administration, 60% of the Super Bowl ads included foreign languages, foreign music, or a person of color.

Limitations

The biggest limitation in the research was the sample size that measured a short window of time between 2009 and 2018. Therefore the study is not comprehensive and can't be representative. The topic of the "culture war" was most heavily utilized during the Donald Trump presidency. It would be helpful to the study if it could include another election year such as the upcoming 2020 election and include the Super Bowl commercials that air in 2021 and 2022 to see if there is any significant data that would add to the research. The collection of commercials was also difficult. Adland is the largest archive of Super Bowl commercials, however there were some years that did not have a complete list of the commercials that aired during the Super Bowl.

Future Research

As the culture in a society continues to change with each new generation, so do the commercials and media. With this in mind it's of great value to see how these culture changes are being reflected in relation to the commercials that cater to the consumer. Based on the study, new forms of research can be developed that can cover a variety of fields and topics.

The current research focused on the commercials, but future studies could analyze how the ads affect the company's sales. Are the ads that have a more diverse commercial seeing a change in sales? New studies could also look into each category more deeply or develop new ones. Studies could look at gender in the Super Bowl commercials and organize them based on product type to see if there are any trends. The topic of how family dynamics were portrayed in Super Bowl ads was looked at, but future work could break down this category into many more and even look into age or couples of mixed race. This research could also be replicated in the

future to see how the culture war has been affected by global events such as the COVID-19 pandemic or the 2020 Black Lives Matter Movement.

This research has helped bring a different perspective on how a society's culture can be present in commercials. This study cannot generalize all commercials from different platforms or from different programs, but it was able to conclude some important trends. After an analysis of multiple commercials, this study came to find that during a time where winning a culture war is being given so much attention by a president, there's also a trend happening in commercials where there's an increase in minorities in ads and more themes of inclusivity and immigration in national commercials.

When looking at commercials such as the Budweiser ad, "Born the Hard Way", the framing theory played a significant role. Budweiser is a brand that caters to the blue collar and working class American. Working class Americans make up the typical American voters characterized as European American, predominantly male, and with no college degree. This is the same class that makes up Donald Trump's base and the class that Donald Trump caters to. When analyzing the images in this commercial, the topic of immigration was framed as relatable and a part of American culture. The ad portrays one of the German founders as coming to America to pursue his dreams of creating a brewery. The ad's message is, that the Budweiser brand has immigration roots and is similar to the immigrants in America today. In America, Trump and his base depicted immigrants as criminals and non-European. In this ad, Budweiser changes the image of immigrants as a German entrepreneur who developed one of the most popular beers in America. Commercials such as the Budweiser ad show that there might be push back from ad companies in response to Donald Trump's culture war and other ads may soon follow.

Although no direct correlation can be made between this data, this research can provide helpful information in understanding the context within when the theme changes began to be included in commercials in the Super Bowl, the country's most watched television program. The more we understand the culture of the time, the better we can understand the messages being included in commercials for the public to see. With changes occurring during the first two years of the Trump presidency, it'll be interesting to see what future commercials will show in the next few years. The year 2020 will be an election year and the culture wars may once again come to center stage. Whether the presidential office changes or a second term is won, the commercials may reflect the public and changes in culture.

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APPENDICES 1: ADLAND TV COMMERCIAL FAIR USE WORKSHEETS

Note. The following are Fair Use worksheets for each commercial used and featured in this study. They are listed in the order that the ads are referenced in the study.

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Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')	
beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	☐Similar or exact quality of original work	
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Comment	■ Made accessible on Web or to public	
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and adds new expression, meaning, or message		
to the original work)		
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☐ Important to favored educational objectives	☐ Consumable (workbooks, tests)	
■ Published work	☐ Unpublished	
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Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use	
■ Small amount (using only the amount	☐ Large portion or whole work	
necessary to accomplish the purpose)	☐ Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it	
■ Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')	
beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	☐Similar or exact quality of original work	
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resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)		

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■ No similar product marketed by the copyright	market for the work
holder	☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use
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Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material s	upports fair use or □does not support fair use.
AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL U	JSED IN RELATION TO WHOLE
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
■ Small amount (using only the amount	☐ Large portion or whole work
necessary to accomplish the purpose)	☐ Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it
Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')
heneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	Similar or exact quality of original work

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material	used in relation to the whole ≣supports fair use or
□does not support fair use.	ased in relation to the whole Esupports fair use of
EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL	
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
No significant effect on the market or	☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work
potential market for the original	☐ Significantly impairs market or potential
■ No similar product marketed by the copyright	market for the work
holder	☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use
You own a lawfully acquired copy of the	■ Made accessible on Web or to public
material	☐ Affordable and reasonably available
☐ The copyright holder is unidentifiable	permissions or licensing
Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	
Overall, the effect on the market for the original $lacksquare$	supports fair use or does not support fair use.
CONCLUSION	
	nature of the copyrighted material, amount and
The combined purpose and character of the use, r	
The combined purpose and character of the use, r substantiality of material used in relation to the w likely supports fair use or l	hole and the effect on the market for the original □likely does not support fair use.
	hole and the effect on the market for the original likely does not support fair use. support fair use, you may still be able to locate and

INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

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Title of Copyrighted Work: "A Better Super Bowl"			
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classroom use)	☐ Bad-faith behavior		
Research or Scholarship	☐ Denying credit to original author		
☐ Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or	☐ Non-transformative or exact copy		
Comment	■ Made accessible on Web or to public		
■ Transformative Use (your new work relies on	☐ Profit-generating use		
and adds new expression, meaning, or message			
to the original work)			
☐ Restricted Access (to students or other			
appropriate group)			
■ Nonprofit			
Overall, the nurnose and character of your use \blacksquare s	unnorts fair use or Odoes not support fair use		
Overall, the purpose and character of your use \blacksquare supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.			
NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL			
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use		
■ Factual or nonfiction	☐ Creative or fiction		
☐ Important to favored educational objectives	☐ Consumable (workbooks, tests)		
■ Published work	☐ Unpublished		
Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ≡supports fair use or □does not support fair use.			
AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE			
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use		
■ Small amount (using only the amount	☐ Large portion or whole work		
necessary to accomplish the purpose)	\square Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it		
Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')		
beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	☐Similar or exact quality of original work		
Lower quality from original (ex. Lower			
resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)			

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole \exists supports fair use or \(\subseteq \does not support fair use. \)

EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
■ No significant effect on the market or	☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work
potential market for the original	☐ Significantly impairs market or potential
No similar product marketed by the copyright	market for the work
holder	☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use
You own a lawfully acquired copy of the	■ Made accessible on Web or to public
material	☐ Affordable and reasonably available
☐ The copyright holder is unidentifiable	permissions or licensing
■ Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	

Overall, the effect on the market for the original ≡supports fair use or □does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original

■likely supports fair use or □likely does not support fair use.

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