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The Westernization of Advertisements Published In Kuwaiti Newspapers From 1992 to 2012; A Content Analysis

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**The Westernization of Advertisements Published in Kuwaiti Newspapers
From 1992 to 2012; A Content Analysis**

by

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DEDICATION

For my daughter Seba who endured so much in the first three years of her life for me to achieve this degree. For my husband Qutaibah who made it possible with his commitment, support, and love. For my father who I owe everything to. For my mother who supported me always. For you all: for following me every step of the way and giving me your unconditional love and joining me in my journey.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the degree of Westernization in advertisements published in major Kuwaiti daily newspapers over the past 21 years (1992-2012). Utilizing a quantitative content analysis, the diffusion of Westernization into the content and form of the advertisements was analyzed. Specifically, a sample of 584 advertisements published on the front pages of AlQabas and AlWatan Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012 were examined. The advertisements were analyzed to detect the increase and/or decrease of the presence of 12 Westernization attributes. These attributes are: product/ brand origin (Western or local), Western models and or local models, the English language, Western themes, Western artifacts and or settings, modernity (in contrast to tradition), globalization (in contrast to nationalism and or patriotism), individualism (in contrast to collectiveness), youth and/or beauty (in contrast to filial piety and or respect for the elderly), competition (in contrast to harmony with others), freedom (in contrast to conservativeness), and active contribution (in contrast to passive acceptance). Findings indicate that Western cultural values have diffused into advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies over the past 21 years. In addition, the findings suggest that there is a relationship between the presence of Western attributes and the origin of the advertisements; Western attributes were found more in Western advertisements. Results indicate that English use, and the cultural values of modernity, globalization, individualism, freedom, youth and beauty, and active

contribution, have diffused, increased, and become prevalent in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an introduction to the study. The main purpose, the objectives, and the research questions of the study are clarified. In addition, the significance of the study is highlighted. This study explores the cultural changes experienced by Kuwait, a Middle Eastern country located in the northern part of the Arabian Gulf, as reflected in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies. The study addresses two main research questions: how prevalent Westernization has been in Kuwaiti newspaper advertisements, and has Westernization increased or decreased over the past 21 years (from 1992 to 2012). The chapter ends with a background section on the country of Kuwait. The background section focuses on several important aspects of the Kuwaiti culture and Kuwaiti history. Furthermore, an overview of the Kuwaiti economic transformation is presented.

The development and modernization of the Middle East region, especially in the last 100 years, can be called "an unprecedented transformation" that has changed the form and dynamics of physical, moral, intellectual, political, economic, and cultural life in virtually every aspect of society (Hajjar, 1984, p. 121). The infra and superstructures of the societies of the Middle East changed dramatically in a very short time. Sand passages with carriages changed to motor highways filled with traffic in a mere decade. Further, the region is very volatile, and has been torn, demolished, and reconstructed by political

events and economic activities (Jarjour, 2010). Wars and economic fluctuations have repeatedly reshaped and transformed the region. This is reflected in culture and communication in a profound manner. In particular, the Arab press has made substantial improvement and development since the 1920s, especially after modern technology and communications came into wide use by press houses and publishers. While in other parts of the world technological developments were gradual, they were more sudden in the region. For example, the replacement of machinery with more advanced versions jumped from near-primitive printing techniques to computerized methods with nearly no intersection.

The mass media in any country are an indication of the state of the society – its issues, struggles, needs, successes and ambitions (Alrefai, 2007). Kuwait is no exception, and the nature of its media today is a clear reflection of its culture and development. The media play a fundamental role in modern society; this role is even more important in societies that are cosmopolitan, such as the Kuwaiti society (Jarjour, 2010). Advertising is also an important part of society that affects people's choices and lifestyles, and has become part of daily life (Casey, 2007). The numerous choices of products available today need advertising to create consumer awareness, reach consumers, and yield profits. Modern day consumerism thrives on advertising, making it a necessity in our societies. Thus, this study aims to measure the cultural changes reflected in print advertising in Kuwait, in particular the degree of Westernization experienced from 1992 to 2012. This 21 year period follows the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and documents an era of transformation and development in the country's history.

Broadcast media are more popular in other parts of the world and attract more advertisers, while newspapers remain extremely popular in Kuwait. To understand the circumstances that cause newspaper advertising in Kuwait to be the sector of the advertising industry that renders the most profits, one must analyze the Kuwaiti environment. Carey (1960) explains this relationship between societies and advertising:

An understanding of advertising rests on an understanding of the nature of ideas and in situations in which advertising found a fertile seedbed to grow. Consequently, much of the modern controversy surrounding advertising is meaningless unless the listener is aware of the implicit assumptions carried by the protagonists about the nature of man, of society, of the economic and political order. (p. 3)

The press is very popular in Kuwait among Kuwaitis, Arab expatriates and foreigners. As the country is small and the population is closely knit together, the habit of reading newspapers has been ingrained in the society since the 1960s when most of the Kuwaiti dailies were established (Alrefai, 2007, p. 73).

The written word is popular among Arabs in general, not only Kuwaitis (AlWugayan, 2006). Reading in the Arab world is deeply rooted in society. It can be assumed that this is directly caused by the relationship of the Arab people with the Arabic language. Here, two main factors are noted. Firstly, Arabic is the language of the holy Quran, and with a Muslim majority in the Middle East it is safe to assume that the language will survive through prayers, Islamic manuscripts, and teachings. Secondly, poetry and literature are extremely important in Arabic cultures (AlWugayan, 2006). Writing poetry is highly prestigious and admired culturally; historically related to nobility and honor on one hand, and to romance on the other. Poetry was the talent of sheikhs and princes of noble descents. Moreover, in the romantic cultures of the East, poetry played an important role in documenting wars (as love struck knights wrote sonnets to their

loved ones), the reins of amirs and kings (who had poets in the courts to praise and rejoice them) and voyagers, who documented their travels and explorations through intricate and ornate poems. Ayalon (1995) describes the Arab language and Arab press in this way:

The written word in the Arabic language has power and influence over Arabs, perhaps beyond that of other cultural groups around the world. There is not a single Arab country that enjoys a free press, and yet the Arab world probably has a more thriving print media than any other region in the world. (p. 237)

This statement is 17 years old, however it still stands true today.

Although the Kuwaiti state-owned radio and television were established earlier than newspapers, 1951 and 1957 respectively, newspapers have been privately-owned since their establishment and gained popularity from the start. They showed great openness in discussing political affairs, while radio and television were not completely free in presenting news and analyzing or criticizing political situations. This trend of openness in the print media attracted the Kuwaiti audience, which in turn attracted the advertisers who target the audience. One must take into consideration the time span being discussed. Most of the dailies were established in the 1960s and 1970s, and today they are, at most, 52 years old, which shows that Kuwaiti daily newspapers are still young and have not been around for hundreds of years like other media establishments in other parts of the world (AlDarayi, 2009).

With Kuwaiti dailies delivering newspapers to government Ministries, offices, and businesses at near-free low rates, and with the small population of the country, one may assume that these newspapers are not making their profits or even meeting their expenses through subscriptions. Thus, advertising becomes the main source of revenue for these dailies (Alfouraih, 1999).

Historically, Kuwait had two main Western influences on its nature and culture. Britain and the United States of America had the strongest influence on the economy, politics, development, and culture of the country (Abu-Hakima, 1982). The British influence on Kuwait began in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "The strategic British geopolitical interest in Kuwait began early in the nineteenth century due to its location – being a passage to India (then under British colonial rule)" (Oskay, 2010, p. 31). Britain was responsible for the first transformation in Kuwait with the discovery of oil in Kuwait in the 1930s by the Kuwait Oil Company (K.O.C.), under British supervision and management at the time. In the 1940s, Kuwaiti oil exportation began and the country began to transform (AlWugayan, 2006). In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, Kuwait focused on bolstering its national identity and moved with the Arabism wave that swept over the Middle East region at the time. The country began to flourish and became the most modernized and liberated country in the Gulf region, and one of the main Arab states alongside Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon (AlWugayan, 2006). Yet, Kuwait's smooth political and economic development came to a freeze in 1990 with the Iraqi regime's invasion of the country. After its liberation in 1991, Kuwait had to rise from near complete destruction. The country's infrastructure was severely destroyed and its oil reserves were set on fire by the Iraqi troops (727 oil wells were set on fire) in February of 1991 (Al-Mahmmoud, 1993). The Kuwaiti sky was black, dark with smoke day and night for ten months; while the air was so polluted that black residues were found on the clothes of the residents of Kuwait. The fires were a huge environmental problem not only for Kuwait but also for countries of the region, as Spring winds spread the smoke to several neighboring countries (Al-Mahmmoud, 1993). The last oil well fire was

extinguished on November 6th, 1991 in a heroic job well executed by the Kuwaiti government (international organizations had anticipated that the fires would not completely be put out before two and a half years; yet, the Kuwaiti government used nearly all its forces in addition to bringing in foreign companies that cost Kuwait approximately \$1.5 billion to finish the task in a mere 9 months) (Al-Mahmmoud, 1993).

Beginning in 1991, the Kuwaiti American relations flourished. After the liberation of Kuwait by the Allied Collation Forces, the American presence (i.e.; political and economic), grew greatly in the country. To this day, army bases with thousands of American troops are present in Kuwait, in addition to diplomatic and embassy personnel. Furthermore, huge American investments have been made in Kuwait. Several multinational companies have opened branches in Kuwait, and the number of American franchises in Kuwait (shops, food, etc.) has boomed since 1992 (Moudhi, 1998). Today, Kuwait is the United States' strongest ally in the Middle East region and, it can be safe to state that America was responsible for bringing Kuwait into the new era of modernization and globalization starting in the 1990s. Therefore, in the past 22 years the main external Western influence on Kuwait has changed hands from Britain to America (this may be true politically and economically for several states in the region), and the American culture has penetrated all aspects of Kuwaiti life since the liberation of Kuwait.

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and its liberation in 1991, Kuwait re-built all war-destroyed facilities and areas and began to modernize, Westernize, and globalize in a way it never had before. Urban growth began to resemble Western, particularly American, models. Today, Kuwait is regarded as the most Westernized Gulf state (Havens, 2000). Although other countries such as the United Arab Emirates and

Qatar have begun to flourish recently, this growth is more economic than societal or cultural. New Western businesses, corporations, franchises, and professions in the early 1990s all contributed in integrating Western life into Kuwait. This increase in new companies and enterprises increased the number of advertisements presented in the Kuwaiti media and newspapers noticeably (AlDarayi, 2009).

Although advertisements were published in Kuwaiti dailies before 1990, from 1991 onwards a large quantity of advertisements on a much larger scale began to appear (Alfouraih, 1999). Today newspapers carry the most advertisements in Kuwait, with approximately 70% of the advertising placed in the country's media published in newspapers. (Dubai Press Club Report, 2007, p. 42). With numerous local and international companies present in Kuwait today, the number of products and or services available have skyrocketed in the country. This has resulted in a surplus of advertising and a boom in the Kuwaiti advertising industry (Dubai Press Club Report, 2007). In addition, the form of the advertisements being published changed. Before 1990, advertising in the Kuwaiti press was less intricate, used fewer colors, and contained less elements. After the liberation in 1991, new technologies were brought into the country. More advanced printers were used and computers began to spread gradually. Advertisements became more colorful and creative. In addition, new types of advertisements began to appear that advertised for Western brands and products (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). These advertisements were regarded as "modern" and more Kuwaiti advertising agencies began to gravitate towards the "look" of the Western advertisements. Also more advertisers started demanding advertisements from their creative teams that looked international and more modern (AlMusaed, 2001).

Dailies in Kuwait have the largest share of the market, welcoming advertisements in all their pages, including their front pages. Dailies, during shopping seasons (e.g., summer sales) or political seasons (e.g., parliament elections), may increase their size, "from the regular 35 to 45 pages, reaching 72 to 88 pages per issue, much of it advertisements" (Alrefai, 2007, p. 28). As these daily newspapers are privately owned and there is no law or regulation (old or new) to prohibit such extensive advertising. "It has become the norm to see many advertisements fill the pages of these newspapers and their front pages occasionally occupying up to 47% of the entire newspaper" (Alrefai, 2007, p. 27). These advertisements may be for any kind of goods, including food, packaged goods, durable goods, expensive luxuries, and different services. No law has stopped such practices, and ethically, it has evolved to be acceptable. Both the advertisers – by reaching their audiences – and the newspapers – by making profits – are benefiting from such advertising; thus, Kuwaiti newspapers are crowded with advertisements and have been for many years (Alrefai, 2007). As the number of Western goods is large and Western style media are heavily consumed by the population in Kuwait, advertisement numbers show no sign of dwindling (Havens, 2000).

The ongoing growth of the advertising industry in Kuwait is extremely important to monitor and analyze. This industry, alongside other successful industries in the country, can be used to forecast the future of the Kuwaiti economy, in addition to the societal and cultural changes experienced by the country. The degree of Westernization of advertisements published in Kuwaiti newspapers may be a good indication of new Western trends that have spread in Kuwait.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study presents a quantitative content analysis of advertisements published in Kuwaiti daily newspapers. The two main objectives are; firstly, to examine the prevalence of Westernization in Kuwaiti newspaper advertisements from 1992 to 2012, and secondly, to explore whether Westernization has increased or decreased during this time period. These objectives are meaningful as the time period examined encompasses an era of transformation in Kuwaiti history. Results from this research provide a practical illustration and concrete example of cultural change during a time period when the country of Kuwait was transitioning from a culture that can be described as conservative and simple into a modern, noticeably free culture.

Kuwait is a small country and the economy is continuing to grow and industries such as the advertising industry, that yield enormous profits (AlMusaed, 2001), are important to monitor and study. Further, as newspapers are the leading Kuwaiti medium carrying advertisements (Dubai Press Club Report, 2007, p. 42), a study such as this one is significant to the Kuwaiti media industry, which needs professional and academic research in order to improve and further develop.

There has been little published research in this area and there is a lack of available sources in the Arab world, the Arabian Gulf, and Kuwait focusing on media advertising, particularly in the press. Abernethy and Franke (1996) contend that the Arab world, among other parts of the world, has been "severely neglected" in advertising research (Abernethy and Frank, 1996, p. 15). Taylor (2005), in a seminal article, analyzed

international advertising research between 1994 and 2004 and concluded that 44% of the studies were on Asia (mainly China, Japan, Thailand, and Singapore), 22% on Europe, 22% on developing countries, and 12% on other countries, confirming the neglect of the Arab region in advertising research (Taylor, 2005, p. 14). This lack of sources and recent research makes studies like the one presented here have much more significance. This study is a significant contribution to the available literature on advertising in the Arabian Gulf region, in particular, the country of Kuwait.

Specifically, this study focuses on aspects of Westernization present in advertisements published in Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012. Analyzing advertisements over a period of time is important as it provides a reflection of the changes experienced by the country, and maps out the cultural evolution of the society (Moudhi, 1998). The changes and challenges experienced by Kuwait in the past few decades, including; political, economic, urban, technological, cultural, and societal may all be monitored and traced through the analysis of advertisements.

"In capitalist economies (such as the Kuwaiti one), profit is the vital pulse behind the production, distribution, and consumption of products and services. Advertising legitimizes and even sacralizes consumption as a way of social life. Any analysis of the role of mass media within a capitalist economic commodity system necessitates a look at advertising not only as an industry per se but also as a discourse about cultural objects. Advertisements sell much more than products. They sell moral values and cultural images" (Cortese, 2004, p.12).

It is important to analyze and investigate advertising for several reasons. First, academically, this issue has gained attention in the last two decades and research in this area will be a significant contribution to the currently accumulating body of knowledge on the changing industry of the press in the Middle East (Alrefai, 2007). Second, from a professional stand-point advertising is crucial for the financial survival of newspapers

(Lee and Irby, 2008) and studying trends in advertising will provide essential information for both advertisers and newspapers. Thirdly, from a professional-ethics point of view, critics contend that advertising is jeopardizing the presentation and presence of reporting and editorial material (Williams, 2002); thus, studying advertising will contribute to clarifying trends that have emerged and help explain whether Westernization is increasing or decreasing. Lastly, the studying of advertising creates essential data for players in the industry (advertising agencies, advertisers, and newspapers).

It is also important to look at advertising in the Kuwaiti press in isolation from the larger Middle Eastern market. The region is often regarded as one monolithic block (AlMusaed, 2001). For example, international franchises and multinational companies and advertising agencies frequently view the Middle East as one single market, with 22 countries of the region often lumped together and assumed to have few cultural gaps and social differences (Melewar, Turnbull, and Balabanis, 2000). Less attention is dedicated to creating tailor-made specific advertising for individual countries of the region as more Western media bodies begin to believe that the cultural differences between Western societies and Middle Eastern countries are diminishing (AlMusaed, 2001). This belief has resulted in implementing more global advertising standardization strategies in the region (Melewar, Turnbull, and Balabanis, 2000).

Studying Westernization of advertisements published in the Kuwaiti press is an indicator of the degree of the Westernization of the Kuwaiti society. As Cortese (2004, p. 3) points out, "advertising allows researchers to track our sociological history; the rise and fall of fads, crazes, and social movements; political issues of the time; changing interests, and tastes in clothes, entertainment, vices, and food; and scenes of social life as

they were lived." Advertising informs the masses and has gained power and popularity over the last century, with an increase in global consumerism. It has the ability to influence and command public beliefs, attention, wants, and ambitions. It not only has economic power, but more importantly it has cultural and social powers due to its penetration of daily lives (Moudhi, 1998).

Results of this quantitative content analysis are indicative of the nature and changes experienced by Kuwaiti advertising that have occurred as the Kuwaiti society has evolved. The study highlights the thriving advertising industry in Kuwait and the popularity of the press in its society. The author hopes that the outcome of the current study is that it facilitates additional research on the Kuwaiti society and mass media, how the country has evolved into a more consumer-driven and Westernized nation, and how the advertising industry plays a role in the oil-based economy of the young Gulf country of Kuwait.

1.3 Background: Kuwait; From Pearl Diving to Web Surfing

Kuwait, which has a rich history dating back to 1613, is located in the north eastern region of the Middle East, geographically under Iraq, above Saudi Arabia, and facing Iran on the other side of the Arabian Gulf waters. The official religion of the country is Islam with 85% of the population identified as Muslim (over 71% Sunni). There is a minority of Kuwaiti Christians in the country in addition to a number of other religions and faiths that can be attributed to the large numbers of non-Kuwaitis residing in the country (Tanahi, 2011, p. 17).

The Arabic language and the religion of Islam were present and dominant in the region before the existence of the country (AlWugayan, 2006). The first Kuwaitis were of Iraqi and Saudi Arabian origin – these individuals and families migrated to the desert region known as Kuwait in the early 1600s in search of peace and independence from different political powers present in Iraq and Saudi Arabia (AlDarayi, 2009). Several families came from Iran, Syria, and Lebanon, but those were very few. Kuwait became a popular place of refuge in the region (Oskay, 2010, p. 16). These groups of people were Muslims and Arabs, which resulted in Kuwait becoming a Muslim country, by default. Later in the country's history, Arab Christians and Arab Jews migrated to the country (no official date is present in historical studies for these migrations) (AlDarayi, 2009). This mix of ethnicities and religions created a multicultural and diverse environment early in the country's history.

The presence of Islam in Kuwait is dominant in comparison to other religions. Yet, it is important to note that the shape, size, and spread of Islam in Kuwait did not erase the presence of other religions. The Kuwaiti Constitution states that: "Freedom of belief is absolute. The Freedom of practicing religion in accordance with established customs, provided that it does not conflict with public policy or morals." It is essential to point out that since its establishment Kuwait has had a history of separating religion from the state. This has led to increased stability in the country (Havens, 2000) and no incidents of religious discrimination. Thus one finds different groups of citizens and residents holding other faiths (other than Islam). Christianity is the other major religion present in Kuwait alongside Islam (Tanahi, 2011, p.47). The first church built in Kuwait

was in 1931 on a land granted by the government to the American Hospital in the city of Kuwait where the National Evangelical Church stands today (Tanahi, 2011, p.53).

As historical Kuwait is so close by, only around 51 years ago (since its independence in 1961), the population still holds its traditions close and practices them largely. The pre-oil era (1800s to 1920s) of pearl diving, trading with Gulf states, India, and African islands, fishing and shipbuilding in Kuwait is over, yet influences and traces of that era and its culture may still be found in modern day Kuwait. As change in the country came about suddenly, with oil revenues, there was not a gradual change in society similar to those taking place in countries that industrialized (and later modernized) (El-Islam, Malasi, and Abu-Dagga, 1988). There are many old traditions in Kuwait that are still strongly respected by the society. Islamic ideals, patriotism, brotherhood, generosity, honor, chivalry, courage, chastity, faithfulness, respect to the elderly, hospitality to strangers, interdependence within the family and social group, harmony with others, and protection of reputation are among a variety of traditions, customs, and ethics that Kuwaitis still embrace to some extent or other (AlDarayi, 2009, p. 212).

Tetreault (2001) explains how the country is in a state of two minds that "incorporates significant and uniquely blended elements of tradition and modernity" (p. 208). Foreigners and international researchers seem to find the situation surprising, while others seem to describe it as confusing. Especially in religious and anthropological studies researchers focusing on the Middle East and the Arabian Gulf states explain how the countries of the region are embedded in their traditions and their traditional actions and reactions are enduring, yet modernity has spread (Tetreault, 2001). Nearly overnight

Gulf countries have transformed from traditional sheikhdoms and emirates to metropolitan cities (Kapiszewski, 2007). "In the Arabian Gulf region Westernization following the acquisition of petroleum wealth has taken place so rapidly that conditions more typical of the eighteenth century have become those of the twentieth century over just one or two decades" (El-Islam, Malasi, and Abu-Dagga, 1988, p. 111). "In just twelve years Kuwait literally exploded from a small village to a fast-urbanizing regional metropolis" (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p.157).

Tetreault (2001) discussed how Kuwait has been able to mix the past with the present, and describes Kuwait as the most modern in the Gulf region (p. 205). Kelly (2010) explained that "given its history of international trade, traditional Kuwait's material culture showed aspects of Arabian, Persian, Indian, and British influences". (p. 216). In the latter part of the nineteenth and twentieth century, Kuwait became a major port for several international trading routes. This resulted in increased interaction with foreigners and expanded political activity (Kuwait Information Office, 2012).

Another major contributor to shaping Kuwaiti culture were educational scholarships by the Ministry of Education sending Kuwaiti students to Iraq and Egypt as early as the 1920s (AlWugayan, 2006). These young men and women returned to Kuwait as doctors, engineers, teachers and lawyers and were the new voice of modernity in the country. An educated minority began to appear in the 1930s. These individuals had a strong influence on the country as its population was still very small and these individuals were given excellent job opportunities by the government that guaranteed interaction with many people, giving them a chance to converse and spread modern and liberal ideas (AlWugayan, 2006).

The presence of a large population of Arabs and foreigners in Kuwait was also a major influence and left its mark on Kuwaiti culture. In 1970, the Kuwaiti population was 747,502, of which 62% were foreigners (Moudhi, 1998), while in 1995, the Kuwaiti population was 1,664,348, of which 56% were foreigners (Moudhi, 1998). In 2012, the population of Kuwait was (June 2012 census) 2,646,314, of which 49% were foreigners. Although the percentage of foreigners has decreased since 1970, the number of foreigners living in Kuwait continues to be high. The interaction of Kuwaitis with different Arab, European, African, Asian, and American individuals encouraged the adoption of new trends, the spread of new languages, a wide range of social conventions, and, more importantly, the exposure to new ideas in the country (AlWugayan, 2006). Such communication and interaction have resulted in a slow disintegration of some traditional practices, yet society is still to some extent saturated with its traditional culture regardless of modernization (Kapiszewski, 2007, p. 84). Therefore, a complex relation has surfaced between traditional formal social structures, modern cultural ideologies, and modern state-development.

Although Kuwait is young it has leaped into modernity and, in particular, Westernization. "Oil revenues completely revolutionized Kuwait's economy, as per capita income rose from \$50 in 1946 to \$18,000 in 1983, and was classified in 1985 as the world's highest per capita income in the world" (Salih, 1991, p. 48). The 1970s oil price increase contributed greatly to skyrocketing the country's income. Coupled with the fact that oil revenues belong to the state, and not to the Al-Sabah ruling family, rapid development and modernization took place between the 1940s and 1990s (Havens, 2000).

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and its liberation in 1991, modernization increased even further. Improvements to the country's infrastructure were made, and new urbanization plans were executed. Today, "Western skyscrapers and automobiles, as well as American films and fast-food restaurants, increasingly dominate the ethnoscape" (Kapiszewski, 2007, p. 81). The society has experienced major social, economic, financial and environmental shifts in a very short time, while in particular "social relations in Kuwait are taking on some of the characteristics of a well-developed capitalist society" (Lawson, 1985, p. 16). In the short time that the country has experienced fast economic development it has become difficult to analyze its development in all sectors of life.

The World Bank classified Kuwait as one of the high income countries (above US\$ 11,905) (Khan & Bashar, 2010, p.4) of the world throughout the 1980s. While development in economic, financial, industrial, and commercial sectors can be monitored and studied with many numerical factors, it is more difficult to study social and human change in the short time in which Kuwait has experienced its transformation. Also, the World Bank ranks Kuwait 31st (of 132 countries surveyed) on the human development index (HDI), indicating that Kuwait has been able to achieve high human development standards (Khan & Bashar, 2010). With few studies addressing human development and social change in Kuwait, researchers who are investigating in these areas find they are exploring new issues that have not been addressed before. The Kuwaiti society and its culture are evidence of a thriving metropolitan city, ranking 33rd in the World for global innovation, and in the top 50 freest economies of the world (Khan & Bashar, 2010, p.6). It is difficult to define the Kuwaiti culture today, and more extensive research is needed

to clarify its development, traits, and characteristics. One may only make assumptions and refer to general descriptions available today. The body of research in Kuwait is still quite thin.

Regarding communication research in Kuwait, detailed statistics on media penetration and media consumption are few. Subscription and circulation numbers are not available or produced for each newspaper, and of those newspaper that have statistics, the statistics are not reported annually. In fact, Kuwait television and Kuwait radio have almost no statistics. This is mainly because they are state-owned and free; no subscription is needed and no records of audiences are collected or kept. In addition, local, privately-owned television channels and radio stations are also free. Any resident in Kuwait may view these channels free of charge, only needing a television and a universal receiver (a receiver sold all over Kuwait in electrical appliances stores for as low as 5KD (15 US\$)). However, private television stations have carried out some surveys about audiences for the sake of programming choice, advertising, and competition with each other. This lack of media consumption and demographic data confirms statements mentioned about the significance of the study, and its importance in filling the gap in the body of literature on the Kuwaiti mass media.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter presents an extensive historical review of the political, economic, social, and cultural transformations experienced by Kuwait from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century. First, it presents an overview of the political and economic developments that took place in the country, and its transformation after the discovery of oil in the 1930s. Second, the chapter discusses the cultural and social changes influenced by the economic transformation of the country due to oil revenues. Third, the development of education, literature, and journalism in Kuwait are explored. Fourth, the establishment and development of the Kuwaiti print media are discussed. Next, the chapter addresses the freedom of expression, media state regulations, and the Kuwaiti print media market structure. The history and development of advertising in the press in Kuwait is then discussed. Furthermore, the concept of Westernization and its definition are discussed in connection to the transformation experienced by Kuwait. The chapter then concludes with the conceptual framework used by the study to analyze the degree of Westernization of advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012.

2.1 A Country in Transition; Political and Economic changes in Kuwait

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Kuwait was merely a stop on the route of many tribes, tradesmen, nomads, and Bedouins who travelled around what was then

Arabia (Al-Rushaid, 1926). Kuwait was an area that connected the lower Arabian Peninsula area to the Mesopotamian area that now includes Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon. Archeological and historical evidence proves that Kuwait, as an entity, existed around 1613 (Alebraheem, 1984). In 1672 the Amir of the Bani Khalid tribe Barrak Bin Ghuraif built his kout (a small fortress) in the area of Kuwait. In 1756 the small fisherman and pearl divers community elected Sheikh Sabah Bin Jaber as the first Amir of Kuwait (Al-Rushaid, 1926). Fishing, shipbuilding, pearl diving, and trading (with Oman, Yemen, Iraq, and India) were the main activities of the small population and the small country for nearly two centuries. Kuwait was one of the six Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman) that depended on the sea (i.e., fishing, pearl diving and collecting, and trading) before oil was discovered in its lands. In 1760 the first Soor (a stone wall surrounding the small city) was built. It had several gates and guards keeping watch around the clock (the gates and some remains of the wall are still present in Kuwait today as landmarks of its history). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Kuwait became a major port for several trading routes connecting India with Arabia and with Britain and it began to appear on European maps (Villiers, 2010).

The three major influential figures that shaped the history of Kuwait at an early stage were Sheikh Abdullah Al-Sabah I (reign: 1762-1812), Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah (reign: 1896-1915), and Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah (reign: 1921-1950) (Abu-Hakima, 1982). During Sheikh Abdullah I Al-Sabah's reign Kuwait transformed into an acknowledged entity regionally. He signed treaties with neighboring countries and offered accommodations to tradesmen and investors making Kuwait more influential in the region. During his reign Kuwait was under British protection (Abu-Hakima, 1982).

There were five markets in Kuwait open to trade by 1829 and a thriving port. It became a meeting point for merchants and tradesmen traveling to and from Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Yemen, and India. Rice, wheat, sugar, coffee, tea, spices, dried fruits, dates, cotton, cloth, and leather were all sold and bought in the Kuwaiti markets. It is important to note that cattle and horses were sold and transported through Kuwait in that period to avoid taxation of the Ottoman Empire in power in Iraq, making Kuwait seem like a "free trade zone" for neighboring countries. The small emirate was active in a regional trade movement early in its history which contributed to making it a cosmopolitan town (Staas, 2006). In 1886 the first attempts to establish a State currency were made. The attempts were not fully successful and the Rupee (Indian currency) remained widely used till Kuwait's independence in 1961 (Villiers, 2010). In 1879, the first postal service in Kuwait was established in partnership with the Indian postal service (Abu-Hakima, 1982). While during Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah's reign Kuwait's population grew significantly. Many families from different parts of Arabia resided in Kuwait and became Kuwaiti during Sheikh Mubarak's reign. In 1920 the Soor of Kuwait (a stone wall surrounding the city) was rebuilt and expanded to include a larger area and accommodate the growing population. His reign is described historically as a peaceful time where Kuwait was protected by outside powers (British) from several attacks from Iraqi groups and Saudi Arabian groups under several agreements that Sheikh Mubarak signed with international entities at the time (Al-Rushaid, 1926).

During the 1920s Kuwait's economy suffered from two major events; the worldwide recession and the introduction of Japanese artificially cultured pearls. The trading activities and the pearl diving industry both suffered great losses during the late

1920s and the early 1930s. The pearl diving industry that employed around 15,000 men in 825 ships lost much of its activity in that period. The country's economic activities suffered greatly and the small population went through a major financial crisis (Villiers, 2010).

Moreover, during Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salim Al-Sabah's reign (reign: 1921-1950) two main events, one political and one economic, took place that transformed Kuwait and are landmarks in its history. First, in 1921 the first Shoura Assembly (elected consultative council) was established (Abu-Hakima, 1982). This was the first form of the Kuwaiti National Assembly (the Parliament) and its first steps towards a democratic judicial and legislative system. This Shoura Assembly continued until the National Assembly's first general election was held in 1961 and its sessions inaugurated in 1962 (Abu, Hakima, 1982). Second, oil was discovered in the Kuwaiti land and the largest transformation in Kuwaiti history took place. Oil was discovered in 1938, yet international oil exportations were delayed until 1946 due to World War II (Abu-Hakima, 1982). Since its exportation in the 1940s, oil and its related industries (i.e., oil production, distillation, and exportation) have been the backbone of the Kuwaiti economy (Casey, 2007). Kuwait (area of 18,000 square kilometers) lies in a strategic location on the world map (at the northern top of the Arabian Gulf) and owns one of the world's largest crude oil reserves. Kuwait's geopolitical importance may not be overlooked both regionally and internationally (Casey, 2007).

In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, Kuwait transformed into a modern country. An urban infrastructure was constructed; the country of fishermen, shipbuilders, and pearl divers became a modern thriving state in less than two decades. Not far long ago,

Kuwaitis living in houses made of mud and sea-rocks moved into urban areas with roads, houses, electricity, water connections, and facilities. In 1934, electricity spread in Kuwait. For the first time homes neglected their candles and oil lamps as residential power outlets were being installed by the governments (Alebraheem, 1984). Kuwait came out of the darkness. In 1937 the police force was inaugurated, and in 1949, the Kuwaiti army and air force were established (Alebraheem, 1984). In addition, in 1946, the first bank of Kuwait, the National Bank of Kuwait, was founded (AlMusaed, 2001). In the 1950s and 1960s, more institutions, ministries, and facilities were established (including Kuwait University in 1966) (Safi, 1986). The country's first urban plan began in 1951. Urbanization plans funded by the government continue to this day (Mahgoub, 2011).

The era that followed brought about even more change to Kuwait. In 1961 Kuwait gained its independence, and in 1962, the Kuwaiti Constitution was ratified. It was declared a constitutional monarchy lead by the Amirs of Kuwait who are descendents of Sheikh Sabah I. Al-Ebraheem (1984) describes:

The State of Kuwait can be viewed as an example of a small state, not only in the context of the Gulf region but in the larger international system. Despite its small size, Kuwait has played an active role in Arab and Gulf politics. It is the model which other Gulf states aspire to imitate. (p. 88)

Oil revenues skyrocketed in the 1970s, and the Kuwaiti government implemented an international investment plan announcing that oil is a limited resource and that securing other sources of revenue for the country is essential (Casey, 2007). It immediately took on numerous overseas investment policies (the largest of these investments are holdings in the United States of America). Huge investment revenues from the 1980s were what covered the rebuilding of Kuwait after the Iraqi invasion of

1990. Today the oil industry accounts for approximately 56% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country, 94% of export revenues, and 79% of the government's income (Casey, 2007). Through a strong economy and a thriving political arena in Kuwait, the government has been able to keep development plans going. Kuwait's democratic experiences and freedom of expression has kept its local environment clear of disputes and bloody scenes seen elsewhere in the Middle Eastern region.

2.2 Social and Cultural reflections and Challenges

The Kuwaiti population was originally, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a small group of simple, traditional Arab, conservative Muslim, fishermen, shipbuilders, pearl divers, and Bedouins. The community was closely knit and its activities and interactions limited. Earning enough to survive was the main goal of the community (Villiers, 2010). Few facilities were available to the population and no luxuries (only several products were sold in the markets that tradesmen brought from India and or Yemen); even their diet was limited to seafood, meat, rice, and bread getting some vegetables, fruits, dates, and nuts from neighboring Iraq and or Saudi Arabia. Even the population's drinking water had to be transported from Iraq due to the lack of water and the dry climate of the country. Kuwait's ancestors had to endure many hardships and suffered greatly from the harsh climate, the storms of the Gulf waters, and several major diseases and outbreaks (due to poor health care) (Villiers, 2010).

Less than 80 years ago, Kuwaitis lived in stone and mud houses, had no electricity, and running water. Interaction was limited to close family members, neighbors, and a close circle of friends and acquaintances. Nearly all of the population

lived within the walls of the Soor (wall of Kuwait – first built in 1760) (Al-Rushaid, 1926). The main interaction with the outside world was through sea travels. The largest percentage of men in the country worked in the sea industries. In the summer and spring Kuwaiti dhows would go out for three to four month voyages for pearl diving and fishing in the Arabian Gulf. In the autumn and winter they would go on trade trips to Oman, Bahrain, India, and several African islands. Only few men were left behind to deal with the markets, protect the Soor, and run matters of the State (Al-Rushaid, 1926).

Between the 1930s and the 1960s, Kuwait was transformed into a city at an unprecedented speed. The wealth that has struck the country changed its future and the lives of its population. The Soor was demolished in 1957 (Abu-Hakima, 1982). The breaking down of the walls allowed the population to expand to new areas with newly constructed roads, modern homes, and facilities. Moving out of the Soor not only changed the architecture of the county, it also moved the population to a new era. Oil revenues and economic modernization changed daily lives of the Kuwaitis. Education, health services, and a strong welfare system were implemented by the Kuwaiti government. The economic changes and waves of urbanization and modernization that have come upon the country have changed the dynamics of the society dramatically. Society has been irreversibly changed, unlike any other society in the region and at a very fast pace, and more than any other period in history (Hammond, 2005). In this era hundreds of foreigners and Arabs flocked to the newly wealthy State. The population experienced new interaction and communication with new individuals with new values, traditions, attire, education, languages, and faiths. This interaction with outsiders, combined with Kuwaitis traveling to Europe and the United States for education and

tourism, created an international environment and a new generation of citizens (El-Islam, Malasi, and Abu-Dagga, 1988). New modern attire, high-tech devices, and modern means of transportation spread throughout Kuwait.

The Kuwaiti population was and is still small. The main unit in the Kuwaiti society is the family. The typical family consists of a closely-knit circle of relatives and extended family members (Patai, 2007). Respect for older members, support for one another, and loyalty are all part of being a family member in Kuwait. Old traditions still saturate the society. Although traditions and values of the society have endured, behaviors and practice of these traditions have changed. Expensive gifts (i.e., watches, jewelry, etc.) and gestures using technologies (such as the internet and social networks such as Facebook and Twitter) are used to show appreciation, support, gratitude, or respect.

According to the Urban Indicators published by UN Population Division, Kuwait is one of the top five urbanized countries in the world with 98.2% of the population living in urban areas (United Nations Population Division, 2011). The Kuwaiti society may be described today as a traditional-minded technology-enjoying one. The population has been able to integrate modernity into their traditional moral frames (Treteault, 2001). Kuwait's citizens enjoy some of the finest telecommunications services, modern television and radio stations, satellite links and fiber-optic cables in the entire Middle East. Kuwait also boasts one of the highest levels of internet use anywhere in the Muslim world (Casey, 2007, p. 8). On the other hand, Kuwait remains a traditional Arab and Muslim state governed by centuries of traditions and customs. The adoption of Western capitalist systems, educational systems, healthcare systems, and Western technologies

and products has not replaced the local native culture. Instead, a hybrid culture has emerged. Kuwaitis have been able to localize the international cultures and technologies that have entered their society (Nydell, 2006). Codes of behavior, loyalty, brotherhood, hospitality, piety, honor, generosity, public etiquette, family support, class affiliation, still tribe affiliation, and other Arab traditions, govern personal and public behavior of citizens with each other.

2.3 Education, Literature and Journalism in Kuwait

In the seventeenth century, the Bani Khalids were the rulers of eastern Arabia and their authority stretched from Kuwait to Qatar (AlWugayan, 2006). Although shipbuilding, fishing, and pearl diving were the main aspects of the lives of the people of Kuwait, the Al-Khalids were interested in politics, reform, education, and development. They encouraged local Mullas and Motawas, teachers of religion, language and basic mathematics, to take on large numbers of students and educate as many members of the small population as possible. Al-Khalids subscribed to several popular Iraqi, Egyptian and Syrian newspapers of the time and made them available to the small population in hope of encouraging people to read and learn. Books were also imported from Iraq and Egypt, the developed countries of the region at the time (AlWugayan, 2006). In about 1756, Al-Khalids elected HH Sheikh Sabah Bin Jaber as the first Amir of Kuwait with the consent of the people of Kuwait in a nascent execution of democracy, where the very small population was given the right to choose their leader. The Kuwaitis were so involved in the governing of their country that the historian Alexander Johnston (1803-1871) drew a map of the area under the name of "The Republic of Kuwait" thinking that

it was a republic (AlWugayan, 2006). To this day, Al-Sabah's are the Amirs of Kuwait (a constitutional monarchy – an Emirate). Due to Kuwait's harsh climate, lack of vegetation, and lack of resources, it was not an attractive location for invaders and conquerors; as a result Kuwait was never colonized (Kuwait Research Center, 2006).

At the start of the twentieth century, Kuwait became more recognized in the region as a country of open-minded simple people who had strong traditions, but also welcomed development and change. In 1911, Al-Mubarakiya School was founded. Shortly after several smaller teaching groups appeared. In 1917, the first girls' school in Kuwait was established. In 1921, Al-Ahmadiya School was founded followed by the establishment of the Kuwait Public Library in 1923, under the patronage of the Ministry of Education (Al-Sabah and Yousif, 1997). An educated minority of young citizens began to appear in the Kuwaiti society in the 1920s. In addition, groups of students who were educated either in Baghdad, Iraq or Cairo, Egypt graduated and returned home. Young Kuwaiti intellectuals, writers, and poets appeared and were very ambitious, making many attempts in that period to publish Kuwaiti books and newspapers. However, the lack of printers and the religious restrictions of the region were major obstacles (Al-Sabah and Yousif, 1997). The Kuwaiti press and print industry made its first steps in February of 1928 with the publishing of the "Kuwait" magazine. This magazine was founded by Abdulaziz Al-Rushaid, one of Kuwait's literature and journalism pioneers. The appearance of a somewhat liberal magazine in society created much controversy, and it received mixed reviews. The "Kuwait" magazine continued to be published for many years and became a publication that many important Gulf and Arab writers pursued and

aimed to publish in. In 1931, Abdulaziz Al-Rushaid founded “Kuwait and the Iraqi” magazine and the "Al-Tawheed" newspaper in 1933 (Al-Rushaid, 1926).

The beginnings of print journalism in Kuwait were greatly affected by the international scholarships the Ministry of Education offered to Kuwaiti citizens as early as 1936, where young Kuwaiti men and women were given academic scholarships to pursue further studies in different countries of the world to aid in the development of Kuwait. As a result of the enthusiasm of the Kuwaiti youth, and the cooperation and support of the State, Kuwaiti students in Cairo, Egypt, formed a union and started publishing Al-Bitha (The Scholarship) magazine in 1946. Tens of magazines and weekly newspapers then began to appear in the 1940s and 1950s (AlWugayan, 2006).

In 1947, another attempt was made to start a Kuwaiti printing press. Hamood Al-Mogahwi and Ahmed Al-Besher Al-Romi (two merchants) purchased a used printing press from Iraq and transported it to Kuwait. In the same year, the Kuwait Council of Education in cooperation with Al-Mogahwi and Al-Romi established the first government press in the country, the Al-Ma'aref Press (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). The beginnings of the press in Kuwait were difficult due to the lack of machinery required to print, problems with electricity, the high costs of printing, the lack of trained individuals to operate the press, and difficulties of distribution. In addition, an important factor in that era was the low literacy level of the small population. As a result the majority of the publications produced in that era were monthly, and at a later stage, several became weekly (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012).

In the 1950s literature, journalism and the art scene began to flourish in Kuwait. In 1956, the government implemented an education plan that made education obligatory

for all Kuwaiti citizens from the age of five to 18 years. The State began organizing seasonal and annual activities under the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Information from 1955, and writers' unions, journalists' associations and art unions began to spring up in the country. Furthermore, in 1958 Kuwait hosted the Fourth Conference of Arab Writers and began to have a major role in Arabic art, literature and journalism (Daryae, 2003). Also in 1958, the Ministry of Information began publishing "Al-Arabi" (The Arab), a monthly magazine – the first colored publication in Kuwait that to this day sells over 270 thousand copies monthly all over the Arab world, in addition to several international countries and outlets. It is considered one of the most important publications in the Arab world because of its serious approach and the diverse issues it addresses (Daryae, 2003).

From the 1950's up to 1990 when Kuwait was invaded by the Iraqi regime, it was a home to many Arab nationalities. Many nationalities including Iraqis, Egyptians, Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians, Algerians, Tunisians, Moroccans, Libyans and Jordanians all lived and worked in Kuwait. Kuwait was their home and they settled there permanently, had their children, worked and lived peacefully. The percentage of foreigners in the country has historically been high. This situation came into being in the 1940s, when a vacuum appeared in the workforce with many professions needing employees that the citizens were not qualified to fill. Foreigners were employed to fill the jobs that locals could not (Safi, 1988). The percentage of foreigners in the country continued to grow, reaching its peak in the 1960s when approximately 71% of the population was non-Kuwaiti (AlDarayi, 2009). The largest group of foreigners living in Kuwait from the 1930s to date are Arab expatriates from unstable Middle Eastern

countries torn apart either by war such as Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon, or countries with large populations, harsh living conditions, high taxes, and high numbers of unemployment such as Egypt, Libya, and or Algeria.

The majority of the Kuwaiti workforce in the 1950s till the 1970s was made of foreigners (especially Arab professionals). This was due to several factors. First, the unavailability of trained, educated, and skilled citizens, and second the restrictions of the traditional society on men working in low-wage jobs (being regarded as dishonorable) and the limitations on women working (i.e., conservative families not allowing their daughters, sisters, and wives to work in particular settings or in certain positions) (Kapiszewski, 2007). The presence of all these groups of Arabs in Kuwait contributed to developing all its sectors. These individuals were largely well-educated, most of them were doctors, engineers, professors, accountants and teachers, and they were searching for peace, safety and a good living that they did not find in their native countries. They were the building blocks in developing Kuwait's schools, university, hospitals, companies and ministries. They were also the main workers in the Kuwaiti press and media. These individuals contributed to the establishment of many newspapers, magazines and television programs through their expertise and professionalism. These groups of trained professionals, technicians, and educated journalists were given the freedom to operate the existing presses in Kuwait. However, the Kuwaiti publications began taking on an Arab identity (mainly Palestinian, Egyptian, and Iraqi) due to the origins of those Arabs operating and producing them. Kuwaitis were outnumbered in the workforce by foreigners (Tetreault and Al-Mughni, 1995, p. 68). "Initially these Arab workers were welcomed because of their linguistic, cultural, and religious compatibility

with local populations" (Kapiszewski, 2007, p. 83), yet with time these workers dominated and saturated the workforce and the Kuwaiti citizens became a minority. This alarmed the government and resulted in "Kuwaiti-zation" plans. "Kuwaitization is the training of Kuwaiti nationals in various areas of specialization in order to reduce the dependence of the local labor market on expatriates and meet the employment needs of Kuwait" (Safi, 1986, p. 424). As a result, in 1956 the Kuwaiti government's Council of Publishing and Distribution established the Kuwaiti Government Press. More importantly the Council set up a training program run by Arab professionals to train and teach Kuwaitis and to prepare them to operate, produce, and distribute the publications themselves (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). This small group of trained Kuwaitis, and a group of graduates who had returned from abroad after completing their studies, were the first group of Kuwaitis to fully operate a Kuwaiti press.

With the support of the Kuwaiti government and the cooperation of the Kuwaiti people and the wealthy individuals of the society many newspapers and magazines were established in the 1960s and 1970s (AlMusaed, 2001). As a result the eight main daily newspapers of Kuwait, that still publish today, were established in the 1960's and early 1970's, and they are:

* Table 2.1 - The Eight Main Daily Newspapers of Kuwait (Alrefai, 2007, p.28)

	Name of Newspaper	Date of First Published Issue	Language
1	Al-Rai Al-Aam	04-16-1961	Arabic
2	Kuwait Al-Yaoum	03-01-1962	Arabic
3	Al-Qabas	02-22-1972	Arabic
4	Al-Seyassah	04-08-1968	Arabic
5	Al-Watan	02-05-1974	Arabic
6	Al-Anbaa	10-24-1976	Arabic
7	Kuwait Times	09-23-1961	English
8	Daily News	07-08-1963	English

2.4 The Kuwaiti Media and Freedom of Expression

Kuwait's Ministry of Information is the principle authority in the country for official media (television broadcasting and radio stations) (Al-Sabah and Yousif, 1997). Although there are privately-owned television channels and radio stations in Kuwait, the State-owned media have been popular since their establishment. The State owns the main radio and television channels in the country. Locally, the State has established the National Council of Culture, Arts, and Literature (NCCAL), the Free Art Studio, and the Kuwaiti Society of Formative Artists. All these bodies are focused on developing and bolstering the arts and creativity in its different forms. They hold all year round activities, seminars, workshops, galleries, concerts, and festivals. The government has also established media bodies internationally, such as Kuwait Information Offices and Kuwaiti International Media Centers. These offices and centers' main goals are; to project Kuwait to the world, to showcase Kuwait's accomplishments, and to introduce Kuwait's heritage and culture to the international community (Kuwait Information Office, 2012).

The State owns three major media bodies; radio, television and the Kuwaiti news agency KUNA. Kuwaiti radio began to broadcast in 1951 under the Ministry of Information. It began its activities on short and medium wave lengths and expanded its transmission to 500 kilowatts with its broadcasts reaching most of Europe and North America by the early 1990s. The stations include AM, FM, MW, and SW frequencies operating 24 hours a day from six locations in four languages (Arabic, English, Filipino,

and Urdu). The Kuwaiti state owned television was established in 1957, also under the Ministry of Information. It began with the main broadcast of KTV1 (the main Arabic language channel). Soon after, it expanded to KTV2, the English language channel. Today, the State owns nine television channels, the main Arabic and English channels in addition to seven channels specialized in sports, religion, state ceremonies, and entertainment. The last State-owned media body is Kuwait News Agency (KUNA). KUNA was established in 1979. Its main goals are to "gather, distribute, and provide individuals and institutions with objective news, and to focus on Kuwait's just causes regionally and internationally." (KUNA, 2012). Today, KUNA provides several local and international services, including a wire service, a phone service, a personal service, a 24 hour news bulletin, a photography center, an information and research center, and has offices and bureaus in 34 countries around the world.

Privately owned radio and television stations only began to appear in the early 2000s after they were granted legal licenses by the government. Today, eight private radio stations are broadcast in Kuwait, in addition to 27 private television channels (alongside hundreds of international channels that residents are able to view by satellite and cable television) (Abdulrahim, Al-Kandari, and Hasanen, 2009).

The press has been privately owned since its establishment. The press in Kuwait is one of the oldest in the Arab region. Observations and research on the media and press in the Gulf region nearly all agree that the Kuwaiti press is one of the oldest and most "free" in the region (Kazan, 1993). Kazan describes the Kuwaiti press as:

Unlike the print media of the rest of the Gulf region, that of Kuwait covers a considerable variety of topics expressing a wide spectrum of outspoken, liberal, and diverse viewpoints and orientations. This is not surprising, however, especially considering the fact that the content of Kuwaiti print media is a

reflection of the relatively cosmopolitan nature of Kuwaiti society and of the level of democracy prevailing in Kuwait.... One feature of Kuwaiti print media is the variety of problems tackled and viewpoints expressed in their editorial sections. Here public officials of any persuasion are subject to close scrutiny. (p. 95).

Since the last century Kuwait has been the media capital of the Gulf due to the freedom its media enjoy and extensive support of the government (Moudhi, 1998). The Kuwaiti Constitution guarantees freedom of the press in Article 36, stating: "Freedom of the press, printing, and publishing shall be guaranteed in accordance with the conditions and manner specified by law. Every person shall have the right to express and propagate his opinion verbally, in writing or otherwise, in accordance with the conditions and procedures specified by law". (The Kuwaiti Constitution, 1962, Article 36). The freedom of expression present in Kuwait has ensured that the State remains answerable to the citizens through Governorate elections, National Assembly elections, and media-publicized investigations that highlight government flaws and malfunctions (Moudhi, 1998). Ahmad Abdulaziz Al-Jarallah (2006), former editor-in-chief of Al-Seyassah daily, explains the relationship between the Kuwaiti government and press:

There have been ongoing disputes between the government and newspaper organizations, as the former could not always envisage the existence of a "Fourth Estate". However, press freedom was broader in Kuwait than in other Arab states, and thanks to the independence of the Kuwaiti judiciary, rulings issued in cases filed by the government against the media were fairly just. Indeed, with the passage of time, they have become basic articles and provisions of the law. Media freedom has become a matter of concern even for governments, which have already permitted a certain margin of freedom. (p.587)

Censorship and press freedom have always been an important and highly-debated issue in the Arab countries. Rugh (1987) explains how the control of the press varies in

different countries of the Arab world, and describes Kuwait as being one of the three freest countries;

The Lebanese media system has the freest journalism in the Arab world. However, the presses in Kuwait and Morocco have a degree of diversity and independence which puts them in a special category and they exhibit a clear degree of freedom of expression not found elsewhere in the Arab world. Kuwait has developed a degree of diversity, competition and outspokenness which has put it in a special category distinguishable from the press systems in the Arab world. (p. 29)

Part of the strength of the Kuwaiti newspapers is derived from their owners, who are generally merchant families or individuals of high financial, political and social status, who want to make their voices heard. Having more freedom than the rest of the Arab states, does not make Kuwait completely free in the standards of the modern Western press. Some issues are still prohibited in the press, such as criticism of God, the Prophet and the Amir (ruler of Kuwait). Yet, political issues and critiques of the government that were formally frowned upon by authorities, are accepted today, and members of the National Assembly (Parliament) alongside members of the Cabinet, are daily quoted on different political, economic and religious issues, and the daily newspapers have presented many sensitive issues on the country's financial tribulations and cultural religious issues. At times of National Assembly elections or the changing of the Cabinet some of the Kuwaiti dailies show clear support for certain politicians and complete dislike for others, flaunting their affiliation with a particular political bloc, and acting as a political campaign tool (Alfouraih, 1999, p. 207).

Kuwaiti newspapers have acquired great credibility and are famous for their editorials and columnists who discuss sensitive local, Arab, and international issues, boldly and directly, and criticize the government and corruption (Alfouraih, 1999). In

addition, since the mid-1990's, more and more young writers publish in the Kuwaiti press, including students of colleges and universities, and young members of the Kuwaiti workforce, which has increased the popularity of the newspapers and expanded their appeal to the younger generation, the largest sector of the population. According to the 2006 Worldwide Press Freedom Index (Dubai Press Club, 2007), Kuwait has "the most open media environment in the region", highlighting that news, reports, and coverage published in Kuwaiti dailies is "presented in a fearless manner" (p. 42). Furthermore, Freedom House (2013) rates Kuwait as a "partly free" country with four points. It is essential to note that Kuwait is rated the freest Arab country in the Middle East region alongside only three other countries that are rated as "partly free": Lebanon with 4.5 points, Morocco with 4.5 points, and Tunisia with 5 points. All the other 18 countries of the region are rated as "not free" according to the Freedom House (2013). This is a clear indication of Kuwait's uniqueness as a state and of its development and progress towards becoming a modern developed country.

2.5 The Kuwaiti Newspaper Industry State Regulations

"The Kuwaiti press speaks the mind of its owners and not the government nor the National Assembly, and dailies have toppled several government leaders and members of the National Assembly in Kuwaiti history". (Alrefai, 2007, p. 4) Due to the small population of Kuwait and easy accessibility to the press by the public, any citizen is able to reach a newspaper and present their dilemma or problem – suing, complaining, asking for aid or donations, and in certain cases, even calling upon the population for action and support (Alrefai, 2007, p. 5). The print media (i.e., newspapers and magazines) is multi-

lingual and cosmopolitan, reflecting the society of Kuwait, presenting news, editorial materials, and advertisements in Arabic and English (Kuwait Information Office, 2012)

All the newspapers and magazines were, and still are, privately owned. The government does not interfere in them, but requires only an obligatory license that the owner of the newspaper has to obtain from the Ministry of Information to begin. This license is not difficult to obtain and has simple requirements such as: the owner of the media corporation has to be Kuwaiti, over the age of 21, have a clean legal record and is able to provide an address and contact (telephone, fax, email) for the media corporation to be established. These licenses are similar to a government record, and are kept to indicate what newspapers and magazines are published in the country. The license does not affect the content, quality, distribution or the look of the publications. These simple requirements helped encourage many financially-able individuals who had careers in literature or journalism to establish newspapers and magazines since the 1960s.

Newspaper licenses were always easy to obtain – with minimal requirements. However, since 2006, newspaper licenses have been further facilitated and granted. According to recent statistics, the total number of magazines and newspapers published in Kuwait is approximately 310, specializing in different fields of life such as political, social, medical, sports, educational, academic, art, literary, technical, scientific, agricultural, legal, children, transport, etc. (Alrefai, 2007, p. 91).

2.6 The Kuwaiti Newspaper Industry Market Structure

The Kuwaiti newspaper industry market structure is a monopolistic competition. In this type of market there are a number of large companies with great power. The main eight newspapers are the largest sellers in this market. Although, there are hundreds of newspapers these eight control the market, while the others are not as popular, do not have as many advertisers or readers, and most importantly they do not survive for long. Over the years many newspapers have been established, publish for a short time, do not become popular, and close down. Although the barriers of entry in this type of market are low (low capital investment costs), survival and profitability cannot be guaranteed. This type of market is not highly concentrated.

In a monopolistic competition market, the different sellers i.e., the newspapers, offer similar products that are differentiated by segments, thus, there is a high degree of product differentiation. The different newspapers compete to differentiate their product through innovative advertising, fast “always available” service, and high quality and strong content. In Kuwait in particular, with a small population and only a particular number of major events taking place on a day-to-day basis, newspapers compete to be the first to report news or to be the exclusive publisher of reports, interviews, surveys, and statistics. As for price, in this type of market price decisions are set by both the companies and the market, and competitors usually lower their prices – resulting in a downward demand slope. Traditionally this would be the case, but in the Kuwait

newspaper industry, very few price changes have been observed over decades. All the newspapers sell at approximately the same price – between 100 and 150 Kuwaiti fils (1 Kuwaiti Dinar is made up of 1000 fils, 1 Kuwaiti Dinar is equivalent to 3.57\$ US Dollars). The cost of producing and distributing one newspaper exceeds the price at which it is sold, yet advertising covers the costs. Yet, this price range has been the standard price for over 30 years and it has not been changed or challenged by any of the newspapers publishing in Kuwait, new or old. In addition, annual subscription prices are all also nearly the same ranging between 20Kuwaiti Dinars and 25 Kuwaiti Dinars (70\$-88\$ US Dollars). Newspapers have publicized over the years that they thrive on advertising revenues and neither subscriptions nor daily newspaper sales are vital to their budgets. Advertising revenues cover and make profits for these companies more than any actual sale of their product would produce. Thus, competition between the eight large newspapers is based on what content they can offer to consumers and not their prices. In this market structure demand elasticity is high. It is safe to say that in the Kuwaiti newspaper market the competition is a non-price competition. The situation in the Kuwaiti market seems to be unique and interesting, and requires further analysis and research in the future (especially since little information is available on the Kuwaiti media market).

2.7 Advertising in the Kuwaiti Press

There are no official records of when advertising in the Kuwaiti press began (Marwah, 1961). Historical documentation or professional research and analysis (for

marketing or academic purposes) are also unavailable (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). However, looking into the archives of several of the first Kuwaiti publications such as Al-Kuwait, Al-Etihad, and Al-Arabi in the 1940s and 1950s one finds advertisements present on their pages. Advertising was one of the new modern vehicles of communication that appeared in Kuwait with its development and Westernization. Modern day consumerism, economic transformations, and technological advancements all contributed to the appearance of advertisements in the Kuwaiti press (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). These early advertisements primarily provided information to the public i.e. consumers of all the new products (97% Western imported products) (Marwah, 1961), and raised public awareness of the new markets that were newly present in society. Initially there were two types of advertisements; locally produced advertisements and imported advertisements (Al-Sabah and Yousif, 1997). Local advertisements were basic, presenting black and white text and simple pictures of the products with no intricate artwork or design. Below are two examples of locally produced advertisements of that period (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2). Both advertisements present text and no pictures, present the product's name in large print, and provide the public with information on the location of the vendors or sellers of the product. Figure 2.1 shows an advertisement for a locally produced soft drink "Kity Kola" from 1955. Figure 2.2 is an advertisement is for a flooring company that manufactures tiles locally – Al-Salih Tiles and Flooring Factory, from 1950.



Figure 2.1: Kity Kola (year of publishing 1955) (Source: AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 64)



Figure 2.2: Al-Salih Tiles and Flooring Factory (year of publishing 1950) (Source: AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 76)

On the other hand, imported advertisements were more sophisticated. They were translated versions of Western advertisements for Western manufactured products. These advertisements included pictures, more text (in Arabic), and some black and white photographs. Below are two advertisements from that period. Figure 2.3 is an advertisement for "Tide", the washing detergent, from 1958. In the advertisement a picture is presented with information about the product. Figure 2.4 is an advertisement for Mitsubishi electronics from 1959; it presents four pictures of different products offered in addition to information about the store location.



Figure 2.3: Tide (year of publishing 1958)
(Source: Najdi and McCrea, 2012,p. 75)



Figure 2.4: Mitsubishi electronics
(year of publishing 1959) (Source: <http://ads2blog.com>, 2013)

Since their emergence, Kuwaiti newspapers welcomed advertisers, announced advertising fees and carried advertisements. Advertising is a staple in Kuwaiti newspapers that can't be removed. Advertisers were welcomed and the government, realizing the reach of advertisements, utilized newspapers as a means of reaching a wide base of the public and advertised themselves. The government placed advertisements for job vacancies, service changes, and announcements about new locations, buildings, and procedures. This was presumably due to the private ownership of these newspapers (Alfouraih, 1999). Similar to locally produced advertisements, government advertisements were also simplistic in nature (i.e., no pictures, plain text). In that era the majority of the advertisements published were for imported products, a small percentage for government advertisements, and the least were for services such as education, healthcare, transport, banking, and or tourism (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012).

In the 1960s and 1970s more advertisements appeared in the Kuwaiti press; newspapers and magazines, and new trends began to surface. More photographs and pictures were being used in locally produced advertisements. Below figure 2.5 is an example of an advertisement for Kuwait Airways from 1969.



Figure 2.5: Kuwait Airways (year of publishing 1969) (source: <http://www.ma6goog.com>, 2013)

In addition, imported advertisements for Western products presented a series of advertisements especially made for the Gulf region. These advertisements were not very wide spread and were only used between 1957 and 1961. These advertisements presented Arabic text and showed individuals dressed in local attire in attempt to attract new local consumers (Al-Sabah and Al-Yousif, 1997). Below are two examples of such advertisements. Figure 2.6 is an advertisement for Pepsi-Cola from 1957. The advertisement shows three men in Arabic local attire drinking Pepsi-Cola. Figure 2.7 is an advertisement for Westend Watches (a Swiss brand) from 1960. The advertisement also shows a man in local Arab attire.



Figure 2.6: Pepsi-Cola (year of publishing 1957)



Figure 2.7: Westend Watches (year of publishing 1960)

(Source of Figure 2.6/ Figure 2.7: <http://dawoodtreasury.com/en/kuwait/1268/>, 2013)

Another phase that followed was advertisements that showed Western products in a Western type advertisement. These advertisements presented Arabic and English text but only drawings of Western individuals or pictures of Western models. Here the English language became more popular and its use more common. Below are two examples; figure 2.8 is an advertisement for the Riley vehicle (only English text is used)

from 1964, and figure 2.9 is an advertisement for Westend watches from 1969 (only Arabic text is used).



Figure 2.8



Figure 2.9

Figure 2.8: Riley (year of publishing 1964) (Source: <http://www.248am.commarkautomotiveold-car-ad-from-klt-theatre-programme.html>, 2013)

Figure 2.9: Westend watches (year of publishing 1969) (Source: <http://dawoodtreasury.com/en/kuwait/1268/>, 2013)

In 1958 color was introduced to Kuwaiti print. Al-Arabi the first Kuwaiti publication to print in color was launched (see Figure 2.10: Al-Arabi magazine cover).



Figure 2.10 :Al-Arabi magazine front cover 1958

(Source: Saidan, 1981, p.514)

The introduction of color opened up new horizons for advertising. Color began only in several main hues and then developed. In the 1960s many advertisements were imported and published in the Kuwaiti press for Western products (Al-Sabah and Yousif, 1997). Some of these advertisements included Arabic text added by local press publishers, while others remained in English. It is important to point out, that although Arabic text was added occasionally to the advertisements that pictures, photographs, backgrounds, and designs remained imported. Below are two advertisements for Western products that were published in 1959. Both advertisements had Arabic text incorporated into them, while the original Western pictures remained unchanged (see Figure 2.11).



Figure 2.11: Automobile advertisement (year of publishing 1959) (Source: AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 70)



اشترك مع المجموعة السعيدة في الانتعاش

بمشروب
كوكا كولا

شركة المرطبات التجارية

Figure 2.12: Coca-Cola advertisement (year of publishing 1959) (Source: AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 77)

Western advertising has been welcomed in the Kuwaiti press since the 1950s. No restrictions were applied to the content of the advertisements. The press is owned by private companies or individuals who depend on advertising revenue. Since circulation is limited by the small population and costs of production of newspapers and magazines are high advertising was excessive since the beginning of the press in Kuwait (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). Local businesses invested little in advertising because of lack of availability of trained skilled professionals and of creative teams in the country. No advertising agencies in Kuwait till the late 1960s so local press business such as the Government Press, Al-Mogahwi Press, and Al-Asriya Press acted as advertising agents (i.e., producing designs for advertisements that were not very artistic and simple in nature). The majority of advertising produced and published in the 1950s and 1960s "did not adhere to local culture and traditions". This set the ground for later locally designed and published advertisements in the late 1960s. To this day a Western sense is present; image placement and language use gravitates towards Western norms. The local culture was overwhelmed with foreign culture; the momentum of societal change transformed the

local simple desert/ sea lifestyle to an international urban lifestyle. A new Kuwaiti population evolved that was diverse and cosmopolitan. (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 67)

Newspapers in Kuwait compete for advertisers, readers, and circulation. This competition urges newspapers to give more space to advertisers even at times increasing the number of pages published to allow more advertisements (Al-Sabah and Yousif, 1997). The appearance of Kuwait's current newspapers is a reflection of the choices newspaper editors and design and layout newspaper staff make according to the available technology and equipment at the press houses and the newspapers' printers today. Similar to fashion and art, the design and layout of newspapers and magazines reflect the "fashion of the time," be it in Kuwait or any other part of the world. When only black ink was used in newspapers before the incorporation of color in Kuwait, plain black-and-white newspapers were the norm. "Advertising developed with the technological and product improvements as well as the enhancements of people's educational level and training" (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 64). Today with high-technology designing programs, the latest machines and equipment available and with color printers, newspaper pages containing color are the norm.

It is essential to point out that the main challenge both advertisers and newspapers face is language. As Kuwait is multi-national, historically a large portion of the population has been non-Kuwaiti residents, the media in general, and in this case the press, were and are still faced with excessive publishing of advertisements in both Arabic and English in order to reach different audiences and make profits (Abdullah, 1985).

Thus, newspapers provide advertisers with even more space for one advertisement – that

would fit both an Arabic and English version, or alternatively two spaces for the same advertisement but in two different languages. Although not all advertisements are bilingual, most advertisers either have a large Arabic-English advertisement or two separate advertisements (normally not on the same page) to ensure audience reach. Arthur (1993) describes the situation as "a miracle":

Perhaps nowhere else in the world is advertising created and designed to communicate with such a vastly multi-cultural audience all at one time, limited on the other hand by a bilingual environment. This is a challenge that the industry has confronted with maturity (p.)

Neither owners nor editors in Kuwaiti dailies are alarmed by excessive advertising and this presence of advertisements is not alien to them (Abdullah, 1985). Advertising is accepted as the norm. Zinkhan and Balazs (1998) point out how "stable and enduring belief systems characterize a culture and affect attitudes and behaviors," (Zinkhan and Balazs, 1998, p. 536) and in the case of Kuwait, the makers of the press and the recipients are both accustomed to the presence of advertising in all pages of the newspapers including their front pages. Generally, publishing newspapers base their "look" on the norms of the business in a particular society (Bridges and Bridges, 1997, p. 828) and in the case of Kuwait newspaper advertisements are accepted as the norm, in addition of course to them being a source of revenue that has always been welcomed by the decision makers and owners of the dailies.

Advertising became a main component of the Kuwaiti press since the 1950s (Marwah, 1961). "Mass advertising, an attribute of a market economy and of an industrial society, was limited in the Middle East until the mid-twentieth century, because economies were undeveloped and markets small" (Ayalon, 1995, p. 203). The main

media and advertising activities in the region were based in Egypt and Lebanon for some time in the Middle East, but economic developments in the 1970s, mainly the increase in world petroleum prices, increased revenues of oil-exporting states in the Gulf, in particular Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait. Such profits helped promote developments in media sectors which in turn encouraged the growth of advertising markets in those countries (Rugh, 1987, p. xix).

Wealth in the 1970s in Gulf countries brought consumerism to their local cultures and societies. "New wealth made many Kuwaitis comfortable and freed them from hard work and from life of a rigid harsh desert. The people's emotional drive exceeded their needs and raised their wants, such that the products were promoted in advertising design using a language that directed the people's behavior. For instance, the latest automobiles offering a comfortable, luxurious look began to appear in print design as an outcome of peoples' desire willingly or unwillingly, to acquire a modern lifestyle, regardless of cultural values and beliefs...The products transmitted emotional needs through advertising design, which nurtured the practice of product control and orientation of consumer behaviors." (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p. 72). With the near to sudden increase of product availability and the growth of commercial markets in the country, advertising in all forms increased. As business analyst Peter York described, "Advertising became an indispensable part of the matrix of metropolitan life, central to the intoxicating confluence of promotion, art, financial markets and government" (Nixon, 2003, p. 3). Certain factors such as geographic conditions played an important role in increasing the popularity of particular products in the early 1950s and 1960s. A good example of this would be electronics, such air conditioners, that were in high demand in that period, and

colored televisions and radios. Another important factor would be commuting. Once the new infrastructure plan was executed (beginning in 1951) roads began to connect all the different parts of the country and cars were in very high demand for both the population and foreigners living in Kuwait. With the new-found wealth of the country the citizens were able to afford a variety of modern-day appliances, modern attire, and luxuries. Social behavior of the Kuwaiti people has been liberalized by adopting values of non-Kuwaiti consumer culture as influenced by print advertising. Advertising presented the behaviors and lifestyles of modernity consumer culture and indicated the values and rationales that reshaped and developed the country as a modern community" (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p.73). As a result the advertisements not only promoted products and or services but also the imported social and cultural values of Western consumer culture. Capitalism and the Western consumer culture have come upon the Middle East like a wave. Hammond (2005) describes the situation in the Middle East:

In the past fifty years the Arab world has seen increasing inroads of the Western model of mass consumer culture, and many aspects of life in the Arab world have been transformed into a commodity in today's markets.... Whole sections of Arab cities are monuments to a new consumer age. (p. 255).

Further into the twentieth century, commodification and commercialization in the region continued and expanded. "The Middle Eastern advertising industry was, until the late 1980s dominated by networks of small independently owned agencies. By contrast, the 1990s have been marked by a sharp rise in investment from the large multinational agencies keen to take advantage of the growing opportunities in the region". (Melewar, Turnbull, and Balabanis, 2000, p. 529). Hence the advertising markets in the Arab countries grew enormously. "In many Arab countries advertisements bombard the consumer at every turn... Despite the economic and political problems plaguing the

region at present, advertising markets are set to grow in the coming years" (Hammond, 2005, p.267). Multinational companies and international franchises have moved to the region and established branches and stores for themselves which forecasts more growth in the advertising industries in the region to meet the exposures and market needs of these bodies.

The Arab countries and the Arabian Gulf as a region are experiencing an unprecedented growth in the advertising industries that seems to be continuously growing and expanding. These new markets have become profitable endeavors for local and international advertisers, as simply, if these advertising markets were not successful and creating huge profits they would shrink. Advertising revenues in Gulf countries continue to grow and are estimated to keep booming (Dubai Press Club Report, 2007, p. 8) The Dubai Press Club Report (2007) concludes that:

Physical print media such as newspapers and books, CDs, DVDs, etc. will continue to dominate their online equivalents in the region during the Arab Media Outlook's projection period. Revenues from print will continue to grow over the period, thus demonstrating that experience from North America or Western Europe, where there is little or no print revenue growth, does not necessarily apply to this region. Print media therefore represents a continuing commercial opportunity for regional media owners and investors although the pattern is not completely uniform across the region, or even within national markets. (p. 14).

Today, as a flourishing modern state, Kuwait has one of the region's most effective and regionally-distributed journalism industries. The print press is still the dominant form of media in the society. "Kuwait National Print Media Survey 2007" by Pan Arab Research Center provided detailed statistics of readership of Arabic dailies in Kuwait indicating that 87 % of the population read Arabic daily newspapers seven days

per week, and 8 % of the population read Arabic daily newspapers five to six days per week (Pan Arab Research Center Survey, 2007). As the Dubai Press Club presented in their "Arab Media Outlook 2007-2011 Report," the highest advertising revenues in Kuwait are those of the newspapers since 2005 (156 million dollars in 2005, reaching 314 million dollars in 2011) with a huge gap between them and the advertising revenues of television (10 million dollars in 2005, reaching 16 million dollars in 2011), radio (3 million dollars in 2005, reaching 4 million dollars in 2011), and magazines (23 million dollars in 2005, reaching 35 million dollars in 2011). (Dubai Press Club Report, 2007, p. 8). These statistics show the great difference in advertising in Kuwaiti newspapers and advertising in other forms of media in the country.

Although the population size of Kuwait is small (which provides a small number of consumers) the different product markets in Kuwait have very high consumption figures and high purchasing power (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012). Newspapers are the leading media vehicle and are the ones that attract the largest number of advertisers, making up 72 % of the annual total advertising revenue in 2005, 73 % in 2006, 74 % in 2007, 74 % in 2008, 75 % in 2009, 75 % in 2010, and 75 % in 2011 (Dubai Press Club Report, 2007, p. 8). The Dubai Press Club (2007) publicized figures about the advertising industries in different Gulf and Arabian countries highlighting Kuwait's on-growing advertising industry. In 2005 the total advertising revenues of the industry in Kuwait reached 216\$ millions, in 2006 they increased to 273\$ millions, again in 2007 to 297\$ millions, 323\$ millions in 2008, 352\$ millions in 2009, 384\$ millions in 2010, and 418\$ in 2011. The report highlights how in six years revenues of the Kuwait advertising industry increased by 212\$ millions and are projected to double by 2013. As illustrated

the numbers are continuing to grow. This indicates the importance and significance of the press in Kuwait and how the printed media have large audiences in the country as a percentage of the small population and are one of the most important movers and makers of public opinion. Newspapers' reporting is greatly anticipated and their advertising is the largest in the media industry in Kuwait.

2.8 The West and Defining Westernization

Around the fifteenth century the terms West and East were created and brought into use (Lockman, 2010, p. 55). In the past two centuries the relationship between the West and the East took a somewhat terminal, static, condescending form. The West with explorers, voyagers, and orientalists presented the East as an exotic place with mystical lands where humans, their mentality, and their interaction with each other is different. At a later stage, Western powers found the East to be an important and rich geopolitical area (Lockman, 2010, p. 55). From that point onwards the East became a Western pursuit. The East, after its golden era of creating knowledge in fields such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine, and astrology, became a follower of the West and an imitator and adopter of its ideologies and cultures. Western nations became the dominant powers controlling and manipulating the region.

Since World War I and European colonization the Middle East region has been unstable. It is essential to note that under the Ottoman Empire the Middle Eastern region was not colonized by European powers. (In particular, Kuwait was on the border of the Ottoman Empire and was never part of it, only signing British political and protection

agreements later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Oskay, 2010).) After World War I, European powers changed the face of the Middle East region. “Government monarchies were created, the party system appeared, government services of education, public health, and agricultural reform were started and expanded” (Hajjar, 1984, p. 124). From Britain and France to the United States of America, a Western power has kept an eye and hand on the region for centuries, be it colonizer or enemy, and later defender or ally (Said, 1993). During the 19th century British presence in the region was strong. Britain had political and economic interests in the Gulf countries in particular. These countries had a strategic location ensuring the protection of British trade routes to and from India and China. Later oil discoveries increased interests in Gulf countries even more (Hajjar, 1984). Such interests remain to this day.

After World War II the region entered a series of wars and conflicts, starting with revolutions and wars against invaders, the Balfour Declaration, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the wars between the Arabs and Israel in 1956 and 1973, the Lebanese civil war between 1975 and 1990, the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations of 1979, the Iraqi-Iranian war from 1980 to 1988, followed by the Gulf War between Iraq and the Coalition Allied Forces in 1990-1991 to free Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion, the toppling of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in 2003, and finally the recent 2011 revolutions in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Tunisia, and Algeria. The Middle East has long lived and is still living in an unsettled environment full of conflict and suffering (Al-Kouri, 2007, p. 197).

In the past century the Middle East has undergone immense changes politically, economically and culturally encouraged by Western policies. The region as a whole has developed within decades in all of the aspects of modern life; industrially, politically, and

socially (Al-Qurni, 1997, p. 3). This remains a fascinating region where stability, wealth, and luxury are across the border from bloodshed, violence, and poverty. "The countries of the outside world – that is to say, of Europe, the Americas, and increasingly recently of East Asia, were basically concerned with three things in the Middle East: a rich and growing market for their goods and services, a major source of their energy needs, and, as a necessary means to safeguard the first two, the maintenance of at least some semblance of international law and order," (Lewis, 1996, p.60)

Traditionally, the West included countries of Europe, yet today the United States of America is considered the greatest Western power (Said, 1978, p. 17). Countries defined as Western, typically are descendants of European culture. "With the rise of the United States in the twentieth century, the term Western came into use signifying European in an expanded use" (Abushouk, 2006, p. 491). Inherent in the meaning of the term is the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon. Westernization is a term that has been coined in the last century hand in hand with the rise of Western nations and the growth of their power. With these nations being the dominant ones, their policies and international regulations governing other countries, and their cultures being diffused globally, their effects on other parts of the world cannot be ignored (Khan and Bashar, 2010).

Westernization, as a term indicates being influenced by the West i.e., being more of the West. "Westernization is a movement towards homogenizing societies along the lines of a Western model (that does not necessarily fit with local cultures)... There is a lack of independent local scientific and technological research in these countries and they are reliant on the West for technological infrastructure (machinery, equipment, medicine, etc.) and high quality consumer and luxury goods." (Khan and Bashar, 2010, p. 3).

Westernization has been defined and redefined by many researchers. Inherent in the term is the West. Abushouk (2006) defined Westernization as "a dynamic factor that motivates the transcontinental spread of the social structure of modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism, and bureaucracy) and destroys the pre-existent cultures of non-Western nations" (p. 488). He notes that the term can also be defined as economic liberalization, internationalization, globalization, universalization, world homogenization, and deterritorialization. Influences of the West may range from simple imitation to deep embodiment of Western ideologies. "Westernization can be seen in everything from the introduction of the latest telecommunications technology to the spread of international fast-food franchises and shopping centers." (Mahgoub, 2011, p. 153).

The strength of the global political, economic, and cultural American presence has resulted in a large number of scholars calling the twentieth century the "American Century" (Nayak and Malone, 2009). Today, the United States of America is the strongest Western power present in the Middle East region. However, U.S. political policies are different from those of Britain and France previously exercised in the region. The physical and ideological presence of the U.S. in the region has been a major factor in changing the dynamics of local and international politics in many countries (Wehrey, 2010).

Arab nations, especially Gulf countries that are the strongest allies of the United States of America, have based their development plans upon Western models. These six countries (i.e., the Gulf countries; Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar) have all commissioned and employed American, British, and Canadian firms and companies to build the infrastructure of their countries. Their cities

were designed and built by Western companies which has resulted in a Western "makeover" of their present and future (Moudhi, 1998). In addition, due to the poor educational levels of the population in the 1940s and 1950s foreigners were employed to fill nearly all jobs available in all sectors (eg. education, health, business, transportation, communication, safety, etc.) in order to develop the countries of the Gulf. Although with the passing of time the citizens became educated and trained and became a significant percentage in the workforce (in some Gulf countries today citizens dominate the workforce and foreigners have become the minority), the Western foundation that was laid by foreigners remains. This has resulted in moving these countries and societies to modernity and Westernization smoothly and gradually with no resistance (Moudhi, 1998) (such as the resistance Westernization has faced in other parts of the region).

With the political and economic powers being completely in the hands of the locals, they (the local populations and governments) have made efforts to preserve their roots and origins. The Gulf countries, including Kuwait, have struggled and continue to make great efforts to create a balance between preserving traditional culture and adopting a global modern (Western) set of values, lifestyles, and social systems. (Bahgat, 1999, p. 135). In the case of Kuwait, "its transformation and modernization was a direct result of the government and the population's aspirations to join the developed modern world" (Mahgoub, 2004, p. 508). Leaving behind the harshness of their past life and suffering faced both at sea and in the desert the country aimed to develop and facilitate the lives of their population and their future generations. With huge oil revenues and the leap in per capita income the government and the people both strived to better their environment. The historic relationship of Kuwait with Britain and its strong ties and relations with the

United States all contributed to Westernizing Kuwait peacefully. In addition, the large percentage of foreigners residing in Kuwait for decades made the city global. The population had many chances to interact with foreigners over the years, and adopting international and global lifestyles was a gradual change that was not alien to them, nor was it resisted on a large scale. The change towards modernity was deep and included all aspects of life. Politics, economy, education, health, communication and media, entertainment, sports, values, attire, attitudes and behaviors all transformed in Kuwait towards more Western models and systems. "Westernization was not imposed on them by outsiders as much as it was a selection and choice" (Mahgoub, 2004, p. 508). Being modern has become synonymous with being Western (Abdulrahim, Al-Kandari, and Hasanen, 2009). This was further confirmed after the Kuwaiti invasion in 1990 and its liberation in 1991. "Kuwaitis consider their relationship with the United States unique, given that America helped liberate Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion in 1991. Many Kuwaitis believe that the survival of their country from foreign enemies depends on support and protection from the United States." (Abdulrahim, Al-Kandari, and Hasanen, 2009). This has resulted in a heightened positive acceptance of the Western culture and in turn this has increased the attraction to Western products and the adoption of Western values and behaviors. (Abdulrahim, Al-Kandari, and Hasanen, 2009). In addition to the political and economic relations Kuwait has with Western countries, the presence and activities of multi-national corporations and the presence and spread of Western media, especially American, have increased the rates of Westernization in the country (Hajjar, 1984, p. 124).

The spread of Western values and cultures is directly linked to the diffusion and penetration of the global media, in particular the American media, in Arab societies; an increased use of foreign media encourages Arabs to explore and later adopt new ideas and take on new habits that are of a Western nature (Abdulrahim, Al-Kandari, and Hasanen, 2009). This exposure to the media has changed the local culture (Abdulrahim, Al-Kandari, and Hasanen, 2009). "Culture is defined as 'the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influence a human group's response to its environment' (Hofstede, 1980: 19) and as the behavioral norms, attitudinal tendencies, and beliefs shared among people from the same group" (Paek, 2005, p. 137). Due to the exposure to media products such as television programming, radio broadcasts, films, and advertising the cultural values of the Kuwaiti society have been influenced and altered (Lin, 2001). Media products are "cultural products" that have many effects (direct and indirect) on society with repetition over a period of time (Lin, 2001, p. 83). Through media products such as advertising, the West is presented to audiences around the world, as in the case of this analysis in Kuwait. With increased modernization comes increased Westernization, which in turn results in a rise in consumption rates which cause an increase in advertising which result in an increase in consumerism in society (Wurff, Bakker, and Picard, 2008, p. 28). "The study of cultural objects such as advertising provides a pivotal and privileged entry to culture. Advertising is one of the most powerful mechanisms through which members of a society assimilate their cultural heritage and cultural ideologies" (Cortese, 2004, p.2). Advertising in particular is one of the most powerful media products internationally as "the average person living in a city is exposed to around 3600 commercial impressions everyday" (Cortese, 2004, p. 138).

2.9 Conceptual Framework

Studies of Eastern and Middle Eastern countries are not very common. However, the "Westernization concept" in different media outputs is becoming an attractive endeavor to many scholars. More studies today are addressing the change in cultural values in newspaper advertisements from local attributes to international (mostly American) attributes (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006).

To date there are very few research studies addressing Westernization of advertisements in Arab countries (Lin, 2001, p. 84). Several scholars, however, have used the concept of Westernization to refer to the influence of Western advertising on the practice and content of newspaper advertising in non-Western countries (Mueller 1992; Nelson and Paek 2005; Huang and Lowry 2011; Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 283). The majority of published research on the topic addresses Westernization of newspaper advertisements in the South East Asia region and East Asian region.

Belk and colleagues in (1985) and (1986) studied print advertising in Japan and the United States. They focused on how change in advertising appeals and themes resulted in changes in consumption. The major finding presented by the study presents is that audience lifestyles, habits, and cultural values are affected by the change in advertising appeals and the change in themes used in advertisements. The research's main speculation was that advertising messages and appeals are congruent with the cultural values of the local culture. The seminal article by Mueller (1987) on the Westernization of Japanese advertisements, examined the role of culture in advertising content to explore

concepts of standardization of advertisements in comparison to specialization (on country and product basis). She concluded that although the English language and Western images are used in Japanese print advertisements they remained local in their orientation.

Tse and colleagues' (1989) did a comparative study on Western cultural values in newspaper advertisements in Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan. The researchers presented a cross-cultural content analysis focusing on consumer culture and the change in values over six years. The findings of the study suggested that the cultural values presented by print advertisement mirror the local culture of their location. Chinese advertisements presented utilization appeals focusing on current reality, while advertisements published in Hong Kong emphasized looking to the future and encouraged Americanization.

However, advertisements published in Taiwan seemed to fall between the two models; Chinese and Hong Kong, presenting ideas and themes from both models. Yet it is significant to report that advertisements published in Taiwan were found increasingly using Hong Kong models. The study concluded that advertisements in Taiwan were anticipated to become more Americanized in the future like advertisements from Hong Kong. On the other hand, Frith and Sengupta (1991) studied the cultural values in Indian, British, and American newspaper advertisements also presenting a cross-cultural study. However, this study focused only on the cultural value of individualism.

Ramaprasad and Hasegawa (1992) examined the cultural values in Japanese advertisements. The results indicated an increase in the use of the English language. In addition, an increase was detected in the use of Western information appeals in Japanese advertisements. The researchers concluded that there is an increase in the presence of Western cultural values in Japanese advertising, highlighting that the Western influence

on Japanese advertising continues to increase while Lin's (1993) study of Japanese and American advertisements explored message strategies in constructing advertisements in different cultures, concluding that advertising content and style are products of the culture they are produced in.

Cheng (1994) study on cultural values in Chinese magazine advertisements presented a 10 year study on 572 Chinese magazine advertisements that identified modernity, technology, and quality as the main three cultural values presented in Chinese advertisements. The researcher suggested that there seems to be a combination of cultural values presented in Chinese advertisements. The findings highlighted that there was a change in the cultural values presented in Chinese advertisements, and that modernity is increasing in its presence in the examined advertisements. On the other hand, Lin and Salwen (1995) research on Japanese advertising examined different informational strategies in Japanese and American advertisements, by different product categories, highlighted that American advertisements were more informative in nature than Japanese advertisements. The findings also suggested that cultural values presented in advertisements were country specific; Japanese advertisements presented more Japanese cultural values than American cultural values, while American advertisements presented more American cultural values.

Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) content analysis on the cultural values in Chinese and American advertising identified eight cultural values; family, technology, and tradition in Chinese advertisements, and enjoyment, individualism, and economy in American advertisements. The researchers stressed that the origin of the advertisements was a major factor determining what type of cultural values were presented in the

advertisements. Although the researchers identified two sets of cultural values; one associated with China and one associated with the United States, the cultural value modernity and youth was a shared cultural value between the two countries. This cultural value was most relevant in advertisements examined from both countries. The researchers also highlighted that product origin and product type affected the values presented in the advertisements. Advertisements for Western products presented more Western cultural values, while Chinese advertisements presented more Chinese values. This confirms findings of previous studies reviewed.

Cho and colleagues (1999) research on the cultural values in advertisements in Korea and North America also identifies a set of cultural values presented in Eastern i.e., Korean, advertisements, in comparison with Western advertisements i.e., American advertisements. The four cultural values focused upon in this study were: individualism/collectiveness, time orientation, relationship with nature, and contextuality. The findings suggested that individualism was more prevalent in American advertisements. Moreover, the findings suggest that the local cultural value of oneness-with-nature is more prevalent in Korean advertisements. In addition, the findings showed that U.S. advertisements used more direct appeals than Korean advertisements. Maynard and Taylor (1999) research on the cultural values in Japanese and American magazine advertisements focused on images of different genders in magazine advertisements, in particular images of teenage girls, they presented a cultural content analysis of 263 advertisements. The researchers focused on the portrayals of different cultural values through images. The main focus of the study was images of teenage girls. The researchers suggested that social and cultural difference between Japan and the U.S. are the main factors influencing the types of

images presented in the advertisements. The findings suggested that cultural values were country specific, and that although Western values have diffused into local advertisements, local cultural values have not completely banished. Instead, the researchers suggested that a combined set of cultural values has emerged that included both local and foreign cultural values.

Ji and McNeal (2001) study on the cultural values in Chinese and American advertisements highlighted how local social and economic conditions influenced cultural content of advertisements. The researchers suggested that the local environment was able to dictate the appeals and values presented in advertising. Thus the findings indicated that tradition was more present as a cultural value in Chinese advertisements than in American advertisements. Advertisements in China emphasized two main cultural values: tradition and respect for the elderly. However, it is noteworthy to highlight that the results indicated that more Western values are diffusing into advertisements in China, and the presence of Western cultural values is slowly but gradually increasing.

Paek is (2005) research on the cultural values in South Korean and American newspaper advertisements, focused on celebrity endorsers in an Eastern and Western culture, concluding that South Korean advertisements presented a higher percentage of celebrity endorsers than American advertisements. Li, An, and Yang (2007) studied the Westernization of Chinese newspaper advertisements. This study presented a 10 year content analysis of 712 Chinese newspaper advertisements analyzing changes in content and form of Chinese advertisements to measure the degree of Westernization over a 10 year period. The findings suggested that Chinese cultural values remained strongly presented in advertising. However, Western cultural values were becoming more

prevalent and were continuing to increase. The researchers concluded that Westernization was increasing and that international standardization strategies were suitable to use in China.

2.10 Defining Advertising and Cultural Values

Advertising is defined as "a paid mass-mediated attempt to persuade. An advertisement is a specific message that an organization has placed in a mass medium to persuade an audience" (Cortese, 2004, p.3). Advertisements that are Westernized are defined by Cheong and colleagues (2011) as "advertising portraying Western ideas and principles prevalent in Western countries" (p. 283). This can be presented in the language (use of English), headlines, logos, images, graphics, settings, artifacts, themes, and presenting images of Western individuals depicting Western actions, gestures, and lifestyles. Westernization may be found in any of the elements of print advertising; in the headline(s), subhead(s), body copy, visual(s), slogan(s), seal(s), and or logo/ signatures (Arens, 1999)

On the other hand cultural values are defined as: "the governing ideas and guiding principles for thought and action (Srikandath, 1991, p. 166), that tend to permeate a culture and differ in valence (the positive or negative interpretation of a value) and intensity (the strength or importance of a value) from culture to culture." (Cheng and Patwardhan, 2010, p. 70). Cultural values vary from society to another according to its "distinctive cultural history", its religion(s), its political situation, and its economic status (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 283). "Some cultural values such as collectivism, veneration for elders, and tradition are more representative of Eastern cultures, while

others such as individualism, youth, and modernity are more typical of Western cultures (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Pan, Chaffee, Chu, & Ju, 1994; Srikandath, 1991)" (Cheng and Patwardhan, 2010, p. 71); while cultural values such as: tradition, respect for the elderly, brotherhood, collectiveness, hospitality, piety, honor, patriotism, nationalism, close family relations, and harmony with others are typical of Middle Eastern cultures (Kalliny, 2010). The previous literature confirms that Eastern cultures are high context and that they share a set of older traditions in comparison to low context modern cultures (Kalliny, 2010). In addition, the literature confirms that advertising is influenced by the local culture. However, studies on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean advertising all agree that Western attributes and cultural values have diffused into local advertising trends. There have been few research studies conducted addressing the cultural values presented in advertising in the Middle East. Kalliny (2010) and Karande and colleagues (2006) agree that Arab cultures are high context, and that they share a set of cultural values connected with Islam and Arab traditions and heritage. Studies on Chinese (Dongjin, Shenghui, Hua, 2007; Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011; Lin, 2001), Japanese (Mueller, 1992), and Korean (Cho et. al, 1999) advertising also confirm that Eastern cultures are high context, and that they remain connected to their roots and original local customs and conventions.

Different studies suggest different concepts to analyze Westernization of the mass media and Westernization of print advertising (Lin, 2001). From previous studies reviewed (Mueller 1992, Lin 2001, Karande, Almurshidee 2006, Kalliny 2010, and Cheong, Zheng, and Kim 2011), 12 concepts were selected as suitable for this study on advertisements published in Kuwaiti newspapers. These concepts are used as indicators

to measure the presence or absence of Westernization in the advertisements of the sample. Previous studies all used similar methodologies, where cultural values are identified as "concepts" specific to the local culture, i.e., Japanese culture, Chinese culture, Arab culture, etc., and to Western culture. In the majority of the studies reviewed Western culture is identified as American culture (Mueller 1992, Cho et. al 1999, Lin 2001, Karande, Almurshidee 2006, Dongjin, Shenghui, Hua, 2007, Kalliny 2010, and Cheong, Zheng, and Kim 2011). The presence or absence of these cultural values is then used as an indicator of the presence or increase of specific cultural values, or the absence or decrease of specific cultural values.

Brand origin was one the popular concepts used in previous studies on Westernization. Brand origin examines the advertisement in order to find if the origin of the product and the advertisement is local or Western. This concept acts as the identifying element in the content analysis. Brand origin will identify which brands and advertisements are Kuwaiti or Arab, Asian, and or African, products and or brands in contrast to Western brands and advertisements in the sample. This should help highlight if a particular set of cultural values is associated with a particular origin of brands or advertisements. Lin (2001) suggests that brand origin is one of the major factors that affect the cultural values presented in an advertisement. After conducting a content analysis of 401 advertisements (206 American and 195 Chinese advertisements) the results indicated that Chinese cultural values were more prevalent in advertisements for Chinese brands, while American values were more prevalent in advertisements for American brands. Cheong and colleagues (2011) also suggest from their study on the Westernization of Chinese advertisements that brand origin is a highly significant factor

in dictating the cultural values presented in the advertisements. In conclusion the researchers argued that internationally manufactured products are more likely to present Western-oriented values than domestically manufactured products. Moreover, Mueller (1992) confirmed from the results of a content analysis on the Westernization of Japanese advertisements, that brand origin is a significant factor that acted as an indicator of what cultural values are presented in a set of particular advertisements.

The second concept adopted from previous studies for use in this study is the English language. Previous studies conducted on the Westernization of print advertising (Karande 2006, Mueller 1992, Lin 2001) indicated that the use of English and its increase is an indicator of increased Westernization. English is regarded as a marker of Western cultures (Karande 2006). The increased use of English wording in local advertisements is a strong indication of the diffusion of Western culture into the local culture (Mueller, 1992). For example, in a study of print advertisements from Japan and the USA, Mueller (1991, 1992) found that the increase of the use of English had contributed to increasing the degree of Westernization of Japanese advertisements. Similarly, in a study of 949 advertisements from Egypt, Lebanon and the United Arab of Emirates, Karande and colleagues (2006) suggested that the use of English had created an increased Western attribute in advertising in the Middle East region. They suggested that this had prepared the region for an increased use of standardized advertising in the future. Moreover, in a study of Chinese advertisements, Lin (2001) indicated that language was an important element in measuring the degree of Westernization in local advertisements. Lin (2001) highlighted that the use of English in advertising is not only a sign of increased

Westernization, but also an indication of the ability of Western cultures to penetrate local cultures through the use of foreign languages in the local media.

The presence of models and celebrity endorsers is the third concept used to measure Westernization in this study. This concept observes the presence of Western models and or celebrities in comparison to local models and or celebrities. The increased use of Western models and celebrities in advertisements is an indication of an increased degree of Westernization. On the other hand, the use of local models and local celebrities in advertisements is an indicator of a stronger presence of the local culture. Karande and colleagues (2006) suggested that, in general, the presentation of models and celebrities and the depiction of images of men and women in advertising are in agreement with societal expectations and religious restrictions of the local culture. From their study of print advertising from Egypt, Lebanon and the United Arab of Emirates they suggested that although Western models and celebrities are present in the advertisements published in the Middle East region these images are limited, in addition they comply with local Islamic teachings. Furthermore, the researchers indicated that international advertisement standardization might not be appropriate for all Middle Eastern markets and for all products (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan , 2006, p.489). Similarly, findings of Mueller's (1992) study of the use of Western models and celebrities in Japanese advertisements indicated that the presence of such endorsers is not common. The findings suggest that only a small number of advertisements use Western models and that there is no significant increase in their presence in local advertisements.

The fourth concept used to measure Westernization is advertisement published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies in this study is the presence or absence of themes.

Themes give print advertisements an identity (Kalliny, 2010). Using local themes gives the advertisements a local identity (regardless of the type of product it is used for). Similarly, using Western themes gives advertisements a Western identity (even if they are used for local products and advertisements). Themes present a unified image of the advertisements bringing all the components of the advertisement together under one large overarching idea (Mueller, 1992). In a large regional content analysis of 1,245 advertisements from Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States, Kalliny (2010) indicated that Western themes are typically used in Western advertisements for Western products, while local themes are typically used in local advertisements for local products. In conclusion, the researcher argued that internationally manufactured products are more likely to present Western-oriented values than domestically manufactured products.

The next concept used is the presence of artifacts and settings. This is the fifth concept used to measure Westernization in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti newspapers from 1992 to 2012. This concept is important to use in this study as it provides an indication of the Westernization of the advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti advertisements alongside the concepts of brand origin, the use of English, local models and celebrities, and Western versus local themes. Mueller (1992) in a seminal study on Westernization of Japanese advertising indicated that Western settings are typically used for Western products, yet Western settings are increasingly appearing in Japanese advertisements (p.15). Mueller presented a content analysis of 202 Japanese and American advertisements from 1978 and 1988. Mueller concluded that Japanese advertisements were in fact leaning towards Westernization, however she stressed that

Japanese settings remain strongly present in advertisements published in Japan. Although Western culture is diffusing into the media, the local culture still has the upper hand (Mueller, 1992, p. 22).

The sixth concept adopted for use in this research from previous studies is the cultural value of modernity versus the cultural value of tradition. Modernity versus tradition presents as examination of a Western cultural value (modernity) versus a local Western cultural value (tradition). "Traditional societies are bound by the cultural values established by old customs and conventions, while modern societies are culturally dynamic and oriented to change and innovate". (Kalliny, 2010, p.98). The Kuwaiti culture is still immersed in its past and older conventions still dictate present actions and behaviors of members of the society (Alwugayan, 2006). Tradition remains a strong cultural value in society. On the other hand, modernity is one of the main cultural values spread in Western cultures (Lin, 2001). Development, progress, and looking forward to the future are all components of the cultural value of modernity (Kalliny, 2012). Thus, the increase of the presence of modernity in advertisements published on the front page of Kuwaiti dailies is an indicator of an increased degree of Westernization. On the other hand, the presence of the local cultural value of tradition is an indication of the enduring local set of older beliefs and conventions.

The cultural value of globalization/ internationalization versus the cultural value of nationalism/ patriotism is the seventh concept used in this study. This is a vital concept to address as it is directly connected to the identity of the local culture. The Western cultural value of globalization is a move towards internationalizing local cultures (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim 2011). This process presents local cultures with global models

that challenge the transformation of existing local cultures in the direction of Western models (Lin, 2001). Oppositely, the local culture value of nationalism encourages the presentation of the local national identity. This cultural value supports patriotic sentiments and the protection of the Kuwaiti original identity. Nationalism has been revived in many Eastern countries in the face of waves of Western modernization and globalization (Mueller 1991). The strong foreign pressures for local change have in some cases ignited local patriotism and nationalism. Thus, the use of this concept is a valid indicator of Westernization in this study.

The eighth concept used in this study is the cultural value of individualism versus the cultural value of collectiveness. Individualism is used as the Western cultural value, while collectiveness is used as the local cultural value in this study. Individualism has been identified by previous research on cultural values in advertising as Western (Kalliny 2010, Lin 2001, Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006). This cultural value is associated with Western societies that encourage individual achievement and independence. Western countries are considered individualistic (Kalliny, 2010). This is contrasted with the local cultural value of collectiveness that has been identified by previous studies as Eastern (Lin, 2001, Cheong, Zheng, and Kim 2011) and Arabic (Kalliny 2012, Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan 2006). "Members of Arab culture have a high need for affiliation and value mutual dependence" (Kalliny, 2010, p 101). The local Kuwaiti culture encourages collectiveness (Kalliny, 2010) and bonding between members of the society (confirming findings of previous studies that labeled Arab societies as collectivistic). Thus, this concept is valid for this study to contribute to measuring the degree of Westernization in Kuwaiti newspaper advertisements by

monitoring the presence, increase and or decrease of the cultural value of individualism and the cultural value of collectiveness.

The cultural value of youth and beauty versus the cultural value of filial piety and respect for the elderly is the ninth concept used in this study. Previous research studies have identified youth and beauty as a Western cultural value (Kalliny 2010, Cheong, Zheng, and Kim 2011) and filial piety and respect for the elderly as an Eastern (local) cultural value (Killany 2010, Lin 2001, Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2001). These cultural values are associated with how self images and personal attitudes are portrayed in advertising (Kalliny, 2010). Cheong, Zheng, and Kim (2011) suggested in their findings about cultural values presented in Chinese advertisements that Westernized advertisements presented the cultural value of youth and beauty significantly more than the cultural value of filial piety and respect for the elderly. Respect for the elderly is rooted in Eastern societies as part of obligatory traditions. The findings of the study indicate that respect for the elderly and images of a positive model of old age were more prevalent in Eastern advertisements. Furthermore, Kalliny (2010) suggested that the cultural value of youth and beauty is presented in a restricted manner due to the teachings of the Islamic religion that encourage modesty. Thus, the use of this concept in this study should be a valid indicator of the degree of Westernization in Kuwaiti print advertising by monitoring the presence or absence of the pair of cultural values.

The tenth concept used in this study is the cultural value of competition versus the cultural value of harmony with others. Competition is considered the Western cultural value. On the other hand, harmony with others is considered the local cultural value. Modern Western culture encourages competitiveness and the individual strive to success

in isolation of the group (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006). In contrast, Arab cultures share the value of harmony with others, that is one of the traits of collectivistic society (Kalliny, 2010). Additionally, Islam encourages unity and bonding among members of the society. Kalliny (2010) indicated in his study on cultural values in Arab countries in comparison to the United States, that an increased presence of the cultural value of competition in print advertising is an indicator of an increased degree of Westernization. Thus, using this concept to measure the degree of Westernization in Kuwait print advertisements is valid.

The cultural value of freedom versus the cultural value of conservativeness is the eleventh concept used. The cultural value of freedom is connected and embedded in Western cultures in numerous ways. From political, to economic, to civil, to personal rights and freedoms, Western societies exercise different types of freedom in their societies. Freedom in this study is limited to freedom from religious restraints. Islam encourages modesty and conservativeness, particularly for women. This has created a culture in the Middle East (and in Muslim majority states) that encourages conservativeness and frowns upon Western revealing attire. Kalliny (2010) suggested from the findings of his study on advertising published in the Arab world and in the United States, that images presented in the Arab world are confined by societal expectations, unlike images presented in American advertising that are significantly more liberated. According to Kalliny (2010) conservativeness is more prevalent than freedom in local Arab advertisements.

Active contribution versus passive acceptance is the last set of cultural values used as the twelfth concept of this study. Activity is an attribute of Western cultures (Lin,

2001). In contrast, being static and accepting is generally associated with Eastern cultures (Lin, 2001). Cheong and colleagues (2011) also confirmed from their study on Chinese advertising that change, activity, and individual improvement are traits of Western culture. Furthermore, Kalliny (2010) provided evidence from his study on Arab advertising that Arab cultures remain to the same extent passive in their interaction with society, highlighting that acceptance is an attribute of Eastern cultures. These findings of previous studies validate the use of the concept of active contribution versus passive acceptance in this study.

The total 12 variables that have been selected as suitable for this study on advertisements published in Kuwaiti newspapers are; brand origin (Western products and or brands versus Kuwaiti, Arab, Asian, and or African products and or brands), depiction of local men and women versus Western models and celebrities, the spread of the English language, local themes versus Western themes, depictions of Western artifacts and settings versus local artifacts and settings, tradition versus modernity, nationalism/patriotism versus globalization/internationalization, individualism versus collectiveness, filial piety/ respect for the elderly versus youth/beauty, harmony with others versus competition, conservativeness versus freedom/liberation, and active contribution versus passive acceptance.

The advertisements of the sample will be analyzed for presence and absence of these 12 attributes and cultural values. Previous studies have employed the method of monitoring frequencies (increase/decrease) of different attributes and cultural values as an indication and measurement tool to evaluate the change in newspaper advertisements towards Westernization (Mueller, 1991; Kalliny 2010; Lin 2001; Cheong, Zheng, and

Kim, 2011). Using a content analysis, the advertisements are analyzed for the presence, or lack thereof, of Westernization, and also if it has increased or decreased over the 21 year period from 1992 to 2012.

2.11 Research Questions

This chapter presented a historical review of the political, economic, cultural and societal transformations experienced by Kuwait. It highlighted the Kuwaiti move towards development, modernization, and Westernization. The development of the Kuwaiti press and advertising print trends were also discussed. Furthermore, concepts of Westernization of advertising in the press were reviewed. Several studies addressing Westernization of print advertising are cited to clarify the direction and position of the current study. Thereafter, based on the review of the literature, the following, two research questions, are presented by the study:

RQ1: How prevalent has Westernization been in Kuwaiti newspaper advertisements?

RQ2: Has Westernization increased or decreased over the years (from 1992 to 2012)?

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter presents the method used to analyze the advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012. It presents the details of the quantitative content analysis used. The chapter clarifies the rationale behind the selection of the time period. In addition, the chapter clarifies the criteria followed for the selection of the Kuwaiti newspapers used for the sample. Next, the significance of the analysis of the front page of newspapers is highlighted. Furthermore, the method used to select the front pages – the constructed week method, is explained, and the method used to select the advertisements from the newspaper front pages is detailed. The chapter then concludes with the presentation of the operational definitions of the variables used in the content analysis and the final version of the coding sheet used.

In this study I will focus on advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwait daily newspapers between 1992 and 2012. This time period was selected due to the following rationale: firstly, Westernization began to penetrate the Kuwaiti society and culture profoundly after the Iraqi invasion of 1990. After the liberation of Kuwait in February of 1991 many American troops were present in the country. U.S. army bases were constructed in different parts of Kuwait and thousands of troops were deployed for the protection of Kuwait. The interaction of these troops, and their accompanying army officials, politicians, and diplomats injected Kuwaiti society with Americanism. Even after the war ended many troops remained in Kuwait, and still are present to this day.

(Kuwait is also a major stop for American troops traveling between Iraq, Afghanistan, and the United States.)

Secondly, to detect Westernization the post war year of 1992 was selected, as it marks the beginning of the rebuilding of Kuwait in a modern way. Archives of newspapers before 1991 have endured the war and as a result many materials were lost or destroyed during the war. Some materials were restored after the liberation of Kuwait; yet pulling a sample from 1991 would not be indicative of the nature of advertisements in Kuwaiti newspapers as it was a war period and many companies suffered many losses, and the Kuwaiti economy was not in its normal state. Also, samples of newspapers from the 1980s and 1970s are scattered and not all in good form to be analyzed (also due to the war). Thus a sample from 1992 was selected to be the beginning of the sample to and including 2012. This 21 year period will be analyzed to be able to draw conclusions on the degree of the diffusion of Westernization into advertisements in Kuwaiti dailies over a period of 21 years.

Thirdly, starting at the end of 1991 American franchises and chain stores began opening locations around the country. Although pre-Gulf war several Western stores and many restaurants were open in Kuwait, most of these were European – mainly British. Stores such as Mothercare (a British chain store for baby and children clothes and furniture) (Mothercare, 2012) and Bhs (British Home Stores, a British chain store for clothes, bed linens, towels, and home necessities) opened in Kuwait in the early 1980s (Bhs, 2012) and were very popular by 1990. Today Kuwait has numerous shopping malls, housing British, American, French, Italian, German, and Swiss shops. From high end brands such as Louis Vuitton, Chanel, Cartier, Rolex, Piaget, Christian Dior, Gucci,

Fendi, Valentino, Versace, Etienne Aigner, Givenchy, and Chopard, to Abrecrombie and Fitch, Victoria's Secret, American Eagle, Polo, Tommy Hilfiger, Diesel, Gap, Ikea, Clair's Accessories, Bebe, Juicy Couture, Pottery Barn, and many other franchises; Kuwait is overflowing with Western stores.

On the other hand, after the liberation of Kuwait, Burger King opened in 1992 (Burger King, 2012), McDonalds in 1994 (McDonalds, 2012), and Starbucks in 1998 (Starbucks, 2012). While fast food restaurants began to appear in the country as early as 1964 with the opening of Wimpy (an American owned fast food restaurant) (KFC, 2012), 1973 with the opening of Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) (KFC, 2012), and 1981 with the opening of Hardees (Hardees, 2012) (alongside Wimpy, KFC, and Hardees the Hungry Bunny – a Kuwaiti fast food burger restaurant was open in different parts of Kuwait and very popular pre- the Iraqi invasion), American restaurants multiplied after the war. Today, Kuwait houses 68 McDonald's locations (McDonalds, 2012), 78 Starbucks locations (Starbucks, 2012), 41 Hardees locations (Hardees, 2012), 48 Pizza Hut locations (Pizza Hut, 2012), 61 KFC locations (KFC, 2012), and 45 Burger King locations (Burger King, 2012), in addition to numerous American chain restaurants, including; Hard Rock Café, TGI Fridays, Rib Eye Steakhouse, Applebee's, Chilis, Papa Johns, Taco Bell, Johnny Rockets, Ruby Tuesday, Krispy Kreme, The Cheesecake Factory, Olive Garden, Fuddruckers (Alshaya, 2012), and numerous Italian, French, Indian, Persian, Lebanese, Greek, Egyptian, Moroccan, Japanese, Thai, Korean, and Chinese restaurants (in addition to the local Kuwaiti restaurants). It is essential here to stress that Kuwait is a small country (18,000 Km²) – usually compared to the size of the American State of New Jersey. This should put into perspective how huge the number is

of restaurants and shops present in the very small country. (It is interesting to note that Kuwait has the highest female obesity percentage and the fourth highest male obesity percentage in the world, usually linked to the huge number of restaurants and cafes that have opened in the city in the past 10 years (Badran and Laher, 2011). All these available stores and restaurants need to advertise, which is only one indication on how active the Kuwaiti advertising industry has become.

Newspapers for this research were selected on the basis of three criteria. Firstly, that they were listed as the top five newspapers according to the Kuwait Journalists Association Annual Newspaper Circulation and Subscription Survey 2011. Secondly, that they were daily newspapers in the Arabic-language – as Arabic is the official language in Kuwait. Lastly, that they were listed among the Kuwait Ministry of Information licensed publications. Following the above criteria two daily Kuwaiti newspapers were selected for the content analysis: AlQabas and AlWatan.

As Kuwaiti newspapers publish up to 88 each pages on some days, and their pages are filled and are over flowing with advertisements, the content analysis was limited to the front page of the newspapers (Alrefai, 2007, p. 141). Although advertising on the front page is still unpopular in the United States "it is very common in European and Asian newspapers, and even more common in the Middle East region" (Lee and Irby, 2008; Irby, 2003; and Kurtz 1999). The front page is considered the face of the newspaper and presents its identity, ideology, and owner's and maker's principles (Alrefai, 2007, p. 192). Thus, focusing on only this page is significant. In addition, front pages of both dailies have an average of three advertisements on them (on some days

reaching six advertisements per newspaper) which should account for adequate variation in the advertisements sampled.

The constructed week sampling method is used, which is an effective method for sampling newspaper populations (Riffe, Aust, and Lacy, 1993). This method is more efficient than random or consecutive day sampling of newspaper content. It is considered one of the most popular methods for sampling newspaper content (Riffe, Aust, and Lacy, 1993). For periods longer than 10 years, two weeks are drawn from each year of the time period (Lacy et al., 2001). This is considered empirically acceptable and adequate to represent the population of newspaper advertisements (Lacy et al., 2001). Thus, for the sample of this research two weeks will be constructed from each year. For each year, a pool of 52 weeks, with 52 days for each day of the week is available. From these days, a day of the week is selected randomly to create one week of sampling. The process is repeated for a second constructed week. This results in 14 days from each year for one newspaper, thus 14 front pages. This gives a total of 28 front pages for both newspapers from one year, and 588 pages for both newspapers for the period of 21 years from 1992 to 2012. Four front pages randomly selected from AlQabas newspaper happened to be on national holidays when the newspaper did not publish an issue for the day. As a result the total sample became 584 advertisements. After reviewing front pages of the newspapers this still was a huge sample (if six advertisements were present on the front page of both newspapers for one day this resulted in 12 advertisements, over a 21 year period that would total 3528 advertisements. Previous models indicate that such a sample must be reduced for analytical purposes. The advertisements were analyzed according to product category, as it seemed the most objective method that would not skew the sample by

selecting the largest advertisements (Mueller, 1992). Analyzing the largest advertisement on the front page could potentially be problematic, as the largest advertisements are likely to be for multi-national products and or brands, which in turn are more likely to be by Western companies and Western manufacturers. This may result in unintentionally oversampling Western products and brands. This method resulted in a final sample of 584 advertisements.

Categorizing and classifying the advertisements of the sample is essential to be able to select the advertisements according to product. Previous research models, using content analysis methods to analyze newspaper advertisements, separated their advertisements into three categories; high involvement goods, medium involvement goods, and low involvement goods (Mueller, 1992). High involvement goods are: "Items purchased relatively infrequently, which are high in cost, and have perceivable differences between brands" (Mueller, 1991, p. 28) eg. Cars, jewelry, and watches. Medium involvement goods are: "Items purchased on occasions rather frequently, which are moderate in cost, and have adequate differences between brands" (Mueller, 1991, p. 28) eg. Clothes, weight loss and health supplements, and airline tickets. Lastly, low involvement goods are: "Items purchased frequently, which are low in cost, and for which there are relatively few differences between brands" (Mueller, 1991, p. 28) eg. Food, books, and perfumes.

Advertisements were selected by a rotation method. For example, the first would be a high involvement advertisement, the second would be a medium involvement advertisement, and the third would be a low involvement advertisement (Mueller, 1991). As a result, equal proportions of the different product involvement levels should be

covered. When two advertisements of the same involvement level are present on one page the one with the largest size is selected. When in the rotation a high involvement product is to be taken but it is not available the next level of involvement i.e., medium involvement is taken, if a medium involvement level product is not available a low involvement product is taken. If only one advertisement is present on the page it is taken regardless of its involvement. This method would ensure that all three different types of involvement are analyzed regardless of the type of individual products in the advertisements "this is to negate the claim that some product categories are more likely to lend themselves to Westernization than others" (Mueller, 1992, p. 19).

A pilot study of 255 advertisements published in five daily Kuwaiti newspapers: AlQabas, AlWatan, AlRai, AlJarida, and AlSeyassah, was conducted in February 2011 (following the above criteria for selecting the newspapers). It was found that there are 28 products and services advertised for in Kuwaiti daily newspapers, including: cars (German, American, British, French, Italian, Japanese, Korean), eyeglasses (medical glass and sunglasses – famous couture brands), funeral advertisements (advertisements published by Kuwaiti individuals and or families for condolences and to show sharing in the grief of other individuals and or families), telecommunications companies (for mobile telephone services and internet services), energy companies, banks, food (restaurants, cafes, delis, and or packaged food products), airlines(tickets and or travel offers), furniture, watches (brand watches), jewelry, clothes, perfumes, congratulations advertisements (advertisements published by Kuwaiti individuals and or families for congratulating on happy occasions such as weddings, graduations, etc. of other individuals and or families), petrochemical companies, thanks advertisements

(advertisements published by Kuwaiti families for appreciation and gratitude for certain social actions of other individuals and or families), internet (for internet and connectivity services), building supplies companies, poultry (farms and companies producing chickens), interiors and decorating, books, concerts (musical shows and theatre shows), television (different television networks advertising for programs and or special offers), hospitals (private hospitals and or clinics), real estates, printing and copying services, educational services (private schools, colleges, and universities), and weight loss and health supplements (supplements and vitamins).

Following the product involvement concept and definitions the 28 products were classified as high involvement products, medium involvement products, and or low involvement products. Six products were found to be high involvement products, 10 products were found to be medium involvement, and 12 products were found to be low involvement products. It is essential to note that these categorizations were rationalized in relation with the nature of the Kuwaiti society (i.e., what is considered financially expensive and or is exclusive was categorized as high involvement, while products purchased often with moderate prices were categorized as low involvement, while products used by the majority of the population and that are purchased on a daily or weekly basis with low prices such as food, mobile phone service, internet connection service, and television services were categorized as low involvement). Twelve attributes of Westernization discussed in the previous section were found valid for this study and were selected to measure Westernization in advertisements published in Kuwaiti daily newspapers.

The advertisements of the sample will be analyzed for presence and absence of these 12 variables (attributes and cultural values). Below the attributes and cultural values are conceptualized individually.

1- Brand Origin: Western products and or brands versus Kuwaiti, Arab, Asian, African, and or other products and or brands

This attribute looks directly at what the advertisement is for, i.e., what product, and where that product is made i.e., who is the manufacturer. It looks at the brand and or product. Products are differentiated by their companies (i.e., Kuwaiti companies= Kuwaiti products, American companies= American products, etc.).

This attribute will result in clear numbers of how many local, Arab, Asian, and or African products are advertised for in contrast to Western products by American and or European companies. This in turn will indicate how much the Kuwaiti market has been, or not been, Westernized. (Paek and Nelson 2007; Huang and Lowry 2011; Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011).

2- Depiction of Local Models and or Celebrities versus Western Models and or Celebrities

This attribute addresses the presence of images showing Eastern men and women (models) in traditional conservative dress or local celebrities in comparison to images of Western male or female models (who are Caucasian) and or famous Western (i.e., American) celebrities. "A celebrity is 'known for being well-known' and is defined as a person (actor, sports figure, entertainer, politician, etc.) who is known to the public for his or her achievements" (Paek 2005, p. 135). The presence of local celebrities versus the presence of Western celebrities is

observed. Skin color, eye color, hair color, and attire are considered important elements in this variable (Mueller, 1992; Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006).

3- *The Spread of the English Language*

This attribute is connected to the presence of words, phrases, and or sentences in English (this excludes the products and or brands' name and or logo that may originally be in English). This attribute looks at the presence of English wording in the advertisement. If present, this indicates a tendency to Westernize.

Especially if no Arabic translation is present in the advertisement this will indicate how much the country has become bilingual and cosmopolitan, and as a result Westernized (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006).

Advertisements with only Arabic wording are regarded as local, in contrast advertisements that use both Arabic and English, or just English, are considered more Westernized.

4- *Local themes versus Western themes*

Themes present an overall image for the advertisements. They present an identity that the audience may unconsciously associate with either local or Western culture (Kallimy, 2010). Themes are products of a particular culture or heritage. This attribute looks at the presence of different themes i.e., Western or local. Local themes present Kuwaiti folk tales, celebrations, and legends (such as folklore themes connected to Bedouins of the desert or fishermen and pearl divers of the sea) in comparison to Western themes that present international legends and

celebrations (such as Valentine's day or Halloween) (Kalliny, 2010) that are foreign and alien to the local culture.

5- *Depictions of Western Artifacts and Settings*

Similar to Western themes, the use of Western settings presents images of Western cultures. This attribute observes the "extent to which advertisements incorporate distinctly Western artifacts and settings" (Mueller, 1992, p. 18).

Western artifacts and settings may include (but are not limited to): the American flag and or European flags, cowboy hats, American and or European sports logos, American and or European landmarks such as the Statue of Liberty, Big Ben, the London Eye, the Eiffel Tower, etc., an image of an American city skyline such as New York or Las Vegas and or an image of a European city and or horizon.

6- *Tradition versus Modernity*

Modernity is regarded as the Western cultural value, while tradition is regarded as the local cultural value. "Tradition refers to the remnants of the dynastic realm in the modern world and of timelessness and subjection as well." (Tetreault and Al-Mughni, 1995, p. 65) Tradition presents the local culture and heritage emphasizing the past, history, customs, and time-honored conventions. Modernity presents all that is new and contemporary or up-to-date encouraging new technologies and new trends (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011) focusing on change and the future (Lin, 2001, p. 84). Tradition is regarded as Eastern, and thus local, while modernity is connected to development, and thus regarded as Western.

7- *Nationalism/Patriotism versus Globalization/Internationalization*

Nationalism is regarded as the local cultural value, while globalization is regarded as the Western cultural value. "Nationalism refers to a psychological identification and a kinship of a population under one shared culture and or nation" (Tetreault and Al-Mughni, 1995, p. 66), while patriotism is being associated with Kuwait, presenting sentiments of loyalty and love to the country. Globalization refers to a homogenized borderless world where Western values are pervasive (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011). Globalization refers to the changing of local cultures into different models of international cultures. Internationalization is identified as the gradual transformation of local ways and norms to more globally shared models that are in their majority Western (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011).

8- *Individualism versus Collectiveness*

Individualism is regarded as the Western cultural value, while collectiveness is regarded as the local cultural value. "Individualism is defined as an attribute that encourages independence, distance from others, separation from the family, nonconformity, originality, uniqueness, and self reliance" (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 283). In contrast, collectiveness emphasizes togetherness, being part of a group and conformity with the family. The family in particular is an important aspect in this cultural value (Lin, 2001). "The family is the basic component of social structure in most Arab countries. Arab countries are considered collectivistic" (Barakat 1993). Thus, collectiveness is identified as a local cultural value that encourages group bonding, collective action, and shared general sentiments.

9- *Filial piety/ respect for the elderly versus Youth/Beauty*

Filial piety and respect for the elderly are regarded as the local culture, while youth and beauty are regarded as the Western culture. Advertisements presenting filial piety show a positive image of the elderly who are respected and obeyed, at the same time they present an obligation of the younger generation to care for the older generations (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 284). This cultural value is embedded in the Kuwaiti culture's traditions. In addition, it is directly related to the teachings of the Islamic religion. In contrast, advertisements showing Western values of beauty and youth emphasize attention to the individual, caring for personal beauty, and aiming at preserving personal youth. This Western cultural value focuses on enduring beauty and never ending youth.

10- *Harmony with others versus Competition*

Harmony with others is considered the local cultural value, while competition is considered the Western cultural value. Competition urges individual success and elevated personal rank and acting in isolation of the group. This is considered a Western cultural value as competition is encouraged in Western cultures as a means to better one's self and the society (Kalliny, 2010). In contrast, harmony with others focuses on the general good and the success of the group due to bonding and harmony; this is considered an Arab cultural value as it bolsters togetherness in developing and improving society (Kalliny, 2010). This cultural value is directly connected to the local cultural value of collectiveness. Both of these local cultural values encourage group action and conformity between members of the society.

11- Conservativeness versus Freedom/Liberation

These cultural values are observed in advertisements presenting Islamic ideals and encouraging conservative attitude and self regulation in comparison with Western values that encourage freedom and liberation from restraints and conformity with religious restrictions (Kalliny, 2010). Conservativeness is regarded as the local cultural value. "Being conservative" is connected with teachings of the Islamic religion in addition to Arab-Eastern cultures. On the other hand, freedom is connected to Western cultures that encourage freedom of choice, personal freedom, and personal rights. These Western values are against restraints and suppression.

12- Active contribution versus Passive Acceptance

In this attribute active contribution is regarded as the Western cultural value, and passive acceptance is regarded as the local cultural value. Active contribution refers to the Western values of encouraging individual creativity and input to society, while passive acceptance refers to the Arab cultural value of accepting reality and harmony with existing norms in society (Lin, 2001). Active contribution leans towards a changing world where small contributions are significant, in comparison to passive acceptance that focuses on stability and static reality. The Western cultural value of active contribution encourages contribution and creativity. On the other hand, the local cultural value of passive acceptance encourages no action and unquestionable acceptance.

Below the operational definitions of the attributes used in the coding book are listed.

*Table 3.1: Operational Definitions of Westernization Attributes.

	Attribute of the Concept of Westernization	Operational Definition
1	Brand Origin: Western Products and or brands vs. other brands	Western products and or brand manufactured by Western companies (American, European, Australian) vs. local, Middle Eastern, African, and or Asian brands
2	Depictions of men, women vs. Western models, and Western celebrities	Local or Arab men and or women: Black/brown hair black/brown eyes, in local traditional attire or Arab attire vs. Western models: Caucasian, white, blonde male or female in Western attire. Western celebrities: Well-known/famous Western individuals
3	English Language	English text or headlines in the advertisement excluding the brand and or product name and or logo
4	Local themes vs. Western themes	Kuwaiti folklore, celebrations, legends vs. Western/international celebrations, folklore, Western pop culture
5	Western artifacts and settings	Incorporation of Western settings and artifacts (eg. American flag, cowboy hats, American/European sports logos, the Statue of Liberty, images of American/ European skylines and cities)
6	Tradition vs. Modernity	Old customs, timelessness and subjection nostalgia to the past, vs. Western contemporary futuristic, encouraging change and development
7	Nationalism/Patriotism vs. Globalization/Internationalization	Identification, association with, loyalty to Kuwait, vs. openness to the outside world and global homogenization
8	Individualism vs. Collectiveness	Independence, uniqueness, self-reliance, vs. conformity with family and togetherness

9	Filial piety/ respect for the elderly vs. youth/ beauty	Respect, obedience, and care for the elderly, vs. longevity, enduring beauty and youth
10	Harmony with others vs. Competition	Group agreement, general good, bonding, vs. individual success, personal rank, personal goals
11	Conservativeness vs. Freedom/liberation	Islamic and restricting ideals, vs. freedom breaking of restraints
12	Active contribution vs. Passive Acceptance	Individual creativity and input, change, vs. group acceptance, static, harmony with society

Table 3.2 includes the coding sheet to be used in the analysis. This includes 15 variables that will be coded for in each unit (i.e., each advertisement):

*Table 3.2: Coding sheet

	Variable	Unit of measurement
A	Date (the date of publication)	yyyy/mm/dd
B	Name of newspaper (name of the newspaper where the advertisement is published)	1- Alqabas 2- Alwatan
C	Product type (what category is the product is advertised for in the ad: high involvement/ medium involvement/ low involvement)	H1- Cars H2- Funeral H3- Watches H4- Jewelry H5- Congratulations H6- Thanks M1- Eyeglasses M2- Clothes M3- Airlines M4- Furniture M5- Hospitals and clinics M6- Educational Services M7- Interiors and decorating M8- Weight loss/ health supplements M9-Real estate M10- Concerts L1- Food L2- Poultry L3- Books L4- Television L5- Internet

		L6- Perfumes L7- Banks L8- Building supplies companies L9- Energy companies L10- Telecommunications companies L11- Printing and copying services L12- Petrochemical companies
D	Product/ brand	1- Western 0- Local, Arab, African, and or others
E	Local /Western models/celebrities	- Western models/ celebrities (0= not present, 1= present) - Local models/ celebrities (0= not present, 1= present)
F	Presence of English language	1- Present 0- Not present
G	Local themes/ Western themes	- Western themes (0= not present, 1= present) - Local themes (0= not present, 1= present)
H	Local/ Western artifacts/ settings	- Western artifacts/ settings (0= not present, 1= present) - Local artifacts/ settings (0= not present, 1= present)
I	Tradition/ modernity	- Modernity (0= not present, 1= present) - Tradition (0= not present, 1= present)
J	Nationalism/Patriotism- Globalization/internationalization	- Nationalism/patriotism (0= not present, 1= present) - Globalization/internationalization (0= not present, 1= present)
K	Individualism/collectiveness	- Individualism(0= not present, 1= present) - Collectiveness (0= not present, 1= present)
L	Filial piety/ respect for elderly – youth/ beauty	- Filial piety (0= not present, 1= present) - Youth/beauty (0= not present, 1= present)
M	Harmony/ Competition	- Competition (0= not present, 1= present) - Harmony with others (0= not present, 1= present)
N	Conservativeness/ Freedom	- Freedom (0= not present, 1= present) - Conservative (0= not present, 1= present)
O	Active contribution/ passive acceptance	- Active contribution (0= not present, 1= present) - Passive acceptance (0= not present, 1= present)

Chapter 4

Findings and Results

This chapter presents the results and findings of the quantitative content analysis conducted. The chapter begins with presenting the inter-coder reliability figures connected to the variables. The results of the content analysis are then detailed. First, the descriptive statistics of the data are presented. Second, the results and findings connected to each variable are presented separately.

This study presents two research questions to measure the degree of Westernization of advertisements published in Kuwaiti dailies. The sample includes 584 advertisements selected from two Kuwaiti dailies; AlQabas and AlWatan from 1992 to 2012. The content analysis explores indicators of the measurement of Westernization present in the advertisements, these indicators include the product/ brand origin, presence or not of local/Western models or celebrities, presence or not of English, presence or not of Western/ local themes, presence or not of Western/ local artifacts/ settings, tradition versus modernity, nationalism/ patriotism versus globalization/ internationalization, individualism versus collectiveness, filial piety/ respect for the elderly versus youth/ beauty, harmony versus competition, conservativeness versus freedom, and active contribution versus passive acceptance. The presence of the above mentioned variables are an indication of an increased degree of Westernization i.e., the presence of Western models/ celebrities, the presence of English, the presence of Western themes, the

presence of Western settings, the presence of the Western values of modernity, globalization, individualism, youth and beauty, competition, freedom, and active contribution.

4.1 Inter-coder Reliability

Two coders coded the sample. A preliminary 88 advertisements were coded – 15 % of the sample to calculate the inter-coder reliability. Inter-coder reliability was calculated for 13 of the 15 variables. It was not calculated for the variable A; date of the publication i.e., the date the advertisement was published and B; name of the newspaper where the advertisement was published, as these variables are uniform. Furthermore, the inter-coder reliability for 13 variables were valid i.e., above 0.7 (Krippendorff's Alpha) variable C; product type: 1, variable D; product/ brand origin: 0.911, variable E; Western/local models and celebrities: 0.901, variable F; English: 1, variable G; Western/local themes: 0.876, variable H; Western/ local artifacts and or settings: 0.804, variable I; tradition/ modernity: 0.822, variable J; nationalism/ patriotism: 0.903, variable K; individualism/ collectiveness: 0.827, variable L: filial piety/ respect for the elderly / youth/beauty: 0.954 variable M: harmony/ competition: 0.815, variable N: conservativeness/ freedom: 0.928, and variable O: active contribution/ passive acceptance: 0.949.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics

Two daily Kuwaiti newspapers were used in the content analysis sample; AlQabas and AlWatan. The time period of 21 years (from 1992-2012) was sampled; a total of 584

advertisements published on the front pages composed the sample – 294 front pages were randomly selected from AlWatan (14 front pages from each year for the 21 year period), and one advertisement was selected from each page from AlWatan. Similarly 294 front pages were randomly selected from AlQabas (14 front pages from each year for the 21 year period), however, four front pages selected happened to be on national holidays when the newspaper did not publish an issue, thus 290 front pages were sampled from AlQabas which provided 290 advertisements of the total sample. It is essential to note that all 584 front pages randomly selected for the sample contained a minimum of two advertisements; none contained no advertisements. Furthermore, from the sampled front pages the maximum number of advertisements per page found was seven advertisements on a single front page.

Of the total sample (584 advertisements), 317 advertisements (54.3%) were non-Western brands and 267 advertisements (45.7%) were Western brands. The majority of the non-Western advertisements were local Kuwaiti advertisements. These included advertisements for telecommunications companies, funeral, congrats, and thanks advertisements, hospitals and clinics, educational services, real estate, concerts, television, energy companies, printing and copying services, and petrochemical companies. In turn, the largest percentages of local advertisements were for services (provided by local companies). On the other hand, when analyzing the product involvement levels of all the advertisements it was found that the largest number of advertisements (233 advertisements or 39.9%) was low involvement products; the largest number of advertisements of the low involvement products being food (L1). The second category was high involvement products with 192 advertisements (32.9%), with

advertisements for watches (H3), cars (H1), and funeral advertisements (H2) being the largest groups. Ranking last was medium involvement products with 159 advertisements (27.2%), the largest groups here were clothes advertisements (M2), and advertisements for concerts (M10). Table 4.1 identifies the top 10 products advertised for on the front pages of AlQabas and AlWatan between 1992 and 2012.

*Table 4.1: Top 10 Products Advertised for in AlQabas and AlWatan between 1992 and 2012

Rank	Product	Involvement	N (%)
1	Watches (H3)	High	47 (8.0%)
2	Funeral (H2)	High	39 (6.7%)
	Banks (L7)	Low	39 (6.7%)
3	Food (L1)	Low	38 (6.5%)
4	Cars (H1)	High	36 (6.2%)
5	Clothes (M2)	Medium	30 (5.1%)
6	Telecommunication Companies (L10)	Low	27 (4.6%)
7	Concerts (M10)	Medium	26 (4.5%)
8	Jewelry (H4)	High	25 (4.3%)
	Congratulations (H5)	High	25 (4.3%)
9	Thanks (H6)	High	20 (3.4%)
	Books (L3)	Low	20 (3.4%)
	Building Supplies Companies (L8)	Low	20 (3.4%)
10	Television (L4)	Low	17 (2.9%)
	Perfumes (L4)	Low	17 (2.9%)

Five of the variables used to measure Westernization in the advertisements of the sample are directly connected to the "look" of the advertisements. These include the product/ brand origin, presence or not of local/Western models or celebrities, presence or not of English, presence or not of Western/ local themes, and presence or not of Western/ local artifacts/ settings.

4.3 Brand Origin

The brand and product origin is an indication of what products are advertised for in Kuwaiti daily newspapers. Over the 21 year period of the analysis, 45.7% (n=267) of the products advertised for were Western brands, while 54.3% (n=317) of the products advertised for were local, Asian, African, and or other products. A non-parametric Chi-square test indicated that the portion of Western brands is significantly smaller than that of local brands ($\chi^2= 4.28$, $p=.039$). However, it is important to note that from 1992 the numbers of Western products advertised on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies has increased – from approximately 40% in 1992 to 55% in 2012. A linearity test confirmed that this increase over the years was statistically significant ($F=7.90$, $p=.005$). Figure 4.1 below is an illustration of the results.

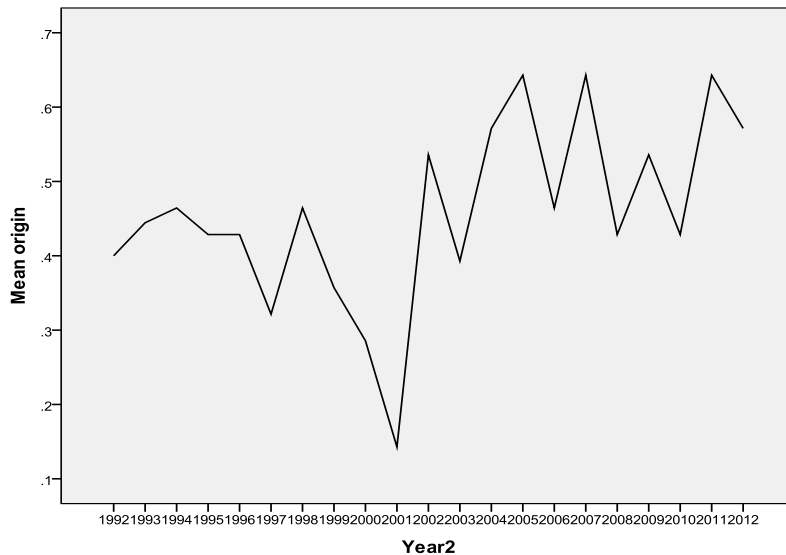


Figure 4.1: Brand origin variable results.

4.4 English Language

The presence of the English language in the advertisements is also an indication of the increase of Westernization. The use of the English language is an indication of its diffusion in society. Advertisers use the English language only if they are ensured that the audience would understand the language. Due to the wide-spread use of English in Kuwait among citizens, the use of the English language alongside the Arabic language in education, and the presence of large groups of foreigners in Kuwait all contribute to increasing the use of the English language in print advertising. From 1992 the advertisements using English wording have exponentially increased from approximately 22% in 1992 to approximately 75% in 2012 ($F(\text{linearity})= 74.28, p=.000$). However, a non-parametric Chi-square test indicated that the distribution of advertisements with English (49.7%) versus advertisements with no English (50.3%) was not significantly different from a 50% vs. 50% distribution ($\chi^2= .027, p=.869$). Thus, it is suggested that the proportion of advertisements with English are not larger nor smaller than that of advertisements with no English. Although English use has increased it can't be argued that it is prevalent in advertisements published on front pages of AlQabas and AlWatan from 1992 to 2012. Figure 4.2 below is an illustration of the results.

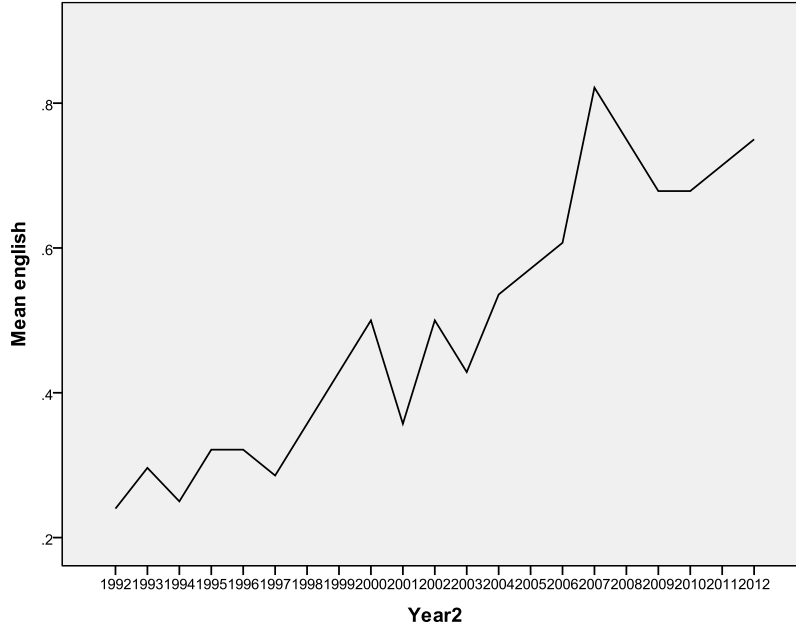


Figure 4.2: English variable results.

4.5 Western vs. Local Models and or Celebrities

Western models and celebrities and local models and celebrities appeared exactly in the same numbers of advertisements of the sample (N=86, 14.7% each). Observing the changes of the presence of models and or celebrities over the 21 year period indicate a marginally significant increase in the portion of Western models ($F(\text{linearity})= 3.65$, $p=.056$). On the other hand, no increase or decrease was detected in the presence of local models and or celebrities over the 21 year period ($F(\text{linearity})=.16$, $p=.693$).

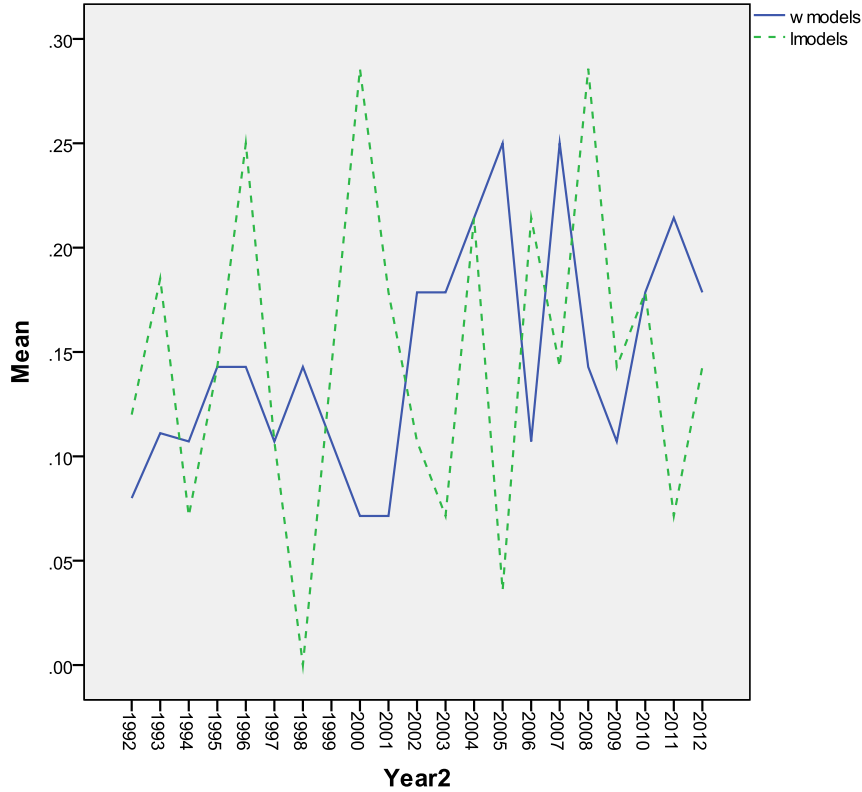


Figure 4.3: Western models and local models variables results.

4.6 Western vs. Local Themes

The results indicate that the presence of Western themes is more prevalent than local themes in Kuwaiti front page advertisements. Western themes were found in 288 advertisements (49.9%) whereas, local themes were found in only 118 advertisements (20.2%). A McNemar's Chi-square test indicate that the difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2= 70.35, p=.000$). Over the 21 years it was clearly observed that the use of Western themes in both Western and local advertisements significantly increased. A linearity test confirms that this increase in Western themes is significant ($F=27.76, p=.000$). However, no linear increase and decrease was observed in local themes

presented in advertisements published on front pages of Kuwaiti dailies ($F=1.44$, $p=.230$).

Figure 4.4 below is an illustration of the results.



Figure 4.4: Western themes and local themes variables results.

4.7 Western vs. Local Artifacts and or Settings

Similarly, the results indicate that the presence of Western artifacts and or settings in the advertisements is more prevalent than local artifacts and or settings. Western artifacts and settings were found in 51.5% of the sample (301 advertisements), while local artifacts and settings were found in only 22.3% of the sample (130 advertisements). The difference between the two groups was found to be statistically significant as indicated by a McNemar's Chi-square test ($\chi^2= 68.65\%$, $p=.000$). In addition, observing the increase and decrease patterns of the presence of Western settings and or artifacts over the 21 year period indicated that the presence has increased. A linearity test

indicated that this gradual increase was significant ($F=15.28$, $p=.000$). Furthermore, observing the presence of local settings and or artifacts over the years indicated a decrease in their use ($F(\text{linearity})= 4.81$, $p=.029$). Figure 4.5 below is an illustration of the results.

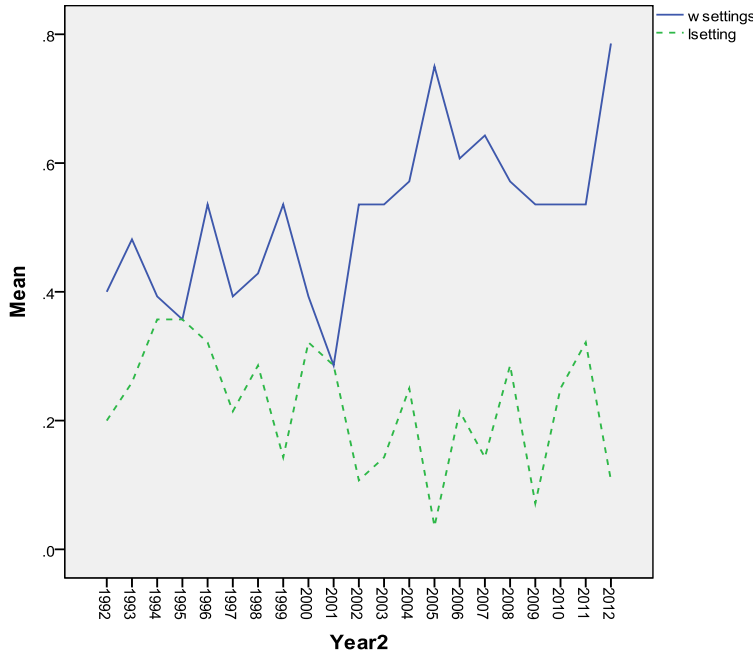


Figure 4.5: Western settings and local settings variables results

Overall, the presence of Western models and or celebrities, the presence of Western themes, the presence of Western settings and or artifacts are all indications of the increase in the degree of Westernization of the advertisement due to the increase in the Western components in the advertisements.

The content analysis also addresses seven cultural values and their presence. The seven identified values are: tradition versus modernity, nationalism/ patriotism versus globalization/ internationalization, individualism versus collectiveness, filial piety/

respect for the elderly versus youth/ beauty, harmony versus competition, conservativeness versus freedom, and active contribution versus passive acceptance.

4.8 Modernity vs. Tradition

The results of the content analysis indicate the Western cultural value of modernity was found in 71.4% (N= 417) compared to 25.7% (N= 150) advertisements with the local cultural value of tradition. A McNemar's Chi-square test indicates that the difference between the cultural value of modernity and the cultural value of tradition is statistically significant ($\chi^2=124.79, p=.000$). This indicates that the presence of modernity in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies is more prevalent than the use of tradition. However, further analysis of the results over the 21 year period indicate no linear change (increase/ decrease) for both modernity ($F(\text{linearity})= 1.84, p=.176$) and tradition ($F(\text{linearity})= .39, p= .531$). Figure 4.6 below is an illustration of the results.

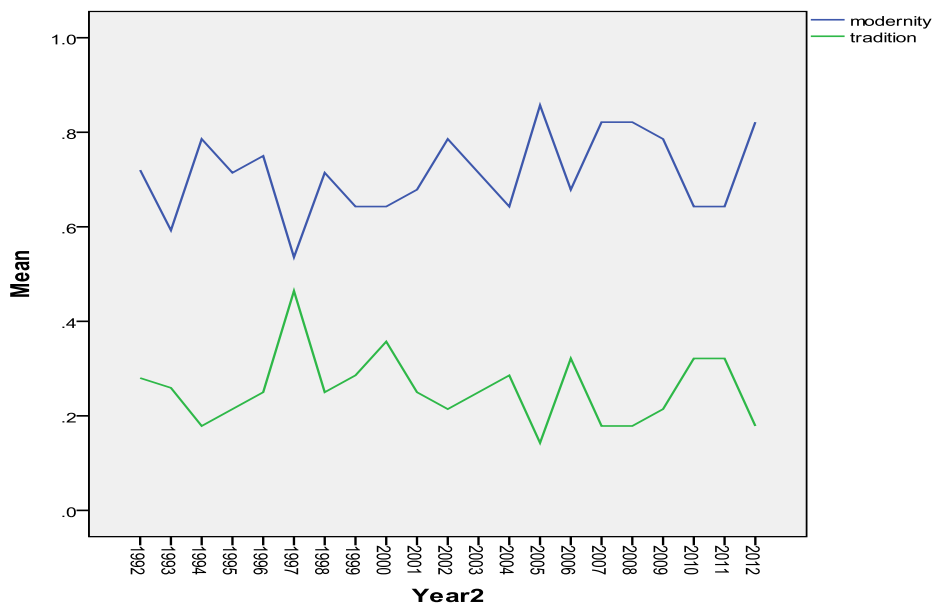


Figure 4.6: Modernity and tradition variables results.

4.9 Globalization vs. Nationalism

Globalization was another significantly more prevalently used Western cultural value in contrast to nationalism/ patriotism (McNemar's Chi-square $\chi^2= 103.50$, $p=.000$). Globalization was present in 312 advertisements (53.4%), while nationalism/ patriotism was present in 104 advertisements (17.8%). Observing the time period of the sample (21 years) indicates that the presence of globalization increased ($F(\text{linearity})= 28.79$, $p=.000$) as indicated by a statistically significant linearity test. Moreover, nationalism/ patriotism did not increase or decrease significantly ($F(\text{linearity})= .22$, $p= .642$). Figure 4.7 below is an illustration of the results.



Figure 4.7: Globalization and nationalism variables results.

4.10 Individualism vs. Collectiveness

Comparing the Western cultural value of individualism and the local cultural value of collectiveness also indicated a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2= 16.50$, $p=.000$) suggesting that individualism is more prevalent in its presence in Kuwaiti front page advertisements than collectiveness. Individualism appeared in 291 of the advertisements (49.8%) in contrast to 200 advertisements (34.2%) where collectiveness appeared. In addition, individualism did not either increase or decrease over the period of the observations ($F(\text{linearity})=.25$, $p=.618$), while collectiveness indicated a significant increase over the 21 year period ($F= 6.87$, $p=.009$). Figure 4.8 below is an illustration of the results.

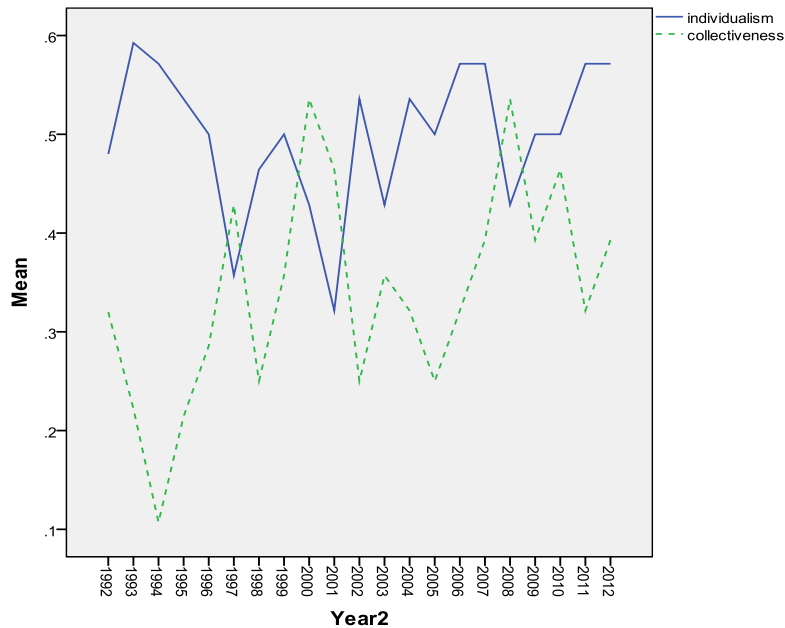


Figure 4.8: Individualism and collectiveness variables results

4.11 Youth/ Beauty vs. Filial Piety/ Respect for the Elderly

The next set of cultural values analyzed were the Western cultural value of youth and beauty and the Eastern cultural value of filial piety and the respect of the elderly. Youth and beauty was found in 35.4% of the sample (207 advertisements), while filial piety and the respect of the elderly was found in 10.8% (63 advertisements) of the sample. A McNemar Chi-square test indicates that the difference between the two cultural values is statistically significant ($\chi^2= 76.30$, $p=.000$) suggesting a higher prevalence of youth and beauty in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti newspapers between 1992 and 2012. However, no trend of either increase or decrease was observed in both cultural values over the 21 year period; youth and beauty ($F(\text{linearity}) = .75$, $p=.386$) and filial piety ($F(\text{linearity})=2.14$, $p=.144$). Figure 4.9 below is an illustration of the results.

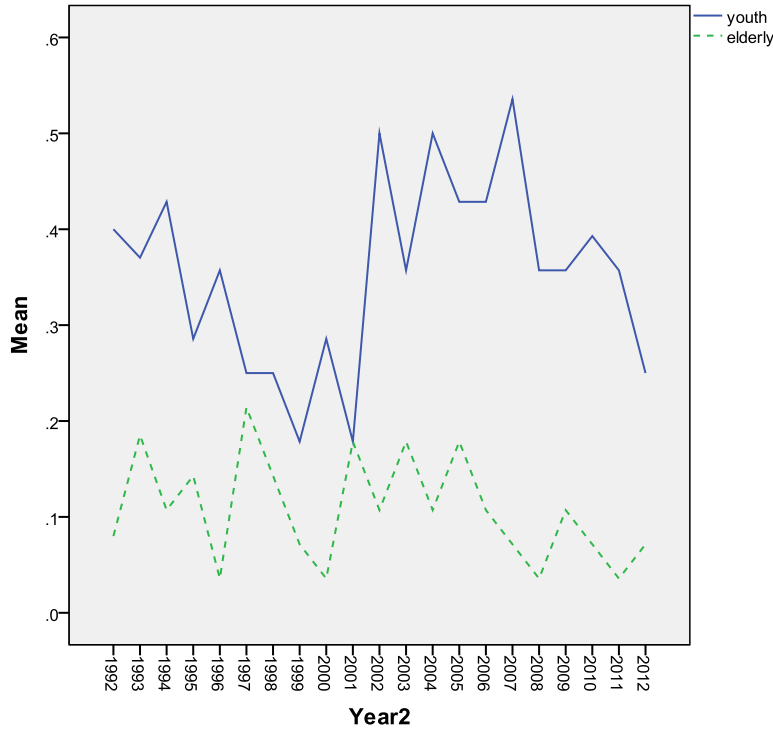


Figure 4.9: Youth/ beauty and filial piety/ respect for the elderly variables results

4.12 Competition vs. Harmony with others

The Western cultural value of competition was then compared and contrasted to the local cultural value of harmony with others. Competition appeared in 42.0% of the sample (245 advertisements) in comparison to harmony with others appearing 37.0% of the sample (216 advertisements). These are a pair of cultural values that the McNemar's Chi-square test indicated not a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2= 1.72$, $p=.190$). Thus, it can't be argued that one cultural value is more prevalent in presence than the other. Yet observing the two cultural values over the 21 year period indicates that the proportions of them both have increased; competition ($F(\text{linearity}) =4.48$, $p=.035$) and harmony with others ($F(\text{linearity})=8.67$, $p=.003$). Figure 4.10 below is an illustration of the results.

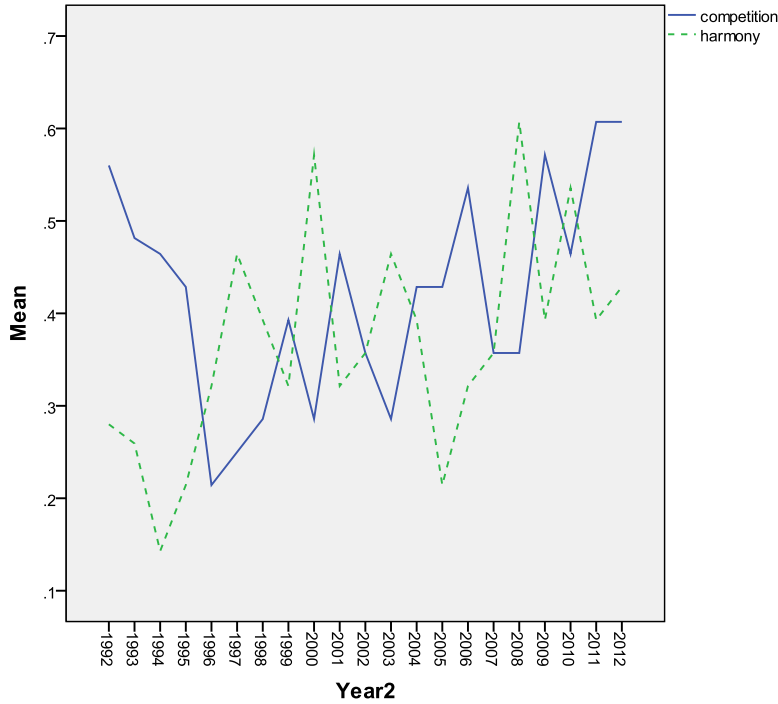


Figure 4.10: Competition and harmony with others variables results.

4.13 Freedom vs. Conservativeness

Freedom was found in 278 advertisement (47.6%) versus 45 advertisements (7.7%) where conservativeness was found. The Western cultural value of freedom was found more frequent significantly in comparison with the local cultural value of conservativeness ($\chi^2= 166.64\%$, $p=.000$). This suggests that the use of freedom is more prevalent than the use of conservativeness in the sample. This pair of cultural values did not reflect an increase or decrease over the 21 years of observation; freedom ($F(\text{linearity}) = .96$, $p=.327$) and conservativeness ($F(\text{linearity}) = .77$, $p=.381$). Figure 4.11 below is an illustration of the results.

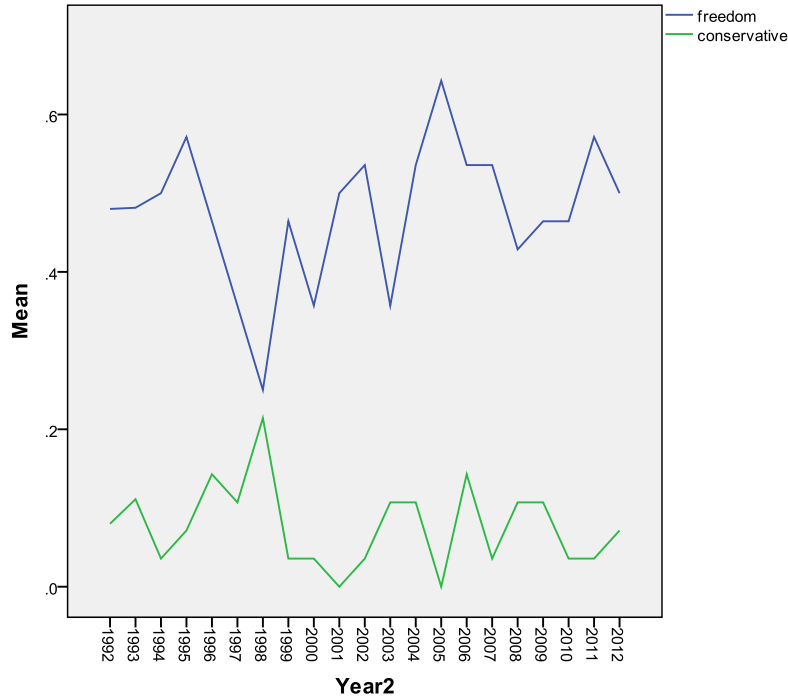


Figure 4.11: Freedom and conservativeness variables results.

4.14 Active Contribution vs. Passive Acceptance

The last pair of Western versus local cultural values compared and contrasted was active contribution versus passive acceptance. Active contribution was present in 349 advertisements (59.8%), while passive acceptance was present in 124 advertisements (21.2%). A McNemar's Chi-square test indicated that the difference between 59.8% and 21.2% is statistically significant ($\chi^2= 106.53, p=.000$). This finding suggested that the use of the Western cultural value of active contribution is more prevalent than the local value of passive acceptance. While active contribution did not show a sign of increasing or decreasing over the years ($F(\text{linearity})= 2.18, p=.140$), passive acceptance showed a significant increase ($F(\text{linearity})= 24.65, p=.000$). Figure 4.12 below is an illustration of the results.

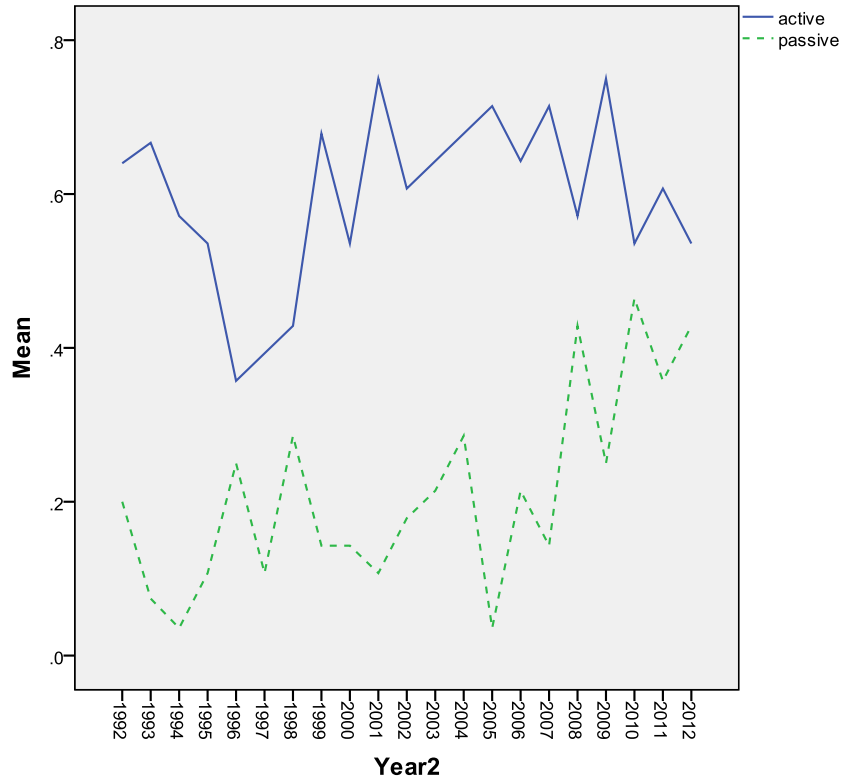


Figure 4.12: Active contribution and passive acceptance variables results.

In summary, Western cultural values dominated the values presented by the advertisements of the sample (Western and non-Western advertisements). Modernity was more present in comparison to tradition, globalization was more present than nationalism, individualism was more present than collectiveness, youth/ beauty was more present than filial piety/ respect for the elderly, freedom was more present than conservativeness, and active contribution was more present than passive acceptance. It is essential to note that although increases and decreases were found in different cultural values (local and Western), Western values were observed in higher frequencies and had more significant increases over the 21 year period.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, the presence and prevalence of Westernization in Kuwaiti print advertising from 1992 to 2012 were examined. This chapter presents the discussion of the results and findings of the quantitative content analysis presented in the study. A discussion of the results and findings connected to each variable is presented. The main two findings: the prevalence of Western attributes in advertising published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012, and the increase of Western cultural values over the past 21 years are discussed. This is followed by an exploration of the implications of the findings; and a discussion of how the findings are connected to the existing literature. The chapter then presents a limitations and future research section addressing the main limitations faced by the author in conducting the study, and suggestions for future research.

The two main objectives of the study are; firstly, to report how prevalent Westernization in Kuwaiti advertising has been from 1992 to 2012, and secondly, whether Westernization has increased or decreased over this time period. The main goal here is to document a new era of transformation in Kuwaiti history and give empirical evidence of the cultural changes experienced by Kuwait, a country that in the near past was conservative and simple. The cultural changes reflected in newspaper advertising and analyzed by the content analysis are the indicators used to measure the degree of

Westernization in the advertisements. This in turn is an indication of the change in society that leans towards Westernization and modernization.

From the findings a connection can be made between Western attributes and Western products. Previous research on advertising (Lin, 2001; Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, Mueller, 1992; and Kalliny, 2010) confirms that there is a connection between the origin of the advertisement (i.e., where it was made), the origin of the brand it is advertising, and the cultural values presented. Advertisements for Western brands are more likely to carry more Western values, use Western models and celebrities, use Western themes, and use Western settings (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011).

Advertisements for Western products and or brands were designed and developed by Western advertising agencies for Western manufacturers; and although the products are being promoted internationally these firms follow certain advertisements standardization levels (Mueller, 1992). As a result their advertisements have general appeal themes that may be used in multiple regions or markets. However, the major image and cultural reference they are based on is Western (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006). A large percentage of advertisements are imported to the Middle East with their products and not all advertisements are tailor made for the region. Moreover, no advertisements are made country-specific for Arab countries like Kuwait. Although huge differences are present between the cultures, politics, and populations of the region (i.e., major differences between Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, etc.) these countries are clustered together as one monolithic bloc. The 22 countries of the Middle East do share certain Arab/ Eastern cultural values, language, and or religions yet the profound political and economic differences have created growing differences between the living conditions,

societal environments, and financial statuses of the population. Thus, advertising for these populations as one consumer block can be distorted. Advertisements for Western brands were clearly not specifically made for Kuwait and consequently contained more Western values than local values (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006). Findings of this study indicated that advertising for non-Western products and or brands in Kuwaiti print is not necessarily more prevalent. Yet, the proportion of Western advertisements has been continuously increasing over the last 21 years analyzed. An increase of 15% has been observed in the analyzed time period. This is an indication of the increase in Western brands imported to the country, and an increase in the number of Western franchises existing today in Kuwait. However, the results indicate a drop in the number of Western brands advertised for in advertisements published in Kuwaiti dailies in 2001 which is noteworthy. This is due to the boycott of Western products that took place at different periods of that year (Kuwaitona, 2013). In 2001 due to, internationally published, European drawings insulting Islam and the Prophet, a number of governments restricted imports of Western products and national demonstrations defending Islam took place around the Middle East (no demonstrations took place in Kuwait) (Kuwaitona, 2013). These public uproars' main slogan was "boycott Western products". Demonstrations taking place in Egypt encouraged the boycott of Western brands in an attempt to negatively affect Western economies as a response to the insults circulated against Islam and Prophet Mohammad (Kuwaitona, 2013). These regional events affected the small countries of the Gulf including Kuwait. In turn, these political events were reflected in the media, as the findings of this study indicate. The researcher speculates

that this caused the drop in the presence of Western advertisements in Kuwaiti newspapers in 2001.

The results from the current study indicated that the use of the English language in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies has rapidly increased over the years. The findings suggest that advertisements for Western products fostered more English and more Western themes as the years progressed. Although, English was not prevalent in advertisements published in 1992, the results indicate an increase of the presence of English in the 21 year period of the analysis, from 22% in 1992 to 75% in 2012. Regardless of the use of English in brand names, company names, logos, and slogans, English was used in the wording of a high percentage of advertisements. The use of English in Kuwait in all aspects of life – education, health, media, government documents, and even road signs all encourage multinational franchises and Western companies to export their Western English worded advertisements to Kuwait. In addition, the population make up, with large percentages of foreigners, would for sure encourage the use of English in print advertising to extend the reach of these advertising messages to non-Kuwaitis residing in the country. The bilingualism present in Kuwait would increase the probability of Western companies using their standardized English worded advertisements in Kuwait. Unlike countries of East Asia, China, Japan, India, etc. that have different languages and have to be accommodated in advertising used in their media Kuwait presents easier entry to its media outputs and its markets through the use of English. Results indicate that the use of English is not necessarily "prevalent" in front page advertising in Kuwaiti daily newspapers, yet it is exponentially increasing. The increased use of English wording creates a Western frame for the advertisements. English

has become a direct indicator of internationalization that is directly tied to the West (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005). The increased use of English results in a higher degree of Westernization in the advertisements published in the Kuwaiti press. These advertisements for Western products using a Western language have constructed a social and cultural selectiveness for Western products and brands. In addition, the language plays a role in portraying Western cultural values to the local society. With the population construction in Kuwait and the wide-spread use of English this was a logical evolution. Interestingly, local advertisements also joined Western advertisements in their use of English – with the majority of local advertisements in 2012 being bilingual, presenting both Arabic and English wording. This is an indication of the increased degree of Westernization in advertisements published in Kuwaiti dailies and the diffusion of English into even larger aspects of Kuwaiti life. These findings are in agreement with previous studies on Westernization of print advertising in Eastern countries, that all indicated that an increase in the use of the English language is considered an increase in the degree of Westernization (Mueller, 1991, 1992; Lin 2001; Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006).

Although models and celebrities – Western or non-Western – were present in the sample they were not prevalent across the time period analyzed. Regardless of the origin of the models and celebrities the use of such endorsers did not appear frequently in advertisements published on the front pages of AlQabas and AlWatan between 1992 and 2012. Both Western and non-Western models (and celebrities) have appeared only in about 15% of the entire advertisements analyzed. The findings of this study are similar to those produced by previous studies on analyzing the presence of models and celebrities in

Arab and Eastern advertising. Mueller (1992), Karande and colleagues (2006), and Kalliny (2010) all confirm that the presence of models (Western or local) and celebrity endorsers is low in advertising in the region. However, the presence of Western models and celebrities did increase over the years, from approximately 8% in 1992 to 21% in 2012, and became more prevalent. This suggests a move towards imitating Western models of advertising that excessively employ the use of models and celebrity endorsers. Furthermore, international companies presented the same advertisements in Kuwaiti newspapers that they presented in their international campaigns for a particular season and or a particular product, consequently the analyzing of depiction of local men and women in this category was not doable (as none were used or presented in advertisements for Western products and or services). This fact itself is an indication of the high degree of Westernization in the advertisements published in Kuwaiti dailies. However, it is significant to highlight that although Western models were presented, generally, the including of a model or celebrity (Western or not) did not deviate for societal norms and religious beliefs i.e., no strong nudity was found in any of the advertisements. This observation also is consistent with findings of Karande and colleagues (2006), and Kalliny (2010) research that suggested that images presented in print advertising in the Arab world are consistent with societal norms. "The depiction of men and women in advertisements is a culturally normative component of advertising content, and its use is primarily influenced by cultural similarities." (Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006, p. 497). It is interesting to point out, that it was observed (however not coded for) that all models and or celebrities that were presented in local advertisements were dressed appropriately. It is essential to note these images presented a combination of traditional

and modern attire (i.e., some models were dressed in Western attire – trousers, shirts, skirts, blouses, etc. and others were dressed in Kuwaiti dresses, robes, headdresses, etc.) but both maintained a level of conservative covering. For example, no Western advertisements presented models in bathing suits or bare-chested men, while no images of certain body gestures of intimacy were presented either.

Western themes were a main attribute that was prevalent in the advertisements of the sample. In addition, the data confirmed an increase in the presence of Western themes in all the advertisements sampled (Western and or non-Western) from 1992 to 2012. Similarly, Western settings and artifacts were also prevalent in the advertisements published in AlQabas and AlWatan from 1992 to 2012. The Western themes and settings come hand in hand with Western products. Settings and themes presented in print advertising reflect the image prevalent in society (Mueller, 1992). Western themes and Western settings may be discussed together as they are both related to the image presented by the advertisements. In addition, both these attributes were prevalent and increasing in the time period. Also connected to this increase is the increase in advertisements for Western brands discussed earlier. The increase in advertisements for Western brands can be held responsible for the increase in the presence of models and celebrities, and the increase in the use of Western themes and Western artifacts and settings. The main implication of their increase and their repeated use and presentation is the increase of Westernization in the advertisements published.

Modernity presents Western values in contrast to the tradition that presents local culture and heritage. Modernity presents all that is new and contemporary or up-to-date encouraging development, new technologies, and new trends (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim,

2011). This cultural value was prevalent in the sample. Modernity focuses on change and on the future while in contrast tradition emphasizes the past, history, customs, and time-honored conventions (Lin, 2001, p. 84). The prevalence of the cultural value of modernity may be caused by different phases of development experienced by Kuwait. The government's urbanization plans and educational system developments may have reflected in an increased sense of development and modernity in society. Both modernity and tradition did not show signs of a significant increase or decrease over the 21 year period of analysis. This is an indication of the presence of both cultural values but not necessarily their prevalence. Tradition is the foundation of Arabian societies (alongside religion). Thus, its stability is to be expected. Previous studies confirm that Arab cultures are still strongly connected with their traditions (Kallin, 2010, Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006). Kuwait is a traditional society in many aspects yet it is a modern society as well. Modernity has become the second face of the society. The advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies between 1992 and 2012 created a balance between these two opposite cultural values, allowing them to survive and thrive side by side.

Globalization was a prevalent Western cultural value indicated by the results. Globalization and internationalization refer to a homogenized borderless world where Western values are pervasive and the world is connected, while patriotism is being associated with Kuwait presenting sentiments of loyalty and love to the country (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 283). Similar to modernity, globalization was popular and present in the advertisements covering a larger period from 1992 to 2012 showing signs of a significant increase over the years. Globalization was compared and contrasted to the

local cultural value of nationalism and or patriotism. No significant increase or decrease of this local cultural value was recorded. However, in 1996 a significant drop in the presence of globalization and a significant increase in nationalism was recorded. The researcher speculates that this was due to the elections of the Kuwaiti National Assembly (Parliament) taking place. This caused an increase in advertisements for candidates running in the elections. These advertisements emphasized loyalty to Kuwait, patriotism, and the national general good. Nationalism (a psychological identification and a kinship of a population under one shared culture and or nation (Tetreault and Al-Mughni, 1995, p. 66)) has been bolstered by all public and private sectors in Kuwait. Annual celebrations, fund raisers, different charities, school plays, Ministry participations, and cultural galas all organize patriotic corners with flags, souvenirs, pictures of the Al-Sabah family, in addition to performances about the Kuwaiti heritage. This is a true example of the hybrid culture and environment that exists in Kuwait; Kuwait is very Western yet it is simultaneously very Kuwaiti. Globalization is encouraged, while nationalism is small in percentage, but still preserved in the advertisements.

Individualism also was one of the prevalent Western cultural values indicated by the results. "Individualism is defined as an attribute that encourages independence, distance from others, separation from the family, nonconformity, originality, uniqueness, and self reliance" (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 283). This cultural value is one of the strongest societal values associated with Western societies (Lin, 2001).

Advertisements presenting the cultural value of individualism seemed to encourage consumerism. Although it was prevalent, no increase was recorded for individualism over the 21 year period. Individualism presents a polar opposite to the high-context cultural

value of collectiveness found in Eastern societies. This value of individualism is Western in that it contrasts the local Kuwaiti culture of togetherness, the group, and being part of the family. Interestingly collectiveness showed signs of significant increases over the 21 year period. Collectiveness emphasizes togetherness, being part of a group and conformity with the family. The family in particular is an important aspect in this cultural value (Lin, 2001). Collectiveness has survived alongside a set of emerging Western cultural values that have become popular. There is a possibility that collectiveness has increased due to political and economic events. The researcher speculates that continuous threats from neighboring countries, such as Iraq and close by Iran, of invading Kuwait, have resulted in an increased sense of collectiveness among members of the Kuwaiti society. In addition, economic turbulence, the increase and decrease in oil prices – the main export of Kuwait and the foundation of its economy, could have resulted in the increase of clustering of the population due to economic instability and GDP fluctuation (Kuwaitona, 2013). These combined factors could have encouraged the increase of the presentation of togetherness and collective sentiments and actions published in advertisements in Kuwaiti newspapers. No clear inferences could be made from the results on the reason behind the increase of the presence of this cultural value. However, its increase implies a strongly tied Kuwaiti society that has still not completely moved to a new shape and form regardless of the development it has experienced. This coincides with findings of previous studies (Mueller, 1992; Lin, 2001; Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan, 2006; Kalliny, 2010; and Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011) that suggest that Eastern societies remain collectivistic in many aspects, regardless of widespread development and modernity.

Although the Western cultural value of youth and beauty was more prevalent than the Eastern cultural value of filial piety and respect for the elderly, it did not record an increase during the 21 year period. The cultural value of youth and beauty was anticipated to increase in both Western and non-Western advertisements with the increase in consumerism in Kuwait. It was surprising that this cultural value did not exponentially increase especially when all franchises such as cosmetics, jewelry, watches, clothes, eyeglasses, shoes, perfumes, etc. all have increasingly "overplayed" this cultural value in their images, wording, and slogans. Beauty and youth are the main component used strategically by many advertising agencies to promote all sorts of products of the fashion industry, thus no increase in this cultural values is unexpected. Nonetheless, its prevalence is an indication that it remains strongly. Filial piety and respect for the elderly also did not either increase or decrease over the years. Advertisements presenting filial piety show a positive image of the elderly who are respected and obeyed, at the same time they present an obligation of the younger generation to care for the older generations. (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011, p. 284). This cultural value is embedded in Kuwaiti traditions and it shapes the whole form of the interaction between members of the family and in turn members of the society. The family is the main unit in society in Kuwait; the idea of being part of a family governs the relationships of the younger and older generations in addition to the relationship of the citizens with the Al-Sabah ruling family. The Amir is considered the father of the country and the citizens all members of his extended family. The presence of the cultural values of youth and or beauty alongside filial piety and or respect for the elderly is yet another example of the mixed societal status Kuwait is experiencing (similar to modernity and tradition). However, the small

percentage recorded for the presence of the local cultural value of filial piety and respect for the elderly, in addition to no increase recorded over the 21 year period of the analysis, suggests that this local cultural value might not be one of the main cultural values associated with the Kuwaiti culture. This cultural value is weakly present. Whereas previous research on China (Lin, 2001; Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011; and Dongjin, Shenghui, and Hua, 2007) and Japan (Mueller, 1991, 1992) highlight the prevalence of this cultural value in their findings, the findings of this study indicate it is neither prevalent nor increasing in Kuwait. This confirms findings of Kalliny (2010) and Karande, Almurshidee, and Al-Olayan (2006) that also did not find this cultural value to be prevalent in advertisements published in Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.

The Western cultural value of competition was compared and contrasted to the local cultural value of harmony with others in the 21 year period. There was not a significant difference between the use of these two values. Competition urges individual success and elevated individual personal rank and acting in isolation of the group. This is considered a Western cultural value that is directly connected to individualism – as competition is encouraged in Western cultures as a means to better one's self (Kalliny, 2010). It confronts the Arab cultural value of being in harmony with others which encourages togetherness and focuses on the general good and the success of the group due to bonding and harmony (Kalliny, 2010). The results indicate both of these cultural values increased during the 21 year period. However, the connection between the increase in the Western cultural value of competition and local cultural value of harmony with others can't be fully explained from the results of this study. The only implication

that may be deduced is the endurance of local values and the adoption of Western values simultaneously. What can be inferred is that; although members of society are becoming increasingly competitive, they do not affect the harmony of the social circles they belong to. Success may come as the result of a group effort, or alternatively individual success may be enjoyed collectively in Kuwait. Kalliny (2010) presented findings that agree with the findings of this study. He noted that competition exists in Arab cultures within harmony with others. Kalliny (2010) clarified that competition exists in smaller circles in Arabian cultures and that harmony with others is encouraged, mostly, in the larger circles of society in these cultures. For example, competition occurs on a more individual level (e.g., for example, individual success at the workplace), while the individual is required to be in harmony with family and society when it comes to the general good.

The Western cultural value of freedom was also observed over the years as a prevalent cultural value. This Western cultural value encourages freedom and liberation from restraints and conformity with religious restrictions (Kalliny, 2010). Although freedom is generally connected with religion or politics all the advertisements analyzed in the sample presented a different kind of image of freedom. Religion and politics was never mentioned or hinted at, and instead human freedom, enjoyment, better liberating body and self image, enhancement of beauty, nature, and freedom of spirit were focused on. These presentations were also an indication of the standardization of advertisements that are published internationally all around the world and that are purposely kept neutral of political views and religious beliefs to be able to appeal to the largest portion of the population. Inherent in this cultural value are the value of modernization, self development, and certain aspects globalization (i.e., joining the world, being free of the

local). This is an indication of the growing Westernization of the advertisements published in Kuwaiti newspapers and the increased diffusion of Western cultural values into the Kuwaiti society. This can be further related to the diffusion of other Western values such as modernity and individualism. The combination of these Western values all include an aspect of freedom (in one way or another). Thus, it is not surprising that with the progress of the years freedom has become more prevalent in Kuwaiti advertisements. However, the findings indicate that a drop in the presence of the cultural value of freedom with a simultaneous increase in the cultural value of conservativeness took place in 1998. The researcher hypothesizes that this took place due to the Islamists' group demonstrations calling for segregated education in Kuwait University (Kuwaitona, 2013). In 1998, Islamists groups raised the issue of mixed male/ female education in Kuwait University in the media. They called for government action to separate males from females in the classrooms, and the building of a separate university only for females. These calls have still not been fully addressed by the government, yet they might have been the cause of the decrease of the cultural value of freedom and the increase of the cultural value of conservativeness in 1998. Conservativeness was another local cultural value that did not increase or decrease between 1992 and 2012 in presentation in advertisements published on the front pages of AlQabas and AlWatan. However, the endurance of this cultural value is no surprise as it is directly connected to the teachings of the Islamic religion. As the country's population has a majority of Muslims it is natural that advertisers adhere by their expected and accepted level of conservativeness. An unannounced dress code, body language code, and public rules of conduct seem to be followed by all the advertisers. No nudity of any level was presented in both men and or

women depicted (Western, or non-Western). In addition, no intimate body gestures (such as kissing, hugging, etc.) were presented. Although Kuwait is "a free country" which abides by the courts and constitution there are societal norms that cannot be overlooked by the media and its different images presented. Kuwait is not an Islamic country, like Saudi Arabia or Iran (where women are obliged to cover), yet it is a Muslim majority country where Islamic beliefs are respected. The Kuwaiti society may be said to be experiencing "conservative freedom". Aspects of religious and social conservativeness are combined with aspects of Western freedom and liberation to create a unique equilibrium.

Another prevalent Western cultural value indicated by the results was active contribution. Active contribution refers to the Western values of encouraging individual creativity and input to society, in contrast with passive acceptance, which refers to the Arab cultural value of accepting reality and harmony with existing norms in society (Lin, 2001). Active contribution leans towards a changing world where small contributions are significant, in comparison to passive acceptance that focuses on stability and static reality. Karande and colleagues (2006) and Kalliny (2010) suggest from the findings of their studies on Arab cultures, that Arab societies may be described as passive more than active. Traditions and religious restrictions have caused society to remain tied back (Kalliny, 2010) and for individual contributions to be limited from members of the society. An interesting finding in this study was the significant increase in the cultural value of passive acceptance over the 21 year period. This value is connected to collectiveness and being in harmony with members of the society. This cultural value could be responsible for the slow development in the region as it focuses on stability and

static reality and encourages acceptance of the current status of society with no support for change of future developments. It is unexpected that this value would increase as it is the opposite of many Western values that were found to be prevalent in advertising in Kuwaiti front page advertising. These Western cultural values encourage development, improvement, modernity, and focusing on the future. The increase of passive acceptance can be an indication of a change in the direction of the society, and its return to some of its original cultural values. Mueller (1992) contended from her study on cultural values presented on Japanese advertising that with the increase of Westernization in Eastern cultures there seems to be a movement "back" aimed at reviving traditional cultures and the increase of calls by different bodies in society for the preserving of the local identity. The finding presented by this study: the increase in passive acceptance – could be related to the Kuwaitization plans implemented by the Kuwaiti government. However, only speculations can be made from the findings drawing a relationship between the increase in acceptance and the active Kuwaitization movement in Kuwait.

It is essential to highlight that the method of content analysis in its nature can not offer causal explanations. Many of the fluctuations in the cultural values could not be projected into the future, nor connections between causes and effects can be made just on the basis of the results of the content analysis. However, this method is advantageous in that it gives an in-depth view of the content at hand, in this case, advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti newspapers between 1992 and 2012. No evidence may be extracted from this content analysis on the reason why certain local cultural values endured while others began to disappear. Similarly, no causality may be inferred for the appearance and increase of certain Western values. Many economic,

political, religious, and cultural factors may be connected to this change. Further investigation into the Kuwaiti society, culture, and media is needed to provide explanations for such relationships. With the increase in the "Kuwaitization" movement, there is a possibility of a connection between the endurance of a certain set of local cultural values and the increase of the injection of society with its local values by different organizations and institutions. However, this content analysis alone may not give a firm explanation about this relationship. The results indicate that there is no clear relationship between the advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies and specific cultural values. Although, the form and content of the advertisements suggested that local cultural values were observed, the advertisements did not, in general, emphasize the local Kuwaiti identity and local Arab or Islamic cultural values (AlNajdi and McCrea, 2012, p.68).

This study aimed at measuring the degree of Westernization in the advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies. The results and findings indicate that there has been an increase in the degree of Westernization of the advertisements published in Kuwaiti newspapers between 1992 and 2012 demonstrated by the prevalence of Western attributes and Western cultural values presented. Western cultural values have increased in presence and also diffused into non-Western advertisements published. The English language in particular has increased in presence and use in advertisements noticeably. At the same time, the presence of Western models became more prevalent over the 21 year period, while the presence of Western themes was a prominent component even in non-Western advertisements. With the increase in the cultural value of modernization and globalization, and the increase of Western companies and

franchises in Kuwait (which in turn increases the number of advertisements published in Kuwaiti newspapers for Western products and or brands), the presence of Western themes and Western settings and or artifacts in print advertisements has increased over the years. This increase in the presence of Western values and attributes in advertisements is an indication of the strength of Western values and the real transformation of the Kuwaiti society from a typical Arab Eastern state into a globalized modern society. The increased Westernization of the images presented in advertisements in Kuwaiti dailies from 1992 to 2012 indicates an increased degree of Westernization in the Kuwaiti society that has evolved to regard itself as modern. Images reflecting young Kuwaitis (employing local models) and presenting Western themes and settings (city backgrounds, holiday retreats, Western office settings, etc.) are indicative of the state of the society at the moment. Advertising presents a mirror reflection of what is lived, accepted, and expected by society, thus advertisements, especially from 1992 and onwards, showed a modern Westernized image of Kuwait and Kuwaitis. The cultural values presented in advertisements published in Kuwaiti dailies have moved towards more Westernized cultural values – as indicated by the results and discussion of the content analysis.

From the results and findings of the content analysis, it is safe to conclude that the distinctive cultural history and the values of its creators heavily influence advertising and its audiences in a given country (Cheong, Zheng, and Kim, 2011). The origin of the advertisement was a strong factor in shaping what cultural values were presented in the advertisement. In general, advertisements for Western products and or brands seemed to disregard local culture and focus on product promotion and marketing (AlNajdi and

McCrea, 2012). On the other hand, advertisements that were local were greatly influenced by Western models. In conclusion, print advertising in Kuwait seems to be under the influence of Western patterns and cultural values (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005). This content analysis of the advertisements in the 21-year time period provides evidence for the power of Westernization in penetrating local Eastern cultures.

Kuwait, among other Middle Eastern countries, is still experimenting in many fields of modern life. The media in particular have experienced a significant change due to the entry of Western media bodies, channels, and broadcasts into the market. Consequently, as Cheng and Patwardhan (2010) pointed out; "advertising in these countries seems to be in more flux than in other developed nations" (p. 70). Trends in advertising forms and content seem to be torn between local and global cultures. As the results indicated, both Western and local cultural values are present, although Western values seem to be increasing and local cultural values are nonetheless enduring.

This hybridization between two contrasting sets of cultures has left advertising in Kuwaiti print with no clear identity. The findings of this study showed that local cultural values and Western cultural values are both present in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti dailies between 1992 and 2012. The results indicate that Western cultural values are prevalent in their presence in Kuwaiti print advertising, yet, local cultures are also present. Interestingly, the results indicate that four local attributes and local cultural values have increased over the 21 year period of the analysis: the presence of local models, the presence of the cultural value of collectiveness, the presence of the cultural value of harmony with others, and the local cultural value of passive acceptance. As a result; Western models and local models are both used, the Western cultural value of

individualism coexists with the local cultural value of collectiveness, the Western cultural value of competition coexists with the local cultural value of harmony with others, and the Western cultural value of active contribution coexists with the local cultural value of passive acceptance.

The findings indicate that Kuwait has a somewhat unique local culture that incorporates modern Western cultural values with local Arab cultural values. One may speculate that this is due to a number of political, economic, cultural, and social developments that have taken place and are still taking place in Kuwait.

Economically, Kuwait has been transformed, due to sudden wealth gained from oil exports. This has created a surplus of Western products imported from Europe and America in the Kuwaiti markets. Kuwaiti consumers have become accustomed to using foreign products; in turn this has created flourishing markets in Kuwait for numerous products. As a result the number of multinational companies present, Western franchises present, and Western investments made in Kuwait have exponentially grown after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991. In turn this has increased the imitation of Kuwaiti companies of capitalist models. This situation has consequently created a huge increase in the number of advertisements placed in the Kuwaiti media.

Politically the implementation of regulations of international agreements made by the Kuwaiti government with European countries and America has created an open environment in the country (Kuwaitona, 2013). Development has taken off in the country due to the freedom granted by the Kuwaiti government to the citizens – that does not exist in other Arab countries. This increased freedom adopted by the Kuwaiti government

and freedom enjoyed by the population has created a more Westernized environment in the country in comparison with other countries of the region.

Furthermore, the historically varied population has created a cosmopolitan environment in Kuwait. The mixing of the local Kuwaiti culture with the many cultures of the foreigners residing in the country since the 1930s has created a Kuwaiti identity that is made up of many Arab and foreign identities. The Kuwaiti identity itself has evolved to be unique in its cultural values. The local culture has been penetrated and merged by a variety of foreign cultures (Western and Arab) to create a new hybrid local culture. This hybrid culture is composed of the original traditional cultural values that include collectivism, patriotism, acceptance, harmony with others, respect for the elderly, and conservativeness, in addition to adopted cultural values that include modernity, individualism, competition, freedom, and active contribution. The modern Kuwaiti can be modern in attire and traditional in behavior, Western in their competition and contribution to society and local in respecting the older generation and accepting certain religious restriction. It seems that these opposite cultural values have evolved to complement each other in Kuwait, presenting a unique situation not found in many other countries of the region. This combination of local and Western is complex and intricate in the manner it is has been woven together over the years. One of the study's major contributions to the current body of literature is the questions it raises on the Kuwaiti culture and the Kuwaiti identity. This form of alternative modernity and hybrid culture, highlighted by the results, is unique and further adds significance to the findings of the study. Although Kuwait has embraced modernity and Westernized in many ways the "Kuwaitization" of the adopted Western values seems to have taken place.

Findings indicate that Westernization is prevalent in advertisements published on the front pages of Kuwaiti newspapers. This conclusion is based on the analyses of the diffusion, presence, and increase of Western artifacts, setting, themes, English, and the Western cultural values of modernity, globalization, individualism, youth and beauty, competition, freedom, and active contribution into advertisements published in AlQabas and AlWatan front pages from 1992 to 2012. Over the years Westernization seems to have intensified and become more prevalent. Higher frequencies and increases in Western attributes over the 21 year period are strong indications of Westernization in Kuwaiti print advertising. This trend may encourage the adoption of more Western ideas and cultural values by society. Unfortunately, however, this may also affect the local culture negatively. The local culture seems to have lost its identity, or at least it has a new hybridized identity that brings together international and local attributes. Kuwaiti local advertisements are presenting Western themes, settings, language, and cultural values that do not reflect the local culture. If this trend continues, it may irreversibly change the social, political, and economic local dynamics towards more Westernization in all aspects of life. Alternatively, this "over Westernization" may cause a huge disconnect between local reality and media representations creating an even deeper identity crisis for society.

The Kuwaiti culture is a mosaic of cultures. Kuwait has its own dynamics, social structure, and unique history. Yet the embedded traditions have been incorporated into modern Westernized social and cultural frames. Many contradictory trends exist in Kuwait but somehow they have evolved to complement each other, or survive side by side. With fast development and modernization, "from horse to Porsche", Kuwaiti culture has been affected by foreign cultural models and values. It can only be expected for the

cultural identity in advertising and other media outputs to be unclear. The future is the only determinant of the stability of the local identity or its assimilation with global identities. However, this study concludes that Western cultural values have been able to penetrate the local Kuwaiti culture as reflected in the advertisements published on the front pages of the Kuwaiti dailies AlQabas and AlWatan from 1992 to 2012.

The findings produced by this study present valuable insights to academic research and professionals interested in studying Kuwait or the Middle East region. The main contribution of this study to the existing body of literature on the Westernization of print advertisements is its exploration of an aspect of the Kuwait print industry and advertisements, that have not been much researched in empirical investigations. In addition, this study contributes to the growing literature on cultural values and societal change as reflected in the media and advertising. Furthermore, this study sets the foundation for future studies on cultural changes in the advertisements in the Middle East. The most important finding that this study presents is the diffusion of different Western cultural values and the decline of certain local values while others are enduring. The study raises questions as to the reasons causing such cultural selectiveness and the implications of such societal transformations on the future of Kuwait and the local identity. Finally, the findings of the study present a foundation for future studies on hybrid culture and alternative modernity in Kuwait and the Middle East region.

5.1 Limitations and Future Research

As Oskay (2010) pointed out "all social research on Kuwait in general is difficult as sources are scarce." Only certain issues have been discussed or analyzed about the country, and fewer are documented in records (Oskay, 2010, p. 21). The main limitation in this study was being unable to connect its findings to the Kuwaiti media industry and advertising industries. No statistics or annual figures are publicized, thus, studies addressing media bodies and the advertising industry are difficult to carry out. Only a few scattered reports are available from different local advertising agencies, but these alone do not establish a significant bulk of knowledge that rigorous academic research can be based on.

Another limitation of this study is that it does not take into account all advertisements published on the first page, nor does it analyze all the pages of the newspapers. In addition, only two newspapers were analyzed in the content analysis. Generalizability of the findings, therefore, is somewhat questionable. Future studies may need to include and more pages of the dailies, and more advertisements from one issue of the daily. Future research may also be expanded to include interviews with advertising producers and agents to better understand the factors that may affect advertisers' selective use of certain cultural values. In addition, surveys and focus groups may be needed to measure newspaper readers' attitudes toward and opinions about newspaper

advertisements. This will allow researchers to examine potential influence of Westernizing print advertisements in Kuwait.

This research can be a springboard for constructing future studies. Future studies can address the cross-cultural dimensions of advertising, commercial activities, and marketing strategies of Western manufacturers and franchises in international markets, in particularly the markets in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Also future studies may address the social transformations experienced by Kuwait from the discovery of oil in 1938 to this day as reflected in the media and advertisements.

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