

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES IN COMMERCIALS OF ETHIOPIA

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ABSTRACT

This study has analyzed the manifest content of 125 commercials broadcast on Ethiopian Television in April-May 2006 to examine their value content based on their value/ appeal type. The commercials were analyzed based on mainly Richard Pollay's concept of the unintended consequences of advertising and also on other advertising concepts. The framework for measuring the cultural content of advertising was formulated by Richard Pollay's (1983) and later adopted by other researchers. Thus the framework of analysis in this paper was mainly based on the adopted version of Mueller's; Cheng and Schweitzer's framework. Also used for analysis were other measures of the cultural content of advertising such as Westernization, materialism and consumption values formulated by several researchers such as Belk and Pollay; Tse, Belk and Zhou, etc.

The results show that the most dominant value in the commercial was modernity, followed by health, courtesy, family, enjoyment and tradition respectively, indicating that although Western value predominates overall, both Western and traditional values are prevalent in the commercials. The result also revealed that while the commercials portrayed some values that promote Westernization and consumption, in general they promote values that promote desirable social aims.

The results also showed that the commercials in Ethiopia stressed effectiveness, economy, convenience and quality of products/services indicating that they have not yet reached the level of sophistication of the West and they are in their beginning stage.

Table of Contents

Contents	pages
Acknowledgement.....	I
Abstract.....	II
Table of contents.....	III
List of tables.....	IV
List of appendix.....	V
 Chapter One:	
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Contextual Background.....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	4
1.3 Objectives.....	6
1.4 Research questions.....	7
1.5 Significance of the study.....	7
1.6 Limitation of the study.....	8
1.7 organization of the study.....	8
 Chapter Two:	
2. Literature review	10
2.1 Definitions.....	10
2.2 Functions and roles of advertising.....	10
2.3 Theoretical framework.....	12

Chapter Three	Pages
3. Methodology	28
3.1 Research method.....	28
3.2 Research design.....	28
3.3 Data.....	29
3.4 Coding design.....	30
3.5 Coding procedure.....	32
3.6 Reliability.....	34
3.7 Data analysis.....	35
 Chapter Four	
4.1. Presentation of data.....	36
4.2 Analysis and discussion of findings.....	40
 Chapter Five	
5.1 Conclusion.....	51
 References.....	55
Appendix	61

List of Tables	page
• Table 1: Frequencies of Value Themes in the Commercials.....	36
• Table 2: Frequencies of Nature of Commercials.....	37
• Table 3: Frequencies of Appeals in the Commercials.....	37
• Table 4: Frequencies of Product categories.....	38
• Table 5: Frequencies of Product Country of Origin.....	39
• Table 6: Frequencies of Materialism.....	40

List of Appendix	page
Appendix A: Tables	
Table 1: Frequencies of values manifest in the commercials.....	61
Table 2: Frequencies of secondary values manifest in the commercials.....	62
Table 3: Frequencies of Westernization in the commercials	63
Table 4: Cross Tabulation Count of Dominant value and Product Category.....	64
Table 5: Cross Tabulation of Dominant value and Product origin.....	66
Table 6: Frequencies of Consumption Appeals Manifest in the commercials.....	67
Table 7: Frequencies of Characteristics of the commercials.....	68
Appendix B: Coding Scheme	
Coding sheet.....	70
Operational definitions.....	74
Appendix C: Interview questions.....	69
Appendix D: Interviewee profiles.....	69

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Contextual Background

History of advertising: Ancient advertising is believed to have begun half a century before the birth of Christ (Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated). The first ancient coin found in the North African country of Sirene, besides being used for commercial purposes, it is believed to be the first advertising medium in history owing to its advertising form. Ancient European feudals used to encourage the buying interest of the public via word of mouth announcers. The 3000 years old evidence found in the ancient Tibes reveals that the first advertisements contained an advertisement announcing a reward for anyone who captured and brought the slave called "Shem"(Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated)

History shows that because people could not read and write merchants of the then modern states of Greece and Rome used to advertise by drawing their products and services on wooden plates and posting them on the doors of their shops.

When it comes to modern day advertising, although the basic purpose of advertising of promoting goods and services has not changed much, the medium and institutional organization have. Modern advertising is believed to have flourished in the past 150 years. Its development is closely linked to the industrial revolution. In the west, the industrial revolution led to the expansion of communication and transport facilities, and further to increase in production and distribution of goods. The creation of such a favorable environment is believed to have contributed to the growth of advertising. Urbanization, mass production and the expansion of retail is also believed to contribute to the development of advertising (Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated).

History of advertising in Ethiopia: Commercial advertisements appeared for the first time in Ethiopia in the 19th century, during the reign of Emperor Menelik. The earliest forms

These advertising agencies disappeared however during the Derg regime (After 1974). The only advertisements that survived during this time were censored government notices (Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated) and announcements of services and information on a few organizations including Ethiopian Airlines, banking and insurance services. According to informant 3, during this time, the essence of advertising itself was considered "alien".

Advertising in Ethiopia revived after 1991. The main reason for the revival and development of advertising during this period was the shift from the command economy to a free market economic policy in the country (Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated). Along with this transformation came an increase in investment and private businesses as well as an increase in market competition. This called for the businesses in Ethiopia to advertise their businesses and company name.

This in turn led to the flourishing of a large number of advertising agencies in the country. At the time that this study was conducted, advertising agencies in Ethiopia operating in the different media were around 654 (Trade and Industry Information Bureau, 2006)

Such a growth of commercial advertising is also closely related to the existence of proliferated mass media outlets in the country, particularly the private press as newspapers and magazines.

In 2004/2005 there were 134 newspapers and 46 magazines in circulation (Ministry of Information, 2004/2005). The role of advertising in these mass media is increasing in importance in terms of generating revenue. The major means of revenue for the Ethiopian radio agency is from advertisements (Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated). As indicated in the editorial policy of Ethiopian Television station, one of the main objectives behind transmitting advertising on the station is to generate and increase revenue (Ethiopian Television Editorial Policy, 1994)

Compared to the West, advertising in Ethiopia exists in an environment where there are vast inequalities in wealth and there are highly skewed income distributions, low levels of

education and consumer spending. Moreover, as informant 3 argues, "most of the practitioners lack the proper training and experience. This could be due to the absence of a training institute for advertising."

In addition to this, except for the editorial policies and working manuals of each media agency and broadcast media in particular, there is no regulation for advertising in Ethiopia. During the time that this study was conducted however, a draft advertising law was being drafted.

1.2. Statement of the problem

In the United States, people are believed to be exposed to 1500 advertisements per day (Ethiopian radio advertising and other revenues manual, undated). The advertising environment in Ethiopia is very different both in volume and variety when compared to the advertising environment in the West. Nevertheless, advertising in Ethiopia today has increased in volume and variety. Nowadays an endless variety of products and services are advertised to the public through proliferated media. Advertisements are present in the local newspapers and magazines, on television, on radio and on the Internet. They are also present on the streets on billboards, posters, etc. Whether they want them or not, advertisements are present in the day-to-day lives of people--- both urban and rural. Thus advertising has become part of the life of Ethiopians.

Due to their characteristic to overcome the barrier of literacy, the role of television and radio is particularly important in providing the opportunity for advertisements to reach the large lower income groups and the rural Ethiopians. Television, due to its combined effect of the audio and visuals is believed to be even more important than other media.

Messages conveyed by the media in such speed and quantity are believed by some to have harmful effects in terms of obscuring and distorting people's conception of the reality (Mac Bride, 1980: 159-160)

The omnipresence of advertisements in such a pervasive manner in the Ethiopian society by itself lends importance to the topic and makes advertisements worth studying.

The impact of advertising is believed to go far beyond its economic function of sales promotion. Advertising is believed to be different from other forms of mass communication because "it measures its success by the extent to which it can change the consumption patterns of a large number of people." (Fejes, 1980:36)

Advertising uses different values of the society to appeal to and influence the values and attitudes of people. "Advertising in the aggregate has the potential to penetrate our consciousness and channel our very modes of thinking." (Pollay, 1986:21) This study is based on the assumption that commercials are indicative of cultural values, whether as a cause or as an effect. However, what becomes a concern is, its relation to the cultural and social system in which it operates. It becomes a concern what values are portrayed and how they are portrayed by the commercials. Whether the commercials mirror or act as a model to society.

Advertising is believed to have consequences, or as Pollay calls it "unintended" consequences on a society. The Unintended consequences, summed up by UNESCO are:

...as a form of communication, advertising has been criticized for playing on emotions, simplifying real human emotions into stereotype, exploiting anxieties, and employing techniques of intensive persuasion, that amount to manipulation.advertising is concerned with exalting the materialistic virtues of consumption by exploiting achievement drives and emulative anxieties, employing tactics of hidden manipulation, playing on emotions, maximizing appeal and minimizing information, trivializing, eliminating objective considerations, contriving illogical situations, and generally reducing men, women and children to the role of irrational consumer. (Mac Bride, 1980: 154)

However, while the criticisms cited above may be overstated for the relatively young experience of advertising in Ethiopia, it would also be naive to assume that the above mentioned consequences of advertising apply to the situation in developed countries only.

There are many instances where an advertisement has created controversies within the Ethiopian society due the prevalence of one or more of the above stated phenomena. A

case in point is the advertisement transmitted on television in Ethiopia in relation to an advertisement for a condom using a beauty pageant as a model. Following the broadcasting of the advertisement, criticisms were raised in the different media regarding the offensive content of the advertisement. One of the major issues raised was that the advertisement employed a sex appeal in an apparent and pornographic manner that was contrary to the values of the society.

Thus it seems important to examine the values that commercials promote. It is particularly important to analyze the content of the advertisements in an advertising environment where the social responsibility is left to the advertisers and there are no regulations guiding them (during the time that this study was conducted there is as mentioned above only a draft law that has not yet been put into practice).

However, despite the potential impact advertising can have on a society, much remains unknown about the content of advertising in Ethiopia particularly television advertising and very little attention has been given to it. To the knowledge of the researcher, no prior researches have been conducted that examine the value content and expose cultural and social character manifest in advertising in Ethiopian media.

As a result, the main aim of this paper is to explore the consequences of commercials in Ethiopia through a content analysis

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of this study is to understand and explain the role commercials can play in Ethiopian culture and society in terms of promoting values and to illustrate the relationship between culture and advertising. The paper aspires to find out how well this social power of advertising has been balanced or misused. Using the different advertising values/appeals and symbols it also attempts to investigate whether the commercials in Ethiopia promote materialism and consumption appeals; whether they merely follow the approach used by advertisers in the West or whether they have a style more appropriate to the cultural context. Thus it aims to give a more complete description of the content of commercials in Ethiopia.

1.4 Research questions

General: What cultural and social values do the commercials in Ethiopia promote?

Specific: Do the commercials on ETV portray values that are not sensitive to the values of the society? What are the dominant cultural values reflected by the commercials in Ethiopia? Are more Western values or traditional values reflected in commercials on television in Ethiopia? Is more Westernization or tradition prevalent in commercials in television in Ethiopia? Which of the "unintended" consequences of advertising are prevalent in commercials in Ethiopia? What is the social function of commercials in Ethiopia? What are the characteristics of the commercials on television in Ethiopia? Are the commercials more utilitarian or symbolic in nature? Do the commercials use more of the so-called hard-sell or soft-sell appeals?

1.5 Significance of the study

The findings of this study intend to:

- Make an important contribution to the understanding of commercials in Ethiopia
- Serve as a background for the replication of the study in other media (newspaper, radio, etc) in Ethiopia
- Serve as background for the formulation of a policy for advertising in Ethiopia
- Fill some of the gap within this area of research in Ethiopia
- Bring to the attention of advertisers, the government and the public in general the need to be sensitive to the cultural and social character of advertisements

1.6 Limitations of the study

- The research has been carried out based only on one medium in Ethiopia namely--television
- Data for the study could not be obtained from ETV. Thus the researcher had to videotape the commercials daily based on the procedure described in the methodology section. However, during data collection, the time for recording

the commercials was not occasionally strictly met due to logistic problems such as power failure

- Due to the constraints of time and other factors such as the availability of information, the study is exploratory in nature. The issues examined in this study may hopefully be taken further by other researches
- The study has been restricted to the commercials transmitted on the evening Amharic program of ETV from 8:00 pm to 10:30 pm and on weekends from 3:00 pm to 5:00 pm. Commercials aired on other times and other programs than Amharic have not been analyzed due to the due to the constraint of time and the limitations of language used in other ETV programs.

1.7 Organization of the study

This study is divided into five main chapters, references and appendices. The organization of the different parts of the study is as follows:

The introduction contextualizes the study by discussing the historical aspect in general, and the current situation of advertising in Ethiopia particular. It discusses the prevalent regulatory framework as well as the relationship of advertising to the media in Ethiopia. It also introduces the problem. This is followed by an explanation of what the study attempts to research; the possible significance of the study and the limitations of the research.

The second chapter is a review of literature relating advertising to culture and society. This section sets the framework for analysis and discussion of findings. It is the background against which findings of the data collection are to be compare or contrasted it includes a general introduction to advertising. This chapter reviews the major theories, including Pollay's 'unintended consequences'. It also includes a synthesis some of the major empirical findings on the topic and discusses their relevance to this study.

The third chapter focuses on the methodology, and includes a description of the research methods and methodologies used to conduct the research in light of the objectives of this

study. This includes a description for the choice of research methods, designs, procedures and data analysis methods.

The fourth chapter is divided into two. The first part contains presentation of different results of the study based on the tables drawn from the data analysis. The second part of this section includes analytical discussions exploring the possible links between the values portrayed in the commercials in Ethiopia and the theoretical framework presented in chapter two. This part also includes analytical descriptions of some of the commercials.

The fifth part of the study details the conclusions of the study, reviewing the study's purpose. It includes the conclusion with a summary of the study and suggestions future directions.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature review

2.1 Definitions

Advertisements¹ and Advertising

The Ministry of Information's definition of advertisement as included in the Draft Advertisement Proclamation (No __, 1996) reads:

Advertisement shall mean a message transmitted to the public through any of the mass media in order to promote the sales of goods and services, name, brand, aim or other messages intended to benefit the interest of a particular body; however, it shall not include public service announcements, personal selling, advertiser's acknowledgements, sponsorship mix, presentation agreements or related advertisements. (Ministry of Information, 2004, translated from Amharic by author)

Whereas "Advertising is a paid for (except for public service announcements) non-personal communication from an identified sponsor using mass media to persuade or influence an audience. (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty, 2003:10)

However, while some scholars argue that persuasion may be "too limiting a view of advertising" (Duncan and Moriarty 1998 cited in Nan and Faber, 2004:10), most however believe that persuasion is a communication process and a characteristic of all communication (De Mooij 2005; Schramm 1973 cited in Nan & Faber, 2004).

2.2 Functions and Roles of Advertising

Most people believe that advertising is the same as marketing (the activity of selling a company's products and services) and/ or public relations (the activity of selling a

¹ The term advertisements in the above definition refer to advertisements in all media. However, this study is concerned with television advertisements only. Thus a preferred term in this study would be commercials. However they may be used interchangeably in some cases.

company's image) and do not see it as a communication tool. However, some like Zeigler and Howard (1984) make a clear distinction between the marketing and communication roles of advertising. "The objective of the entire marketing process is to sell; advertising's job is to communicate--to a defined audience--information and a frame of mind which is conducive to the buying action." (Zeigler and Howard, 1984:2) They state that the actual buying occurs only after exposure to the advertisement and other interventions.

In marketing advertising is one part of the different marketing communication tools used by businesses (e.g. sales promotion, personal selling and public relations). The marketing role of advertising includes helping businesses sell their products and introduce their services by transmitting messages (such as price information and place) to potential and actual consumers (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty, 2003: 13-14), thus promoting new things to society. Whereas, as a form of mass communication, advertising supplies different types of marketing information in an attempt to bring buyers and sellers together (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty, 2003; Russel and Lane, 2002) and transforms the product by 'creating an image that goes beyond straight forward facts' (Wells et al, 2003:14)

Leiss et al (2005) believe that advertising has an important social communication function. The social communication function of advertising is divided into transformational and informational. The informational function of advertising tells consumers something about a product's characteristic. Whereas, by the transformational function, advertisers try to alter the attitudes of consumers towards brands, expenditure patterns, lifestyles, techniques for achieving personal and social success. (Pollay cited in Leiss et al, 2005:75). According to Leiss et al (2005) messages about necessities such as food, health could be incorporated within the broader transformational message formats.

Besides its marketing and communication role, advertising also has other roles in society. The economic role of advertising includes allowing consumers to make informed market choices (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty, 2003). It is also believed to have an impact in inducing people to keep producing in order to keep consuming (Pollay, 1986) thus assisting the economies of particularly modern market economies. Advertising is thus

seen by some as "the most efficient instrument for utilizing resources and effectively responding to needs of a socio-economic kind."(John Paul II, 1991cited in Pontifical council for social communications, 1997)

In addition, advertising is believed to have many social roles. It is believed to act as a mirror of society in various aspects including for fashion trends, particularly in well to-do countries and creates demand for particular brands (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty 2003:15)

However, the marketing, communication, economic and social roles of advertising, particularly on the developing and traditional societies, has been debated upon. Some view it as a positive force while others believe that it is a negative force in terms of its impact particularly on culture. These views have been further discussed in the theoretical section of this paper.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Advertising and cultural values

Culture

Scholars in the different disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, communication, etc, have tried to come up with their own explanations of what culture is. For anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973), culture is “a set of control mechanisms, plans, recipes, rules, instructions for the governing of behavior” (Geertz, 1973 cited in De Mooij, 2005:35). Hofstede (1991) defines culture as “the collective mental programming of the people in an environment” (Hofstede, 1991 cited in De Mooij, 2005:35). He further explained that culture is not a characteristic of individuals, but, it encompasses a number of people conditioned by the same education and life experience. On the other hand, Jandt (2004) says that culture “refers to the totality of a person's socially transmitted products of work and thought” (Jandt, 2004:13). Culture is also viewed as all pervasive and something that is likely to affect everyone. “No matter how hard man tries, it is impossible for him to divest himself of his own culture.” (Hall, 1996 Cited in Mueller, 1987: 51)

Therefore, from the above definitions, culture may be understood as something that is learned; experienced and shared within a society. It is a social framework within which people's thoughts behaviors and actions exist. In general it is a guide for the existence of a society.

Culture manifests itself in a society through four of its elements (Hofstede, 1991 cited in Mueller, 1987 and Jandt, 2004) namely: symbols, rituals, heroes and values. The manifestations of culture may be viewed as layers of an onion with symbols--the 'most superficial' representing the outer most layer and values the deepest manifestation representing the core (De Mooij, 2005:37-38)

Cultural Values

“A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end- state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach, 1973 cited in Pollay 1983:72). Values according to Pollay (1983) are determinants of all kinds of behavior and attitudes "from simple buying behavior to political and religious ideology." (Pollay, 1983:72)

In the same manner that culture is unique to a particular society or group; values are believed to differ from society to society and from culture to culture. Particularly around “such socially embedded issues as status, gender, family, ethics and mores” (Leiss et al., 2005:439)

Values and advertising

Studies relating advertising and culture started in the early 1960's (Cheng, 1994:169) and became increasingly devoted to studying cultural values manifest in advertising in the early 1980's after Pollay (1983) developed a seminal coding frame work for measuring cultural values in advertising (Cheng, 1997:775)

“Cultural Values are the core of advertising messages and typical advertisements endorse, glamorize and inevitably reinforce cultural values.” (Pollay and Gallagher, 1990 cited in Tansey, Hyman and Zinkhan, 1990:3)

Most researchers agree that the effectiveness of advertising communication is determined by the use of values that conform to indigenous culture. "In order to communicate successfully, advertising must appeal to values that are salient in the culture of its intended audience." (Belk et al., 1985 cited in Tansey, Hyman and Zinkhan, 1990:31)

Thus, values are the core of not only culture but they are also essential components of advertising since they determine whether the message in the advertisements is well communicated to consumers.

Most researchers agree that cultural values in advertising should be studied mainly due to the influence one has over the other. Some stress the influence of cultural values on advertising. "...social values of a particular target audience may limit an advertiser's choice of themes" (Tansey, Hyman and Zinkhan, 1990:31), while most focus on the influence advertising has on cultural values in terms of influencing and changing consumer behaviors and values (Mueller, 1987; Belk and Pollay, 1985; Caillat and Mueller, 1996) "Advertising, more than any other institution, may alter consumer values" (Belk and Pollay 1985)

According to Pollay (1983), the social character of advertising has been explored to some extent through previous studies focusing on the portrayal of women, the elderly, minorities, etc. However, "even the best of these studies has not dealt with the larger issue of the value content" (Pollay, 1983:72).

Such a study reveals the extent to which advertising promotes behavior that values one cultural value over the other.

However, there exists a debate among researchers and scholars whether cultural values of a society are stable or whether they are liable to change. Some state that "core values are stable and do not change over time." (De Mooij, 2005:38), while others argue that "cultural values in a society change over time" (Tse, Belk and Zhou, 1989)

Television advertising as a modern phenomenon, frequently presents non-traditional themes (Zhang and Harwood, 2004: 159). In developing countries, "the socio-cultural tastes of foreign countries have been widely disseminated and are familiar to and often

admired by many. People imitate them and they become adopted in norms of human behavior in the countries exposed to them" (Mac Bride, 1980:104)

This creates concern whether such an influx, in the name of modernization, would foster materialism and westernization and jeopardize traditional values.

Appeals

Defined, an appeal is "something that makes a product particularly attractive or interesting to the consumer" (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty, 2003)

Appeals make the product attractive to the consumer and are hence they are emphasized in advertising. They are found within the advertisement and act as a conduit communicating cultural values of a target group and advertising. Appeals are an aspect of advertising style that is prone to influence by culture. They include values and motives that are the central message of the advertising (De Mooij, 2005:163)

"Cultural values, norms and characteristics are embedded in advertising appeals, which are used to differing degrees in various cultures" (Muller 1987:52)

They are the means through which values are attached to products. However, most agree that appeals do not have to be realistically connected to the product in any way (Intercultural Communication Group, undated). Instead, they are used strategically to influence and persuade consumer's perception of the product and hence to increase consumer readiness to purchase. An advertisement may contain more than one appeal; however the majority of advertisements tend to contain one dominant appeal. (Muller, 1987:52)

In most literature, appeals and values are used interchangeably due to the close interaction that exists between the two. (Belk et al cited in Tansey, Hyman and Zinkhan, 1990:31)

Intercultural communication

Cultures have been in contact with one another for 'untold centuries' (Jandt, 2004 :286). Jandt states that as a result of contact between cultures, culture becomes diffused

(certain practices of the other culture are adopted e.g. new technology); cultures also become converged (reach to a degree of mutual agreement over time); adapted (to the local culture); and also they become exposed to cultural imperialism (whereby one culture is imposed upon the other) (Jandt, 2004)

Such an adoption of the values of foreign cultures is believed to have an advantage in terms of fostering a rich, diverse cultural environment "only in the context of using the foreign culture in fertilizing the domestic one. This kind of fertilization would however require compatibility." (Amare, 1998:2)

The adoption of foreign cultures is mostly believed to be a threat. The Mac Bride report (1980), states that there is an imbalance of cultural flows between countries. The report expresses the disparity by stating that the developed countries get the selected best of cultures from the developing countries. However, "the latter get a lot of what, on any objective standard is the worst produced by the former." (Mac Bride, 1980:163) Such an 'imposition' is thus believed to have an effect on national culture as it leads to the imposition of external values (Mac Bride, 1980:163)

Values are believed to be difficult to discuss or express because people are not aware of them (De Mooij, 2005:38). In a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country like Ethiopia this becomes even more difficult. According to De Mooij, "the cultural programming of an individual depends on the groups or categories to which he or she belongs." Thus, 'Ethiopian values' in this context will be discussed in terms of values identified by different researchers such as core African values and traditional values.

Core African Values

Obeng-Quaidoo (1986), has attempted to identify the likely core value boundaries of African culture. Although he states that the classification does not exhaust all critical core values, it has however included the major ones. The first value includes the role of the supreme God or Allah and the lesser gods in the daily life of the African, indicating that African mentality and values are greatly influenced by religious beliefs.

The African concept of time and its influence on Africans constitutes the second value. Time, traditionally is a symbol and it is not conceptualized as in the West, in terms of an indefinite past, present and an infinite future. African time is "A composition of events which have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which are immediately to occur. Anything outside this is considered as 'no time' (Mbitit 1971, Cited in Obeng-Quaidoo, 1986). Also closely related with time is the concept of reincarnation--life after death.

Africans do not accept death as a natural phenomenon; and consider work as a necessity for survival and not a duty.

Nature is not something to be subdued or conquered, but ' a manifestation to be cooperated with'. This shows that harmony with nature is an important African value.

Africans are non-individualist: there exists an extended family system that encompasses not only next of kins but also people from similar village.

In summary, African core values include religion as a way of life, supremacy of community over value of the individual, sanctity of authority (leadership), respect for old age, the value of time and its influence, and the concept of work and relationship to nature (Moemeka, 1997; Obeng-Quaidoo, 1986; Alozie, 2003)

Based on a review of the works of other researchers who have previously researched the topic, values may also be identified in terms of their being traditional or Western.

Traditional values: Traditional values are to be found in an advertisement if the advertisement reflects culture (Muller, 1987). Traditional values are believed to be present in advertising of traditional oriented countries (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996). Thus traditional values include: collectivism, family, respect for the elderly and tradition, oneness with nature, soft-sell appeals, symbolic/emotional appeals, courtesy and work.

Westernized /Western values: The presence of Western values is indicative that an advertising is attempting to shape social values for the “commercial purposes of creating a Westernized or world consumer culture” (Mueller 1987:53). These include:

individualism, youth and modernity, control over nature, status, hard—sell appeal, utilitarian/rational appeal, comparative appeal and enjoyment.

As a result, this paper will examine in relation to cultural values in advertising the existence of issues such as Westernization, modernization and tradition, consumerism and materialism, and their possible consequences on a society like Ethiopia.

Modernization, Tradition and Westernization:

Modernization: “is the process of changing the conditions of a society, an organization or another group of people in ways that change the privileges of that group according to modern technology or modern knowledge.” (Wikipedia)

Proponents of modernization (such as Talcott Parsons) believe that modernization enables states to be wealthier, more powerful and their citizens would be freer and have a higher standard of living. Similarly (Weiner, 1966) states that attitudinal and value changes are prerequisites for creating a modern society (Amare, 1998:1). This theory stresses the importance of societies to be open for change. This view has been criticized for conflating modernization with westernization. It states that the modernization of a society requires the destruction of indigenous cultures and its replacement by a western culture. It states that maintaining tradition for tradition’s sake would harm progress and development (Wikipedia, 2006)

A modern society is to be defined as having a very high level of differentiation, urbanization, high literacy and wide exposure to the mass media (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996:29). Moreover, a modern society is culturally dynamic and oriented to change and innovation (Eienstadt, 1973 cited in Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996:29).

Traditional society: “Includes all human societies that place great importance on the group, social obligation and the stability of social rank.” (Leiss et al. 2005: 33). According to Leiss et al., individuals are highly dependent on one another and thus adhere to group values and beliefs.

Moreover, a traditional society may be defined as, “static, with little specialization, a low level of urbanization and low literacy.” (Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996:29) In addition, a traditional society is bound by old customs and conventions. Culture in such societies acts as a filter of new things. Culture serves as a screen through which new technology, methods, and ideas are introduced. How far adjustments must be made in the cultural traditions in order to accommodate new technology and innovations or vice versa should be known (Obeng-quaidoo, 1998:91)

Modernization is a term that constantly gets confused with Westernization and opposes tradition. Many argue against the notion that Westernization is the same as modernization.

Westernization: is a process whereby traditional, long-established societies come under the influence of western (European and American) culture. Indigenous/traditional cultures that were formerly colonized by western powers are believed to adopt some aspects of western culture. (Belk and Pollay, 1985)

Materialism: Materialism may be defined as "the tendency to regard possessions as important sources of satisfaction in life." (Belk 1984 cited in Belk and Pollay 1985)

Types of materialism: According to Belk and Pollay (1985), there are three types of materialism. The first type is 'Doing' which is an instrumental materialism in which objects are valued for their ability to aid the doing of some activity. The second type includes 'having' which is a terminal materialism whereby the objects are valued as ends in themselves and 'possession is sought simply for the sake of having objects'. Whereas the third type of materialism includes 'being' which is considered to be relatively non materialistic and stresses ways in which a product or service can improve a purchaser's sense of being. (Belk and Pollay, 1985)

These existential notions have been further explained by Kluckhohn and Stroltbeck's (1961) value orientation theory. According to this theory, 'being' (passively accepting) and 'doing' (transforming and initiating action) are part of 'activity orientation', one of the

five value orientation of culture (Kluckhohn and Stroltbeck, 1961, cited in Jandt, 2004 :212)

The unintended consequences of advertising

As can be seen from above, advertising and its relation within the social and cultural system in which it operates has been a subject of concern. Most agree that advertising's effects go beyond economics. Assuming that advertising's effect is limited to economics would be "as absurd as assuming that the effects of a hot climate upon culture could be limited to tropical disease" (Kuns, 1970, cited in Pollay 1986). Particularly advertising's role as a mirror that reflects and exposes existing cultural values and behaviors. However, Pollay goes one step further in criticizing its cultural role and states that advertising is not just a mirror of societal values, but that it is a 'distorted Mirror'.

Pollay (1986) formulated a framework by synthesizing the 'most significant' theories and thoughts of scholars from different disciplines regarding advertising. This framework, which he calls the conventional wisdom or prevailing opinion (CWOP) considers advertising as a destructive force and is basically a critique of the social role of advertising and outlines the 'unintended consequences' of advertising on the social system in which it operates and states that advertising is a 'distorted mirror' reflecting only those values that 'help sell' to the advertiser.

Selective reinforcement--advertising as a distorted mirror

According to Pollay (1986), advertising is not a faithful mirror of reality, particularly when it is viewed within a cultural context. Pollay states that not all the cultural values present in society are mirrored or portrayed in advertising. Advertisers selectively reinforce some cultural values over the others. In an explanation of his concept of advertising as 'distorted mirror', Pollay (1986) states:

Not all values are equally suited for use in commercials. Some are more plausibly linked to the products in current production, some are more dramatically visualized, and some are more reliably responded to by the consuming public. Thus, in the aggregate some of our cultural values are reinforced for more frequently than others. (Pollay, 1986:32-33)

According to Pollay, advertising selectively reinforces those values that are 'readily commercialized' 'easily linked to product,' 'dramatically visualized' and reliably responded to.

The consequences of such possible distortions of values are, according to Pollay, 'far reaching'. This is because people make important social decision based on the importance they give among a series of competing values. Such decision making by prioritizing might take place both for social processes (e.g. political processes) as well as individual decisions. Thus selective reinforcement of values distorts people's perceptions (Pollay, 1986)

Social change and Social problems

The social problems caused by advertising are seen as a threat to the cultural identity of traditional societies. Advertisements are believed to be successful in revising traditional tenets of society such as replacing harmony with nature, by determination to possess it, thrift by the duty to buy and work ethic by consumption ethic, and modesty by sexual sell (Barnouw, 1987 cited in Pollay, 1986: 27). Particularly for developing countries, it is believed to bring to many people alien ethical values and "it may deviate consumer demand in developing countries to areas which can inhibit development priorities." Moreover it affects and can often deform ways of life and lifestyles (Mac Bride, 1980:111)

Its other influence is in terms of distorting reality. Advertising addresses life's common issues and thus provides society with concepts and criteria according to which people change their concepts of knowledge and reality thus structuring their assumption, feelings, attitudes and beliefs and making the power of family, religion and education seem weak in comparison.

Other social problems of advertising include fostering envy, emulation and competition in a society and among neighbors.

It is believed that the use of sexual appeals is common in advertising either to imply promise of seductive capacities or to attract attention. The use of such appeals is believed

to promote sexual preoccupations and pornography (Pollay, 1986:28). In addition to violating conventional values, the use of such values becomes “inevitably offensive to some and potentially Jading” (Pollay, 1986:28)

Advertising is also believed to create problems on the ecology. According to Pollay consumption eventually leads to waste and unintended by-product, which in turn lead to environmental pollution.

According to Pollay, language is of vital cultural significance because it provides society with a set of words and concepts with which people structure their perceptions and judgments and define, to a large extent their conception of reality (Pollay, 1986:29). However, advertising debases language and uses it in ways that promote its own ends. Advertising gives some words and concepts greater emphasis. It uses language to ‘amplify ambiguities,’ ‘distort thought’ and ‘bury reality. In short advertising uses language to lie (Henry, cited in Pollay 1986:27)

The moral criticisms of advertising are largely related to its effect on children and religion. According to pollay, individualistic attitudes portrayed in advertising such as ‘I’m the one; I deserve a break today’ runs contrary to religious reverence, humility or grace (pollay, 1986:30). The promotion of hedonistic, immediate pleasures as opposed to long term rewards of spiritual life. Moreover, the promotion of goods and constant consumption is particularly damaging for children.

Influence on behavior

The influence of advertising on behavior may be expressed in terms of its effect on people's habits apparent in their habits of dress, taste or food to its influence on more basic patterns such as, ‘the structure of authority in the family, the role of children and young adults as independent consumers in the society, the pattern of morals and the different meanings of achievement in society.” (Bell 1976, cited in Pollay, 1986:24)

This is in spite of people’s belief that they are immune to the persuasion of advertisements which Pollay calls the myth of personal immunity.

Thus advertising is believed to have the power not only to reflect but also mold society. 'and if you reflect us incorrectly, as we believe you are doing, you are raising a generation of children with cockeyed values as to what men and women and life and family really are" (Marines, 1964, cited in pollay, 1986:24)

Mirroring and modeling

Advertisements constantly mirror ideal lifestyles and images that seem far better than the real life of consumers. Such portrayal and mirroring is believed to instill 'self-denigration' and 'doubt' (pollay 1986:26), thus making people unhappy with what they have. Particular victims include women, the elderly and minorities. Advertising thus employs stereotypes.

Consequences of commercialism and materialism

The consequences of a commercialized culture are seen as one of the most fundamental effects of advertising because it typically exhibits advertising's self-serving 'social purposes' (Pollay 1986:24). More importantly, advertising is believed to promote consumerism and materialism.

Even though people's basic needs may be met, advertising is believed to create false needs and make people buy things they may not need. Advertising through persuasion, reverses the logical trend for people's demand to decrease in the presence of abundance of goods as they would not be "pressed by the need for these things" (Galbraith, cited in Pollay 1986:25)

Advertising promotes such commercialized attitude mainly by depicting that the essential problems of life can be solved through consumption of certain products and images, thus confusing and bewildering society (Leymore, 1975 cited in Pollay, 1986:24)

Moreover materialism is manifest also through undermining human relations and transferring people towards goods while objectifying personal relations (Leiss 1976 in pollay 1986). By channeling people's needs and ambitions by giving material objects abstract meanings, by romanticizing them and by transferring affect from people to objects and thus interpreting people's relations in terms of objects (Pollay, 1986:25).

“Previously highly emotional expressions were applied to human beings. Now a day, they are constantly and massively applied by the admen to objects” (Skolimowski, 1977 cited in Pollay, 1986:25). It is also believed that when people become more and more emotionally involved with objects, they tend to be less and less involved with people.

The impact of advertising’s consumerist/materialistic effect is even worse on the economy and cultural identity of developing countries. This is because in developing countries, the environment is different from that of the developed ones. Consumption is not a priority in developing countries because of the existence of inequalities in wealth, low levels of education and consumer spending and economic and political instability (Fejes, 1980:38) Most researchers agree with this.

The debate about the influence of advertising in most societies, especially developing nations, revolves around one primary issue – do advertising messages reflect the cultural values of the developing and traditional societies within which they are communicated, or do they seek to introduce Western values that reinforce the consumption habits of the capitalist-industrial world? (Roberts, 1987 cited in Aozie, 2003:1)

Intrusive and Irrational

Advertisements are characteristically repetitive, one –sided and use persuasive styles that make it difficult for the audience to differentiate between fantasy and reality and making them passive and powerless (Pollay 1986:26). There is a claim the majority of contemporary advertising does not appeal to reason but to emotion. This type of advertising impresses the customer by using different emotional appeals. And such irrational appeals “has nothing to do with the qualities of the merchandize, and they smother and kill the critical qualities of the customer’ (Fromm, 1976 in Pollay, 1986:26)

Empirical concepts/findings

The findings of empirical researches have proved to be important for this study, in terms of creating an understanding and clarifying the relationship between advertising and cultural values, they also support the theoretical framework of this paper and can be used

as one and they also serve as an input for this study. Even though, most of these studies were conducted from a Western perspective.

The findings reveal that advertising appeals in different cultures will reflect different cultural values i.e variation across cultures is observable the variation exists even among relatively homogenous audiences. This is mainly because appeals in advertising and cultural values often relate in non-random way” (Albers -Miller and Gelb, 1996). Thus advertising content should reflect existing values of a society.

Most of these studies stress the importance of matching advertising appeals to cultural values that are salient in the culture of its intended audience. They stress that advertising must appeal to values and that culture congruent advertisements are more likely to be used and to be effective than are culture incongruent advertisements. As a result advertising appeals matching culture are more commonly used in advertisements than are mismatched appeals. (Zhang and Gelb, 1996)

However, many studies have researched this notion and results indicate that advertising content may reflect traditional values (as expected) in traditional societies (Zhang and Gelb, 1996; Cheng and Shweitzer, 1996) or it may reflect Westernized/Western appeals in traditional societies. (Tse, Belk and Zhou,1989; Wang et al., 1997) or it may be ”a melting pot” of cultural values expressing the coexistence of both traditional and Western values in advertising (Lin, 2001; Cheng, 1994, Cheng and Schweitzer,1996) These findings support the notion that advertising does not always reflect the values of the target society.

Regarding the concept of advertising as a mirror, the former notion of advertising reflecting the unexpected values and the latter notion of the relationship between advertising and cultural values supports the belief that advertising reflects cultural values only as long as it is profitable to do so or that advertising is a ‘distorted mirror’ reflecting those values that promote sales (Mueller, 1987; Pollay and Gallagher, 1990 cited in Tansey, Hyman and Zinkhan, 1990). Moreover, advertising not only transmits existing cultural values but also plays a role in shaping new values (Pollay, 1986). According to

notion of the 'distorted mirror', the correlation between the public ranking of values according to their importance in and the ranking of values according to their frequency in advertising is either negatives or at best positively negligible. (Pollay and Gallagher, 1990 cited in Hestroni, 2000)

Besides differences in culture, these studies have identified other factors that influence the cultural values used in advertising. These include product characteristics i.e. personal versus shared products (Zhang and Shavitt, 2003) product categories are also deemed (more) determinant for advertising (Format) (katz and Lee, 1992) country of origin of product, and format used in the ads (Leiss et al, 2005)

The findings of these studies also reveal the need to investigate the presence of Western values in traditional cultures, modernization and tradition, materialism and consumerism.

Criticisms against the Theoretical Framework

The theory regarding the unintended consequences of advertising has led to a significant debate over the subject matter.

There are those who believe that advertising is simply self-serving and not worth seriously considering (Galbraith, 1967 cited in Pollay 1986:24). Similarly there are those who uphold the 'myth of personal immunity'-- the attitude that people think of themselves as personally immune to the influences and persuasion of advertisements. (Pollay, 1986:23)

On the other hand, regarding its role in the society and in the economy of particularly developing countries, there are those who view advertising as a positive social force. "Advertising undoubtedly has positive features it is used to promote desirable social aims like savings and investment, family planning, purchases of fertilizer to improve agricultural output, etc. It provides the consumer with information about possible terms of expenditure..." (Mac Bride 1980:110)

In response to Pollay's concept of the "conventional wisdom or prevailing opinion" (CWOPO), Holbrook (1987) argued against most of the points raised, while he accepted

that Pollay's "CWOPO" is a significant contribution to the marketing literature because it "documents" the charges against advertisements.

Holbrook disagrees with the view that advertising is a "distorted mirror" and that it selectively reinforces certain values over the others. He states that it is wrong to accuse advertising of reflecting only some values because "proportional representation seems a rather unfair criterion of veridicality. Any artist must select some subject matter to uphold as an object of the audience's attention or admiration" (Holbrook, 1987:94)

Holbrook also argues against Pollay's view that advertising molds or shapes values. He states advertising seem to merely mirror or reflect rather than shape the values of its target audiences." (Holbrook, 1987: 100) He opposes the view that advertising is just an entertaining (specimen) of popular culture rather than high art that employs artistic creativity and talent. As pop culture advertising has been accused of appealing to social stereotypes however, he argues that it does not necessarily involve stereotyping.

Holbrook also argues that the attacks on advertising for promoting pernicious values Such as conspicuous consumption, envy, emulation, self-centeredness, vulgarity, hatred, etc, are wrong because advertising seem to reflect instead wholesome values such as sociability, security, etc (Holbrook, 1987:101).

He also disagrees with the view that advertising promotes debilitating emotions such as fear, guilt, inferiority, disaffection, etc, because it also promotes healthy emotions such as joyfulness, gratification, appreciation etc.

Pollay's theory assumes advertising as relying on emotions rather than on reason. Holbrook argues that this view does not focus on the potential use of advertising information as a guide to "reasoned action" (Holbrook, 1987:98).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Method

In order to address the research questions and objectives of this study, a quantitative research approach has been employed as the major approach. The study will also employ qualitative approach as a secondary method.

The quantitative approach is believed to provide more breadth in analyzing the manifest content of the commercials. This approach uses a standardized method of data collection which is helpful to analyze more data in a short period of time (Orcher, 2005:42)

However, in order to increase the credibility of the findings of the study and in order to provide more depth to the research by providing an interpretation of the findings, a qualitative approach will also be used as a supplementary approach in this study.

The two research methods were combined in this study in order to use the strengths of each approach and overcome their weaknesses.

3.2. Research Design

Content analysis: Content analysis has been selected as the research design in this study. According to Berelson, “Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” (Berelson, 1952 cited in Amare, 1998:3) Thus, content analysis is believed to allow the researcher to objectively and systematically analyze the manifest content of the commercials through the selection of units of analysis, category construction, sampling and a reliable coding procedure.

Interview: A semi-structured, open-ended interview design was used in this study. The questions were prepared based on the findings of the study. They are guided by consistent questions but allowing for additions (Appendix C). A personal interview with a sociology expert at Addis Ababa University and two advertising agency executives operating in

Addis Ababa was conducted. The interviews were designed to elicit interpretative information based on the findings from the content analysis part of the study.

Ethics: In order to protect the privacy of the interviewees and to protect them from any potential harm, their names remain anonymous. However, their profiles have been attached (Appendix D). They will be referred to in this study as informant1, informant 2 and informant 3.

3.3. Data

Source: The national television station of Ethiopia, ETV was selected for the purpose of this analysis. The reason for selecting ETV was that from the two television stations currently in practice in Ethiopia, ETV is the only station that broadcasts commercials and it is also the only station that is broadcast nationwide.

For the qualitative method, the interviewees were selected based on the relevance of their profession and expertise and thus a purposive sampling technique was used.

Sampling universe: Commercials broadcast on ETV for a period of eight months (from January to August 2006) constitute the sampling universe. The above- mentioned material includes the time from the beginning of the year up to the time this study was completed.

Sampling technique: The type of sample collection used was convenience sampling. The reasons for choosing the above sampling universe and techniques are lack of availability of commercials recorded in the past from ETV, and constraint of time.

Sampling procedure: One month's worth of commercials from the Amharic program of ETV was videotaped from April to May 2006. It was then viewed and coded by two independent coders.

The dates included all seven days of the week. The time blocks for the sample were from 8:00 Pm to 10:30pm (this includes prime time and normal time of ETV) every night and from 3:00 pm to 5:00pm on weekends. The reason for including weekends is because

there are major entertainment programs transmitted during this time and there is a variety of sponsored commercials.

The time frame for recording was April 13 to May 13 2006. The reason for choosing the first two weeks of April and the last two weeks of May is to ensure representativeness and to give an equal chance to any possible differences such as different product categories advertised in different seasons. The selected two and a half hours every night include evening news in Amharic and a range of other different programs.

Sampling unit: The unit of analysis included each complete television advertisement. Duplicate advertisements for the same product were excluded from the sample "in order to eliminate redundancies which may have skewed the results." (Resnik and Stern, 1991:39, cited in Cheng, 1997). Public service announcements and commercials for newly released cassettes were excluded from this study.

Sample size: As a result out of the total commercials transmitted on ETV from April 13 to May 13, a total of 125 commercials were selected for coding based on the above technique.

3.4 Coding design

Measures of cultural values in advertising: Validity

The importance of using valid, reliable and objective tools of measurement in any study is unquestionable. Particularly so while attempting to measure issues such as the cultural character of advertising which is easily exposed to subjective judgments and contentions. A method for measuring the cultural character of advertising was formulated by Pollay in 1983 in his seminal framework for measuring the cultural values manifest in advertising. This framework contains a list of forty two commonly used values and/or appeals to be measured in advertising.

Prior to the formulation of this instrument, no 'appropriate' and 'applicable' method existed for measuring cultural values in advertising and that allowed for the validation or refutation of much of the alleged unintended consequences of advertising and its cultural

characteristics (Pollay, 1983:88). Moreover Pollay's framework has proved to be applicable across all media (Cheng, 1997:774).

Pollay's (1983) values based coding framework has been used by several studies. Since the framework was formulated based largely on a North American perspective, researchers from other parts of the world such as China (Cheng, 1994, Cheng and Schweitzer, 1996), Japan (Mueller, 1987) have modified the original framework to fit their own cultural context while others simply select only those values that fit their research objectives.

An extensive review of the major cultural typologies used in studies of advertising and cultural values was conducted to see how they have been operationalized and tested. From this review process the cultural values list formulated by Pollay (1983) and later adopted by Cheng and Schweitzer as well as by Mueller was chosen. This values based framework was chosen as a measurement tool in this study because:

- The list is a comprehensive and possibly complete list of possible appeals that can be used and it is claimed to be culture free (Intercultural communication group:16)
- It has been widely adopted and used in various studies to measure the cultural characteristics of advertising (Cheng and Schweitzer 1996, Intercultural communication group:16)

This increases the validity of the measurement instrument, even outside the Western advertising culture.

Measurement instrument: As stated earlier, the coding instrument in this study was based on the instruments employed by other researchers who have previously investigated the topic. According to Orcher (2005), "Using instruments employed by researchers who previously investigated the topic has an advantage. Much is often known about the validity of such instruments...and also "Using the same instruments helps in building a consistent body of research." (Orcher, 2005:51).

The coding design used to measure the values manifest in the advertisements was adopted from Barbara Mueller's (1987) and Hong Cheng and John C. Schweitzer's (1996) frameworks used to study the cultural character of advertising which were based on Richard W. Pollay's (1983) typology of measuring the cultural values manifest in advertising.

However, the researcher believes that most of the items in the typology have been formulated from a Western perspective. Thus, a pretest of about 10% of the sample advertisements was conducted to test the applicability of the framework in the Ethiopian context. As a result, the values “magic” and “adventure” were eliminated from the list because these values were not found in any of the pre-tested commercials. A complete list of 30 cultural values was used as a coding instrument to measure the cultural values manifest in the commercials.

In addition to the major framework other measurements such as Belk and Pollay's (1985) instrument for measurement of westernization and materialism; Tse, Belk and Zhou's (1989) instrument for measuring consumption appeals and Hestroni's (2001) measurement for determining the characteristics of the commercial; were also used as coding instruments.

3.5 Coding procedure

Based on the 30 values, they were further categorized as Western, traditional, Universal and neutral/ other.

Traditional Values: A review of the literature using traditional values as a category reveals that traditional values include: collectivism, family, respect for the elderly and tradition, oneness with nature, sort—sell appeals, symbolic/emotional appeals, courtesy and work.

Westernized/Western values: Include individualism, youth and modernity, manipulation/control over nature, hard-sell appeal, comparative appeal, enjoyment and fun; and status.

Universal values: include product merit appeals (e.g. economy, effectiveness).

Neutral/ other values: include those values that do not fall in the above categories.

The categories were broadly divided into broad groups: cultural values (including value themes, nature, and appeal); Westernization; materialism; consumption appeal and characteristics.

The values were further classified according to their nature --utilitarian/ symbolic; appeal--hard-sell/ soft-sell; and their character--functional/hedonistic/altruistic. Three broad categories for measuring Westernization; materialism and consumption appeals were also used.

Materialism: this category includes material themes such as having and doing and relatively non material themes such as being. (Belk and Pollay, 1985)

Westernization: Includes an examination of the presence of a Western setting, clothing, and use of untranslated English. (Belk and Pollay, 1985; Wang et al, 1997)

Consumption appeals: Include technology, modernity, product performance, performance assurance, ingredients/contents, product variety, availability, distribution, image and price. (Tse, Belk and Zhou, 1989)

Control variables: In addition, product categories and product country of origin were used as two control variables to help examine the content of the commercial. All commercials were coded into 16 product categories. The categories were based on the products that widely appear in the commercial. The commercials were also classified based on the extent to which the products advertised are domestic or imported.

Coding scheme: In order to reduce subjectivity in coding, and to ensure consistency of results, a coding Scheme/ sheet was prepared along with operational definitions and examples with specific criteria for classifying the content of the commercial (AppendixB).

A total of 125 advertisements were coded independently by two coders. The coders were trained and were not aware of the research question/objective. They were instructed to identify two most dominant values/ appeals in each advertisement and to place the first most dominant value on a scale of 2 (strong) and to place the second most dominant appeal on a scale of 1 (weak)

The reason for doing this is because a commercial may contain more than one appeal and identifying the second appeal may have a bearing on the interpretation of other results in the study. There was no restriction on how many times an advertisement was viewed. However, the coders reported watching the advertisements at least twice prior to coding.

The coders identified the dominant values based on “the overall first impression or the key elements of the commercial’s “gestalt”-the end result or total message possibly received by viewers (Cheng, 1997:781). They focused on the setting, the models, and audio messages.

3.6 Reliability

Inter coder reliability of the coding was calculated by using a per-item-agreements (percentage) method as suggested by Kassirjian (1977). The coders were both made to code 10% of the sample advertisements. A per-item percentage calculation for each category revealed that the interceder reliability ranged 88.33% for Consumption appeal to 91.6% for dominant appeal.

According to Berelson (1952), the satisfactory range of reliability is between 66 and 95 percent with concentration at 90 percent (Berelson, 1952 cited in Kassirjian, 1997: 14). Thus, the inter coder reliability was found satisfactory.

In the qualitative method, in order to ensure credibility of the responses of the interviewees, a triangulation of sources was used. i.e more than one source was used to elicit the interpretation.

3.7 Data analysis

Nominal data has been used to describe the different categories. SPSS statistical data analysis has been used to analyze the nominal data in terms of descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and cross tabulations.

Most of the data have been analyzed using frequencies and percentages, while cross tabulations showing the cultural values and product categories as well as showing cultural values and product country of origin were used. The data from the informants' interview were thematically analyzed and used to validate the findings of the quantitative study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Presentation of data

A total of 125 commercials were coded based on 10 categories of analysis, each containing variables within them that were used for coding. Using SPSS data analysis method, the data has been presented in 12 tables. Percentage and frequency were calculated for the 10 tables while two tables have been prepared by cross tabulation of two different variables.

The results indicate that the most frequently manifest values in Ethiopian commercials include modernity (16.8%) and health (7.2%) followed by courtesy, family, enjoyment and safety; and the least frequently used values include: work, youth, uniqueness, wealth and sex. (Appendix A Table 1)

However, it is to be noted that two values were coded for each advertisement on a scale of 2 (strong) to 1 (weak), strong for the most dominant value and weak for the second most dominant value. The dominant values that have been discussed above have all been coded on the 2 (strong) scales. However, the results of the values coded on the weak (1) scale revealed a significant frequency (59.2%) of product merit appeals (such as economy, effectiveness, convenience and quality) that are believed to be universal values (Appendix A Table 2). Although these values will not be discussed as the major finding of this study, they will however not be ignored as they may have a significant bearing on other findings of the study.

Table 1

Frequencies of Value Themes Manifest in Commercials in Ethiopian

Value theme	Frequency	Percent
Traditional	35	27.2%
Western	39	32.8%
Universal	11	12.8
Neutral/other	40	27.2%
Total	125	100.0

The second finding of this study indicates that Western values are used more frequently (32.8%) than traditional values (27.2%) in Commercials in Ethiopia (Table 1). The findings also indicate traditional values and neutral/other values are used equally in the advertisements (27.2%) as shown in Table 1.

Table 2

Frequencies of Nature of Advertisements Manifest in Commercials in Ethiopian

Nature of commercial	Frequency	Percent
Utilitarian	101	80.8
Symbolic	24	19.2
Total	125	100.0

This table shows that the use of the Western utilitarian values (80.8%) is more frequent than the traditional symbolic values (19.2%) (Table2).

Table 3

Frequencies of appeals Manifest in Commercials in Ethiopia

Appeal	Frequency	Percent
Hard-sell	84	67.2
Soft-sell	41	32.8
Total	125	100.0

Similarly, the advertisements follow a hard-sell approach (67.2%) than a soft –sell approach (32.8%) (Table 3)

Closely related to this, the findings also reveal that Westernization is more dominant than tradition in the Commercials. Westernization and tradition are prevalent through setting, clothing, spoken words used and product/ service name. Although Westernization predominates in the aggregate, tradition prevails in the product/ service name (55.2%) as well as in the words used (64%). (Appendix A Table 3)

Table 4**Frequencies of Product Categories Manifest in Commercials in Ethiopia**

Product categories *	Frequency	Percent
AB	4	3.2
BI	11	8.8
BP	6	4.8
BT	5	4.0
CL	3	2.4
ED	8	6.4
EL	4	3.2
FD	10	8.0
FN	3	2.4
HA	6	4.8
HC	6	4.8
HE	17	13.6
IP	5	4.0
MI	11	8.8
SC	21	16.8
NB	5	4.0
Total	125	100.0

*AB= Alcoholic Beverages

BI= Banking and Insurance

BP= Beauty and Personal care

BT= Battery

CL= Clothing

ED= Education

EL= Electronics

FD=Food

FN=Furniture

HA=Household appliances

HE=Health

IP=Industrial Products

MI=Miscellaneous

NB= Non- alcoholic beverages

SC= Services

The findings show that among the 16 product categories or services, different services are the most frequently advertised (16.8%), followed by health services (13.6%) and

miscellaneous commercials (8.8%) (Table 4) Out of these most are domestic while some are imported. (Table 5)

Table5

Frequencies of Product Country of origin Manifest in Commercials in Ethiopia

Product country of origin	Frequency	Percent
Domestic	101	80.8
Imported	11	8.8
Total	112	89.6
System	13	10.4
	125	100.0

The above results regarding the dominant values become more meaningful when jointly viewed with the other findings such as product category and product country of origin.

Cross tabulation of the dominant appeals and product categories (Appendix A Table 4) reveals that the most dominant appeal “modernity” is used most frequently in advertisement for different services, and it is also largely used in advertisements for education, furniture, household appliances and health services. Another dominant western appeal enjoyment is used mostly in advertisements for alcoholic beverages. While the most dominant traditional appeal “courtesy” is used in advertisements for different services and miscellaneous products. Another traditional value family is used in advertisements for nonalcoholic beverages.

A cross tabulation of the dominant values and product country of origin (Appendix A Table 5) shows that all Western, traditional, universal and neutral/ other appeals are used are used both for domestic and imported products. The western value Beauty is most frequently used in advertisements for imported products, while modernity is used most frequently in advertisements for domestic products.

The above results are based on a cross tabulation of values and not on an F-Test which would reveal if there is a direct relationship between the variables.

Table 6**Frequencies of Materialism Manifest in Commercials in Ethiopia**

Materialism	Frequency	Percent
Having	29	23.2
Being	55	44.0
Doing	39	31.2
Total	123	98.4
Missing System	2	1.6
Total	125	100.0

Other findings of this study regarding the prevalence of materialism and consumption appeals indicates that the relatively non- materialistic appeal “being” is most frequently used (44%) followed by the instrumentally materialistic “doing” (31.2%), while the terminally materialistic “having” is used less frequently (Table 6). Moreover the consumption appeals product performance (88%), availability (87.2%) and performance assurance (74.4%) dominate. (Appendix table 5). In addition, the results also indicate that the commercials are characteristically functional (Appendix A Table 6)

4.2. Analysis and discussion of findings

The results show that out of the 30 cultural values, almost all of them have been used, either as a strong or weak value, at least once and at most twenty one times in the 125 commercials. This shows that advertisements in television in Ethiopia do use cultural values/appeals. Thus, confirming the assumption of this study.

Selective reinforcement

However, it can also be observed that the commercials portray some of these values more frequently "modernity" (16.8%) than others such as individualism and nurturance (0.8%). Moreover, contrary to the belief that advertising portrays the salient values of a society, those 'core African values' such as the value of time, religious beliefs, sanctity of authority /leadership. (Obeng-Quaidoo, 1986) have not been used in the commercials.

Moreover, the results indicate that except for the traditional values of courtesy, family and tradition, the commercials largely employed the Western value modernity. Such a variation in the use of some values more often than others and the complete elimination of others lays ground for supporting the theory that advertising reinforces some values far more frequently than others. It is also believed to distort people's perceptions into believing that modernity is more important than tradition.

Dominant cultural values

Results of this study indicate that "modernity is by far the single most dominant value used in commercials in Ethiopia. It may seem paradoxical to use modernity as a dominant appeal in a developing society like Ethiopia.

Modernity is largely used in commercials for different services, furniture, household appliances, education and health which advertise new goods and services. Thus, the predominance of modernity suggests that commercials in Ethiopia employ a marketing role of advertising and promote things that are new to the society. Thus, it appears appropriate for the commercials to employ modernity as a value/appeal.

Another explanation for the use of modernity is the social condition of the society. According to informant 1, the Ethiopian society is going from being a completely traditional society to a "modernizing traditional" one. In fact the informant explains that Ethiopia entered the path of modernization since particularly the 1980's and that many modern things such as communication, education, etc have already been introduced at the beginning of the century.

All three informants agree that modernity is inevitable in this age of globalization. According to informant 1 globalization is "steamrolling the whole world and making it more and more similar. It is a force that cannot be stopped but can probably be controlled or directed to some extent. ”

Health is the second most dominant value manifest in commercials in Ethiopia. It aids consumers to make health related choices Health is among the basic necessities and important issues of concern in a developing country like Ethiopia. Values appealing to

health are found in commercials on ETV for private clinics and hospital, dental clinics and family guidance associations, etc. The commercials appeal to consumers by either listing the services provided by the health organization or by introducing a new medical approach. For instance the commercial for St. Mary' higher clinic appeals to health by listing a host of different specialized services the clinic provides, specially a 'fast' and 'reliable' HIV testing service long with counseling. It also invites people to cater to their health by using the credit facility of the clinic. The voice-over states, "The foundation for our existence is our health and St. Mary clinic recognizes this!"

Another commercial for family planning uses a mother as a model. After listing the various ways of family planning by the commercial the mother finally states, "A planned family is the answer to a successful life."

The results show lack of use of sex appeals in the commercials despite the criticism that advertising, "for as long as it has existed, has used some sort of sexual sell." (Pollay, 1986:28) An explanation for this can be the reason that sexual advertisements 'represent a challenge to the standards of decency' (Pollay, 1986:26) Status also lacks from the commercials. The use of status symbols would seem to emphasize one's uniqueness vis-à-vis others (Belk and Pollay, 1985)

Nature of advertisements

The dominance utilitarian values and universal values that promote product merit (such as economy, effectiveness, convenience and quality) in the commercials can be related to the situation that advertising in Ethiopia is still in its beginning stage. Leiss et al's (2005) classification of the development of advertising indicates that advertising in its beginning stage, tends to use more utilitarian and product oriented appeals. The prevalence of 16 product categories reveals the variety of products/services being advertised. Thus there is likely to be intense competition and this calls for the need to use product merit appeals to differentiate the products.

Closely related to this and in response to the third research question, the findings also reveal the frequency of Westernization and tradition in terms of setting, clothing, name of

product/service and spoken words used in the commercials. More Western setting versus traditional setting and Western clothing versus traditional clothing is depicted in commercials. While tradition dominates in terms of name of products/services and spoken words used, however, the findings show that Westernization predominates overall. Westernization depicted in the advertisements is much more as compared to tradition or the presence of both tradition and westernization together.

Service versus product advertisements

Regarding the product categories/ types used in the commercials, the findings reveal that the types of products/services advertised fall into 16 product categories. Among these, commercials for different services (16.8%) and health (13.6%) dominate followed by commercials for miscellaneous products, banking and insurance, food and education. Whereas the least promoted product/service types include clothing and furniture (2.4%) (Table 4)

The appearance of a variety of product categories (16) in the commercials makes it seem that there exists an increased commercial persuasion. However, a closer examination reveals that most of the product/service categories concentrate on introducing different services such as health, insurance and education. Products considered as luxury (e.g. furniture and clothing) are promoted less often in the commercials.

Thus, it can be said that the commercials promote desirable social aims such as health, family planning, saving to promote people's lives, safety and insurance, education for the improvement of society and an improved lifestyle in general.

Even the promotion of products and services beyond people' basic needs such as products considered as luxury (e.g. furniture and clothing) may be positively viewed as inducing consumers to keep producing in order to keep consuming. According to the expert, such an interpretation may be given to Ethiopian society where there is little consumer society because "the Ethiopian society is not yet mad with consumption."

The findings also reveal that Ethiopian television advertisements are characteristically functional to a large extent (71.2%) and help consumers improve their decision making. Hedonistic characteristics that advocate instant gratification are used to a lesser extent.

The above results regarding the dominant values/appeals manifest in Ethiopian television advertising become more meaningful when jointly observed with the findings presented in other tables such as product categories and product country of origin.

A cross tabulation of the values used in the commercials with product categories reveals and product origin reveals that the most dominant Western value modernity is used most frequently in commercials for domestic products and services.

Instances using modernity for the marketing domestic products/ services include commercials for: Vinyl quartz plastic tiles which are manufactured by a domestic company. This commercial presents a variety of its products and appeals to the consumer to use these modern opportunities to beautify their floors. Another example is the commercial for Admas College. This college is a domestic college. The commercial is for distance education. However, the dominant appeal used by the commercial is to 'be modern and up-to-date by using the services of Admas College.'

The cross tabulations also reveal that the value tradition is largely used to promote modern products and services such as for banking and insurance services. For instance a commercial for Oromia Cooperative Bank portrays a traditional setting in a rural village where a family is depicted in front of a traditional 'tukul' (Mud hut). The father discloses that he is going to the market to sell his oxen. Then he is shown going to the bank to deposit the money he got from the sales. Following the family is shown in a modern house and a modern setting. Telling consumers that their life has improve as a result of using the bank service.

This commercial has used the traditional value of family depicting a transformation from rural traditional into modern life. Such a use of traditional appeals for modern services tends to change the belief system that such modern services are for the urban society only.

The results also show that among the second most dominant western appeals, enjoyment is most frequently used in advertisements for alcoholic beverages such as beer. While an equally frequent western appeal convenience is used in advertisements for different services (such as ads for malls and buildings to rent).

While the most dominant traditional value courtesy is also used in advertisements for different services and miscellaneous advertisements. Family, another traditional value is largely used in advertisements for non-alcoholic beverages while the value tradition is most frequently used in banking and insurance as well as in food product advertisements.

A correlation of values with product country of origin further reveals the Western value beauty is largely used for imported products/services than for domestic.

Western values

The dominance of Western values is indicative that advertising is attempting to shape social values for the commercial purpose of creating a Westernized consumer culture.

The manifestation of consumption appeals was examined through the frequency of appeals for technology, modernity, product performance, performance assurance, ingredients/components, product/service variety, image and availability. The findings indicate that the advertisements in television in Ethiopia used most frequently the consumption appeal "product performance" Followed by availability and performance assurance. The advertisements appealed least to technology and image (company image).

These findings suggest the wide use of consumption appeals such as product performance and performance assurance as well as availability and distribution of products. Such appeals are believed to create a consumer behavior.

Westernization and tradition

As the results show, Westernization dominates in the aggregate in the television advertisements. However, the use of Westernization and tradition is not uniform. Westernization dominates in some aspects while tradition dominates in others.

The dominance of westernization in the commercials is portrayed through the use of western settings, clothing, untranslated English words. The general explanation that can

be given for such predominance of Westernization is that Western clothing, furniture; in general Western lifestyle is depicted not only in the advertisements but also in the day-to-day life of the Ethiopian society (Particularly the urban society). It has been this way for such along time. As the theory of intercultural communication suggests, it has undergone through the consequences of contacts between cultures and has been diffused and converged so much within the society so much so that it has become 'normal'. Instead the use of traditional clothing, furniture or lifestyle in the day-to-day lives of the society would stand out and seem different than the western one. Informant 1 explains that there is a tendency to move away from tradition. Some of the things that people believe are traditional/ Ethiopian are not really so. Tradition could be something that has been practiced so much in the society that it becomes tradition. Thus, tradition is something that changes. Some things we consider tradition do not so much go back in history.

As discussed earlier in this paper, modernization is not a new thing for Ethiopian society and so the depiction of modernization may not be a negative thing. However, the depiction of Westernization in the commercials is likely to have consequences particularly if the commercials are made to depict westernization as modernization and similarly depict this as the "ideal" image.

Although the society is already blended with the Western lifestyle, such depictions of Westernization have implications. Do the advertisements faithfully mirror only what exists in the society? The basic purpose of advertising is to introduce new things to the society. Continuously new lifestyles are displayed by the advertisements and this tends to set the standards of acceptable criteria of social value and behavior.

Such portrayals of lifestyles by the commercials are telling consumers that the Western way of life that is being depicted is more "ideal". Thus people tend to emulate the values and lifestyle being promoted. This notion is closely related to the mirroring and modeling consequences of advertising. Not meeting the "ideal" images portrayed by advertising "instills a sense of inadequacy." (Pollay, 1986:26)

Informant 2 says that the commercials in Ethiopia tend to copy/emulate the Western style commercials. "This is due to the bias towards Westernization." He explains that people

wrongly believe that the more Western things are the more modern they are. "However, modernization is not copying but to grow in ones own unique way."

In explaining the low use of traditional values in the advertisements, the informant explains that "In advertising, tradition serves as the foundation. However, one can't remain there, one needs to build up to modernity. Otherwise, no one will pay attention to the advertisements, particularly the youth which is fast. As a result the commercials need to be more modern to suit the needs of the consumers." According to the informant, the commercials can be modern without being Western. He states that the commercials in Ethiopia need to have their own style and to follow their own direction. "Otherwise, a distorted Western image will be reflected to Society."

This idea is shared by informant 3 who says that "It is impossible to limit ourselves to the use of traditional appeals in this era of globalization." He sates that while his may not be a negative consequence on its own, care had to be practiced in differentiating the harmful from the useful in the process of copying the West."

He further explains as that apart from the above reasons, the commodity that is being advertised also determines to a large extent the type of value being used in the commercials --Western or traditional. For instance, when one advertises wine which is a very symbolic drink, one tends to use symbolic appeals. However, for advertising soap, perhaps one can't do much more than state its basic function.

According to the observations of informant 1, compared to other African countries, commercials in Ethiopia are more traditional. The informant explains that the fact that Ethiopia has its own written language has helped to retain the traditional values in the commercials. This explanation is consistent with the finding that use of spoken words is one of the areas where tradition dominates Westernization in the advertisements. Another explanation for the dominance of tradition in the names of the products /services advertised is the finding that domestic products/services are most frequently advertised than imported ones.

Consequences of materialism

The most dominant type of materialism manifest in the commercials is "being" which is believed to be relatively materialistic. (Belk and Pollay, 1985). The second most frequently used materialistic theme is "doing". The presence of this theme suggests that objects/products in Ethiopia are advertised for their ability to aid the doing of some activity and that they are not largely romanticized or abstract meaning is not given them. More importantly, the terminally materialistic theme having is used less frequently in the ads revealing that the possession of goods is not encouraged just for the sake of having the objects. These results reveal that although materialism is used to some extent in the commercials, it is however not promoted. Closely related to this, the results show that the top three product categories/types in advertised in television in Ethiopia are different services, health services, miscellaneous commercials and ads for banking and insurance. These commercials are basically functional in character focusing on giving the consumer product information rather than promoting hedonistic pleasures that can be gained by possession of goods. The advertisements however portray less altruistic characteristics that concentrate on creating an atmosphere which advances self sacrifice. Supporting this notion, the presence of more utilitarian than symbolic appeals and more hard-sell than soft-sell approaches shows that the commercials may not be criticized for 'subtleties of seduction' or for promoting the transfer of feelings from goods to people.

Social change and Social Problems

Informant 1 explains that in a society like Ethiopia, the effects of using consumption appeals with such frequency may not be as adverse as it is theorized to be in the west. This is mainly due to the prevalence of a widely varied standard of living of the society. The level of consumption of the society is very low. "There is a very thin group of consumer society. Thus the society is not yet mad with being a consumer society." In fact consumption could be attributed as a positive economic role of advertising because "If the economy is to expand, consumption has to be encouraged and consumption actually means raising a better standard of living."

However, the informant further explains that there are cases when such consumption appeals can be dangerous to a society like Ethiopia. A case in point is when commercials

misinform the public while promoting consumption. "Advertisements are driven by commercial interests and the well being of the public may not be their priority." Some of the products advertised (such as battery) directly target the rural society. Selling by misinforming puts the public, particularly the rural poor in harms way.

Moreover, "these days many rural people vie with one another for having a 'korkoro' (metal sheet roof). In an egalitarian society, such inequalities would cause a problem". This notion is closely related with the social criticism that advertising creates envy and social competition.

According to the informant, the other consequence of the promoting consumption is its effect on the environment. "Although the Ethiopian society is not yet mad with being a consumer society," there is more of a consumer society than 10-15 years ago." He further explained that consumption has led to the littering of the environment with; particularly plastic that is not biodegradable. "These days one can't go to any remote river and try to cross it without finding any plastic bags, shoes, etc."

The other social problem of advertising in relation to its consequences in developing countries is deviating consumer demands to areas which inhibit the development priorities and deforming ways of life and lifestyles.

The results indicate that in relation to this consequence, the commercials in Ethiopia mostly advertise for services, health, banking and insurance, education (Table 4). These areas of concentration by the commercials tend to promote savings, health, education, etc that are relevant to a developing country like Ethiopia.

Regarding the commercials for consumer goods that predominate such as soaps and detergents and battery and goods that are deemed as luxury items such as furniture and beauty care products that are advertised to a lesser extent in Ethiopia, the informant explains that what is a luxury item and what is considered a necessity are changing through time. "What were considered a luxury item 20-30 years ago even in developing countries are becoming a necessity and its importance spreading from the urban to the rural areas. Today in the rural Ethiopia, affordable plastic cups and dishes have replaced

the traditional 'ankolas' and 'mesobs' used for drinking and eating respectively. Thus, although it may be true that commercials are changing people's ways of life, it is in terms of improving them."

The results show that the commercials on ETV do not portray values that affect the moral of the society such as appeals to religion and appeals affecting the moral of children. One reason for the limited use of particularly commercials that target children is that ETV's advertising principle states, under article 1.3.8 that ETV does not entertain commercials that exploit the vulnerability of children and has potential to harm them. (Ethiopian Television Agency advertising manual, undated

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

This was an attempt to study the content, as opposed to the effect of commercials in Ethiopia. However, content has a lot to do with effect and thus has relevance to the shaping and influence of societal values and norms.

Through the examination of the manifest content of the commercials in Ethiopia, this study reveals that the commercials are sensitive to the cultural values of the society. This can be seen through the limited use of values that contradict or negate the salient values of the society. For instance, the commercials portray less use of the value individualism—that encourages consumers to be "better than others" and to "stand out from the rest". Individualism is believed to contradict the long established value of collectivism and group consensus in a traditional society like Ethiopia. Sensitivity is also portrayed through the lack of use of values that encourage the consumer to have control over nature. Instead the commercials encourage consumers to be in harmony with nature—which is a traditional value. Appeals to youth that reduce family value and that tend to undermine respect for the elderly which is highly upheld value, are used very little in the commercials. In addition, there is also lack of use of appeals to status and sexuality in the manifest content of the commercials as an apparent use of sexuality could be offensive to the society.

However, in spite of such sensitivity to cultural values, it has been shown that the commercials selectively use some values over others. Many of the values that are regarded as core African (Obeng-Quaidoo, 1986) and traditional were either not used or used very little in the commercials. Even those traditional values believed to be suited/ amenable to advertising were also not commonly used (e.g. tradition, respect for the elderly). Instead, the commercials tended to use more Western values (e.g. the predominant modernity). Except for the traditional values of courtesy, family and tradition, the commercials largely employed the Western values. Such a variation in the use of values lays ground for supporting the theory that advertising reinforces some values far more frequently than others. Thus, if advertising is a mirror of the society, "it is

a distorted one" (Pollay and Gallagher, 1980 cited in Hestroni, 2000) showing only some values and selectively ignoring others.

Modern values are used extensively in the marketing of domestic products. As shown through the modernity to promote a local college. While traditional values are largely used in the marketing of modern services. As shown through the portrayal of the elderly and traditional societies in using modern banking and insurance services. Thus it can be said that the Ethiopian commercial shows a mix of cultural values whereby certain values are being shaped and expressed in the context of others. This reflects the interaction of traditional and modern values in the Ethiopian society. The process of using traditional values to promote modern services/products may result in giving new dimensions/meaning to traditional values as they become intertwined with a new, modern value/system of beliefs and thus help in reshaping the cultural reality.

Some 'unintended' consequences may be noticed in the television advertisements. For instance, the commercials promote less work value and more consumption value/ethic as can be seen through the prominent use of consumption appeals that assure consumers of a product's/service's performance and availability.

The other possible consequence of the commercials is the issue of credibility. Although this research has not proved that the Ethiopian television commercials make false claims, the lack of regulation that acts in the interest of consumers is indicative of a possible harm to society. Thus in view of the seriousness of the consequences of false claims by the advertisements, social responsibility should be shifted from the hands the advertisers and stricter regulations drawn at a national level should be put in place.

The commercials on ETV hold out Westernization to be the 'good life' or the "ideal" life as shown through the frequent use of untranslated foreign words as well as through the portrayal of Western clothing and furnishing. Since Western clothing and furnishing are apparent in the day-to-day life of the Ethiopian society (particularly the urban society) they may be considered as indicators of modernization rather than Westernization. However, constant stimulation and rehearsal of such Western or even modern values lead to standardization and setting them as accepted criteria of social value. Not fulfilling the

ideals offered leads to self-denigration and self doubt (Pollay, 1986). Thus the commercials can be said to both mirror as well as model the society.

However, the commercials, given them such power, can reverse the situation and emulate the traditional as the "ideal" state of life. Even if tradition, particularly in terms of clothing is less apparent (particularly in the urban areas), the commercials can act as models to redirect the society in that direction and show that modernity can exist in tradition. As the informant 2 said, "Modernity or development is not emulating the West. We need to grow not based on the Western values but in our own unique direction and based on the existent social situation."

However, in spite of the above mentioned social problems and social change brought about in the society due to commercials, it can be generally said that the commercials in television in Ethiopia have a positive social role.

Even though the commercials portray consumption appeals, they do not make consumption a top of the mind priority. They do not attempt to preoccupy society with material concerns. This is shown through the frequent use of functional and little use of hedonistic appeals as well as through the use little of the terminally materialistic appeal 'having' and rather through the use of a relatively non-materialistic appeal 'being'.

According to Leiss et al's (2005) model of the development of advertising, the early stage of advertising in the United States emphasized product information and later stages focused on symbolic functions of products.

The study revealed that the television advertisement in Ethiopia emphasized utilitarian values that emphasized quality and effectiveness based on performance. The advertisements tend to favor focusing on more product merit appeals than on symbolic appeals.

Such a focus on utilitarian appeals is indicative that the current stage of television advertising in Ethiopia is in its early stage. Ethiopia is still a developing country and in spite of the existence of advertising Ethiopia since the turn of the century, advertising particularly television advertising has not reached the levels of sophistication found in the

west and it is still in its beginning stage. Thus the commercials are still emphasizing utilitarian values.

The findings also suggest that the use of the seemingly competing and contradicting Western and traditional values are used based largely on the advertiser's preferences of what serve their purpose. And not upon considering whether the value used conforms to the culture or not. In the case of Ethiopia advertising, the balance of power shifts to the use of Western appeals/values because they "help sell". Thus, it should be noted that Western influence is eminent in this age of globalization and due to the fact that cultures constantly come into contact with one another. However, it is possible to reduce the effect of Westernization on traditional societies. It should also be noted that the Ethiopian society is a "modernizing traditional" society. Advertisers should thus consider employing the two in a mutually complementary way.

Apart from promoting new things and modernity, the commercials promote desirable social values such as health particularly HIV/ AIDS related issues, family planning, corruption, etc. Moreover, the prevalence of utilitarian, functional values that focus on the product/ service' effectiveness quality, etc, shows that the commercials have an informational social communication function. They mostly inform and to a lesser extent try to alter the attitudes of consumers towards brands and techniques for achieving personal and social success.

The findings address some of the unintended consequences of advertising such as selective reinforcement, promoting consumer behavior and promoting Western values, promoting pernicious values such as envy. The commercials also attempt to shape societal values.

However, the findings also support, in terms of its role in society and economy, the view of the critics of the theory. They have been shown to promote desirable social aims, and informing consumers. They portray 'wholesome' values to a large extent. The findings also go against Pollay's theory and supports the critic' view that advertising relies on reason and acts as a guide to 'reasoned action.'

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Appendix

Table 1

Frequencies of Values Manifest in commercials in Ethiopia

Value	Frequency	Percent %
Beauty	4	3.2
Collectivism	5	4.0
Competition	4	3.2
Convenience	6	4.8
Courtesy	8	6.4
Economy	2	1.6
Effectiveness	5	4.0
Enjoyment	6	4.8
Family	7	5.6
Health	9	7.2
Individualism	1	.8
Leisure	0	0
Modernity	21	16.8
Natural	5	4.0
Neatness	3	2.4
Nurturance	1	.8
Patriotism	2	1.6
Popularity	4	3.2
Quality	3	2.4
Respect for the elderly	2	1.6
Safety	7	5.6
Sex	0	0
Status	0	0
Technology	4	3.2
Tradition	6	4.8
Uniqueness	1	.8
Wealth	1	.8
Wisdom	6	4.8
Work	1	.8
Youth	1	.8
Total	125	100.0

Table 2**Frequencies of Secondary Appeals Manifest in commercials in Ethiopia**

Secondary appeal	Frequency	Percent %
Beauty	6	4.8
Collectivism	2	1.6
Competition	5	4.0
Convenience	11	8.8
Courtesy	9	7.2
Economy	12	9.6
Effectiveness	19	15.2
Enjoyment	4	3.2
Family	1	.8
Health	4	3.2
Leisure	2	1.6
Patriotism	4	3.2
Popularity	8	6.4
Quality	16	12.8
Respect for the elderly	1	.8
Safety	4	3.2
Technology	5	4.0
Tradition	2	1.6
Uniqueness	2	1.6
Wealth	1	.8
Total	118	94.4

Table 3**Frequencies of Westernization and Tradition Manifest in Ethiopian Television Advertisements**

Setting	Frequency	Percent
Western	76	60.8
Traditional	9	7.2
Western and traditional	31	24.8
Total	116	92.8
Missing	9	7.2
Total	125	100.0
Clothing	Frequency	Percent
Modern	51	40.8
Traditional	7	5.6
Modern and Traditional	29	23.2
Total	87	69.6
Missing System	38	30.4
Total	125	100.0
Product/service name	Frequency	Percent
Western	49	39.2
Local	69	55.2
Universal	7	5.6
Total	125	100.0
Words	Frequency	Percent
Amharic and Untranslated English	38	30.4
Amharic	80	64.0
Amharic and translated English	7	5.6
Total	125	100.0

Table 4**Cross Tabulation of Dominant Appeal and Product Categories**

Dominant appeal		product categories																Total
		AB	BI	BP	BT	CL	ED	EL	FD	FN	HA	HC	HE	IP	MI	SC	NB	
Beauty	Count			3										1				4
	% of Total			2.40%										0.80%				3.20%
Collectivism	Count		1		1										1	2		5
	% of Total		0.80%		0.80%										0.80%	1.60%		4.00%
Competition	Count				1				2								1	4
	% of Total				0.80%				1.60%								0.80%	3.20%
Convenience	Count										1					5		6
	% of Total										0.80%					4.00%		4.80%
Courtesy	Count		1						1					1	2	3		8
	% of Total		0.80%						0.80%					0.80%	1.60%	2.40%		6.40%
Economy	Count							2										2
	% of Total							1.60%										1.60%
Effectiveness	Count		1		2							1			1			5
	% of Total		0.80%		1.60%							0.80%			0.80%			4.00%
Enjoyment	Count	3													1	1	1	6
	% of Total	2.40%													0.80%	0.80%	0.80%	4.80%
Family	Count		1	1				1	1			1					2	7
	% of Total		0.80%	0.80%				0.80%	0.80%			0.80%					1.60%	5.60%
Health	Count								1				8					9
	% of Total								0.80%				6.40%					7.20%
Individualism	Count								1									1
	% of Total								0.80%									0.80%
Modernity	Count		1			1	3			3	3		3	1	1	5		21
	% of Total		0.80%			0.80%	2.40%			2.40%	2.40%		2.40%	0.80%	0.80%	4.00%		16.80%
Natural	Count	1		1				1						1			1	5
	% of Total	0.80%		0.80%				0.80%						0.80%			0.80%	4.00%
Neatness	Count											3						3
	% of Total											2.40%						2.40%
Nurturance	Count												1					1
	% of Total												0.80%					0.80%

Patriotism	Count						1				1							2
	% of Total						0.80%				0.80%							1.60%
Popularity	Count			1								1				2		4
	% of Total			0.80%								0.80%				1.60%		3.20%
Quality	Count					2						1						3
	% of Total					1.60%						0.80%						2.40%
Respect for the elderly	Count		1		1													2
	% of Total		0.80%		0.80%													1.60%
Safety	Count		3					1		1			1		1			7
	% of Total		2.40%					0.80%		0.80%			0.80%		0.80%			5.60%
Technology	Count							1				3						4
	% of Total							0.80%				2.40%						3.20%
Tradition	Count		2					2						1	1			6
	% of Total		1.60%					1.60%						0.80%	0.80%			4.80%
Uniqueness	Count													1				1
	% of Total													0.80%				0.80%
Wealth	Count													1				1
	% of Total													0.80%				0.80%
Wisdom	Count					4						1				1		6
	% of Total					3.20%						0.80%				0.80%		4.80%
Work	Count													1				1
	% of Total													0.80%				0.80%
Youth	Count													1				1
	% of Total													0.80%				0.80%
	Count	4	11	6	5	3	8	4	10	3	6	6	17	5	11	21	5	125
	% of Total	3.20%	8.80%	4.80%	4.00%	2.40%	6.40%	3.20%	8.00%	2.40%	4.80%	4.80%	13.60%	4.00%	8.80%	16.80%	4.00%	100.00%

Table 5**Cross Tabulation Count of Dominant appeal and Product Country of Origin**

Dominant appeal		Product country of origin		Total
		Domestic	Imported	
Beauty	Count	1	3	4
	% of Total	.9%	2.7%	3.6%
Collectivism	Count	4		4
	% of Total	3.6%		3.6%
Competition	Count	4		4
	% of Total	3.6%		3.6%
Convenience	Count	5		5
	% of Total	4.5%		4.5%
Courtesy	Count	7		7
	% of Total	6.3%		6.3%
Economy	Count		2	2
	% of Total		1.8%	1.8%
Effectiveness	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
Enjoyment	Count	6		6
	% of Total	5.4%		5.4%
Family	Count	2	1	3
	% of Total	1.8%	.9%	2.7%
Health	Count	9		9
	% of Total	8.0%		8.0%
Individualism	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
Modernity	Count	18	3	21
	% of Total	16.1%	2.7%	18.8%
Natural	Count	4	1	5
	% of Total	3.6%	.9%	4.5%
Neatness	Count	2		2
	% of Total	1.8%		1.8%
Nurturance	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
Patriotism	Count	2		2
	% of Total	1.8%		1.8%
Popularity	Count	3		3
	% of Total	2.7%		2.7%
Quality	Count	3		3
	% of Total	2.7%		2.7%
Respect for the elderly	Count	2		2
	% of Total	1.8%		1.8%
Safety	Count	6	1	7
	% of Total	5.4%	.9%	6.3%
Technology	Count	4		4
	% of Total	3.6%		3.6%
Tradition	Count	6		6
	% of Total	5.4%		5.4%

Uniqueness	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
Wealth	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
Wisdom	Count	6		6
	% of Total	5.4%		5.4%
Work	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
Youth	Count	1		1
	% of Total	.9%		.9%
	Count	101	11	112
	% of Total	90.2%	9.8%	100.0%

Table 6

Frequencies of Consumption Appeals Manifest in Ethiopian Television Advertisements

Technology	Frequency	Percent %
Technology	4	3.2
Missing System	121	96.8
Total	125	100.0
Modernity	Frequency	Percent %
modernity	19	15.2
Missing System	106	84.8
Total	125	100.0
Product performance	Frequency	Percent %
Product performance	110	88.0
Missing System	15	12.0
	125	100.0
Performance assurance	Frequency	Percent %
performance assurance	93	74.4
Missing System	32	25.6
Total	125	100.0
Ingredients/components	Frequency	Percent %
Ingredients	32	25.6
Missing System	93	74.4
Total	125	100.0
Product/service variety	Frequency	Percent %
Product /service variety	40	32.0
Missing System	85	68.0

Table 7

Frequencies of Characteristics in Ethiopian Television Advertisements

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Functional	89	71.2
Hedonistic	19	15.2
Altruistic	16	12.8
Total	124	99.2
System	1	.8
	125	100.0

Interview questions

- Q1. Why are some values of the society reflected in the commercials while others are not?
68
- Q2. How would you identify the Ethiopian society—modern or traditional?
- Q3. What is the implication for the Ethiopian society if the advertisements reflect Westernization and Western values, tradition; a combination of tradition and Westernization.
- Q4. Can adopting Western styles be equated with modernism?
- Q5. In general what are the implications of promoting themes that are against the values upheld by the society versus themes congruent to societal values?
- Q6. What are the consequences of promoting materialism possessions as the primary sources of satisfaction/dissatisfaction in life?
- Q7. What are the consequences of advertising displaying a large variety of consumer and luxury goods or products and appeals that encourage consumption?
- Q8. Is the creation of a consumer society a positive or negative thing in Ethiopia?
- Q9. What is the hierarchy of needs Ethiopian society? From the basic food and shelter to the social, physiological, etc.

Q10. In the Ethiopian society do products & services need to fulfill basic needs or to fulfill desires for luxury, prestige and enjoyment or basic product functions?

Interviewee Profiles

- **Informant 1:** Associate professor at the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (SOSA), Addis Ababa University. Interviewed on July 12, 2006.
- **Informant 2:** Advertising agency executive and film director, Combe Entertainment. Interviewed July 13, 2006.
- **Informant 3:** Advertising agency executive and film director, Haleta Advertising and Media Entertainment. Interviewed July 15, 2006

CODING SHEET

Commercial:

No	Values	Scale		Utilitarian or Rational	Symbolic or Emotional	Functional	Hedonistic	Altruistic	Having	Doing	Being
		2 (Strong)	1 (Weak)								
1	Beauty										
2	Collectivism										
3	Competition										
4	Convenience										
5	Courtesy										
6	Economy										
7	Effectiveness										
8	Enjoyment										
9	Family										
10	Health										
11	Individualism										
12	Leisure										
13	Modernity										
14	Natural										
15	Neatness										

16	Nurturance										
17	Patriotism										
18	Popularity										
19	Quality										
20	Respect for the Elderly										
21	Safety										
22	Sex										
23	Social Status										
24	Technology										
25	Tradition										
26	Uniqueness										
27	Wealth										
28	Wisdom										
29	Work										
30	Youth										

Consumption appeals	Yes	No
Price		
Quality/ performance assurance		
Performance assurance		
Components or ingredients		
Availability		
Technology		
Modernity		
Product variety		
Image		

Product Categories		Product county of origin	
		Domestic	Imported
Food Items			
Alcoholic beverages			
Non-alcoholic beverages			
Household appliances and furniture			
Electronics			
Beauty and Personal care			
Banking and insurance			
Education			
Services			
Health			
Industry products			
Clothing			
Real Estate			
Battery			
Clothing			
Miscellaneous			

Appeal	Clothing	Product /service name	Furnishing or Artifacts	Spoken words		
				Amharic and untranslated English	Amharic and translated English	Amharic
Western/modern						
Traditional						

Operational Definitions of Cultural Values Examined in Commercials in Ethiopia

1. **Beauty:** This value suggests that :
 - The use of the product will enhance the loveliness, attractiveness, elegance, or handsomeness of an individual.
 - **Common identifiers:** Beautiful, decorative, ornate, adorned, embellished, detailed, designed, and styled.
2. **Collectivism:** The emphasis here is on:
 - The individual in relation to others typically in the reference group.
 - Individuals are depicted as integral parts of the group.
 - A preference for group work
 - Waiting to belong to and enjoy being part of others
 - Duties and sacrifices of being a group member entails
 - **Common identifiers:** Group, society, nation
3. **Competition:** The emphasis here is on:
 - Distinguishing a product from its counterparts by aggressive comparisons. While explicit comparisons may mention the competitor's name, implicit comparisons may use such words as “number one or “leader”
4. **Convenience:** A product is suggested to be handy and easy to use.
 - **Common identifiers:** Handy, time-saving, quick, easy, suitable, accessible, versatile.
5. **Courtesy:** Politeness and friendship toward the customer are shown through the use of polished and affable language in the commercial.
6. **Economy:** The inexpensive, affordable, and cost-saving nature of a product is emphasized in the commercial.

7. **Effectiveness:** A product is suggested to be powerful and capable of achieving certain ends.
- **Common identifiers:** Useful, functional, efficient, helpful, comfortable (clothes), tasty (food), strength, longevity of effect
8. **Enjoyment:** This value suggests that a product will make its user wild with joy. Typical examples include the capital fun that beer or soda drinkers demonstrate in some commercials.
- **Common identifiers:** To have fun, laugh, be happy, celebrate, to enjoy games, parties, feasts and festivities.
9. **Family:** The emphasis here is on the family life and family members. The commercial stresses family scenes, getting married companionship of siblings, kinship, being at home, and suggests that a certain product is good for the whole family.
- **Common identifiers:** Having a home, being at home, family privacy, companionship of siblings, kinship, getting married.
10. **Health:** This value recommends that the use of a product will enhance or improve the vitality, soundness, strength and robust of the body.
- **Common identifiers:** Fitness, vigor, strength, to be active, athletic, free from diseases, illness, infection or addiction.
11. **Individualism:** The emphasis here is on the self- sufficiency and self-reliance of an individual or on the individual as being distinct and unlike others.
- Individuals depicted as standing out from the crowd or having the ability to be self-sufficient
 - Striving for one's own goals desires and achievements
 - Individuals are alone in the frame or are positioned in the foreground when in groups.
 - **Common identifiers:** Self-sufficiency, Self- reliance, to do-it –yourself

12. **Leisure:** This value suggests that the use of a product will bring one comfort or relaxation.

- **Common identifiers:** vacation, holiday, rest, to observe, be at ease

13. **Modernity:** The notion of being new, contemporary, up -to-date, and ahead of time is emphasized in a commercial.

- **Common identifiers:** improved, progressive, advanced
- **E.g.** " slightly ahead of our time"

14. **Neatness:** The notion of being clean and tidy is stressed in a commercial.

- **Common identifiers:** Orderly, neat, clean, sweet-smelling, bright, free from dirt, refuse pests, vermin, stains and smells

15. **Natural:** This value suggests

- spiritual harmony between man and nature by making references to the elements, animals, vegetables or minerals
- **Common identifiers:** References to the minerals, farming, unadulterated, purity (of product), organic grown nutritious

16. **Nurturance:** This value stresses giving charity, help, protection, support, or sympathy to the weak, disabled, young, or elderly.

- **Common identifiers:** To give gifts, especially help, love, charity, support, comfort, protection, nursing, consolation or otherwise, care for the weak, disabled, inexperienced, tried, young, elderly, etc.

17. **Patriotism:** The love and loyalty to one's own nation inherent in the nature or in the use of a product are suggested here.

- **Common identifiers:** Relating to community, national publics, public spiritedness, group unity, national identity, civic and community organizations or other social organizations

18. **Popularity:** The focus here is on the universal recognition and acceptance of a certain product by consumers, e.g. "Best seller" "well known...", "largest seller"
- **Common identifiers:** customary, well-known, usual, ordinary, universal, everyday
19. **Quality:** The emphasis here is on the excellence and durability of a product, which is usually claimed to be a winner of medals or certificates awarded by a government department for its high grade or is demonstrated by the product's excellent performance.
- **Common identifiers:** Long lasting, permanent, stable, enduring, strong, powerful, tough
20. **Respect for the Elderly:** The commercial displays a respect for older people by using a model of old age or asking for the opinions, recommendations, and advice of the elders.
- **Common identifiers:** Being adult, grown up, middle aged, senior, elderly, having associated insight, wisdom, mellowness, references to ageing, death, retirements, or age related
21. **Safety:** The reliable and secure nature of a product is emphasized.
- **Common identifiers:** Security, carefulness, caution, stability, absence of hazards, potential injury or other risks, guarantees, warranties, manufacturer's reassurances.
22. **Sex:** The commercial uses glamorous and sensual models or has a background of lovers holding hands, embracing, or kissing to promote a product.
- **Common identifiers:** Erotic relations, holding hands, kissing, embracing between lovers, dating, romance, intense sensuality, erotic behavior, lust, indecency, attractiveness of clearly sexual behavior

23. **Social status:** The use of product is claimed

- To be able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others.
- The feeling of prestige, trendsetting (sic), and pride in the use of the product is conveyed.
- The promotion of company manager's status or fame by quoting his words or showing his picture in the commercials is also included.
- **Common identifiers:** Envy, competitiveness, boasting, power, dominance, pride in ownership

24. **Technology:** Here, the advanced and sophisticated technical skills to engineer and manufacture a particular product are emphasized.

- **Common identifiers:** Engineered, fabricated, formulated, manufactured, constructed, processed, and resulting from science, invention, discovery, research containing secret ingredients.
- **E.g.** "Factory-fresh", "includes xk-17"

25. **Tradition:** The emphasis of the past, customs, and conventions are respected. The qualities of being historical, time-honored, and legendary are venerated, e.g. "With eighty years of manufacturing experience".

- **Common identifiers:** Historical, classic, antique, legendary, time-honored, long standing, venerable, nostalgic

26. **Uniqueness:** The unrivalled, incomparable and unparalleled nature of a product is emphasized.

- **Common identifiers:** rare, unique, unusual, scarce, infrequent, exclusive, tasteful, elegant, hand-crafted

27. **Wealth:** This value conveys the idea that being affluent, prosperous, and rich should be encouraged and suggests that a certain product or service will make the user well off.

- **Common identifiers:** wealth (including the sudden wealth of prices)

28. **Wisdom:** This value shows respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise, or experience.

- **Common identifiers:** Knowledge, education, awareness, intelligence, curiosity, satisfaction, comprehension, sagacity, expertise, judgment, experience
- **E.g.:** "judge for yourself", "experts agree"

29. **Work:** This value

- Shows respect for diligence or dedication of one's labor and skills. A typical example is that a medication has regained a desperate patient his or her ability to work.
- Directed to the fulfillment of professional obligations
- E.g. engineers describing the technological features of a car

30. **Youth:** The worship of the younger generation is shown through the depiction of younger models. The rejuvenating benefits of the product are stressed.

- **E.g.** "feel young again"

Operational Definitions of other appeals

1. **Product merit appeal:** Product merit appeal focuses on

- Product characteristics and benefits. Some aspect or feature of the product is described in depth
- And the benefit to the consumer is implied.

2. **Soft-sell Appeal:** Mood and atmosphere are conveyed through a beautiful scene or the development of an emotional story or verse.
 - Human emotional sentiments are emphasized over clear-cut product-related appeals.
3. **Hard-sell Appeals:** Sales orientation is emphasized here, stressing brand name and product recommendations.
 - Explicit mention may be made of competitive products
 - This appeal includes such statements such as "number one" and "leader."
4. **Spoken Words:** When any western language is incorporated into the product's brand name or utilized anywhere in the commercial, this advertisement will be coded as using Western languages
 - Untransltd English: Untranslated English words used along with Amharic
 - Translated English: Translated English used with Amharic
 - Product/ Service name: if the product or service name has a western name
5. **Furnishings:** "Since western furnishings and clothing are considered indicators of modernization rather than westernization, only distinctly western artifacts were considered. Examples would be Western nations' flags, traditional costumes, and locations such as the Grand Canyon or the London Bridge." (Wang, Jaw, Pinkelton, Morton, 1997: 52)
6. **Utilitarian / rational appeal:** Those emphasizing
 - Product features or qualities.
 - The advertisement aims to convince the potential consumer by straightforward argument, or where it contains factual information about the advertised product with or without referring to competitive brands.
 - e.g. economy, effectiveness, safety, quality, convenience, neatness,

7. **Symbolic/ Emotional appeal:** Those suggesting:
 - Human emotions. The advertisement addresses the potential consumer not through logical reasoning and the processing of factual information, but by arousing feelings or creating moods.
 - E.g. Individualism, enjoyment, social status,
8. **Having:** Either a person is displaying or referring to owned object(s) or a house or room is shown from eye level into which the viewer seems to be invited.
9. **Being:** shows or discusses what the reader can become or how people will treat the reader with the help of this product or service.
10. **Doing:** shows or discusses a reader activity that is aided or provided by the product or service.
11. **Functional:** The product's main use and the outcome of such use
12. **Hedonistic:** Elapsing pleasure that is related to the product (promote the satisfying of one's own desires, pretty, luxury, foreign, have fun)
13. **Altruistic:** The product's capability to help members of the society without obtaining any materialistic benefit for this aid. (Create an atmosphere which advances self-sacrifice, falling back on the past as appropriate.)

Consumption appeals

14. **Technology:** Technological content of products
15. **Modernity:** Modern, future, new
16. **Product Performance:** High quality, performance
17. **Performance assurance:** Certified, widely accepted
18. **Ingredients/ contents:** Product ingredients
19. **Product variety:** Variety
20. **Availability/ distribution:** Service availability, list of shops
21. **Image:** Company history, image
22. **Price:** Price, economy, practical