

PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS: A CASE STUDY OF  
KAZAKHSTAN'S 2006 ADVERTISING  
CAMPAIGN

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Introduction and Background .....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	3
Purpose of the Study .....	3
Research Question .....	4
Methodology .....	4
Rationale and Theoretical Framework.....	5
Scope, Limitations and Assumptions .....	6
Outline of Remaining Chapters .....	7
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	8
Kazakhstan.....	8
Geography.....	8
History.....	8
People.....	10
Government.....	10
Economy .....	11
Media .....	11
Foreign and U.S. Relations .....	12
Travel and Business .....	12
Place Branding .....	13
What is a Brand? Why is it Important?.....	13
Branding a Country.....	14
Country Branding Studies.....	16
Tourism Advertising .....	17
Propaganda and Persuasion.....	19
Definitions.....	19
Propaganda Studies.....	20
Propaganda Techniques .....	22
Glittering Generality.....	23

Chapter	Page
Transfer .....	23
Testimonial .....	23
Plain Folk .....	24
Card Stacking.....	24
Bandwagon .....	24
Name Calling .....	25
Country Branding, Tourism Advertising and Propaganda .....	25
Similar Studies Using Jowett and O’Donnell’s 10-point Framework .....	26
Summary .....	27
III. METHODOLOGY .....	28
Qualitative Approach .....	28
Description of Campaign Under Study.....	28
Sources of Information .....	30
Description of Jowett and O’Donnell’s Framework.....	31
Jowett and O’Donnell’s 10-Point Framework .....	32
Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Campaign .....	32
Context in Which the Propaganda Occurs .....	33
Identification of the Propagandist.....	33
Structure of the Propaganda Organization.....	34
Target Audience.....	34
Media Utilization Techniques.....	34
Special Techniques to Maximize Effect .....	35
Audience Reaction to Various Techniques.....	36
Counterpropaganda.....	36
Effects and Evaluation .....	37
Applying the 10-Point Framework .....	37
Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Campaign .....	37
Context in Which the Propaganda Occurs .....	38
Identification of the Propagandist.....	38
Structure of the Propaganda Organization.....	38
Target Audience.....	39
Media Utilization Techniques.....	39
Special Techniques to Maximize Effect .....	39
Audience Reaction to Various Techniques.....	40
Counterpropaganda.....	40
Effects and Evaluation .....	40
Summary .....	40

Chapter	Page
IV. FINDINGS.....	42
Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Campaign .....	42
Context in Which the Propaganda Occurs .....	44
Identification of the Propagandist.....	47
Structure of the Propaganda Organization.....	49
Target Audience.....	52
Media Utilization Techniques.....	53
Special Techniques to Maximize Effect .....	56
Audience Reaction to Various Techniques.....	59
Counterpropaganda.....	62
Effects and Evaluation .....	64
V. CONCLUSION.....	69
Summary of Methodology and Findings .....	69
Discussion.....	70
Implications and Recommendations .....	74
Limitations and Opportunities for Future Studies .....	75
REFERENCES .....	78

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table	Page
Table 5.1 Number of Blog Entries and <i>New York Times</i> Articles Published by Month.....	65
Figure	Page
Figure 5.1 Number of Blog Entries Published by Month.....	66
Figure 5.2 Number of <i>New York Times</i> Articles Published by Month.....	66

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Introduction and Background

Kazakhstan is a large country located in Central Asia, northwest of China and south of Russia. With a population over fifteen million people, Kazakhstan is home to many different ethnic groups including Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Tatars, Uzbeks, Uygurs and others. In 1991, Kazakhstan became an independent country after almost a century of being under control of the Soviet Union and its communistic lifestyles and ideals. In the country's 16 years as a republic, many changes and advancements have been made to better their economy, government and agriculture (U.S. State Department, 2006).

Kazakhstan is a relatively unknown country to most Americans; however, in September of 2006 the government of Kazakhstan launched a national advertising campaign in the United States to promote and create a positive image for Kazakhstan among Americans. The campaign included four page ads in *The New York Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and *The Washington Post* (Babej & Pollack, 2006) and television commercials broadcast on CNN and on ABC's local affiliate in Washington D.C. (Fletcher, 2006). The campaign coincided with two other Kazakhstani related media events -- first was a visit to the White House by

Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the other was the release of a comedy in U.S. theaters titled *Borat: Cultural Learning of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*. The movie parodied Kazakhstan in a way that was funny to Americans, but potentially embarrassing to Kazakhstanis.

The movie consisted of the fictional character, Borat played by U.K. actor Sasha Baron Cohen, who claims to be a news reporter for the country of Kazakhstan. He travels overseas to America where he encounters various people and cultures of the United States. In the film, Borat disgraces Kazakhstan with offensive remarks, beliefs and actions on politically charged issues such as racism, anti-Semitism and incest. Advertising and marketing the movie also played a role in creating an image for Kazakhstan. Cohen made appearances, in character, to promote his movie on entertainment and news shows such as *Saturday Night Live*, *The Late Show with David Letterman*, *The Today Show* as well as other shows. Borat also showed up at the White House to give a press conference, which was just another publicity stunt by Cohen (Pastorek & Kung, 2006). Because the *Borat* movie had the ability to insult Kazakhstan, the advertising campaign was initiated to combat the movie as well brand and promote the country of Kazakhstan.

The campaign may be considered an example of place branding for Kazakhstan. Place branding is the "practice of applying brand strategy and other marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, social, political and cultural development of cities, regions and countries" (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006, p. 183). Kazakhstan's campaign used advertising tactics including television commercials and newspaper ads to promote Kazakhstan as a brand.

## Statement of the Problem

Organized communication campaigns implemented by governments to influence the attitudes of the general public in a foreign country may be considered a form of propaganda (Wolper, 1993). Kazakhstan's advertising campaign used newspapers, magazines and television ads as well as other tactics to communicate a specific image of their country to Americans. Because the campaign was a government-sponsored program, it may be considered propaganda. Therefore, it is appropriate to examine and analyze Kazakhstan's advertising campaign and the related visit of President Nazarbayev and the movie *Borat* as propaganda events.

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to specifically analyze the objectives, strategies and tactics involved in Kazakhstan's 2006 advertising campaign as well as the moderating impact of President Nazarbayev's visit to the United States and of the *Borat* movie. It is important to study the reactions of the U.S. audience and determine, to the extent possible, the impact of the campaign. The examination will be accomplished by a propaganda analysis established by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999). The analysis consists of a 10-point framework, which includes identifying the campaign's purpose, target audience and media techniques as well as evaluating audience reaction and overall impact (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). This will be accomplished by gathering sources of information and examining other aspects pertaining to the Kazakhstani advertising campaign.

The research will be of interest to the advertising and tourism industries, as well as propaganda theorists and scholars. It also will serve those who are interested in the techniques and tactics of place branding and to those who are concerned with advertising and media ethics.

### Research Question

The objective of this research is to present and analyze the tactics and techniques of Kazakhstan's 2006 U.S. advertising campaign. The overall research question for this study is: How does the Kazakhstani advertising campaign use propaganda tactics and techniques according to Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework? (Jowett, 1997; Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999).

### Methodology

This qualitative study makes use of Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework for propaganda analysis. Through this framework, it is possible to determine how and which propaganda tactics and techniques were used in Kazakhstan's advertising campaign.

Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework is broken down as follows: 1) ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign, 2) context in which the propaganda occurs, 3) identification of the propagandist, 4) structure of the propaganda organization, 5) target audience, 6) media utilization techniques, 7) special techniques to maximize effect, 8) audience reaction to various techniques, 9) identification and analysis of counterpropaganda and 10) effects and evaluation (Jowett, 1997; Jowett and O'Donnell,

1999). According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999), one of the most important parts of the analysis is considering the context and climate during which the events were created and received by the public. The methodology is further explained in Chapter III.

### Rationale and Theoretical Framework

Through the propaganda analysis, several theories will be explored including propaganda, persuasion and place branding. To the extent that all government communication is propaganda, this advertising campaign can be labeled as such.

Propaganda is described as a “form of persuasive communication with an established history in mass communication theory, research and practice” (Kendrick & Fullerton, 2003, p. 5). Carl Lasswell (1927) made the first attempt to define the term stating that it “refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately by stories, rumors, reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication” (p. 9). It was later defined by Roger Brown (1985) as when “someone judges that the action which is the goal of the persuasive effort will be advantageous to the persuader but not in the best interest of the persuadee” (p. 300). Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) describe propaganda as “a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist” which can lead to change in behavior and public opinion (p.1). Another definition of propaganda is the government's effort to influence the attitudes of the general public in a foreign country (Wolper, 1993). These definitions as well as other aspects of propaganda lead Jowett and O'Donnell to form the 10-point framework of analysis as a way to assess and evaluate propaganda efforts.

Place branding is a marketing communication tactic in which brand image and strategy are created and implemented with marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, social, political and cultural development of towns, cities, places or countries (Anholt, 2005). It is the place image that is the basis for place branding. Place image is defined “as the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of that place” (Gertner & Kotler, 2004, p. 50). The image of a specific place represents the simplification of large amounts of information and perceptions of that place. Place image is the process of taking a large quantity of data about a city or country and turning it into a small set of ideas and beliefs (Gertner & Kotler, 2004).

Place branding is important because of the reliance consumers and investors have on a place’s image. Successful place branding serves to reinforce a positive image and fight a negative one by shaping new images and associations (Mihailovich, 2006). If done effectively, place branding can attract tourism and investments while increasing the city or country’s economy.

### Scope, Limitations and Assumptions

The scope of this study is limited because it only covers the Kazakhstani advertising campaign and the promotions and release of the movie *Borat*. The results of this case study can only be applied to this specific propaganda analysis.

The limitations of this research include only being able to study the short-term impact of the advertising campaign. Long-term impact are important in analyzing propaganda but were unable to be studied in this case because the campaign had only ended nine months prior to the beginning of the research. There are also limitations in the

methodology of the case study. Because it is a qualitative case study, it does not measure or quantify any aspects of the advertising campaign. Limitations are further discussed in Chapter V.

### Outline of Remaining Chapters

Chapter II is a review of literature that relates to this study. The chapter covers background and information of the country of Kazakhstan; information and research on country branding; definitions and literature on tourism advertising; past studies, definitions, and a discussion in the difference between propaganda and persuasion.

Chapter III includes the methodology of the research. The chapter starts with the explanation of what qualitative research is and why it is used for this study. Then the advertisements under study are described along with Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework. Chapter IV analyzes the tourism advertising campaign through the 10-point framework as well as explains its findings and results. Finally, Chapter V summarizes the results, discusses the campaign and ends with conclusions of the research.

CHAPTER II  
REVIEW OF LITERATURE  
Kazakhstan

*Geography*

Kazakhstan is located in Central Asia, northwest of China and south of Russia. It also borders the countries of Uzbekistan, Kyrgystan and Turkmenistan and is adjacent to the Aral and Caspian Seas. With a population of over 15 million people, Kazakhstan is about four times the size of Texas. Kazakhstan's capital is Astana. Other major cities include Almaty, Atyrai and Aqtau. The diverse terrain extends from mountains to valleys and from plains to deserts (CIA Work Factbook, 2006).

*History*

The history of Kazakhstan dates back to the first century BC. The land was first ruled by various nomadic nations until the 13<sup>th</sup> century and occupied by tribes, who were constantly searching for land that could support their livestock. After the Mongolian invasion in the late 1200s, districts were created under the Mongol Empire. These soon became the regions of the Kazakh Khanate. By the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the peoples of the nomadic tribes were called Kazakhs. They established a culture, an economy and a common language. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Kazakhs were divided into three

confederations based on extended tribal networks (U.S. State Department, 2006). The confederations included the Little, Middle and Great. The Little and Middle confederations signed treaties with Russia in order to receive protection and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century became a part of the Tsarists Russian Empire (U.S. State Department, 2006).

Through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kazakhstan was under the control of the Soviet Russian Empire and subjected to Communistic lifestyles and ideals. This caused resentment because their traditional, nomadic lifestyle was demolished under socialist pressure. Although many Kazakhs retaliated, none prevailed (U.S. State Department, 2006).

Through the 1900s, especially after WW II, many Russians migrated to Kazakhstan. With an increase in population and the need to better develop the land, the “Virgin Lands” program was implemented. Originally, this program was intended to turn the pasturelands of Kazakhstan into a major grain-producing region for the Soviet Union, later it became one of Kazakhstan’s main resources (U.S. State Department, 2006).

Kazakhstan witnessed many changes at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There were a number of demonstrations to protest the communist system. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Kazakhstan became a sovereign republic within the U.S.S.R. Then, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Kazakhstan was declared an independent state (U.S. State Department, 2006).

Soon after Kazakhstan became a republic, Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected president. The country has since made progress in many important areas, including their economy, government and agriculture industries. Some of Kazakhstan’s current issues include developing a unified national identity; expanding the country’s energy resources and exporting them to markets; achieving stable growth in the economy outside of the oil,

gas and mining industries; and building strong relationships with neighboring states and foreign powers (CIA World Factbook, 2006).

### *People*

Many of the people who live in Kazakhstan are Kazakhs. Other ethnic groups include Russian, Ukrainian, German, Tatar, Uzbek, Uygur (U.S. State Department, 2006). There are many different religions in Kazakhstan. The most dominant include Muslim (47%) and Russian Orthodox (44%). The official language is Russian and the state language is Kazakh (CIA World Factbook, 2006).

In 1999, the literacy rate in Kazakhstan was about 98.4 % among adults.

Education is state funded through primary and secondary schools. Kazakhstan has 55 higher education institutions and three universities that include the University of Kazakh Al-Farabi State University, Karaganda State University and The Technical University of Karaganda Metallurgical Combine (Encyclopedia of the Nations, 2006).

### *Government*

Kazakhstan is a republic mostly under “authoritarianism presidential rule, with little power outside the executive branch” (CIA World Factbook, 2006). The government wrote its first independent constitution in 1993 and eventually adopted a new constitution in 1995, which is still in use today (U.S. State Department, 2006).

There are three branches of government in Kazakhstan. The most powerful branch is the executive branch in which the president, prime minister and Council of Ministers reside. Although there are elections, President Nazarbayev has elected himself president

for life. There is much controversy over the fairness of the elections and Nazarbayev's presidency. There is also a legislative branch which includes the Senate and Mazhilis. The third branch is the judicial branch, which contains the Supreme Court (U.S. State Department, 2006).

### *Economy*

The economy of Kazakhstan has continually grown over the past five years. This is most likely due to the substantial amount of fossil fuel and abundance of natural resources (CIA World Factbook, 2006). There have been a number of foreign investments in Kazakhstan's oil, natural gas, chemicals, machinery and grains. Although these investments provide some security to a nation that is still growing, Kazakhstan's economy remains vulnerable and unstable (Sviridov, 1999).

### *Media*

The media of Kazakhstan include television, newspaper, radio and Internet, which are mostly in the Kazakh language but also in Russian, Korean, German and Uighur. For the most part, Kazakhstan's media is free by Central Asia standards. Although freedom of the press is protected under Kazakhstan's constitution, reports claim that privately owned and opposition media are consistently censored and harassed (Media of Kazakhstan, 2006).

The state's official television channel is Kazakhstan One. The other dominant privately owned channels include Yel Arna and Khabar, which is owned by the president's daughter Dariga Nazarbayev. There are a number of newspapers published in

Kazakhstan, most of them being editorially favorable to the government and rarely considered objective. Some of the leading newspapers include *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, *Khalyk Kenesi*, *Leninshil Zhas*, and others (*Encyclopedia of the Nations*, 2006). Radio in Kazakhstan includes many privately owned stations and one state-owned station. Some private radio stations include Europa Plus, Hit FM, Radio Azattyq and Russkoye Radio. The state-owned station is Kazakh Radio and is broadcasted in both Kazakh and Russian. The Internet is available, but is censored by the government which blocks pages that support the opposition government or provides neutral news coverage (*Media of Kazakhstan*, 2006).

#### *Foreign and U.S. Relations*

Kazakhstan has strong relations with the United States. According to the U.S. State Department, the United States “was the first country to recognize Kazakhstan as an independent state, on December 25, 1991, and opened the Embassy in Almaty in January of 1992” (U.S. State Department, 2006). John Ordway is the current U.S. Ambassador to the Kazakhstan. Recent political visitors of Kazakhstan include Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice among others.

#### *Travel and Business*

Kazakhstan might not be the first place a tourist would think of when planning a vacation but Kazakhstan has become an increasingly popular tourist destination. According to the *Nations Encyclopedia*, in 2000, there were approximately 1.6 million

foreign visitors to Kazakhstan. In three years this number increased to 11 million (*Nations Encyclopedia*, 2006).

In September 2006, Kazakhstan launched an advertising campaign in the United States to entice American travelers to explore their country. The commercials were broadcast on CNN and ABC's local affiliate in Washington D.C. Print ads were placed in *The New York Times*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *International Herald Tribune* and *Foreign Affairs* (Babej & Pollak, 2006). These ads are the main source for this study.

### Place Branding

*What is a Brand? Why is it Important?*

There are numerous definitions and meanings of the term "brand." One of the most notable researchers in this field, David Aaker (1991), defines brand as "a distinguishable name or symbol (such as logo, trademark or package design) intended to identify the goods or services of either one seller or a group of sellers, and to differentiate those goods or services from those competitors" (p. 7). Brands have to be distinguishable from other brands in order for consumers to identify what product or service they intend to purchase or consume.

Because there are so many different products and services available, consumers are sometimes overwhelmed and competition is fierce (Aaker, 1991). It is for this reason that a brand must stand out among other brands. A specific way to accomplish this is by giving the brand value or meaning to the consumer. Gardner and Levy (1995) state, "A brand name is more than the label employed to differentiate among the manufactures of a product. It is a complex symbol that represents a variety of ideas and attributes. It tells the

consumer many things, not by the way it sounds but, more importantly, via the body of association it has built up and acquired as a public objective over a period of time” (p. 35).

### *Branding a Country*

The same definitions, thoughts and ideas about the branding of products and services can be applied to branding places or countries (Anholt & Hildreth, 2004). This idea is not a new one. The first example of branding a country was in the fourteenth century. A few Italian families became symbols of trust and wealth, which eventually lead to the reputation of Italy. In some of their personal journals they “stressed over and over the importance of creating a good and famous name: to be recognized far and wide as honorable citizens, to play a distinguishable part in social and civic life, to support culture and donate to good causes” (Anholt, 2005, p. 19). Because these family names had such a positive and powerful reputation in things such as fashion, food and luxury goods, they eventually stood as part of Italy’s brand (Anholt, 2005).

Another country that has famously branded itself is the United States. The values and beliefs of freedom, justice and liberty on which the United States is based, can be found in the writings of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. America’s brand is based on these ideas, which appeal to people around the world (Anholt & Hildreth, 2004).

The branding of the United States can be seen throughout the country’s history. Anholt and Hildreth (2004), authors of *Brand America*, write, “America has attended to its image and reputation right from the beginning. From the colonial days through the

Civil War, from cultural exchanges to covert operations during the Cold War, from the Voice of America to CNN, from World War I propaganda to the recent attempts of advertising heroine Charlotte Beers . . . the efforts of America to orchestrate its national reputation have never let up” (p.25). Although many countries have not been formally constructing a brand since the beginning of their history, they have still created a brand image for their country.

Some countries already have an image that they can build on and advertise to the world. There are other countries that do not have an image and, therefore, do not have a brand. A study conducted by Florek (2005) explored the need for Poland to build their brand image and how it can be accomplished. The study called for coordination between organizations responsible for the country’s branding, financial backing and the fulfillment of the Polish brand promise by the people of the country. The study also explained that building a brand for Poland would create an identity for the country as well as increase the ability for positive opinions and attitudes (Florek, 2005).

There are many ways to brand a country and there are many reasons why a country should be branded -- perhaps most importantly, to boost the country’s economy. Other benefits include an increase in the tourism industry and foreign investments. Once the country shows promise, brand image begins to have an effect and companies and organizations within the country will follow suit. (Anholt, 2005).

Building a country’s brand is not an easy process and requires a strategic plan. In an interview with the scholarly journal, *International Trade Forum*, Simon Anholt offered a few suggestions on how to build a country’s brand. He said, “countries can prepare a brand strategy that shows what their image would need to be in order to achieve

their economic and social goals, and how they deserve that image” (Domeisen, 2003, p. 14). He further suggests that it is not only the business sector that needs to be involved with implementing the brand strategy, but also the people and organizations within the country -- without them, the plan will not succeed. Anholt (2002) stresses that good leadership with a good vision and the power to get the population behind that vision is the key to a successful brand image for a country.

### *Country Branding Studies*

Because very few countries have been successful at building a brand image, only a few studies have been conducted. Most of these studies have looked at a specific country to determine the effectiveness of its branding campaign. It is typical in these studies to analyze the strategic plan, to judge if the plan was correctly composed, to analyze how it was carried out, and to determine what short and long-term impact have taken place (Domeisen, 2003).

One study of place branding looks at the brand strategy of Latvia and analyzes its effectiveness and implementation. Endzina and Luneva (2004) analyzed this nation’s branding by conducting a case study using Erm and Arengu’s (2003) national branding development model and Olins’ (1999) seven-step model. The study found that “the lack of one united brand or at least a central message has made it difficult to present Latvia abroad and increase awareness about it” (p.104). The results also revealed that there was not a connection between the strategic plan and the people and organizations of Latvia. The authors state that for the campaign to be effective, the citizens and businesses of the country must be involved in the branding process (Endzina & Luneva, 2004).

Another study conducted by Caldwell and Freire (2004) looked at the applying de Chernatony's Brand Box Model. The model was created by de Chernatony and McWilliam (1989) to illustrate that representationality and functionality could explain and define the strength of a brand. The representationality part of the model suggests that consumers buy products or services that in some way express who they are. The functionality part of the model is based on the belief that consumers relate different brands to different benefits or attributes (de Chernatony & McWilliam, 1989). Caldwell and Freire (2004) applied this theory to countries. The results indicated that representationality was present because people tended to visit places that in some way represented who they are. Functionality was also prevalent because people choose their destination of travel based on what attributes the country or region had to offer such as beaches, weather, etc.

### Tourism Advertising

One obvious way to brand a country is with tourism advertising. Countries have noticed the impact of tourism on economies and want to use advertising to promote their country as a potential travel destination. A frequently cited benefit for tourists on vacation is the opportunity to experience the culture. It is noted, "tourism is not simply about places – it is about the experience of places, about meeting people, the interaction between host and visitor, and with fellow tourist. Of all the service industries, it is perhaps the most intangible of them all" (Ryan, 1991, p. 101). It is for this reason that advertising frequently appeals to experiences that the tourist can expect when visiting a destination.

In an effort to determine the effects of images and pictures of advertising on perceived vacation experience, a study conducted by Olsen, McAlexander and Roberts (1986) found that ads mainly showing vacationers gave the participants a feeling of less isolation and more stimulation, whereas scenery gave the impression of less human qualities. The authors observed that known destinations were deemed more desirable and relaxing than unknown destinations, which were seen as intriguing but frightening (Olsen, McAlexander & Roberts, 1986).

Another study found a difference between informational and transformational advertisements in tourism print ads. Informational ads were understood to be more “attribute-based” and transformational ads were deemed as more “affect-generating” (Laskey, Seaton & Nicholls, 1994). Results suggested that informational advertising achieves a more favorable response than transformational advertising (Laskey, Seaton & Nicholls, 1994). The most effective ads included more attributes of the travel destination.

A study conducted in 1992 by Manfredo, Bright and Haas, determined that the tourism industry should use consumer psychology to effectively reach its target audience. The researchers suggested that the tourism advertising industry examine high versus low context involvement, the effect of nonverbal stimuli, the reactions of the target audience to the advertisements, and the feelings of the final purchasing and destination decisions (Manfredo, Bright & Haas, 1992). The authors argued that with the use of consumer psychology, tourism advertising campaigns could be more successful and efficient.

These studies and others underscore the point that effective tourism ads can help to build a country’s tourism industry as well as their economy and their nation’s brand. The studies mentioned above are but a small part of the scholarship on tourism

advertising, however, they all can provide information for Kazakhstan as it seeks to brand itself.

## Propaganda and Persuasion

### *Definitions*

Because tourism advertising is often sponsored by a country's government, it could be considered a form of propaganda. According to Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell (1999), "Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (p. 6). The purpose of propaganda is to intentionally disseminate controlled messages to publics in order for the propagandist to achieve their objectives. This may be attributed to government speeches and tactics to gain support for specific intentions, actions or ideas (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). In this way propaganda is directly related to nation branding and tourism advertising.

Persuasion, on the other hand, is seen more as a communication tool in which a desired outcome is wanted by the persuader. O'Donnell and Kable (1982) state that persuasion is "a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed" (p. 9). Persuasion's purpose is for the persuadee to change his or her point of view to the persuader's point of view.

Unlike propaganda, persuasion is more of a personal experience. In order for the persuadee to adapt to the persuader's opinions, beliefs or thoughts, the persuadee must be able to relate to the message on a personal level. Persuasion can also satisfy the needs of fulfillment, accomplishment or realization by both the persuader and persuadee. This is another difference between propaganda and persuasion -- persuasion is usually more satisfying to those involved (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

Another difference between propaganda and persuasion are their connotations. Although persuasion may sometimes be seen as negative, propaganda is usually considered harmful and damaging. Some ideas that are associated with propaganda include lies, deception, manipulation, mind control, exploitation and brainwashing (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

### *Propaganda Studies*

The War of the Worlds study was an early propaganda study (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995). It was conducted after a radio presentation of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* book was broadcast on October 30, 1938. The science fiction radio drama about the invasion of Earth by Martians caused people to panic. Because of the realistic techniques used in the broadcast, millions of people believed Martians had actually landed in New Jersey (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995).

Soon after the broadcast, a study was conducted by the Office of Radio Research at Princeton University headed by Professor Hadley Cantril. The study was conducted for a number of reasons, primarily to examine how media can affect the masses. The study's

results were significant because they showed the powers that mass media can have (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995).

Another significant propaganda study looked at films produced during WW II to encourage, motivate and inform soldiers. The seven films series titled “Why We Fight” were co-produced by famous Hollywood director Frank Capra and the U.S. military (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995). Professor Carl Hovland and other psychologists conducted a study to determine whether the films were effective in changing soldiers’ attitudes. The results of the study noted that the films “teach factual material effectively to large numbers of people in a short time . . . but persuasive effects of the films were clearly limited” (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 162). The authors found film propaganda to have limited effectiveness under certain circumstances.

Another major contribution to the study of propaganda was conducted in 1953 and called the “Yale approach” to persuasion (Hovland, 1952). The study researched many different aspects of propaganda and persuasion. These included “effects of source credibility, personality traits and susceptibility to persuasion, the ordering of arguments (primary-recency), explicit versus implicit conclusions, and fear appeals” (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999, p. 174). The study found that there was a “sleeper effect” -- that people would eventually forget details or credentials of the persuader but would remember the main points or the specific message. The study also found that fear approaches seemed to work best if only a small amount of fear was used to persuade the intended public (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999).

More current studies of persuasions and propaganda include research done by Petty and Cacioppi (1986). The study proposed “an elaboration likelihood model.” This

model explains that if a person or group is not interested in the material being presented, they are not likely to pay attention or retain information and propaganda or persuasion cannot take place (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

A more current study by Zimbardo and Leippee (1991) studied the recruitment of members into a cult called the Unification Church of Korean Reverend Sun Myung Moon. The church would initially invite people to a free meal and while at the dinner the invitees would adapt to the environment and find that they could easily relate to others. Eventually they came to like the church and its religion, and therefore, were easily susceptible to its beliefs and messages. The study concluded that social influence and attitude change could be directly related to persuasion (Zimbardo & Leippee, 1991).

There have been numerous studies conducted in the fields of propaganda and persuasion but there remains no specific key to forming propaganda or presenting persuasion to the utmost effectiveness. There are only suggestions that can help persuade the intended audience to take action or believe in specific ideas.

### *Propaganda Techniques*

When analyzing propaganda, many scholars use Lee and Lee's (1939) propaganda techniques to identify strategies being used by the propagandist. These tactics were published by the Institute of Propaganda in a book titled *The Fine Art of Propaganda* and consist of glittering generality, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, card stacking, bandwagon and name-calling. Some of these techniques can be found in the Kazakhstan advertising campaign under study.

### *Glittering Generality*

A glittering generality is “associating something with a ‘virtue word’ and is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence” (Lee & Lee, 1939, p. 47). The use of glittering generalities are usually unnoticed. They can be names of products that are considered appealing to consumers or promotional statements about a product that do not hold the whole truth. Glittering generalities are also used in politics and business. Politicians may name a law so that it will be the most effective in getting noticed and passed. Businesses may change their jargon to cast a different light on specific terms or directions. Some examples of products and political policies that use glittering generalities include Gold Medal Flour, Super Shell, Superior Dairy, The New Deal and The Right to Work Law (Severin & Tankard, 2001).

### *Transfer*

According to Lee and Lee (1939), “transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter more acceptable” (p. 69). Transfers work through association. The process works by “linking an idea, product or cause with something that people admire” (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 116). Transfers can be used in symbols, icons, music, advertising and marketing.

### *Testimonial*

Testimonials consist of “having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or person is good or bad” (Lee & Lee, 1939, p. 74). This tactic is used often in advertising when celebrities endorse products or services. This is also very similar to source credibility.

### *Plain Folks*

Lee and Lee (1939) state that “plain folks is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are ‘of the people,’ the ‘plain folk’” (p. 92). Using plain folks can make advertisements seem more realistic to the audience. They may think that if a normal or average person needs a specific product or service, then they need it too. This technique helps the audience to relate to the speaker or endorser.

### *Card Stacking*

Card stacking involves “ the selection and the use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product” (Lee & Lee, 1939, p.95). This tactic uses a selection of material that will make their product or service seem like the most reasonable choice. The most important part of this technique is “selecting arguments or evidence that support a position and ignoring those that do not support the position” (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 116). Essentially, card stacking is slanting a product or service.

### *Bandwagon*

Bandwagon centers around the theme “everybody - at least all of us - is doing it.” This tactic is an attempt “to convince us that all members of a group to which we belong are accepting this program and that we must therefore follow our crowd and ‘jump on the bandwagon’” (Lee & Lee, 1939, p. 105). Psychology and sociology are fields that provide information on the actions, beliefs and thoughts of people and groups of people. These fields have found that people will tend to do what others are doing whether it is an

action, thought or belief. Bandwagon takes advantage of this psychological process and uses it to persuade the audience to do as others are doing.

### *Name-calling*

According to Lee and Lee (1939), “name-calling - giving an idea a bad label - is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence” (p. 26). This tactic is rarely used in advertising because it is considered dangerous to mention the competitor’s brand, but it is extremely popular in political advertising (Severin & Tankard, 2001).

### Country Branding, Tourism Advertising and Propaganda

Country branding, tourism advertising and propaganda relate to each other in many ways. When using tourism advertising, it is possible to provoke certain thoughts among the audience and associate those thoughts with the country, therefore branding the country. It is also possible to use propaganda in tourism advertising. This is done by using certain propaganda techniques, symbols and imagery within the ads.

In a previously mentioned study conducted by Endzina and Luneva (2004) on Latvia’s nation branding is an example of how these three subjects intertwine. The researchers looked at how the advertising campaign was planned and implemented. The study also determined what images, words, etc, were being used to brand the country and, if the campaign was using any propaganda techniques to convey its message. The effects of the advertising campaign and country branding were also studied. Although there were

no remarkable results, the study proved that there are correlations between country branding, tourism advertising and propaganda (Endzina and Luneva, 2004).

#### Similar Studies Using Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-Point Framework

This case study uses Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point propaganda framework to analyze a recent propaganda event. Other studies have used the same framework. One such study was Kendrick and Fullerton's (2003) propaganda analysis of the Shared Values Initiative, an international advertising campaign conducted in the Middle East by the U.S. State Department. The researchers found that the campaign used numerous propaganda techniques and received varying responses, mostly negative, from international and domestic audiences.

Cain's (2006) propaganda analysis of the U.S. Department of Education's minority outreach campaign promoting the No Child Left Behind Act also used Jowett and O'Donnell's framework. Cain found that the U.S. State Department used various propaganda tactics to their advantage to promote the No Child Left Behind Act. Some of these included relying on the context of the times, having a consistent message and a strong spokesperson.

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) used their own 10-point framework to analyze propaganda techniques of the U.S. government during the Gulf War. The study found that there was manipulation of the public through the use of effective propaganda techniques. Although the study was able to determine that the propaganda techniques to promote the Gulf War were effective in the short-term, it was not able to determine the long-term effects.

## Summary

This literature review provides an overview of the country of Kazakhstan, country branding, tourism advertising, and propaganda and persuasion. This chapter covers definitions, history and information on each subject and also how they are related to Kazakhstan's advertising campaign.

The objective of this research is to analyze the tactics and techniques of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign as well as the media events that coincided with the campaign. It will also determine, to the extent possible, the effectiveness of the campaign on the U.S. audience. This will be accomplished by using Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) propaganda analysis, which also provides a background for the overall research question: How does the Kazakhstani advertising campaign use propaganda tactics and techniques according to Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework? It also explores sub-questions including: 1) the ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign, 2) the context in which the propaganda occurs, 3) the identification of the propagandist, 4) the structure of the propaganda organization, 5) the target audience, 6) the media utilization techniques, 7) the special techniques to maximize effect, 8) the audience reaction to various techniques, 9) the identification and analysis of counterpropaganda and 10) the effects and evaluation.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Qualitative Approach

The method used for this study is qualitative propaganda analysis devised by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999). As explained by Mertens (1998), qualitative research is “an in-depth description of a specific program, practice or setting” (p. 159). The qualitative approach allows for questions that are more thorough and focus on various aspects rather than looking at one or a few elements of the campaign being studied. The goals of qualitative research are explanation and description.

#### Description of Campaign Under Study

The campaign under study consists of television spots and newspaper ads. The TV commercial\* is a visual collage featuring various sites of the country over a traditional music score. It begins with pictures of mountains and a British-accented voice-over saying “Kazakhstan, the heart of Eurasia.” Soft, relaxing music with a traditional Eastern beat plays in the background while pictures of beautiful mountains, stunning landscapes, historical buildings, Islamic architecture, urban and rural settings are shown to the viewers. There are also shots of Kazakhstani people walking along streets and

\* TV commercial can be seen at [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPv\\_T8B4R4M](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPv_T8B4R4M)

through a park, as well as an image of President Nazarbayev walking with some men dressed in business suits. The commercial ends with a British-accented voice-over asking, “Ever Wandered?” The commercial does not mention the *Borat* movie or the visit of President Nazarbayev’s to the United States. The forty-four second commercials ran on CNN and the ABC local affiliate in Washington D.C. in September and October (Fletcher, 2006). It is unknown how many times the commercial ran, what times of the day it ran or what programs were on at the time it ran. This information was unavailable to the researcher at the time the study was conducted. However, it can be assumed that the commercials were broadcast around the same date as the newspaper advertisements, which were released on September 27, 2006 (Kazakhstan Takes Out Four-Page Ad, 2006).

Newspaper was the other medium used by Kazakhstan’s advertising campaign. The Kazakhstani government placed four page ads in *The New York Times*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *The Washington Post* and *Foreign Affairs* (Babej & Pollak, 2006). When first looking at the ad, readers might not notice that they are viewing an ad and not editorial content. The only indication that it is in fact an ad is the word “advertisement” in small font at the top of each page. The headline, *Kazakhstan in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Looking Outward*, is in big bold lettering and is located at the top of every page. The sub-titles of the four page ad include: Bolstering Ties with the United States; Conclave Calls for Religious Tolerance Among All Faiths Throughout the World; Transforming the Mixed Blessing of a Nuclear Legacy; A Stable and Broad Based Economic and Strategic Partnership; Allies and Forward-looking Economic Partners; Integrating the International Economic Community; Through

Diversification, Steady Growth and Increased Competitiveness; An Ancient Asset Provides Global Clout; Petroleum Players Seek Their Fortune in the City of London; Growing Economy Attracts International Hotel Groups; Combining Business with Pleasure in Cosmopolitan Kazakhstan; and More Doors Open as the Banking Sector in Modernized. These sub-titles and the document's text indicate that Kazakhstan is trying to communicate information about their country's relationship with the United States; Kazakhstan's religious tolerance; the country's economy, business and banking sectors; their hotel and travel industries; etc (Kazakhstan in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2006).

The advertisement also includes a few pictures. The first picture in the ad is of President Nazarbayev shaking hands with President Bush. Other images include the members of Second Congress of World and Traditional Religions posing with President Nazarbayev, pictures of Kazakhstani foreign ministers speaking, a picture of a new Renaissance hotel in Atyrau, and a picture of the Palace of Peace in Astana. There are four smaller display ads within the larger print ad. These small ads are in the corners of the four-page advertisement. Two of these ads are in Russian, one is for the Financial District of Almaty and the other is a travel ad.

#### Sources of Information

The Kazakhstani advertising campaign ran from the end of August 2006 to the end of December 2006. Sources for this study were drawn before, during and after the time of the campaign so that each of the 10-point frames could be effectively analyzed. The data for this framework were collected by gathering sources of information pertaining to the Kazakhstani advertising campaign. This includes television

commercials; newspaper advertisements; newspaper articles; blogs from the Internet; interviews with Kazakhstani diplomats; the Kazakhstani tourism and government Web site; the movie *Borat: Cultural Learning of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*; Web sites that pertain to the movie; the actions of Sasha Baron Cohen, the actor who plays the character Borat; the actions of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev before and after the debut of the movie.

#### Description of Jowett and O'Donnell Framework

Jowett and O'Donnell's propaganda analysis is the framework through which the Kazakhstani ad campaign will be investigated. It requires the researcher to look at propaganda media and their messages, examine how the audience responds to the propaganda, and conduct an overall analysis of the propaganda process (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). The framework is "a 10-step plan of propaganda analysis which sets out a matrix designed to facilitate the examination of all the elements of a propaganda campaign from a broader perspective and 'as a flow of information' within the socio-cultural context" (Jowett, 1997). The 10-point framework may have overlapping points but in doing so, it provides both a wide and detailed look at a campaign. It is also noted that propaganda techniques and uses are sometimes covert, and, therefore, it can be challenging to identify all divisions of the framework (Jowett, 1997).

Jowett and O'Donnell state that it may be difficult to study propaganda because the impact may not be known for years. But, when propaganda is studied in progress, the analyst is able to examine the media utilization and audience response directly (Jowett &

O'Donnell, 1999). Studying current media propaganda and its short-term impact are important to this field and to society.

Jowett and O'Donnell's (1999) 10-point framework consists of 1) ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign, 2) context in which the propaganda occurs, 3) identification of the propagandist, 4) structure of the propaganda organization, 5) target audience, 6) media utilization techniques, 7) special techniques to maximize effect, 8) audience reaction to various techniques, 9) identification and analysis of counterpropaganda and 10) effects and evaluation (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999).

The framework will serve as an outline and help to answer the following question: "To what ends, in the context of the times, does a propaganda agent, working through an organization, reach an audience through the media while using special symbols to get a desired reaction?" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). It also helps to answer other research questions within this study which include: Who is the intended audience? How is the campaign affecting the audience? How is counterpropaganda influencing the audience? What techniques are the advertising campaign using?

### Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-Point Framework

#### *1. Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Campaign*

The first frame in analyzing propaganda is the ideology and the purpose of the propagandist. The main purpose of propaganda is to attain acceptance of the propagandist's ideology by the target audience (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Analyzing ideology consist of determining how views or arguments will be received and interpreted by the intended audience (Cooper, 1989).

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) recommend that analysts look for:

A set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors, as well as for ways of perceiving and thinking that are agreed on to the point that they constitute a set of norms for society that dictate what is desirable and what should be done (p. 281).

The frame also suggests analyzing visual and verbal representations. It is also important to study events or situations of the past, present or future that could affect the ideas, thoughts and beliefs of the propagandist.

## *2. Content in Which the Propaganda Occurs*

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) successful propaganda relates to the socio-historical context and society's current mood. The context in which the message is created as well as the context in which the message is received is an important consideration. It is essential to study society's prevailing mood, identifiable and constraining issues, power struggles, parties involved and the historical context.

## *3. Identification of the Propagandist*

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) the source of propaganda may be an institution or organization with a propagandist as its leader. It is important to identify the propagandist so that true motivations can be determined. In some cases, the source may be open about their identity; in other cases, the source may conceal their identity. If the identity of the source is distorted or inaccurate, this may be a sign of black propaganda, which is intended to be misleading or deceitful.

#### *4. Structure of the Propaganda Organization*

Most propaganda campaigns originate from a centralized, decision-making corporation or company, or in this case, a government that produces a consistent idea or message throughout its organization. Because of this, leadership and hierarchy from within the campaign are usually strong. The structure of the campaign typically includes goals, objectives and how to achieve them. How media are used and selected is another consideration to study when looking at the structure of the campaign. Other aspects of structure that can provide insight into the campaign include examining the organization's culture, rules, rituals and memberships (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

#### *5. Target Audience*

Propagandists tend to select a target audience who has the most potential to achieve the goals and objectives of the campaign. Mass audiences are the typical target audience for traditional propaganda, but are not required for modern propaganda. It is also important to study how the target audience is reached. The propagandist may use advertising, opinion leaders, Web sites or movies to persuade the public. It very important to examine the propagandist approach to audience selection because there may be a correlation between selection practices and success rate (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

#### *6. Media Utilization Techniques*

This frame examines which media are being used by the propagandist. Propaganda may use numerous media techniques to reach their target audience including television or radio commercials, the Internet, newspaper ads, flyers, direct mail, etc.

While examining what media are being utilized, it is also important to study the tone and sound as well as visual images. This includes examining musical slogans, melodies, pictures, graphics, colors and symbols. Also in describing media utilization, the analyst needs to examine the flow of communication and information as well as how the media receives and interprets the message (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

### *7. Special Techniques to Maximize Effect*

Propaganda uses a number of tactics and techniques to influence and persuade the target audience. The Institute Of Propaganda Analysis organized these techniques into seven categories: glittering generality, transfers, plain folks, testimonial, bandwagon, name-calling and cardstacking (Lee & Lee, 1939). Like some other propaganda analysis Jowett and O'Donnell believe that propaganda is too complex to group into different techniques. Instead, Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) use broader categories to examine different tactics of the propaganda campaign.

- Messages have greater influence when they are consistent with the target audience's existing opinions, attitudes and beliefs.
- Source credibility is a contributing factor for how the audience will accept a message. Opinion leaders, celebrities or authority leaders are sometimes used because their thoughts and beliefs are considered important and influential to the audience. This is similar to the testimonial technique.
- Web sites, phone lines or an actual place of business where people can go for more information is also a contributing factor.
- Group norms as well as their values, beliefs and behaviors can be used to the

advantage of the propagandist. People will tend to do as others are doing so that they fit into society. This is similar to the bandwagon technique.

- Rewards and punishment may also be used to inspire or encourage the audience to accept the message.
- A monopoly, and its messages, as a primary communication source are less likely to be challenged by the public.
- Visual and verbal aspects of all media messages including images of power within logos, symbols and pictures need to be examined.
- Verbal symbolization and language associations, music and lyrics or any use of emotional appeal.

#### *8. Audience Reaction to Various Techniques*

To properly analyze propaganda, the reactions of the audience to the propaganda campaign need to be examined. Most significantly is evaluating and determining the behavior of the target audience. This includes voting, joining organizations, donating or any other form of action in relation to the desired intent of the propaganda (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

#### *9. Counterpropaganda*

Counterpropaganda is an effort made to oppose the propaganda campaign being analyzed. This can be in forms of commercials, films, books, etc. It can also become as effective as the original propaganda campaign. Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) explain that it should be determined whether the public realizes that counterpropaganda exists.

## 10. *Effects and Evaluation*

The most important part of analyzing the effects and evaluations of the campaign is determining whether the purpose and ideology has been fulfilled. It must also be determined whether specific goals and objectives were met and if they were not, why. In order to examine whether the campaign was effective, the analyst needs to look for the acceptance and adoption of the propagandist language and behavior, the passage of legislation, or membership to specific organizations involved with the campaign (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

### Applying the 10-Point Framework

When analyzing a propaganda campaign, Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) propose a series of questions for each of the ten frames. The authors also point out that not every question can be answered due to different types of campaigns, its specific situations and outcomes. The following questions are posed by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) in order to fully analyze a propaganda campaign and serve as a guide for this researcher in the analysis of the Kazakhstani advertising campaign.

#### *1. Ideology and Purpose*

1a. Is there a set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors as well as ways of perceiving and thinking that are agreed on to the point that they constitute a set of norms for society?

1b. Are there any visual or verbal representations that can be related to previous struggles, current situations, or future objectives and goals?

## *2. Content in Which the Propaganda Occurs*

- 2a. What events have occurred?
- 2b. How do you believe the propagandist has interpreted those events?
- 2c. What is the public's mood?
- 2d. What particular issues are identifiable and how widely are those issues felt? What restrictions exist that keep these issues from being solved?
- 2e. Is there a power struggle? What parties are implicated?
- 2f. What has happened to lead up to this point in time?
- 2g. What deeply held beliefs and values have been important for a long time?
- 2h. What myths are related to the current propaganda? What is the source of these myths?

## *3. Identification of the Propagandist*

- 3a. Who are what has the most to gain from this?

## *4. The Structure of the Propaganda Organization*

- 4a. Who is the leader and how did they reach their position?
- 4b. How does the leader motivate and encourage support and allegiance?
- 4c. What are the structure's specific goals and what are their means for achieving them?
- 4d. What is the makeup of the membership of the propaganda organization?
- 4e. How is entry into the membership gained? Is there evidence of conversion and apparent symbols of membership?
- 4f. What is the culture of the organization?
- 4g. What are the formal rules used by the organization?

4h. How is the network used to foster communication? How is information disseminated from the leader to the membership? How is information transmitted to the public? Is there evidence that the public is denied access to information that is made available only to the membership or the organization elite?

*5. Target Audience*

5a. Who is the intended target audience of the propaganda?

5b. How and why was the audience selected?

*6. Media Utilization Techniques*

6a. Which media were utilized?

6b. Is the message of the campaign consistent with the purpose and objectives?

6c. When the audience perceives the message, what expectation is it likely to have?

6g. How does the message flow from one medium to another and from media to groups of individuals?

6h. What is the overall impression left with the audience?

6i. How are the visual and verbal messages consistent with the ideology?

*7. Special Techniques to Maximize Effect*

7a. Does the message support preexisting views or beliefs of the targeted audience?

7b. How is the source's image perceived by society?

7c. What visual and verbal symbols are used in the campaign?

7d. What emotions does the campaign want to evoke from the audience?

### *8. Audience Reactions to Various Techniques*

- 8a. What are the actions and responses of the target audience?
- 8b. Does the audience accept and take on the propagandist's language or slogans?
- 8c. Does the audience take on a new symbolic identity? If so, how does it talk about the identity?
- 8d. Does the propaganda purpose become realized and part of the social scene?

### *9. Counterpropaganda*

- 9a. Are there messages opposing to the propaganda campaign being analyzed?
- 9b. Does the public know that counterpropaganda exists to oppose the propaganda campaign?

### *10. Effects and Evaluation*

- 10a. Has the purpose of the propaganda campaign been accomplished?
- 10b. If the campaign was not a success, were any objectives and goals accomplished?
- 10c. If the propaganda campaign was unsuccessful, why?
- 10d. Was there an adoption of the propagandist's language, actions or behaviors?
- 10e. How did the selection of media and various message techniques seem to affect the outcome?

## Summary

This study uses a qualitative approach to conduct a propaganda analysis defined by Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework. This chapter included a detailed

description of the advertising under study and explained the sources of information that are to be used to analyze the campaign. It also described each point in the framework, as well as suggested questions to ask and answer when analyzing the campaign. Chapter IV will describe the results of the propaganda analysis. It will explain the findings and the expected outcomes of each of the points within Jowett and O'Donnell's framework.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### 1. Ideology and Purpose

The ideology of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign is mostly related to the philosophy of the country's government, which consists of the remnants of communism and the struggles of an emerging capitalist economy. The Kazakhstani government believes their country's reputation is a valuable trait that cannot be disregarded. The country prides itself on overcoming communism and is proud of the advancements it has made in the economic and business industries. These two aspects of the country have resulted in the Kazakhstani government demanding respect, admiration and notoriety from people and countries around the world. Therefore, when the *Borat* movie challenged Kazakhstan's power and respectability, the country's government was extremely frustrated. They wanted to refute all negative connotations the movie would bring upon their country and therefore an international advertising campaign was launched.

The purpose of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was to respond to the *Borat* movie, create a positive image of Kazakhstan in the wake of President Nazarbayev's visit to the White House and possibly to persuade Americans to visit the country. Based on an interview with a Kazakhstani U.S. embassy spokesperson, the primary purpose of the Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was to respond to the movie *Borat* and correlate

with President Nazarbayev's visit to the White House. National Public Radio's Phyllis Fletcher interviewed Kazakhstan's embassy spokesperson Roman Vassilenko to understand the purpose of the campaign. Vassilenko admitted that the advertising campaign was a response to Borat and that disregarding the character Borat would be a missed opportunity for Kazakhstan to tell the 'real' story of their country (Fletcher, 2006). The campaign also intended to promote Kazakhstan and entice Americans to visit the country. This goal can be confirmed in the TV spot, which appears to be a tourism ad.

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999), "The purpose of propaganda may be to influence people to adopt attitudes that correspond to those of the propagandist or engage in certain patterns of behavior" (p.281). One purpose of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was to respond to Borat and his actions. They wanted to persuade the target audience that Kazakhstan was not how Borat portrayed it. The campaign intended to define Kazakhstan so that negative attitudes about the country that were created by Borat were countered. Another purpose of the campaign was to persuade Americans to adopt a certain behavior, specifically travel to Kazakhstan. The commercial "Ever Wandered?" is subtly asking the audience to visit the country.

The objectives of the campaign were threefold. The first was to educate Americans about the 'real' Kazakhstan by providing the accurate information about the country while disputing the falsehoods of Borat's statements. The second was to gain awareness of their country by using different advertising tactics such as television commercials, print advertisements and spokespeople. The final objective of the campaign was portraying the country as a beautiful, modern and upcoming nation so that Americans would be interested in traveling to Kazakhstan.

The ideology, purpose and objectives of the campaign are significant in defining the rest of the 10-point framework. The first point of the framework plays a substantial role in determining whether expected outcomes were met. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999), the intention of a propaganda campaign is for the purpose and ideology to be accepted by the audience. There are three examples of how this can be accomplished: persuading people to accept the attitudes or beliefs of the propagandist, engaging in a specific behavior, or sustaining the legitimacy of organization's source (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). There are two examples that best fit Kazakhstan's advertising campaign -- persuading the audience to adopt the beliefs of the propagandist and engaging in a certain behavior. The campaign is trying to convince people that Kazakhstan is a beautiful and prosperous country while also persuading them to travel to their country.

## 2. Context in Which the Propaganda Occurs

The context in which the propaganda occurred was both long-term and short-term. From a broad perspective, the context involved Kazakhstan's place in a global post-Soviet world and its political relationship with the United States, on a smaller scale -- the release of a potentially embarrassing movie. Although the two events seem somewhat unrelated, both happened during the same time period and are important to further understand this case study.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Nursultan Nazarbayev became president of the newly independent country of Kazakhstan. Under Nazarbayev's rule, Kazakhstan has become the largest and most powerful Central Asian country. The

country's vast amount of oil has driven Kazakhstan's economic growth and brought stability and modernization to its society.

An important factor relating to the context of this study is the growing relationship between the United States and Kazakhstan. This is evident in the country's support of the war on terror, the disarmament of nuclear weapons and President Nazarbayev's September 2006 visit to the White House to meet with President Bush. The two presidents met to discuss democracy in Kazakhstan, energy diversification, the war on terror, as well as other important international issues such as freedom and sovereignty (Mount, 2006).

Kazakhstan's military became involved in the war on terror after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and continues to fight today. Kazakhstan has also sent three military officials to Central Command Headquarters in the United States to aid in planning anti-terrorism efforts, provided food and supplies to Afghanistan, and allowed the United States to use their air space for transporting equipment (Kozaryn, 2002).

Not only did Kazakhstan back the war on terror by sending troops to Afghanistan and Iraq, but they also worked with the United States to disengage and release weapons of mass destruction. In late 2001, the United States worked with Kazakhstan under the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program and the Nuclear Threat Initiative to disarm weapons of mass destruction in Kazakhstan. Under these programs, Kazakhstan renounced the fourth-largest nuclear device in the world and released 25 nuclear bombs to the United States. They also rid their country of three tons of enriched uranium, which could be used to make over 20 nuclear devices (Kazakhstan's Nuclear Disarmament, 2006).

The short-term context involves Sacha Baron Cohen's movie *Borat*. The movie was released in the United States and the United Kingdom on November 3, 2006, with pre-promotions and buzz about the movie starting in early fall. Many already knew that the character Borat was offensive and outrageous because of Cohen's HBO television program *Da Ali G Show*, in which he sometimes assumed the role of Borat. Borat also gained notoriety through his promotions of the movie, which included hosting the MTV Europe Music Awards (Brandle, 2005); conducting a well-publicized press conference in front of Kazakhstan's U.S. embassy (Tapper & Hinman, 2006); and making appearances on shows such as *Saturday Night Live* on October 28, 2006; *The Late Show with David Letterman* on October 30, 2006; and *The Today Show* on November 6, 2006 (Pastorek & Kung, 2006). Among a certain segment of the U.S. population, Kazakhstan was known as the home of Borat, thus creating a potentially unfavorable environment for President Nazarbayev's visit to America.

Another short-term aspect of the campaign included an attempt to inoculate the target audience. Inoculation theory includes the process of supplying information to the audience before the communication process takes place so that there is a possibility the information provided would make the audience more resistant to the communication process (McGuire, 1961). Kazakhstan's advertising campaign ran toward the end of September and the release of the *Borat* movie was in the beginning of November. This time difference was significant in that the Kazakhstani government aired the commercial and printed the ad previous to the movie so the American audience could see the 'real' Kazakhstan before the character Borat.

### 3. Identification of the Propagandist

For the Kazakhstani advertising campaign, the propagandist is clearly identified as the Kazakhstani government, headed by President Nazarbayev and working through its U.S. embassy. The Ambassador to the United States during the release of the *Borat* movie was Kanat B. Saudabayev, who was recently replaced by Erlan Idrissov. Idrissov was formerly the Kazakhstan Ambassador to the United Kingdom and was deployed there during the release of the *Borat* movie.

Kazakhstan's primary embassy spokesperson in the United States during this time was Roman Vassilenko. It was Vassilenko that played a major role in releasing Kazakhstan's advertising campaign as well as responding to questions and issuing facts about the country of Kazakhstan. Vassilenko released statements and accepted interviews from reporters. Vassilenko and Idrissov dealt with questions about the movie and explained how Kazakhstan felt about the outrageous character by saying that although they understood the movie was intended to be a comedy, they did not appreciate the way Borat was portraying their country (Harrison, 2005; Idrissov, 2006). In one of many interviews, Vassilenko stated, "I do have a sense of humor but it is not quite helpful or perhaps harmful to portray a country where 'Throw the Jew down the well' is a famous folk song" (Harrison, 2005, p. 2). Likewise, in a statement released to one of Britain's prominent newspapers, *The Guardian* (2006), Ambassador Idrissov responded to the movie *Borat* by saying, "Humor can be used to defuse tension and heal division . . . but if it exploits ignorance and prejudice it can have quite the reverse effect" (p. 28). Vassilenko and Idrissov also stated that the character Borat, his actions and beliefs, are not in any way related to the country of Kazakhstan or its people.

Ultimately President Nazarbayev could be identified as the propagandist because in a dictatorial government the president's request and demands are premier. Barnes from *The New Statesmen* (2007) noted, "Nazarbayev has not only been the most ruthless leader in central Asia, he has also been the most nepotistic Eurasian King Lear" (p. 35). There is some doubt among many that Mr. Nazarbayev is running his country and government by placing close friends and family in political positions at home and abroad. Kazakhstan's president may receive backing and positive feedback from his government, but the opposition leaders have something different to say. Many believe that he holds too much power and has created a corrupt government. Others sarcastically state that President Nazarbayev believes he is a god or The Messiah (Starobin, 2005).

President Nazarbayev's powerful and authoritative personality has lead him to be the ultimate propagandist. His propaganda goals are accomplished through Kazakhstan's Ambassadors, spokespeople and press secretaries. Their jobs are primarily to be mouthpieces for President Nazarbayev.

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999), "The source of propaganda is likely to be an institution or organization, while the propagandist as its leader or agent" (p. 283). In this situation, the source of propaganda is the Kazakhstani government and the propagandist is President Nazarbayev who is represented by the Kazakhstani government and its official spokespeople. The public may not have noticed this because the commercial did not reference the Kazakhstani government, though it did feature a quick shot of President Nazarbayev. The print ad however, implied that the government was involved because it discussed the country's economy, business and travel industries as well as the political relationship between the United States and Kazakhstan.

The identities of the propaganda source and propagandist do not necessarily need to be concealed but being covert could help achieve the purpose of the campaign (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). In the case of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign, the source of propaganda was fairly clear.

#### 4. The Structure of the Propaganda Organization

President Nazarbayev is the head of Kazakhstan's government and controls all official information disseminated by the government. Below him are his embassy deputies who represent his views in other countries. It is Kazakhstan's authoritative and somewhat corrupt government who sponsored the commercials for this campaign.

In order to thoroughly understand the structure of the propaganda organization, an explanation of the Kazakhstani government as well as the president himself, needs to be presented. The Kazakhstani government is a relatively new one. For many years the country was under control of the Soviet Russian Empire and its communistic dictates. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan became its own independent country in December of 1991 (U.S. State Department, 2006).

Kazakhstan is now a nation generally under "authoritarianism presidential rule, with little power outside the executive branch" (CIA World Factbook, 2006). President Nazarbayev has ruled Kazakhstan since 1989 and plans on remaining in office until 2012. The last election in Kazakhstan, which was conducted in 2005, resulted in 91 percent of the population voting for President Nazarbayev. It was considered flawed by outside observers and did not meet the international criteria for a democratic voting process

(Chivers & Pala, 2005). Kazakhstani officials have persecuted political opponents and resisted the calls for electoral reform made repeatedly by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Many blame the president and the government for unfair elections and believe that Mr. Nazarbayev and his government manipulate the process through bias or slanted media and a scandalous electoral process (U.S. Kazakhstan summit, 2001). British member of Parliament, Bruce George, reported to *The New York Times* (2005) that there “were pro-government bias in the state media, voter intimidation and restrictions on freedom of press and assembly during the campaign, as well as ballot stuffing, multiple voting, pressure on students to vote for Mr. Nazarbayev and irregularities in the vote counting” (Chivers & Pala, p. 5).

President Nazarbayev and his government have not only been accused of unfair elections but also dealing with numerous scandals including the deaths of two opposition leaders and dealing with government money laundering (Myers & Greenburg, 2006; LeVine & Taglibue, 1999). Altynbek Sarsenbaiuly was an opposition leader to Nazarbayev and was shot and killed in February of 2005. His family and members of his political party have criticized the government of Kazakhstan for handling the situation inappropriately and claimed that the president and his family were behind Sarsenbaiuly’s death (Chivers, 2006).

The government money laundering scandal includes an illegal transfer of 80 million dollars from a Kazakhstani government account to Credit Agricole Indosuez, a personal bank account of Mr. Nazarbayev. Because of this transaction and others like it, several Kazakhstan government accounts were frozen (LeVine & Taglibue, 1999). President Nazarbayev’s son-in-law, Rakhat Aliyev was exiled in early 2007. The

president banished him because he believed Aliyev was head of a criminal group. In an interview with *The New Statesman*, Aliyev stated he was banished because he confided to the president that he would be running for office in the 2012 election. Aliyev also said Mr. Nazarbayev does not tolerate opponents, has spent his “whole career outlawing dissent and pluralism in Kazakhstan,” and unlawfully arresting and sometimes torturing people in custody (Barnes, 2007, p. 36).

These are just a few of the deceptive and fraudulent events that have taken place under the rule of President Nazarbayev. It is this corrupt government and its powerful president who supported and funded Kazakhstan’s advertising campaign. Not only did the government produce the campaign, but also used their power against Sasha Baron Cohen. On November 28, 2005, Kazakhstan’s government threatened to sue Cohen because of his outrageous character Borat. The government did not state what legal action they would take against the character but said his actions were intolerable and unacceptable (Frank, 2005). Kazakhstan’s government did not take legal action against Cohen; however, in December of 2005 Borat’s Web site was cancelled because he was using the Kazakhstani domain .kz (Gelder, 2005).

According to Jowett and O’Donnell (1999), “propaganda campaigns tend to originate from a strong, centralized, decision-making authority that produces a consistent message through its structure” (p. 284). In this case study, the structure is Kazakhstan’s president and its government who sponsored the campaign. Although the campaign originates from a strong, centralized, decision-making authority, the message does not reveal the government of Kazakhstan as autocratic and domineering. The commercial and print ad depict a country of beauty, freedom and expansion, not of power and corruption.

Because the point of the campaign is inconsistent with the actions of the government, the message of the campaign is unreliable.

## 5. Target Audience

Although the targeted audience is not specifically stated or noted in any document or text, it can be assumed that the primary intended audience is the general American public and the secondary target audience is U.S. government policymakers. More specifically the target audience is educated Americans who have a worldly interest or a desire to travel. This audience was chosen because influencing the educated elite is the most effective way to sway overall public opinion. It can also be assumed that this audience was chosen so the Kazakhstani government could respond effectively to the movie *Borat* and entice Americans to travel to Kazakhstan.

This assumption of the target audience was developed through an analysis of the media used in Kazakhstan's advertising campaign. The "Ever Wandered?" commercial aired on CNN and targeted a national audience who is interested in world news. When airing on ABC local affiliate in Washington D.C., the commercial was targeting government policymakers as well as trying to grab the attention of an audience with the resources and desire to travel. The four-page advertisements placed in *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Foreign Affairs* and *U.S. News and World Report* were intended to appeal to educated Americans and U.S. policymakers.

It is also important to note the target audience for the movie *Borat* was distinctly different from the audience reached by the Kazakhstani ad campaign. The movie's

audience included teenagers and young adults who are not necessarily the average CNN watcher or *New York Times* reader. This lead to a disconnect with the target audience. Most likely, there were many people who saw the ads but never heard of Borat and many people who knew of Borat, but never saw Kazakhstan's commercial or print ad.

Propagandists tend to select a target audience that will best fulfill their purpose and meet their expectations (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). It can be assumed that the Kazakhstani government believed that the best way to achieve the objectives of the campaign would be by targeting a mass audience. Because the purpose of the campaign was to respond to Borat, promote Kazakhstan and entice Americans to visit the country, a specific primary target audience was created that included educated, worldly Americans with the means and desire to travel, while the secondary target audience included government policymakers. One must also consider the disconnect between the movie's target audience and the campaign's target audience. While Borat fans were presumably younger and less-educated, Kazakhstan's campaign targeted an older, knowledgeable audience.

## 6. Media Utilization Techniques

Propaganda, in the modern sense, can use numerous media including television, newspaper, Internet and radio (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Kazakhstan's advertising campaign used television commercials and newspaper ads to respond to the movie *Borat*, promote Kazakhstan during President Nazarbayev's visit and attract Americans to travel to the country. The forty-four second commercial ran on CNN and on ABC local affiliate in Washington D.C. and featured beautiful scenery, relaxing music and included the

slogan “Ever Wandered?” The print ad contained information about Kazakhstan’s growing relationship with the United States and the country’s business, economic and travel industries.

The communication tools of Kazakhstan’s campaign did not necessarily meet the high standards of quality and creativeness in American advertising and media. The “Ever Wandered?” commercial was bland and of poor production quality. In an interview with Kazakhstan’s embassy spokesman Askar Tazhiyev, he commented that the spots seemed “dated” and needed re-doing before they run again in the United States (personal communication with Askar Tazhiyev on August 10, 2007). The print ad was designed to look like editorial content, had extremely small print and was too copy heavy. The commercial and print ad may not have attracted the attention of the intended target audience because of poor quality and lack of creativity.

Not only did the commercial and print ad have mediocre production quality and lacked creativity, but also the media schedule failed to reach the appropriate audience effectively. The reach and frequency of the campaign were very low. There is no data available as to the number of people who saw the commercial or read the ad. But, because the commercial only aired on CNN and on ABC’s local affiliate in Washington D.C. and the print ad was only published a few times in *The New York Times*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *The Washington Post* and *Foreign Affairs* (Babej & Pollak, 2006), it can be determined that Kazakhstan’s advertising campaign did not reach a broad audience with enough frequency to be effective.

Kazakhstan's advertising campaign only used a limited television and newspaper schedule to communicate with their target audience. The approach to using more than just one media is common and can help information flow from medium to another. The flow of information for this campaign may not have been effective due to different styles of the television commercial and the newspaper ad. The TV spot was purely visual, used an emotional appeal and intended to be thought provoking with its tagline "Ever Wandered?" The newspaper ad was entirely informational and had very little visual stimulation. This may have resulted in Kazakhstan's campaign techniques and tactics being unsuccessful and ineffective.

Although the commercial and the print ad had many differences, they were also similar in the fact that they were one-sided. Both were produced by the Kazakhstani government and only showed the country in a positive light. There was also not a call for feedback nor was there a Web site listed for further information. In this way, the campaign may be considered propaganda versus mere persuasion. Persuasion is interactive and attempts to satisfy the need of both the persuader and the persuadee whereas propaganda is an attempt to influence the intended audience to think or act in a certain way so that the persuader's purpose is accomplished (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). It is also noted that propaganda is one-sided, like the commercial and the print ad. Kazakhstan's advertising campaign is not covert or sinister, but is rather an example of white propaganda. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) white propaganda comes from a correctly identifiable source, presents a message with accurate information and convinces the audience that the sender is presenting the truth. The commercial and print ad were produced by the Kazakhstani government and presented presumably accurate

information, but only pointed out the most positive sides of the government while ignoring the negative.

### 7. Special Techniques to Maximize Effect

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) there are numerous special techniques to maximize the effect of propaganda. Some of these tactics include creating resonance, source credibility, group norms, reward and punishment, visual symbols of power, language usage, music, and arousal of emotions.

Although the campaign did not use all of these techniques, they did use visual symbols of power, music and arousal of emotions to influence their target audience. Visual symbols of power in the commercial included the beautiful mountains, Islamic mosques, pictures of Kazakhstani people and a shot of the president walking with businessmen. There were several visual images that associate Kazakhstan with Islam including mosques, the moon and star symbol of faith for the Muslim religion and imams squatting in front of a madrasa, but there were no images of women wearing headscarves or any people in traditional Islamic dress.

The visual symbols of landscape and mosques were most likely used to evoke viewers' emotions of beauty and majesty. Whereas the picture of the president was used to show authority and leadership. This was also accomplished in the newspaper with the picture of President Bush and President Nazarbayev shaking hands. This image was the biggest picture and was on the front of the four-page ad. The picture's placement and content communicates not only power and importance, but also an alliance between the United States and Kazakhstan.

Another special technique used to influence the audience was music. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1999), "Music is an effective propaganda technique because it touches emotions easily, suggest associations and past experiences . . ." (p. 295). The commercial's music consisted of a relaxing, traditional Eastern beat. This soothing yet exotic sound brought out emotions of contentment and satisfaction. The beat created an association that made viewers believe that visiting Kazakhstan would be a calming yet unique experience.

Lastly, the campaign used arousal of emotions as a special technique. This was accomplished by the language and presentation of the commercial and print ad. The commercial's images of mountains, scenery and countryside along with the soft, traditional Eastern beat evoked emotions of satisfaction, desire and intrigue. The emotion of the newspaper ad is different -- its language and presentation is one of power and authority, which could cause feelings of aspiration and ambition. Visual symbols of power, music and arousal of emotions are three of the special techniques used to maximize the effects Kazakhstan's advertising campaign.

There are also other classic propaganda tactics described by Lee and Lee (1939) that can be found within the campaign. These include glittering generality, plain folks and card stacking. A glittering generality is "associating something with a 'virtue word' – is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence" (Lee & Lee, 1939, p. 47). The end of the commercial used a glittering generality by asking "Ever Wandered?" The association could be made between the "Ever Wandered?" slogan and desire to travel. Viewers could accept that Kazakhstan is a wonderful place to travel without further examining where in Kazakhstan one should travel.

Lee and Lee's plain folks propaganda technique is also used in Kazakhstan's campaign. Plain folks is a tactic in which a persuader attempts to convince the audience to do or act a certain way because the audience and the speaker are of the same people (Lee & Lee, 1939). The newspaper ad tries to suggest that Kazakhstan is similar to the United States, that the two countries are of the 'same people.' They are using the 'same people' technique so that Americans can more easily identify with Kazakhs. When people feel they can easily relate to one another, situations and circumstances are dealt with in a more comfortable sense, allowing people to feel more relaxed. This hopefully conveys an interest of Kazakhstan to an American audience.

Card stacking is another Lee and Lee tactic used in the campaign. According to Lee and Lee (1939), "Card stacking involves the selection and use of the facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best of a worst possible case for an idea, program, person or product" (p. 95). This technique was used in both the commercial and the newspaper ad. Both only showed Kazakhstan in a positive light. The commercial only showed beautiful and interesting places and did not show a corrupt government, ugly Soviet architecture or crowded cities. In the ad, Kazakhstan was praising itself for its accomplishments in the economy, banking, tourism and business industries allowing no room for criticism or negativity.

Propaganda uses a variety of tactics and techniques to persuade and influence the targeted audience (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). The special techniques to maximize the effect of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign included visual symbols of power, music and arousal of emotions along with Lee and Lee's glittering generality, plain folks and card stacking. First, there were visual symbols of power. This included using images such

as mountains and a picture of President Nazarbayev. These symbols implied beauty and splendor as well as power and authority. Second was music of the commercial, which was intended to evoke an atmosphere of the exotic Middle East and the Orient. This music was most likely intended to create feelings of contentment and cause belief that Kazakhstan was a relaxing and unique country to visit. Lastly was the arousal of emotions. Through the images and music of the commercial and newspaper ad emotions of desire, aspiration and power were created. These emotions were most likely intended by the campaign so that Americans would travel to Kazakhstan or so that Kazakhstani government could promote itself as a world leader.

#### 8. Audience Reactions to Various Techniques

The purpose of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was to respond to the *Borat* movie, create a positive image of Kazakhstan during President Nazarbayev's visit to the White House and possibly to persuade Americans to visit the country. However, there were no quantifiable objectives for these goals. There were no benchmarks for understanding or measuring the audience's opinions or thoughts on Kazakhstan before or after the campaign took place. However, there are limited data available about the audience's reaction to the campaign and amount of attention it received.

The character Borat was a pop culture rage among a certain segment of Americans, including teenagers and young adults. This age group posted their views and thoughts about Kazakhstan's advertising campaign on Internet sites and blogs. There were a variety of views about the campaign. Some people thought that the commercials were pointless and a waste of money. Others thought that Kazakhstan was doing the right

thing by advertising their country to combat the offensive actions and remarks of Borat. There were also many comments about the president being involved in both the commercial and the print ad. Some examples include: “I like how the president has to have his picture in the clip and in the ad”; “I think the picture of the president is quite nice because it shows him in a very relaxed state among friends, which could make the impression that the *Land of the Kazakhs* is being headed by a peaceful and friendly man” (Roberts Report: Kazakhstan, Ever Wandered, 2006). Others commented on the catchphrase “Ever Wandered?” stating the phrase suggested that Americans should visit Kazakhstan or if Americans ever “wondered” where the country is located or what it looks like (Robert Reports: Kazakhstan Ever Wandered, 2006)

The media leveraged the public’s interest and fed the buzz by running stories on numerous aspects of Kazakhstan’s campaign and the movie *Borat*. Many television, newspaper and magazine reporters interviewed Roman Vassilenko, Kazakhstan’s embassy spokesperson, and Cohen in character as Borat (Cohen refused to do out-of-character interviews). There were an abundance of articles written and numerous television shows that discussed the campaign, the movie, Cohen himself, Borat as a character, and Kazakhstan’s reactions. Many articles stated that Kazakhstan’s campaign was unnecessary because Americans knew the movie was satirical. Other reports believed that the campaign could only improve Kazakhstan’s image.

Some news just stated facts about the campaign and the movie while other articles used the opinions of scholars and specialist. For example, Simon Anholt, a U.K. place branding specialist, stated that the movie was bringing more attention to Kazakhstan than any advertising campaign could have imagined. But, Wally Owens, advisor of country

marketing, believed Kazakhstan should not do anything, especially not an advertising campaign (A New Sort of Beauty, 2006).

Another example of audience reaction was that the movie *Borat* was effectively banned in Russia and barred from distribution in Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman and Qatar. *The New York Times* (2006) reported that the reason the movie was banned was because of the remarks and actions of the character Borat, which offended government officials who felt the movie would incite anger and hostility. Yury V. Vasyuchkov, a Russian agency official stated “The film has potential to offend religious and ethnic feelings in a country where such feelings have been strained in recent months by ethnically tinged political conflicts and even violence” (Myers, 2006, p. E1). The government’s decision to ban the movie *Borat* in the countries listed above is only a decision that can be made under authoritative dictatorships and in countries that do not have freedom of speech like the United States and the United Kingdom.

The goals of a propaganda campaign are to achieve the purpose and ideology which, in this case, are to combat Borat, promote Kazakhstan and entice Americans to travel to Kazakhstan. The audience’s reactions to these purposes are important because a successful campaign can partly be accomplished through these responses (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999). Although there were no formal data gathered to determine what the audience’s reactions to the campaign were, there were other, informal ways, to gauge audience reaction. A variety of opinions, views and thoughts about the campaign were posted on the Internet. There were also numerous articles on different aspects of the campaign and movie that were published and reported in newspapers, magazines and on television. Another reaction was that several countries banned the movie.

These audience reactions are significant to this case study but do not necessarily show that this campaign was effective. A major error in the campaign was the failure to have quantitative objectives so that the audience's reaction could be measured.

## 9. Counterpropaganda

After Kazakhstan released its advertising campaign in September, Cohen, in character as Borat, spoke out against the country's campaign. On September 28<sup>th</sup>, the same day as President Nazarbayev's arrival to the United States, Borat held a press conference in front of the Kazakhstani embassy in Washington (Tapper & Hinman, 2006). The beginning of the conference included Borat waving the four-page newspaper ad from *The New York Times* and claiming the ad was full of "lies and deceit." He stated that the ad was actually placed by the "evil nitwits from neighboring Uzbekistan" and called Kazakhstan's embassy spokesperson, Vassilenso, "an Uzbek imposter" (Argetsinger & Roberts, 2006, p. 1).

Borat then told reporters that "recent advertisements in television and in media about my nation of Kazakhstan saying that women are treated equally and that all religions are tolerated, these are disgusting fabrications. These claims are part of a propaganda campaign against our country by evil nitwit Uzbekistan" (Kazakhs Counter Comic, 2006). Borat goes on to claim, "Our glorious leaders is displeased with my film *Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*, is lyings. In fact, main purpose of President Nazarbayev's visit to Washington is promote this movie film" (Tapper & Minman, 2006, p. 1).

After guards ask Borat to leave the Kazakh embassy, he preceded to the White House so that he could give President Bush a ticket to his movie. The guards at the White House asked if he had an appointment to see the president, to which Borat's response was no and in turn he was not allowed inside. Borat's press conference concluded by extending an invitation to President Bush and President Nazarbayev to a cocktail party at Hooters restaurant to discuss their country's relations (Tapper & Hinman, 2006).

Although counterpropaganda is not the most important part of this study, it is significant. Because the United States has freedom of speech, it is very likely that counterpropaganda takes place and is heard or seen by society. This is most likely due to the idea that counterpropaganda is seen as controversial. It is also in this sense that the public knows the existence of the opposition of the propaganda (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

The primary example of counterpropaganda for Kazakhstan's advertising campaign takes place when Borat loudly proclaims that the campaign was full of deception and was sponsored by the 'evil' country of Uzbekistan. All of the outrageous, comical statements, claims and actions of Borat while at the Kazakhstani embassy and the White House are forms of counterpropaganda toward Kazakhstan's advertising campaign. Because Borat's press conference was so irreverent and out of the ordinary, many people heard about it or saw it on television or on the Internet. Borat spoke out about his opposition to the campaign and by doing so, promoted his movie.

## 10. Effects and Evaluation

The purpose of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was to respond to the *Borat* movie, create a positive image of Kazakhstan during President Nazarbayev's visit to the White House and possibly to persuade Americans to visit the country. The campaign was concluded about one year ago at the time of this research therefore, it is hard to say if the campaign has made an impact in the long-term. Some short-term impact of the advertising campaign included the country of Kazakhstan receiving recognition and acknowledgement from Americans, as well as Americans gaining information about the country of Kazakhstan.

Regrettably, there was nothing in place to determine change in the target audience's actions, behaviors and attitudes. This type of measurement would be ideal in determining whether the campaign was a failure or success. It is also unclear how many people the campaign intended to reach and how many actually saw the commercial or ad. There were no defined and measurable goals stated for the campaign, therefore it is impossible to say if it was a success. Although nothing was quantified, there were indicators, such as blogs, television news coverage and newspaper articles, that suggested the campaign was receiving exposure, whether it was through the audience actually seeing the ads or through some sort of media reporting on the campaign.

One way to measure effectiveness is to measure the amount of publicity the campaign received. The blog search engine, *Blog Search* by Google, was used to collect data on the number of blog entries about Kazakhstan's campaign from August 1, 2006 to January 1, 2007. Correspondingly, the database, *ProQuest Direct* was used to count

articles published by *The New York Times* on the same topic. (See Table 5.1, Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2).

The total number of blog entries was 51 and the total number of *New York Times* articles was 20. The blog entries outnumbered the *New York Times* articles by more than double. There are also more blogs during the month of September than any other month. Whereas, there were more articles written during the month of November. It can also be noticed that in both blog entries and *New York Times* articles there is an up-down trend. In September, there are high numbers and in October the numbers dropped. They pick up again in November and drop again in December. These months are relevant to this case study. In late September, the ads were aired and President Nazarbayev visited the United States. In the beginning of November, the *Borat* movie was released in theaters across the nation. Another observation is that there are no blogs or articles that were written in the month of August. It seems as if the Kazakhstani campaign and the character Borat became an immediate hot topic to the audience and disappeared just as rapidly.

**Table 5.1**

*Number of Blog Entries and The New York Times Articles Published by Month*

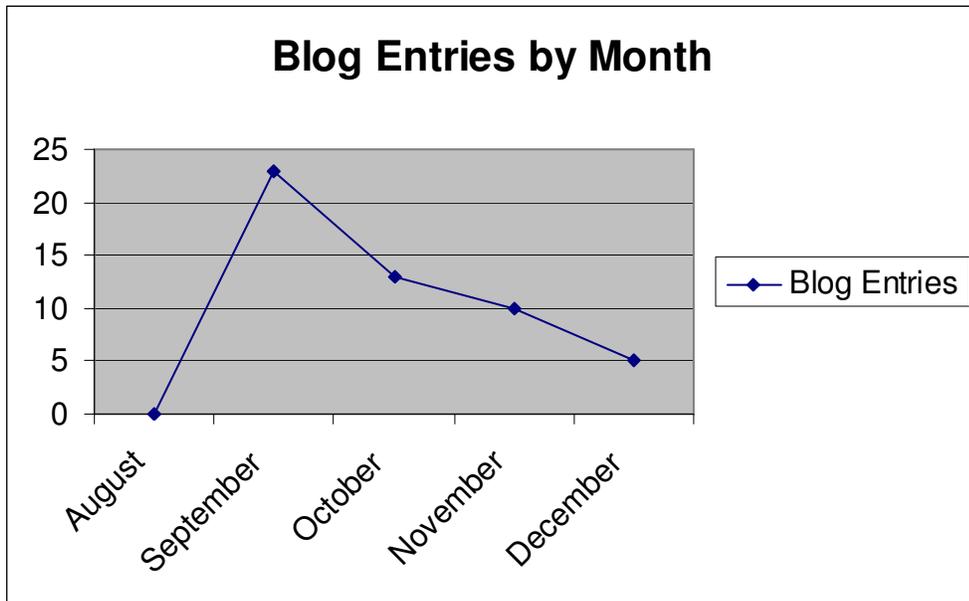
<b>Date</b>	<b>NYT Articles</b>	<b>Blog Entries</b>
August	0	0
September*	7	23
October	2	13
November**	9	10
December	2	5

\*Kazakhstani tourism advertising campaign took place

\*\* *Borat* movie was released

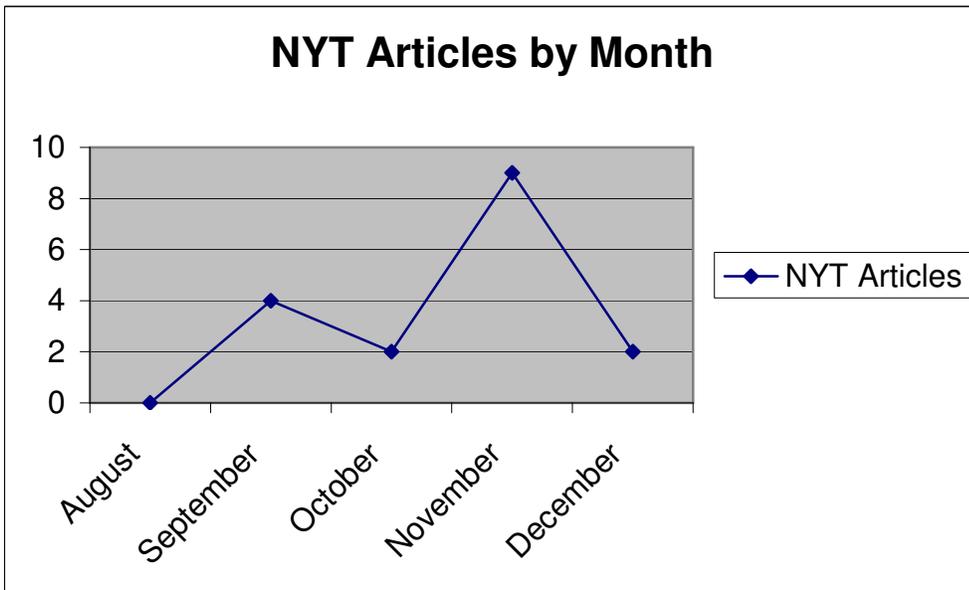
**Figure 5.1**

**Number of Blog Entries Published by Month**



**Figure 5.2**

**Number of New York Times Articles Published by Month**



If one goal of the campaign was to encourage Americans to visit Kazakhstan, then analyzing tourism traffic might be another measure of the campaign's effectiveness. There is some indication that Kazakhstan's tourism industry has increased and more people know about the country since the release of the campaign. According *The Wall Street Journal*, there has been a 300 percent hike in searches for accommodations to the country of Kazakhstan and a new interest in Almaty as a 'fashion mecca' (Glorious Publicity, 2006). In the London newspaper, *The Daily Mail*, a reporter interviewed Sean R. Roberts, a Central Asian Affairs Fellow at Georgetown University, who had been following the promotions of Borat as well as Kazakhstan's campaign. Roberts said that more Americans are aware of the country of Kazakhstan today than they were four year ago (Bush Holds Talks, 2006). Lastly, the *USA Today* reported that the foreign currency company Travelex has had to order more Kazakhstani currency to meet a recent demand of travelers (Bly, 2006).

There were also data made available through a study conducted by Kendrick, Fullerton and Wallis (2007) to determine if the Kazakh commercial had an effect on the audience. It was a pre-post quasi-experiment that used a convenience sample of U.S. university students and adults in April 2007. The participants were given a pre-test questionnaire that included answering questions about Kazakhstani people, their attitude toward Kazakhstan and if there was any interest in visiting Kazakhstan, as well as demographic questions. The respondents then watched the Kazakhstani commercial produced for the campaign and answered the same questions in the post-test survey (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2006). The study found that after the participants viewed the commercial, attitudes toward Kazakhstani people and toward the Kazakhstani

government were unchanged. However, respondents' interests in visiting Kazakhstan were significantly more positive. The study indicated that the Kazakhstani commercial did have the potential to affect the American public by positively increasing awareness and interest in Kazakhstan (Fullerton, Kendrick & Wallis, 2007).

Although the framework provides an evaluation of how effective the campaign was, the Kazakhstani government did not release any information as to their evaluation of the campaign or whether they believed it to be a failure or success. However, during the release of Kazakhstan's campaign and promotions of the movie *Borat*, Vassilenko uttered the familiar phrase 'there is no such thing as bad publicity' (Clark, 2006; Chung, 2006).

Because propaganda can only truly be effective with long-term results, it is difficult to fully evaluate Kazakhstan's advertising campaign. For this study, effects and evaluation of the campaign can be found within this 10-point framework as well as in the informal data. This includes evaluating the content of blogs and news articles as well as looking at relevant studies and their results. The number of blogs from Google's *Blog Search* and articles from *The New York Times* between the dates of August 1, 2006 to January 1, 2007 were collected and compared. There was also the research study conducted to determine if Kazakhstan's commercial was effective. The results indicated that to a certain extent the commercial did have a positive effect on the participant's interest in visiting Kazakhstan.

It is also this framework that will allow discussion for the final outcome of the campaign. Despite whether the campaign is determined a success or failure, this case study provided reason and purpose, information for discussion, and the ability to further research this topic.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

#### Summary of Methodology and Findings

This case study used Jowett and O'Donnell's (1999) 10-point framework to analyze Kazakhstan's 2006 U.S. advertising campaign and the simultaneous events of President Nazarbayev visit to the White House and the *Borat* movie. The purpose of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was to respond to the *Borat* movie, create a positive image of Kazakhstan during President Nazarbayev's visit to the United States and possibly to persuade Americans to visit the country.

The analysis found the context of the campaign to be very relevant because it ran during the time period when Kazakhstan was trying to build a strong relationship with the United States as well as when the potentially damaging *Borat* movie was released. The study also found that because of President Nazarbayev's power and authority, he was the ultimate propagandist who was backed by his spokespersons in the Kazakhstani government. It was his government that sponsored Kazakhstan's advertising campaign and targeted the general American population.

The media tools used in the campaign included a television commercial and newspaper ads. The TV spot and print ad were considered of mediocre production quality

and lacking in creativity as well as having low reach and frequency levels. The special techniques used to maximize the effect of the propaganda campaign included visual symbols of power, music and arousal of emotions along with Lee and Lee's (1939) glittering generality, plain folks and card stacking. The impact of the campaign could only be evaluated from a short-term perspective. This case study should provide information for discussion about place branding and propaganda and support further research on this topic.

Although no true quantitative measures of effectiveness were available, the analysis suggested that the country of Kazakhstan did benefit as a result of the campaign. Increased awareness and knowledge about the country was created by the advertising and the subsequent buzz on the Web and in the mainstream media.

### Discussion

This propaganda study can be compared to Kendrick and Fullerton's (2003) analysis of the Shared Values Initiative. This study researched the branding of Kazakhstan in the United States, while the Shared Values Initiative studied the branding of the United States in Muslim countries. Both studies used television and newspaper advertising to convey their messages to citizens in other countries. Both studies found that the campaigns were met with various responses from the public and press including mixed feelings about the true purpose of the campaigns and remarks that the campaigns were ineffective and pointless. But, in both studies, the analyses suggested that the campaigns were indeed effective in branding their respective countries and in persuading their intended audiences.

This case is also similar to Cain's (2006) propaganda analysis of the U.S. Department of Education's minority outreach campaign promoting the No Child Left Behind Act. Kazakhstan's advertising campaign used various propaganda tactics to their advantage to promote the campaign, as did the U.S. State Department in promoting the No Child Left Behind Act. One propaganda tactic that both campaigns relied heavily upon was the socio-historical context. Both campaigns were able to fully leverage the post 9/11 environment. In the case of the Kazakhstani advertising campaign, Kazakhstan leveraged the growing relationship between their country and the United States and supported the war on terror. In Cain's study, The No Child Left Behind Act campaign was able to use the country's heightened level of patriotism after 9/11 to push the law. The context of the times were an important part of both propaganda analyses because in order for propaganda to be successful, it must relate directly to the climate and current mood of the public (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). These studies effectively used the socio-historical context to execute their campaigns.

Kazakhstan's advertising campaign can also be compared to Jowett and O'Donnell's (1999) propaganda analysis of the U.S. government during the Gulf War. Kazakhstan's advertising campaign could not determine whether propaganda tactics were effective in persuading the target audience due to the campaign's failure to quantify the goals. In the Gulf War study, researchers were able to quantify the objectives and found that the propaganda techniques used to promote the war were effective in a short-term sense. However, the two studies are similar because only the short-term impact could be studied and long-term effects were unable to be researched.

The propaganda analysis of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign can be closely related to Endiza and Luneva's (2004) research on the brand strategy of Latvia. The latter study found that it was difficult to increase awareness of Latvia because the country did not have a united brand with a central message. This is similar to Kazakhstan's advertising campaign. Kazakhstan's campaign message may have been backed President Nazarbayev and the Kazakhstani government, but it was not necessarily supported by the citizens and organizations of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan's brand also lacked a central message. The message of Kazakhstan's commercial and the print ad were to promote and depict a country of beauty, freedom and expansion. This was contrary to the source of the propaganda, which was the strong, authoritative and domineering government of Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan's advertising campaign can also be related to a study conducted by Caldwell and Freire (2004), which defined the strength of a brand in representationality and functionality. Representationality of a brand suggests that people tend to visit places that in some way represented who they are. Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was representational through the use of Lee and Lee's (1939) propaganda technique plain folks. The newspaper ad suggested that Kazakhstan is similar to the United States, that they are countries of the 'same people' and for that reason Americans should travel to Kazakhstan. Functionality of a brand suggests that consumers choose their destination of travel based on what attributes the country had to offer such as beaches, mountains and culture. Kazakhstan's campaign used functionality in the music and visual symbols in the "Ever Wandered?" commercial. The spot consisted of a relaxing, traditional Eastern beat and had beautiful images of landscape and architecture.

When comparing Kazakhstan's commercial to tourism advertising literature, there are several discrepancies. A study conducted by Olsen, McAlexander and Roberts (1986) found that ads showing pictures of vacationers were more desirable than images of scenery. This could be a criticism of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign because the commercial consisted mainly of beautiful scenery and contained little information. The newspaper ad did not contain any pictures of people or scenery and was purely informational.

Other tourism advertising studies found that informational, or attribute-based, ads were more favorable than transformational, or affect-generating, ads (Laskey, Seaton & Nicholls, 1994) and that unknown places were seen as frightening yet intriguing (Olsen, McAlexander & Roberts, 1986). Kazakhstan's commercial featured very little information, consisted mainly of scenery and included no vacation experiences. It might be beneficial to Kazakhstan's tourism industry to create a commercial that shows pictures of vacationers experiencing the cultures and lifestyles of their country.

Kazakhstan's advertising campaign can also contribute the literature of propaganda's elaboration likelihood model. This model explains that if a person or group is not interested in the material being presented, they are not likely to pay attention or retain information and propaganda and persuasion cannot take place (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Kazakhstan's advertising campaign, President Nazarbayev's visit to the United States and the release of the movie *Borat* were highly publicized in the media and often discussed among a segment of American society. The campaign's content was deemed relevant and interesting, which made it more likely that the public paid attention and retained information.

## Implications and Recommendations

The primary implication of this study is that international advertising campaigns should be considered by little known countries as a communication tool for promoting their country in a positive light, as well as encouraging a specific target audience to travel there. Although the findings of this study did not determine whether Kazakhstan's advertising campaign was a success, it did find that the campaign was picked up in the U.S. media, talked about and generally became a hot topic of discussion among some Americans – presumably creating awareness for and interest in Kazakhstan, at least in the short term.

Many may argue that this campaign was not useful in responding to Borat and positively promoting Kazakhstan, but because the campaign presented the 'real' Kazakhstan, many people heard about the country for the first time and became interested. Therefore, the objectives of educating people about a country and gaining awareness for a country were achieved through the use of an international advertising campaign.

This study also indicates that branding is an important tool in advertising and marketing a country. Simon Anholt, a specialist on place branding, stated that the advertising campaign and the movie *Borat* brought awareness to the country that Kazakhstan could never have imagined. Anholt went on to say that many countries are asking for help in advertising or promoting their nation. This is because the countries believe that outside their region, people have the wrong idea about their country and want to improve that negative image (A New Sort of Beauty Contest, 2006). Kazakhstan branded itself with beautiful images of mountains and Islamic mosques in the commercial

and with powerful and influential stories and photos in the print ad. Specific pictures and content were used to combat the negative images the movie *Borat* was portraying, as well as promoting the country in a positive light.

It is doubtful that Kazakhstan's advertising campaign garnered broad awareness for the country among Americans given that the campaign only used a television commercial and a few newspaper ads as media tools. The campaign may have satisfied President Nazarbayev's ego during his visit to the United States, but it was the *Borat* movie that brought real publicity to Kazakhstan, as confirmed by the public's reaction and media hype it received from blog sites and in news articles. Though potentially unflattering, the movie may have registered the country on many Americans' mental maps.

All suggested implications are important to the growth of a country. With tourism advertising and place branding, a country can market itself to tourists and investors in other countries and increase the amount of money coming into the country. This could help industry to grow and boost the country's economy by providing more jobs and higher incomes. All of these outcomes would be beneficial to Kazakhstan as it builds a new independent republic.

#### Limitations and Opportunities for Future Study

This study is limited because it only covers the Kazakhstani advertising campaign and the promotions and release of the movie *Borat*. The results of this case study can only be applied to this specific propaganda analysis. Other limitations of this study include only being able to study the short-term impact of the advertising campaign. Long-

term effects are important in analyzing propaganda but are unable to be studied because the campaign had only ended nine months prior to the beginning of the research. There are also limitations in the methodology of the case study. Because it is a qualitative case study, it does not measure or quantify any aspects of the advertising campaign.

The purpose of this study was to use Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework to analyze the tactics and techniques of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign. This research was extensive and can be built upon in numerous ways with additional studies that focus on one aspect of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign or by concentrating on specific point within Jowett and O'Donnell's framework. This could be accomplished by using focus groups, surveys or copy testing. Another opportunity that presents itself includes researching and studying the counterpropaganda in the same way this study was conducted. This would add to the literature by providing a different point of view. Another research prospect consists of conducting the same study at a much later time and studying the long-term effects of Kazakhstan's advertising campaign. Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) state that long-term effects are significant to a propaganda analysis because in most cases time will present different information and include different effects.

Kazakhstan's 2006 U.S. advertising campaign will be known as the opportunity Kazakhstan took to combat an outrageous comedian's unfounded remarks and in doing so provided positive information about their country. Although it is unknown if this campaign had any real measurable effect on the target audience, the study suggests that some positive awareness and increase knowledge about Kazakhstan among some Americans was created. The analysis should be of interest to the advertising and tourism

industries, as well as propaganda theorists and scholars. It will also serve those who are interested in techniques and tactics of place branding and to those who are concerned with advertising and media ethics.

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Scope and Method of Study: This study analyzes Kazakhstan's 2006 advertising campaign. The purpose of the campaign was to combat the movie *Borat: Cultural Learning of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation*, create a positive image of Kazakhstan in the wake of President Nazarbayev's visit to the White House and possibly to persuade Americans to visit the country. This is a qualitative study, which uses Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point propaganda framework.

Findings and Conclusions: This study provides a comprehensive examination of Kazakhstan's 2006 advertising campaign and its coinciding media events by employing Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point propaganda framework. By analyzing Kazakhstan's television commercial and print ad, it was determined that Kazakhstan's advertising campaign, though limited in scope, was effective in presenting the 'real' Kazakhstan and creating buzz in the press and among certain segments of the U.S. public. The implications suggested that a country wishing to improve their image in the United States should consider using a branding strategy along with an advertising campaign. This case study provides a backdrop for discussion about tourism advertising for those who are interested in the techniques and tactics of place branding and propaganda.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. Jami Armstrong Fullerton

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