Social Campaigns

Art of Visual Persuasion
Its psychology, its semiotics, its rhetoric

Ma Thesis | Marc Andrews | 2008
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Visual Persuasion.
An Introduction.

“Using the tools of graphic design to persuade someone to be more tolerant is, probably, more difficult than trying to persuade them to buy a certain brand of dog food.”

(Michael Bierut, Pentagram)
What is a Social Campaign?
Creating a campaign is a creative and technical process where areas of Art and Science come together. Aspects of the visual language meet the knowledge and scientific research results of social science. This thesis will mainly focus on non-profit, social, information campaigns developed by government or non-governmental organizations fighting for human rights, and environmental issues, and against poverty and violence or encouraging in public health and security.

We see continuing campaigns which try to convince people to quit smoking, to reject drugs, to practise safer sex, to avoid alcohol abuse, to stop discrimination and aggression or just to educate. The communicative aim of these campaigns can be on the one hand to break down an undesired behaviour, as for example behaviour, which harms the health (smoking, drinking), the environment (pollution, global warming) or affects others in society (sexual abuse, violence). On the other hand behaviour can be stimulated which is desirable (use condoms, do not drink and drive) for your own life or the society in general. A social campaign is a large-scale attempt to communicate ideas and practices through mass media and interpersonal communication.

What is Persuasion?
The communication goal to change someone’s behaviour or attitude could be described as a form of persuasion. Persuasion is defined by Perloff (2003) as a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice. When we think of communication as a kind of persuasion tool and its social influence on people’s life the word Propaganda can also come to mind. Persuasion and forms of Propaganda are two different worlds. Propaganda describes mass influence through mass media in which a group also has total control over the transmission of information.
Persuasion on the other hand occurs in mediated settings, or even in interpersonal relations and in the ideal situation it allows a free flow of information in a 2-way direction. Propaganda has a negative connotation whereas persuasion is viewed as a more positive force that can produce beneficial outcomes. ‘Propaganda ends where the dialogue begins’ according to Marshall McLuhan. The posters (IMAGE 1-3) on the previous page are examples of visual statements. A political propaganda image, a visual persuasion in advertising and in an environmental campaign are depicted.

Social Campaigns and Advertising, any difference?
Campaigns reflect the nation’s cultivation of the art of persuasion. They make use of argumentation, slogans, and emotional appeals in an effort to mold public attitudes. This resembles the language use of advertisement in general and how it communicates itself to the mass. Promotion of an idea or a product is persuasion, in ads as well as in campaigning. However, advertising campaigns differ from their public information counterparts: Commercial advertising is designed to encourage people to consume and creating positive feelings referring to the presented brand. Ad campaigns try to induce people to do something, stimulating the public to buy something, often triggered by evoked desires and dreams. Social campaigns on the other hand often try to convince the public not to perform a particular activity or behaviour. In general it is easier to stimulate people to consume than convincing them to stop a particular behaviour. Campaigns on social issues are also much more controversial than ads, they touch more directly on values, prejudices, or self-interested positions and campaigns frequently encounter strong opposition from powerful industries (as for example tobacco companies, beer distributors or oil companies).

‘Using the tools of graphic design to persuade someone to be more tolerant is, probably, more difficult than trying to persuade them to buy a certain brand of dog food.’ (Michael Bierut, Pentagram)

What is the Power of Billboards?
In my research I want to focus on the image making of campaigns; the constructed visual argument presented on billboards and posters. Most campaigns use these means to win the attention of the public for a specific topic. Pictures convey meanings that cannot be expressed as well, or at all, through words or music. A visual persuasion can take place consciously or unconsciously. The viewer is often not aware of its influence on attitudes or behaviour. Posters have always been a powerful force in shaping public opinion, from propaganda, political issues, advertising to public health and social issues. Posters flourished as an art form in Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth century as advances in printing technologies allowed for mass circulation and were mainly used for advertising or announcements (IMAGE 4). Illustrations took the central position, the text only had meaning in relation to the image. This trend went on and was supported by development in photography and moving images. A visual culture was developing. In the First World War the medium of poster was used to communicate all different kind of subjects (announcements, politics, propaganda, educational, public health).
to the public (IMAGE 5). This trend developed in the 21st century and even with all the technical means we have nowadays, the billboard or poster does not disappear in our public spaces. It still stays a strong medium in our lives conveying meaning directly. Also in social, information campaigns the poster plays an important role in getting a campaign started, creating consciousness about a topic and stimulating people to gain more information. Rhetoric, the art of persuasion, can support the visual impact and visual argumentation of an image. The repetition of a visual message also increases its persuasive power in public space.

**Why do we need Social Science?**

In developing a successful social campaign the makers first have to understand the problem and be able to define interventions and possible solutions, understanding which attitudes or behaviour are responsible for the problem. The target group has to be analyzed with reference to its attitudes and behaviours. The social science is often used to develop a theoretical frame referring to the topic in question. This knowledge can then be applied to a target group and its context, a visual translation of the found results and theories have to be made into a strong visual argument and the right media channels have to be chosen to reach the people in question. Human beings' attitudes and behaviours can of course never be analyzed and understood in a linear, one-dimensional way. The results of a laboratory setting and theories will never match the real world totally. When taking theory into the real world, with all its politics, values, and emotional messiness, we will see that life is more complex and campaigns are inseparable from the culture in which they take place. But still the results of social science can help campaigns to be more successful in understanding the basic principles of how people form and change attitudes and behaviour.

**How does the Visual Power of Social Campaigns work?**

In this research paper I want to find out how people are persuaded by means of visual communication. How do representational images work to influence the beliefs, attitudes, opinions and behaviour of those who view them? With my background as social psychologist and my knowledge as a graphic designer I want to investigate the field of visual persuasion (IMAGE 6). To understand how images create meaning and how a visual argument can be delivered most effectively I will also take the semiotics, ‘the study of signs’, and the classical rhetoric into consideration. First I will introduce some social psychology theories to get an idea how people process information and how they form or change attitudes and behaviour. Then I will describe how an image is constructed out of different signs, relating to each other to create meaning in the eye of the beholder.

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**6. The Visual Persuasion process.** First you get a visual input, this visual information is processed by the viewer and will preferably cause an attitude or behaviour change or activate emotions.

To show, how images are created in a conceptual way and a persuasive visual message is constructed I will take a look at the means of the classical rhetoric. Rhetoric can also be applied to imagery to improve an argument or message. It could provide the designer with a pool of helpful tools to construct an image with a certain message. The rhetoric could act as a creative method to develop new ideas of visualizing a message. In advertising, the myth of inspiration and the brilliant idea dominate the advertising world. In reality the most original ideas and the most daring advertisements turned out to be transpositions of figures of rhetoric, which have been known and named for over 2000 years. Rhetoric is in fact the repertoire of the different ways in which
one can be ‘original’. Almost all the figures of rhetoric can form springboards for new ideas’ (Osborn, 1959). It is therefore very likely that the creative process could be facilitated and enriched if creators become more aware of the system which, at present, they use intuitively.

Finally I will show how a public can be approached and will end the research with a general conclusion, taking means of interactivity and the social responsibility of the designer into consideration. At the end I will introduce my own final project and show some first idea sketches.

How Thoughts, Feelings and Behaviour are influenced.

The Psychology of Persuasion.

“No psychologist should pretend to understand what he does not understand... Only fools and charlatans know everything and understand nothing.”

(Anton Chekhov, playwright, 1860–1904)
Social Psychology is the study of how social conditions affect human beings. It focuses on the individual and attempts to explain how the thoughts, feelings, and behaviours of individuals are influenced by other people. In a campaigning situation, a messenger is also trying to influence on an individual level with help of the mass communication media. Campaigns try to take influence and focus on the following aspects of the human beings' cognitive system:

1. **Knowledge** The transfer of new knowledge, broaden up or distinguish from already existing knowledge and changing or replacing old or incorrect knowledge (Image 7).

2. **Attitudes** Strengthening or reinforcement of existing attitudes or replacement of unwanted attitudes by desired attitudes (Image 8).

3. **Behaviour** Reinforcement of existing behaviour or changing of behaviour (Image 9).

A campaign can just focus on one of these three concepts, or maybe combine different concepts into one message. On the level of knowledge, information is presented to an audience. A direct influence on attitudes or behaviour is not constructed. To understand more about the concepts of attitude and behaviour, we first need to take a closer look at what they really mean.

**The Role of Attitudes**

An attitude is a hypothetical construct that represents an individual’s like or dislike for an item. Attitudes are positive, negative or neutral views referring to an “attitude object”: i.e. a person, behaviour or event. The strength of an attitude increases with accessibility and knowledge about the topic in question. Attitudes are often learned from other people and are often a defining characteristic of a group. If something is more relevant for your own personality and develops out of a personal or social norm you create stronger attitudes. A strong attitude is very resistant to change.

7. The amount of people dying each year because of bad drinking water are set in relation to the people died of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. The campaign works on the level of knowledge. Forty times more people than in Hiroshima died due to bad drinking water every year. The formula, which is presented in a visual way: 40 x Hiroshima is one glass of water, is much stronger than just depicting a number. The viewer can interpret the number much quicker by this comparison.

8. A positive reinforcement of attitudes referring to an adoption of a child. The child itself is exaggerated and holds the adopter in his arms. ‘Adopt. You will receive more than you can ever give.’

9. A campaign of Greenpeace, showing the viewer where he/she can be more environment-friendly at home. It wants you to use energy saving light bulbs. The activists are downsized so that the lamp is getting more dramatic and important. It reminds the viewer of images seen in real life of Greenpeace activists conquering fabrics.
People often rearrange their attitudes to a specific behaviour to minimize a kind of dissonance (tension) between an actual behaviour and the existing attitudes (Perloff, 2003). The cognitive dissonance theory by Leon Festinger (1957) states that contradicting cognitions serve as a driving force that compels the mind to acquire or invent new thoughts or beliefs, or to modify existing beliefs, so as to reduce the amount of dissonance (conflict) between cognitions. If for example somebody has decided to quit smoking and is convinced about the negative effects but keeps on with smoking, a cognitive dissonance develops between what you think, your attitude ('Smoking is bad for me') and the actual behaviour, still smoking. To minimize this dissonance you have to adapt your behaviour to your attitude, stopping with smoking, or adapt your beliefs and attitudes ('I love smoking and I will stop later') to your behaviour. On the right side you see some examples of Anti-smoking campaigns which try to stimulate a dissonance in the viewer by arguing, when smoking, you smoke up yourself. The images on the bottom depict a lighter and two cigarettes as weapons. The lighter is aiming at the viewer, although the lighter is not the object causing the death. The two cigarettes on the right are presented as a rifle but not aiming at the viewer, the potential smoker. The smoker is a killer him/herself, killing other people by smoking.


11. You smoke up yourself while smoking. The person depicted shows a gesture of smoking. Inside his body, the lungs, burn like the blaze of a cigarette.

12. Smoking is killing. The lighter is pointing at the viewer like a weapon. Is the lighting up of a cigarette already deadly?

13. Smoking kills others. The two cigarettes are forming a rifle, which has just fired, smoke still ascending.
14. Smoking is harmful to your breath, turning the smoker into a goat. Nobody wants his girlfriend to kiss a goat.

15-16. Passive smoking kills your children. In the left image the smoke forms an halo above the child. In the right image the smoke forms a kind of bag, covering up the child’s head causing asphyxiation.

17. Passive smoking kills. The smoking hand is forming a gun towards the man on the opposite side, who already died. As a smoker you kill other people.

How Behaviour is formed

The concept of Behaviour in general refers to the actions or reactions of a human being, usually in relation to its environment. An estimated 5% of our behaviour is planned, 95% is automatic, behaviour we are not aware of. Planned and automatic behaviour is in one continuum. Behaviour which is well reasoned can become a habit or automatic behaviour; automatic behaviour can become planned behaviour again in another situation.

Planned behaviour is behaviour we think about consciously and make considerations about. A high involvement referring to the presented information forms a good basis for planned behaviour. In the Theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) the most important predictor of planned behaviour is the so called behavioural intention, which is an indication of an individual’s readiness to perform a given behaviour (FIGURE 18). This behaviour intention is guided by three kinds of considerations. First how people evaluate the suggested behaviour as positive (attitude) (“How relevant is this attitude?”), second if they think that significant others want them to perform the behaviour (subjective norm) and last but not least the perceived behavioural control, which refers to an individual’s perceived ease or difficulty of performing the particular behaviour. All these three factors play a role in the behavioural intention (motivation) to execute the behaviour in question. The pictures on the previous page depict different approaches how smoking affects the smoker’s

social environment. Smoking can be harmful to your breath (IMAGE 14) and can be deadly for your near loved ones (IMAGE 15-17). It asks the smoker to take responsibility for his/her environment.

In automatic behaviour, attitudes don’t play an important role for determining behaviour. Trying to influence an automatic behaviour is more effective because people do not reflect critically on their behaviour. Influencing automatic behaviour is much more difficult, but still there are some possibilities of breaking through. On the one hand you have to try to break through the routine behaviour, by breaking off a specific stimulus with a specific automatic response. The use of negative, threatening information can also help to break through this automatic behaviour pattern. Negative signals make us aware of a potential danger. It's a kind of surveillance mechanic, positive signals from our environment show us everything is normal, negative ones warn us we have to be more alert (Dijksterhuis & Arts, 2003). The question is to what extent these fear appeals can be explicitly shown? Research shows, that the use of dead and bloody people, more extreme formats of danger and threatening of the body, do not stimulate the wished effect. By exposure to extreme threatening information our brains close up, so that there is no effect on our behaviour. Still fear appeals are used a lot in social campaigns. Fear appeals can be more effective when confirming a behaviour that people have already changed. A person who quitted smoking for example can be visually confirmed in his/her decision, by seeing an extreme image of cancer caused by smoking. Two different examples using fear (IMAGE 19-20) can be found on the left. Fear appeals are very often found in social campaigns and it seems to be an unconscious attention trigger as the use of sex appeals in advertising. The two basic, existential and evolutionary needs of human beings are addressed: the need of reproduction and of survival. A public can be reached, which is not consciously processing the message. Bodily sensations resulting from the exposure to sexual cues or fear cues are interpreted as emotions and give the interpretation of the message a different value.

Another interesting fact is the effect of repetition on automatic information processing. Zajonic (1968) found out that a repetitive exposure to a stimulus (image, product, person) leads to a more positive perception of this stimulus, even when we are not conscious about it. But this stimulus should not be considered negative in advance. An explanation of this effect could be that recognizing a familiar environment makes us feel safe. Also the repetitive re-presentation of a visual message by means of a poster in public space can have a positive effect of memorizing the message.

How Attitudes and Behaviour work together
Do our likes and dislikes guide our behaviour, or do they follow from our behaviour? Do we first evaluate an object and behave consistently (e.g. Woody Allen is a great film director! Let’s watch his new movie), or do we first behave in a positive or negative manner towards an object, and infer our attitudes from that behaviour (e.g. I have seen nearly all his movies, so I guess I like Woody Allen)? Researchers divide attitudes into weak and strong attitudes.
Strong attitudes are persistent over time, resistant to change, and influence information processing and action (Krosnick & Petty, 1995). On the other hand, if an attitude is weak and inaccessible, it will less likely guide action. Supporting the moderating role of attitude strength in the attitude–behaviour relationship, several studies have shown that strong attitudes are more predictive of behaviour than weak attitudes. Strong attitudes will have more impact on behaviour whereas behaviour will have more influence on weak attitudes. Attitudes can also be more general or specific referring to a behaviour. The specific attitudes are more interesting to influence because they are determinant for the behaviour in question.

How Information is processed

After a message is presented the information first has to be processed by the audience. In the past and still nowadays some communication professionals like to make use of simplified linear models of persuasion. One is called the AIDA-reaction model (Strong, 1925), which is especially used in the marketing context (Image 21). First you draw attention, then you create interest, the target group develops a desire and finally they go over to action. The weakness of this theory is its simplification and the fact that it does not take other mediating variables into consideration.

A different information processing theory is the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) developed by Petty and Cacioppo (1986), which is based on characteristics of the source, the message and the audience. Information can be processed on a superficial level (peripheral route of processing) or more profound level (central route of processing) (Image 22). People who follow the peripheral route are not involved in the subject. They have a low need for cognition (ability to think, less intelligent) and are not motivated to process the information, also being not focused on the message can lead to a peripheral route. People who follow the peripheral route are more attracted by messages which are packed with attention drawing cues as humor, sex appeal or the use of celebrities. Also the use of stimulating graphics and prominent illustrations can be used as triggers for this kind of audience. In the peripheral route an attitude change or even behaviour change is difficult to achieve. But the attention or interest created by superficial cues can later maybe help to build up on this interest. People who follow the central route have in general a higher need for cognition (intelligent), are more involved in the topic and are more motivated. They are better information processors and are more convinced by arguments, but of course still need the time and the opportunity to process this information consciously. An attitude change can take place in the long term if the arguments are perceived as strong enough and controllable.

Another way of information processing is presented in the Heuristic Systematic Model (HSM) (Chaiken, 1987). This model is one of a growing family of dual-process theories in social psychology, each of which argues, in some manner, that social judgments can be formed on the basis of more and less thoughtful cognition. People either use heuristics and shortcuts in decision-making or they systematically process the merits and demerits of a given argument.
Heuristic processing is a limited way of information processing that requires less cognitive effort and fewer cognitive resources than systematic processing. The heuristic way of processing information is used when a person has low motivation or ability to process the information systematically. Heuristics are based on our experience and on our environment.

Heuristics are “rules of thumb”, educated guesses, intuitive judgments or simply common sense. You focus on a fact and leave others without consideration. Heuristic processing requires that heuristics are stored in memory (i.e., available), are retrieved from memory (i.e., accessible), and are relevant (i.e., applicable) to the judgmental task at hand. When information is processed heuristically, a person applies simple rules of thumb such as “beautiful people tell the truth”. A lot of other different forms of heuristics have been found by researchers. Another interesting heuristic is the base-rate fallacy: “The finding that people are relatively insensitive to consensus information presented in the form of numerical base rates”. Statistics which summarize the experiences of many people are generally spoken more informative than any single and maybe atypical case. However, as long as a personal anecdote is seen as relevant and the source as credible, it seems that one good image tells more than a thousand numbers (words).

A forth strategy would be the experiential information processing (Meyers-Levy & Malaviya, 1999). This strategy takes the experience of feelings into consideration. Opinions or responses of people are formed by positive or negative feelings, which are elicited by processing an advertising for example. These feelings are then connected with the advertising, which will be transferred onto the product or brand. This experiential strategy is especially used again when people poorly motivated or of inadequate cognition to process the information. In general people do prefer to do as little as possible to process information especially in the case of advertising.

Further investigation of information processing and persuasion theories leads to the Context Effects and Attitude Correction theory that considers whether or not once judgments are formed they are subjected to further consideration or adjustment (Gilbert, 1991). Contextual and other irrelevant information can affect judgments, although, in most cases in conformity with the original judgment. As Meyers-Levy and Malaviya found out, there are three conditions that must be met in order for a person to undertake correction of a judgment: first, the person must realize that irrelevant information may have influenced their initial conclusion about the persuasive message. Second, the person must identify “a naive theory” that might account for why, how, and to what extent the biasing data could have had this effect”. Thirdly, the audience must be willing to generate further cognitive responses. If these conditions are not met the assimilated judgments stay intact whereas if the conditions are met, people will try to discard the influences that biased their opinion/judgment about the message. This theory is much more applicable to the persuasion process as it recognizes that even after a judgment has been made favorable or unfavorable towards a message it is still highly flexible.

How Images elicit Emotions
Psychological studies have confirmed that images tend to elicit more emotional responses while written messages tend to elicit more analytic responses (Chaudhuri and Buck). This is of course a too simplistic interpretation. Some visual appeals are highly rational (bar and line graphs, other visual means of statistical presentation) and words can also elicit emotional responses. Imagistic and concrete words prompt emotional responses more than non-concrete and non-visual words (Campos, Marcos, & Gonzales). Readers construct a mental-image while reading a narrative or descriptive text. Neurological studies also show that while reading a descriptive text the same parts of the brain are activated as when we process visual imagery (Howard et al; Rebotier, Sinatra). Information that is emotionally interesting and concrete
is called in psychological studies, vivid information (Nisbett and Ross). Vividness is a matter of degree; the most vivid type of information would be an actual experience, the least vivid type of information would be abstract, impersonal language or statistics (Image 23). Vivid information tends to prompt more emotional reactions, than non-vivid and seems to be more persuasive (Campos et al). Our minds prefer to take the fastest and easiest route to make decisions. Images offer shortcuts toward the endpoint of making a decision and can prompt the reader to make a relatively quick decision, largely ignoring the more analytical, abstract information.

Many psychologists consider emotions to be a cognitive reaction to some external stimulus (Dillard and Peck). A recognition of a potential danger can result in a range of physiological responses, as for example increased adrenaline and heartbeat, our hair standing up, sweat, etc. Our brain recognizes these responses and interprets them as a kind of emotion (anger, fear, sadness, happiness). These physical responses that we consider as emotions are generally considered to be evolutionary adaptations that help us to deal quickly and decisively with dangerous situations. The emotional response directs our attention to the nearby danger and help us to react quickly without taking the time to analyze the situation and evaluate all of the information that might be potentially relevant. A concrete analysis of the situation could otherwise take too long to eliminate or avoid the danger. When we see images presenting a danger referring to ourselves, the evolutionary response kicks in and we are prompted to make a quick decision. Evolution can explain the existence of the more basic emotions as for example
fear, but complex emotional responses such as love, guilt, envy, etc. are more influenced by cultural forces. Many persuasive appeals use images evoking cultural values, which cause the emotions linked to it. Even abstract symbols can prompt an emotional response. Once an association is created between a picture and a value, the image becomes the symbol for the abstract value and can be used to trigger its associated emotions. Take as example the use of the American flag in persuasive appeals in America. The flag stands for the abstract and complex concept of patriotism. A relationship between the image (the flag), the value of patriotism and the emotional reaction linked to that value has been built. The use of an image that appropriate these kind of emotions and values does not need any explicit argument for their relevance. An affect transfer is achieved, wherein an emotional response from an unrelated object or event is transferred to the product being sold, just by juxtaposition an image of a product with an image of an emotional object or event, and repeating the procedure many times (Kim and Allen). The attitude, opinion or even actions of the viewer are influenced without any consciousness processing appealing to the sympathy ad emotional responses of an audience. Such appeals could also be called pathetic appeals. In the campaign of Amnesty International ‘No one will keep us from seeing’ is played with the power, authority and emotional effect of the flag. Although the combination of the flag and the hidden defilement of human rights creates an ambiguous feeling in this case.

The Creative Side of the Brain

The right side of the brain is responsible for emotions, creativity, motivation and long-term memory. It processes information differently than the left brain. For the right brain, processing happens very quickly and the style of processing is nonlinear and non-sequential. The right brain looks at the whole picture and quickly seeks to determine the spatial relationships of all the parts as they relate to the whole. It seems to relish dealing with complexity, ambiguity and paradox. Most advertising and also social campaigns act on an emotional level, addressing the right side of the brain. This is done by using words, symbols, images and illustrations that are meaningful, familiar, and attractive to people, evoking different kind of emotions. The left side of the brain is responsible for logic, language, reasoning and decision-making. It controls and explains actions that begin in the right brain. The left brain engages in a very systematic, sequential and exact approach to getting the job done. Visualization is a powerful tool that accesses the right brain, the site of emotions and long-term memory. This could maybe explain why emotion-evoking images are so often used, they find an easier and faster way into our information processing with help of the right side of the brain. The viewer is not really consciously aware of what triggered his/her emotional reaction. In the end both sides of the brain are involved in any normal speech or thought, so that it is difficult to say which part of the brain is the most important one.

How Communication works

After getting some general information about attitudes, behaviour, information processing and emotions, I will now divide up the communication process. I will apply social psychological research to the different aspects of this process (the messenger, the message, the recipient, the medium):

The Messenger

The reliability, attractiveness and expertise of a messenger can support the strength of a message. People tend to trust more easily the words and arguments of a specialist who has a stronger influence on planned behaviour. The appeal of the messenger (good looking) is only more important for people who are less involved and motivated to process information. In this case messengers who are seen as beautiful and attractive are evaluated as more intelligent, good and more sociable. This phenomenon is called the ‘halo-effect’. By automatic behaviour it is more important that the messenger
sends out a feeling and look of authority (by means of clothes, language usage) (Milgram's experiments). The use of famous people to convey a message can also be seen as a form of subliminal influence. A source is also more convincing if he or she is more similar to the recipient.

The Sleeper effect (Carl Hovland) refers to the effect of a persuasive message over time even when it comes from a discredible source. The message gets stronger over time in comparison to the effect of the messenger. The human brain is more sensitive to the message than for the messenger.

**The Message**

A social campaign often communicates that you should not act or behave in a specific way and the undesired behaviour in question is explicitly shown (for example: a campaign against excessive drinking, whereby a person totally drunk is depicted). By putting the emphasis on the undesired behaviour people can get the impression that the undesired behaviour (drinking in this case) is the norm (Kuiper, 2002). The actual desired behaviour change is not supported. A better more effective way would be to show the desired behaviour to stimulate an attitude or behaviour change.

In the Anti-drug campaign (IMAGE 26-27) the undesired behaviour is depicted, encouraging visually the use of drugs instead of oppressing it. A message should consist of strong arguments and counter arguments, which makes the messenger more reliable and better in a long term. A message should also consist of opinions and arguments of the target group as well as different opinions, which do not conform with the target groups’ position and attitude, showing a kind of empathy and understanding for their point of view. Otherwise, if a message is too extreme formulated a conflict can develop whereby the target group begins to reject the whole message (Schaalma et al). Putting the strongest arguments at the beginning gives the people also more trust in what is coming after it (Kardes, 2002), especially when the target group is highly involved and motivated.

The framing of the message can also be of influence on how people conceive information. You can put a given argument in terms of a win situation or a loss situation. Tversky and Kahneman found out that putting information in terms of a loss situation is more effective, ‘losses loom larger than gains’.

It seems that negative (threatening) information or signals are more convincing than positive ones. If a target group lacks interest or motivation, communicating the message in more negative terms (as can also be achieved in textual information) will have more impact. This could also help in situations where messages are automatically ignored.

The use of extreme fears lead to more attitude change but not to more behaviour change. The use of such fears and the additional instruction on how to avoid a problem could lead on the other side to a higher degree of attitude and behaviour change (Leventhal, 1970). Another cognitive intervention would be to alter the point of reference of a target group. Attitudes and behaviour can be influenced by changing the point of reference of the target group referring to a topic so that a contrasting effect appears. An example of a bad persuasive method is to encourage people to change their behaviour by referring to specific undesired behaviour. This can have effects which go the opposite...
direction, called the rebound effect. Who tries to avoid thinking about something will have an even stronger thought about it in mind, which will have an unwanted effect on judgment.

A general rule is that a message should neither be too short, nor longer than necessary. Working memory is generally considered to have limited capacity. The earliest quantification of the capacity limit associated with short-term memory was the magical number seven introduced by Miller (1955). He noticed that the memory span of young adults was around seven elements, called ‘chunks,’ regardless of whether the elements were digits, letters, words, or other units. Later research revealed that memory span does depend on the category of chunks used (e.g., span is around seven for digits, around six for letters, and around five for words), and even on features of the chunks within a category. Visual elements/cues can be used by presenting information, which will come back to trigger peoples’ memories to use the learned information (Kardes 2002).

A social campaign should not be designed in an overdriven glossy style. It should not relate to advertising or produce the feeling of being a trick to sell something, people then get suspicious. The structure and presentation of information is more important, people want to get to know quickly ‘what does it mean for me?’ and ‘which action do I have to take?’.

The recipient The level of processing also depends on characteristics of the audience. The need for cognition (ability to think, intelligence), the experience and the involvement with the topic and the age (young generations understand a different visual language than older people) of the recipients play a role in this process. Another variable is the level of self-monitoring of people. The Self-monitoring theory (Mark Snyder, 1974) refers to the process in which people regulate their own behaviour in order to “look good” so that they will be perceived by others in a favorable manner. There is a distinction between high self-monitors, who monitor their behaviour to fit different situations, and low self-monitors, who are more cross-situational consistent in their behaviour. High self-monitors are people who are concerned what other people think of them. Their attitudes and behaviour are not stable and are sensitive for inventions and easier to influence. People scoring low on self-monitoring have a stronger need for arguments. Social influence takes place when attitudes or behaviour of individuals are changed by other individuals and is often covered as a type of persuasion. It gets its power out of the social structure of society with its norms and values which are conditioned in our genes since our childhood and which became an integrated part of our behaviour. These deep rooted behaviour patterns (Cialdini, 2001) can be used, for example. People who have committed in a verbal or written way to an idea or goal, are more likely to honor that commitment. They want to act consistently with an earlier commitment. People are more likely to agree to a small initial request than a large one (‘Foot in the door strategy’). In human interaction people feel obligated to return a favor (Rule of Reciprocation). An example in real life would be the persuasive effect of free samples in marketing. People tend to agree to a smaller request after being confronted with a bigger request (‘door in the face strategy’).

‘Social Proof’ is the phenomena that people tend to do things they see other people doing, especially in collective situation such as concerts, busy streets, etc. In individual situations we also experience the tendency to imitate. The campaign of WWF on the next page plays with this concept and depicts the individual as someone who can save the world by, encouraging the viewer to act like them and being a hero (IMAGE 28-30). Asch’s conformity experiment demonstrates the power of conformity in groups, e.g. people gave wrong answers to stay in conformity with the group. This phenomenon can be described as a kind of peer pressure.
The Medium

By the use of print media, such as posters and folders, the viewer is in control of the time and attention he needs to process information and arguments. It is more effective when complex information is presented. Planned behaviour is more likely to be influenced by this more static medium. Television spots are good to trigger emotions with the help of moving image and music. Like posters, it can stimulate visiting other channels, as for example a website, to gain deeper understanding. To convince an audience by arguments, television is maybe not the best medium to use. People have no control on the speed of the presented information. It is more effective for presenting a simple message. In printed media the viewer can decide how long he/she will read, process specific information. The viewer can control the pacing.

Different Social Campaign Approaches

In general, there could be defined three different concepts for the development of social campaigns: a cognitive, affective, and behavioural approach (Ohme, 2000). Cognitive campaigns are more directed at young people trying to change their beliefs about a subject. The campaigns could be described as a kind of prevention. The actual behaviour (for example smoking) is not yet developed, but an attempt is made to influence the cognitions of the young people, so that they will not engage in this behaviour in the future. Guided by the theory of reasoned action, researchers, for example, identify perceived drawbacks of smoking (it smells, it’s a gross habit, …) and developed print ads that played on these themes. In the mid-eighties, the state of Minnesota started an anti-smoking campaign targeting teenagers (12–13 years) who have not become addicted yet. The campaign image was showing a variety of animals smoking cigarettes, supported by the slogan ‘It looks just as stupid when you do it’ (IMAGE 31-32). The campaign was a big success, children loved it and remembered it. For me, the question stays, how effective this kind of campaign was on a long term. The animals look quite happy and cool while smoking. Does a teenager really think by seeing this campaign, smoking is...
not a natural behaviour and is dangerous? Will it discourage young people to commit smoking at a later stage? By showing animals smoking, the undesired behaviour is focused again, confirming a norm.

The affectively orientated campaigns focus on the feelings associated with smoking. Tobacco advertising has succeeded in linking smoking with relaxation, pleasant effects, and popularity (Romer & Jamiesson, 2001). Anti-smoking campaigns try to counter this in applying classical conditioning and associating a negative imagery referring to smoking. Other ads are playing very obviously on fear appeals.

A third category are referring to behavioural interventions, based on Albert Banduras’ social learning theory. The social learning theory explains how people learn behaviour through observing others’ behaviour. If people observe positive, desired outcomes in the observed behaviour, they are more likely to model, imitate, and adopt the behaviour themselves. Banduras notes that people do not have to be rewarded, like rats or pigeons, to learn new behaviour. He called attention more to the powerful role that observing role models play in social influence. Joly (2008) found out that also just thinking about somebody, a friend or family member, can increase the norm consciousness and this effect can even be transferred to other norms temporarily.

Effectiveness of a Social Campaign
The effectiveness of a campaign is measured by questionnaires or interviews. On the one hand the campaign makers look at its communicative working, which refers to the range of the communication means (How many people received the message?), the appreciation and reputation of the communication (Did people like it?) and the transfer of the message (Did people understand the message?). On the other side it looks at its effects on peoples’ knowledge (Do people know more about the subject now?), attitude (Did their attitude change referring to the topic?) and their behaviour (Did a real behaviour change take place?). A real behaviour change can often not really be measured but rather the intention of people to change their behaviour in question is measured. Further it is checked if the people have developed a need for more information referring to the campaign topic or if the information provided by the campaign is sufficient.

Seeing is a learned Behaviour
In former research scientists tried to approach visual communication in a more reductive and mechanistic way. Imagery usage in advertising was seen as a kind of classical conditioning. Visual perception was passive, an automatic activity, a natural capability based in biology rather than in culture. The active part of cognitive interpretations or judgments of the spectator were not taken into consideration. People would get an affective, unconscious positive or negative reaction to a visual in combination with a brand. “All that is necessary is the contiguous association of a brand or product stimulus with a visual stimulus (…)” (Rossiter & Percy, 1978). The visual was seen as a kind of sensory analogue, rather than as a symbolic form like words or numbers. The rules of seeing we have to learn, are not universal principles but are formed by the natural and social environments that teach us both, what to look and how to look (Cole & Scribner).
Cross-cultural and historical studies have established definitively that the pictures we make actually influence the way we see (Gombrich 1960); seeing is a learned behaviour that involves cognitive activity.

After this short introduction into the world of Psychology, I now want to enter the visual field of persuasion. I want to show how meaning is constructed and a visual argument is formed.

How an Image tells its Story.

The Semiotics.

“A message is a construction of signs and through interaction with the viewer it produces meaning.”

(Fiske, 1990)
A graphic designer is a communication professional and is especially responsible for the translation of a theoretical concept into a visual unity and message. For a designer it is important to understand how an image creates meaning in the viewers’ mind. In the practical work field a graphic designer is a kind of sender who has to transfer information in a clear and understandable way to an audience with help of a visual language. But most of the time the designer is not the actual sender, but just the maker of a specific message. The designer lends his/her voice to a sender. The graphic designer is in this sense a visual engineer (Bielenberg) who creates visual vehicles for information. The viewer who is processing the message cannot be seen as somebody who just takes a passive part in the communication process. Communication is the production and exchange of meaning whereby the spectator with his/her cultural beliefs, values and positions constructs meaning with help of personal interpretation and reflection. ‘A message is a construction of signs and through interaction with the viewer it produces meaning’ (Fiske, 1990). The communication process can therefore not be seen as a one-way direction of the sender but the viewer takes an important active role in it, too. Signs and codes form the basis of meanings in semiotics, whereby communication is understood as a cultural phenomena.

The Study of Signs

Semiotics, ‘the study of signs’, tries to investigate how images create meaning. It offers a range of analytical tools for taking an image apart and tracing how it works in relation to broader systems of meaning. ‘Human culture is made up of signs, each of which stands for something other than itself, and the people inhabiting culture busy themselves making sense of those signs”, Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson (1991). Semioticians depend on a definition of science that contrasts scientific knowledge with ideology. Ideology is knowledge that is constructed in such a way to legitimate unequal social power relations (class, gender, race). For Williamson (1978) advertising is one of the most influential ideological forms in contemporary capitalist societies. Semiotics in this context is centrally concerned with the social effects of meaning. Other semiotic studies concentrate on the image itself as the most important site of its meaning, paying careful attention to the compositional modality of that site.

Images differ of course from other symbolic systems. Separating the units of meaning in a visual statement is more problematic than in language. “The image is syntactically and semantically dense in that no mark may be isolated as a unique, distinctive character (like a letter of an alphabet), nor can it be assigned a unique reference or ‘compliant’. Its meaning depends rather on its relations with all the other marks in a dense, continuous field. (W. Mitchell, 1986). The image can be seen as a pictorial field with marks that, when assembled, suggest objects, a connotative manner, and an order of processing. The simultaneous occurrence of certain objects within a field can suggest a concept, create a fiction, tell a story. Pictures are capable of declaration, comparison, and other kinds of symbolic statements (IMAGE 33).
Two crosses - two meanings. The image shows a kind of form, which people can fill in to support the Red Cross organisation. By cutting of the form to send it away, the symbol of death, the bigger cross, disappears and turns into the Red Cross symbol. Red Cross is a humanitarian organisation, protecting the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance.

Due to the fact that pictures are convention based, all pictures must be interpreted according to learned patterns, processing is than rather cognitively than merely absorbed. The image can be treated as symbolic statements where one symbol system (an image) interacts with what is said by another (words). Heckler and Childers (1992) have proposed that unexpected interactions between image and text can have an effect on memorability. Coupling ideas in unexpected ways is the essence of a rhetorical figure. The cognitive psychologist Roger Shepard (1990) points out how our brain deals with impossible figures. He tells that the human perceptual system is finely tuned to pay attention to unfamiliar objects when they are only slightly different from our expectations. For each shape that our eye encounter, the brain attempts to find a match in a kind of “dictionary” of previously encountered shapes that we build up over the course of our lives (Marr, 1982). If an unfamiliar shape is grossly different from anything else in this dictionary, it will either be ignored entirely or the brain may take the first steps in the construction of a new “entry”. The mental task of fitting a new shape, which just differs partly of the pre-existing one, becomes more complicated. Such partially strange shapes can cause us to pay closer attention.

The Sign
The most fundamental unit of semiotics is the sign. Ferdinand de Saussure (Course on General Linguistics, 1910-11) defined the sign as the basic unit of language. The sign consists of two parts, which are only distinguishable at the analytical level, the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the ‘material vehicle’ (how we perceive a sign’s image: written, drawn, photographed, the shapes, lines, dots, colors, textures) and the signified is the associated concept. Saussure calls the relationship between the signifier and the signified ‘arbitrary’, which means that there is no natural, legal, personal or God-given reason for any signifier to be associated with any signified. The relationship is therefore conventionally and culturally determined. Signs are meaningful only
because they differ from other signs, within a code or structure that organizes these differences. Meaning is a product of difference (image 34).

A context provides a code and a structure in which elements have meaning. These codes are cultural in that they are the rules shared and followed by a community of sign-users. Visual signs may represent an object without any resemblance at all, as a signature may stand for its owner or a cross stands for death. If pictures can denote objects independently of visual resemblance, then we have arrived at the definition of a symbol: denotation by agreement or convention, a sign produced by culture, not nature. If pictures like words, are symbols and do not rely on a concrete referent to signify, then they should be able to denote things other than objects. Saussure had a rather static notion of how signs work and was uninterested in how meanings change and are changed in use. The American philosopher Charles Sanders Pierce suggested that there were three different kinds of signs, differentiated by the way in which the relation between the signifier and signified is understood:

1 **Iconic** The signifier represents the signified by apparently having likeness to it (as for example photographs and maps) (image 35).

2 **Index** The sign refers to something, which is not in the image (you see smoke, but not what produced the smoke). It is about causal relationships and narrative aspects (image 39).

3 **Symbol** Symbolic signs have a conventionalized but clearly arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified. This meaning is constructed by culture, rules and conventions (for example letter, numbers) (image 36-38).

Signs work in relation to other signs. They can come before or after each other or gain their meaning from the signs they are surrounded by (‘syntagmatic signs’). A whole sequence of elements, like a layout, can be called a ‘syntagm’. 

35. An iconic representation of an ice bear, which is in danger due to the rise of the oceans. The signifier represents the signified by apparently having likeness to it.

36-38. Different campaigns using symbols like the Yin Yang, a flag and written language. The Yin Yang emphasizes that a city should live in balance with its surrounding nature. The flag gives us immediately the context. The blue of the flag is substituted with water, showing that the rising sea level threatens the Netherlands. The signature makes human rights a personal matter.

39. A campaign showing two different indexical signs, bullet wholes and imprints of a football. The objects, which caused the wholes and the imprints on the wall are not depicted. Indexical signs are showing a causal relationship and supporting a narrative aspect in the image. The wholes and the wall are standing for war, the imprints of the ball show that also in war zones children play and should have the right to play.
A ‘paradigmatic sign’ gains its meaning from a contrast with all other possible signs. A substitution of a group of elements is called ‘paradigm’.

Any mode of communication can be described in terms of either semantic or syntactic properties. A semantically orientated description focuses on how the elements of a particular mode (images, words, musical tones) are related to their meanings. A syntactically orientated description is concerned with the interrelationships among the elements themselves as they combine to form larger meaningful units. Each mode of communication has its own characteristic combination of semantic and syntactic features. The semantic properties of the various modes are a central concern in semiotics.

How Images create Meaning

Charles W. Morris projects a third category onto an image’s surface: Besides syntax and semantics he also adds pragmatics. These three steps can be seen as an approach to understand how an image creates a cognitive process of signification in the spectator. First a spectator approaches an image by perceiving the general forms and bricks building up the total image. Then the viewer tries to understand the different signs and finally interprets the whole image. The difficulty is to differentiate between visual signs, because often there are no clear boundaries between different parts of an image. Once certain elements have been identified as its signs, their meaning can be explored:

1 Syntax – The Esthetical Level (Form) The syntax is about the relation of signs to each other in a formal structure. It focuses on the form and its single bricks of the rough material. The construction and structure of elements provide the viewer with a kind of hierarchy, what is important and what is less important. A relationship between the different elements is developed.

2 Semantics – The Referential Level (Content) The semantics is about the relation between signs and the things they refer to. It is about the content of the image. The form becomes a sign. The sign is made up of two components, the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the sign’s image as we perceive it, the signified is the mental concept it refers to. This mental concept is broadly common to all members of the same culture who share the same language (John Fiske). Charles Pierce distinguishes between three different relations a sign (signifier) and an object (signified) can have, which are all denotative (eligible, referring to an object, thing, human being ...): Icon, index, Symbol (these 3 relations were already explained). In this stage form is becoming content. The color red for example, which would be the surface treatment of a form, could become a sign for love, danger or socialism.

3 Pragmatics – The Communicative Level (Interpretation) Now a cognitive process of the viewer is taking the different aspects under consideration. The viewer is making associations and tries to understand and evaluate what is seen from his/her perspective. What does the image want to tell us by form and content? The image is becoming a message. The content is turning into a statement or argument. The genre of imagery plays a role in interpreting the meaning.

Another way of describing signs is introduced by Roland Barthes. Barthes posed two orders of signification: The first is the order of meaning, denotation, which is the stage of identification and recognition. It is the level of description. Denotation is the literal meaning of a piece of graphic design (What is the picture of? What typeface?). On this level of meaning the knowledge is bound up with our perception. To understand the denotational meaning the observer requires a low-level cultural knowledge, but it is still culture-specific knowledge.
40. ‘Silent hurts’.
The text operates on a denotative level. It describes what is already shown in the image. The text anchors the meaning of the image, leaving less space for other possible interpretations.

41. In this image the anchorage of the text works on the connotative meaning. It guides the interpreter towards one preferred connotative meaning rather than another. In this case the person is caught like a fish because of his smoking addiction.

On the level of connotation we read in to, interpret; value judgments are made. Connotation is a powerful tool of meaning. It enables the individual to be constructed as a member of a social group because it is where the values and beliefs of a culture interact with the text, images and layouts of graphic design. It is a kind of interface between the individual and a culture. A meaning is generated by the values and beliefs of the culture (Barthes).

The connotational meaning refers to the associations a piece of graphic design has for an individual member of a culture. (What does the image make me feel? What does the typeface make me think of?). The level of connotation asks for a much higher degree of cultural knowledge. Connotational meaning is to be compared with the term ideology. Barthes also calls the signifiers of these connotational or ideological meanings a ‘rhetoric’s’. Every graphic text, image, layout is a visual signifier of ideological beliefs and values. Different cultures are identifiable groups because they share a set of connotations; what an image makes them think and feel is common to the members of a group. Graphic design constructs, reproduces and challenges the identities of groups of people through negotiation of meaning (the acceptance, rejection or contestation of values and beliefs). Graphic design is a cultural activity in that it is one of the signifying systems in which those beliefs and values are communicated, reproduced or challenged. Its products or processes are examples of culture in so far as they reproduce or resist the social order (Williamson).

Barthes also developed ways in which the relation between image and text has been conceptualized referring to its meaning. Anchorage and relay are two metaphorical terms used by Roland Barthes and are seen as the two functions of the linguistic message. Images have many potential interpretations, so called ‘polysemous’; the text limits those interpretations and fixes the meaning. The text in a graphic design piece anchors the meaning of the image and can also advance the action or scene appearing in the image. There are
Mapping the transfers of the different signs. The combination of signs tell us the story.

42-45. "Was last night really worth it? It’s not the drinking. It’s how we’re drinking!" The individual drinkers are suffering of their alcohol consum the night before. They are all caught up in an exaggerated glass, struggling with their responsibilities in their personal social environment the next day. Each image tells its own story.

46. Mapping the transfers of the different signs. The combination of signs tell us the story.


Williamson analyses advertising and talks about certain objects, which become the objective correlates for certain qualities: certain objects become taken for granted as having certain qualities. Ads often transfer certain qualities (beauty, youth, etc) from a photograph of for example a young, good-looking woman to their brand name or product. For Williamson the spatial composition of the advert is important: what is put next to what, how certain elements are framed. Goldman (1992) suggests one way to begin to unravel that complexity is to map the transfers of the different signs. In the campaign on the left side (IMAGE 46) I marked the most important signs of the image (the numbers in the red squares) and show their relationship to each other (white arrows), how the signs effect each other and form a story. Other images of this campaign can be seen on top of the previous page (IMAGE 42-45). They all show individuals, caught up in a glass, struggling the day after drinking in their normal social environment. Each image tells its own story, putting emphasis on the negative social aspects of drinking.

The multiplicity of meanings of signs (polysemous) is limited by the fact that images for example in advertising most of the time create a preferred meaning (Hall, 1980). These preferred meanings (ideologies) become preferred reading when they are interpreted by audiences in ways that retain 'the institutional, political, ideological order imprinted on them. All signs depend for their signifying process on the existence of specific, concrete receivers, people for whom and in whose systems of belief, they have meaning." (Williamson, 1978). First people create meaning by making links between the different signs. Then the viewer tries to give meaning to him or herself from the
product. Finally the viewer becomes created by the ad, in a process called appellation, incorporating the viewer into its signifying world by hailing us, ‘hey you’. Williamson suggests a number of ways in which adverts pull a spectator into their signifying effects like the spatial organization of signs in an image, the visual absences that the viewer is invited to fill in, the written text that draws us in and the use of expressive typography, when an object is transformed to a word and the word becomes a referent of a real object.

The hidden Meaning of Layout

Gunther Kress and Theo Leeuwen analyze layout in terms of three systems: information value, salience and framing. Salience refers to the prominence of different design elements in a layout and the amount of attention they get. The degree of attention an element commands includes foregrounding, relative size, tonal contrasts and focus, for example. Framing is about the way a layout connects or disconnects the elements within it (lines, frames, creating the feeling of belonging together). Horizontal lines have a weak framing effect, vertical lines a strong framing effect. The meaning of the layout and its connotations generated will vary from culture. In the western world people are used to read from left to right. Information value refers to specific ‘zones’ of an image, which carry corresponding informational values. Information value can have three different structures:

1. **Top-Bottom Structure** The ideal is found on the top, the real is found at the bottom (IMAGE 47).

2. **Centre-Margin** Whatever is placed in the center is the nucleus of information, there is little left-right movement, more common in certain eastern cultures (IMAGE 48).

3. **Left-Right Structure** On the left hand side information is found that the viewer already knows, on the right side information which is new (IMAGE 49).

47. A campaign image build up of two billboards, representing a ‘top-bottom structure’. The ideal is found on the top, the real is found at the bottom. ‘Make some noise for those who can’t be heard.’

48. The main information is ‘centered’. The HIV virus is the nucleus of information. By exaggerating of its dimensions it operates as a threat from outer space.

49. A ‘left-right structure’, showing the world how we know it, on the left. On the right a flooded world how it could develop into.
Graphic designers are of course not bound to these rules and can play around with these common forms of layout to create new structures and meaning.

Understanding the basics of semiotics prepares us to have a deeper look at how visual messages can be constructed. I will show in the following chapter how signs and their relationship to each other can be altered with help of the classical rhetoric to create a more persuasive visual message and building up visual arguments.

How to construct Persuasive Powerful Imagery.

*Rhetoric, the Art of Persuasion.*

“Rhetoric is nothing, but reason well dressed and argument put in order.”

(Jan Zamoiski)
The Art of Persuasion

Semiotics tries to analyze and describe the visual as a system consisting of signs, relating to each other. Classical rhetoric as applied to arguments was concerned with the means of giving the greatest possible persuasive power to the written or spoken word. Pictures can also, like words be used to pose arguments, raise questions, create fictions, present metaphors, or even mount a critique and are not intended as faithful copies of reality. The rhetorical activity of visual elements is often overlooked and misinterpreted by researchers because many belief that there is or should be a natural connection between pictures and reality. The fact that images can reproduce the appearance of reality, or aspects of this appearance, also means that they can call forth a variety of ‘pre-programmed’ emotional responses, like anger, delight, etc.

By looking at a lot of different international social campaigns (especially poster campaigns) it is very obvious that messages are not constructed in the most clear and obvious, information based design to bring over a message referring to a behavior change. The imagery often tries in first place to catch the attention of the public by a more artistic associative approach. The additional text information or the logos of sender then have to help to interpret the imagery.

First posters have to make contact with the viewer in a public space and have to compete with a lot of other visual stimuli and information, which is all shouting for attention. Our general urban environment is flooded wit repetitive and clustered information, the audience often uninterested and uncapitive. A lot of these social campaign posters play with the concepts and tension of alienation and recognition (IMAGE 50-52). The alienated objects and forms are based on recognition and stimulate a process of purpose development in the viewer. Alienation is what breaks through the habit, the recognition of a depicted object catches attention, the alienation holds the attention and

50. The world is melting like an ice cream. The ice cream can also be interpreted in terms of consuming. The more we eat, the less will be over.

51. Support the poor at Christmas time. The bauble is replaced for a potato. The potato stands for the poor and can be seen as a basic food supply, which also the poorest can afford.

52. Using a safety belt can save your life. The image depicts a radiogram. The safety belt is used as a connection in the spine. A safety belt saves you in an car accident and protects you from being paralyzed.
stimulates a conscious cognitive process in the viewer (Anke Coumans, 2007). The alienation creates a more appealing intention and triggers a process in the viewer to understand the meaning of the message. The relation between the alienation and the recognizable forms in combination with the text form the basis for the interpretation and judgment of the viewer. In terms of the social psychology this confusion in vision and the resulting cognitive processing would be favorable for the effect of such a message. If we are thinking about the possible alienations of recognizable forms or images, thus thinking about something familiar in an unexpected way, we enter the field of rhetoric.

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion and gives possibilities to the designer to construct appropriate messages. The purpose of rhetoric is the efficient use of language in order to shape attitudes in others and influence their behavior. Rhetoric is concerned with the functional organization of verbal discourse or messages. It operates on the basis of logical and aesthetic modes to affect interaction in both a rational and an emotional way. According to Aristoteles, rhetoric is concerned with “discovering all the available means of persuasion in any given situation” either to instruct an audience (logos rational appeal), to please an audience and win it over (ethos ethical appeal), or to move it (pathos emotional appeal).

Choice is a key term in rhetoric as well as design, as both pertain to making appropriate selections of means to achieve a desired end. Design, as communication-orientated discipline, is governed by pragmatic motivations and functional considerations. This gives design a rhetorical dimension. At the point that a designer shapes information or makes it sensually perceptible, the process of rhetorical infiltration starts. Rhetorical figures can be viewed as construction principles that can assist designers in their search for refining their visual concepts. They do not represent specific recipes but should be more considered as exploration tools that can spur lateral thinking, giving the designers the awareness of possibilities to make the best choice.

The Rhetorical Dimension of Images
Rhetoric can be used as an interpretive theory that frames a message as the speakers’ attempt to influence an audience. The sender’s intention is understood to be manifest in the argument (an address or composition intended to convince or persuade), the evidence, the order of argumentation and the style of delivery. The formal elements are chosen by the sender keeping in mind his/her audience the message is communicated to. The sender therefore crafts the message in anticipation of the audience’s probable response, using shared knowledge of various vocabularies and conventions, as well as common experiences. The message will be evaluated and processed by the receiver with help of the same body of cultural knowledge. Cultural knowledge thus provides the basis for normative interaction and persuasion (McQuarrie & Mick, 1992). If we want to give constructed images a rhetorical dimension, visuals must have certain characteristics and capabilities (Scott, 1994):

1 Invention of an Argument Visual elements must be capable of representing concepts, abstractions, actions, metaphors (Substitution based on underlying resemblance), and modifiers.

2 Arrangement of Argument In a visual arrangement there must be the possibility to guide the order of visual elements.

3 Delivery of an Argument Visual elements must also carry meaningful variation in their manner of delivery, such that the selection of style or point of view shown can suggest an intended evaluation.

The rhetorical intention behind a visual message would be communicated by the selection of one perspective (close-up, aerial view, etc) over another, a certain style of illustration versus another, this layout but not this layout. All picturing is therefore rhetorical, mere copying of the natural/object never
occurs. Response to such selective communication would necessarily draw on a shared visual vocabulary and a learned system of pictorial conventions (McCracken, 1987). Pictorial conventions are neither natural nor self-evident but are formed by the purposes of the representation, as well as the viewing habits of the culture (Gombrich, 1960). Images and words as well can be described as information in symbolic form, as messages that must be processed cognitively by means of complex combinations of learned pictorial schemata and that do not necessarily bear an analogy to nature.

**How Rhetorical Figures work**

A rhetorical figure can be defined as a person-independent norm or as a person-dependent norm. A person-independent norm means that there is an artificial manipulation of the standard form of the basic proposition (for example in advertising: ‘A product x has a positive feature Y’). A person-dependent norm refers to an artificial variation of individual expectations. This person-dependent notion of a rhetorical form comes from the American semiotic tradition. Every sign is functional and signs develop in the head of the recipient, nothing is a sign till it is processed in the individual recipient as a sign.

The imagery of social campaign posters can become capable of highly sophisticated rhetorical tasks through variations in the selection of viewpoint, style, and context, as well as through references or interactions with other texts and systems. Spectators draw on a learned vocabulary of pictorial symbols and employ complex cognitive skills. Thus images in social campaigning (also in advertising) can be understood as a discursive form, like writing, capable of subtle nuances in communication, and like numbers, capable of facilitation abstraction and analysis.

The possibility to take an approach of rhetorical analysis to analyze visual matters was first suggested by Barthes in ‘Rhetorics of the image’. ‘This rhetoric’, he marked, ‘can only be constituted on the basis of a fairly broad inventory, but even at this stage we can foresee that we will find in this rhetoric several of the figures collected in former times by the Ancients and the Classics.’ Barthes proposed a preliminary division of the figures of rhetoric into two large classes: the metabolas, based on the substitution of one signifier for another (paradigm) (examples of this kind of metaphorical figures would be: wordplay, metaphor, metonymy), and the parataxes based on the modification of normally existing relationships between successive signs (syntagam) (as for example: anaphora, ellipsis, suspension). Descriptions of specific rhetorical figures can be found in the appendix.

In 1965 Gui Bonsiepe made an approach in his article Visual-verbal rhetoric to analyze existing advertisements with help of a collection of rhetorical figures, but without really using a kind of system. With help of this list of rhetorical figures he tried to analyze advertisements (examples of rhetorical figures in social campaigns can be found on page: 66–67).

There were a lot of people of different areas trying to categorize and creating systems helping to describe visual rhetoric. Since antiquity people have tried to categorize rhetorical figures. Jaques Durand, who also takes advertising image as its visual subject defines rhetoric more as “the art of fake speech”. He argues that most things said in a more rhetorically ‘figured language’ could also be expressed in a simpler, more direct and neutral manner. For him, rhetoric is in sum a repertory of the various ways in which we can be ‘original’. For Durand the multitude of classical figures can be reduced to a small number of fundamental operations. There are two main fundamental operations for rhetorical figures: Addition and Suppression (includes Substitution and Exchange). Besides these operations Durand distinguishes
five relations, which can be established between these significance unities (identity, similarity, difference, opposition, false homologies). This scheme seems quite transparent (IMAGE 53). However literature shows that there is an overlap between the categories of ‘difference’ and ‘opposition’ and ‘opposition’ and ‘similarity’. Also the question rises if it is necessary to use two different subcategories in the operation of suppression: substitution and exchange. Further Durand does not explain why he places specific rhetorical figures in specific cells. Sometimes the question rises if they are placed well, others miss. On the next page examples can be found of rhetorical figures used in campaigns (IMAGE 54-59).

McQuarrie and Mick define verbal and visual rhetoric as an artistic deviation of what the public expects. The deviation is based on an underlying scheme. They differ between simple verbal and visual rhetoric in the form of schemes and more complex verbal and visual rhetoric in the form of tropes (IMAGE 60). Schemes, word figures, are related to the meaning of a word and are defined as departures from the ordinary position of words in a sentence, they are more stylistic decorations, as for example a rhyme or a repetition. They can be recognized in sensorial way and have no real meaning. Schemes do not have to be interpreted. It is a deviation of the standard form of the basic proposition because of an unprecedented regularity. In this way attention is focused on the design.

Tropes, thought figures, are more related to the information and arrangement of the information and are defined as departures from the ordinary signification of words or idioms. They are very meaningful, implicit and irregularly and work on the semantic aspect of a message. A message consisting of a trope has to be reinterpreted by the recipient. There is something which has to be solved and therefore the spectator has to search for clues. ‘The reader has to fill in what is missing’ (McQuarrie & Mick, 2003). Using a trope is thought
54. **Metonymy**
Parts of names of alcohol brands form the word ‘Skullfracture’. The combination of these logos suggest an actual relationship with the consum of alcohol and a Skullfracture. The context is anchored by the text, ‘don’t drink and drive’.

55. **Synecdoche**
Substitution of a part for the whole. The hands stand for help. The campaign wants you to donate money to help people affected with the Parkinson disease, giving them a helping hand by donating money.

56. **Amplification**
A selection of key elements concerning the topic of CO2 production are shown to enhance the argument. The different objects producing CO2 are arranged in a metaphorical way. The arrangement reminds the viewer of a gun. The text confirms this visual statement: CO2 kills.

57. **Metaphor**
A comparison is made between a sponge and a golf course. A single golf course sucks away 15,000 m2. It sucks water away like a sponge, the function of the sponge is a nice and easy way to illustrate the problem and relate, also by colour, in an abstract way to reality.

58. **Personification**
Human qualities are assigned to the washing machine. ‘Think about what it consumes before buying’. The overconsumption of water or energy is shown in form of a fat washing machine, like a human being who consumes too much and turns fat.

59. **Hyperbole**
An exaggeration of a single can of dissolvent, which can pollute millions of litres of water. The exaggeration illustrates the impact and danger in a more vivid and convincing way.
to break through habituated perception, skepticism, boredom, or resistance. It presents a proposition in a new fresh way, so that the audience experiences a familiar issue from an unexpected view. The audience has to engage in metaphorical thought, which could be described as a kind of abstract thinking. The trope is not absorbed automatically or peripherally, a conscious cognitive process in the audience is stimulated. Different tropes, however, tend to be formed by different kinds of interactions of signs: identifications (metaphor), contradictions (irony), adjacencies (metonymy), and so forth. Tropes can just be understood with foreknowledge or other elements of the message. Cultural knowledge, knowledge about the genre (for example advertising) or the topic or product which is communicated in the message are necessary for interpretation. A rhetorical figure therefore can focus on an operation with the shape of a sign (the signifier, syntactic figure) or an operation with the meaning of the sign (signified, semantic figure).

McQuarrie & Mick (1996) differ in their model first between the level of figuration, there can be a rhetorical figure or not. Inside the rhetorical figures you can find two different possibilities, schemes and tropes. The schemes can be divided into Repetition and Reversal, the tropes in substitution and destabilization to categorize different figures of speech. This kind of artistic deviation of signs can also be helpful to catch the attention of people. People are nowadays confronted with 300-1000 advertisement messages a day. Advertisements which makes use of rhetoric are better remembered and evaluated more positive than advertisements without rhetoric means (Tom & Eves, 1999). This positive evaluation just happens when the deviation can be linked to a relevant interpretation (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). If the public succeeds, it will have a satisfying experience and therefore a positive opinion. By failure of interpretation people can get frustrated and a negative feeling with the experience could lead to a negative opinion (Meyers-Levy and Malaviya, 1999). Rhetoric should not be too difficult, nor too easy to be interpreted, otherwise the public also feels underestimated.

The viewer gets convinced by the feeling that the maker of the message has stimulated their intelligence and senses in the right way.

The Power of Visual Rhetoric

Phillips and McQuarrie (2004) are presenting a categorization of visual rhetorical forms (IMAGE 61). Their categorization just refers to artificial deviate forms. According to Philipps and McQuarrie a rhetorical form consists of two elements of significance. The visual construction of the rhetorical form can differ (juxtaposition, fusion and exchange) and the operation of significance between the unities of significance (connection, comparison on the basic of similarity and comparison on the basic of opposition). By using a juxtaposition, two unities of significance (two images or signs) stand next to each other (IMAGE 62). Fusion is when two elements of significance are combined (IMAGE 63). Philipps and McQuarrie talk about exchange when one element...
is exchanged for another (IMAGE 64). Besides the visual construction they define three significance operations, a kind of relationship which exists between the single elements. ‘Connection’ refers to the fact that one element is associated with another, one element can be a part of the other. Further two elements can establish a relationship of ‘comparison’, with puts emphasis on ‘similar’ aspects or on ‘oppositional’ aspects between the two objects. The categorization shows simple rhetorical figures as well as more complex forms, which stimulates different possible interpretations.

**Persuading the Audience**

The classical means of logos, ethos and pathos are still relevant in modern argumentation and its relationship in how the public is approached and convinced. According to Aristoteles, rhetoric is concerned with “discovering all the available means of persuasion in any given situation” either to instruct an audience (logos, rational appeal), to please an audience and win it over (ethos, ethical appeal), or to move it (pathos, emotional appeal). In a social campaign these three different kinds of argumentations can also be found to convince a public. The classical rhetoric was based on ideas and intuitions. Present research is more focused on empirical research. The following description of logos, ethos and pathos by Hoeken (2001), show the relationship between


62. A ‘Visual Juxtaposition’ of bullets and a cigarette. The meaning operation can be categorized as a comparison on similarity. Both can be deadly.

63. A ‘Visual Fusion’ is established by combining the skin of the person with a battered car body. The meaning operation is based on opposition. A battered car body can be more easily fixed than the skin of a human being.

64. A ‘Visual Replacement’ by replacing the car with a bed. The meaning operation is based on opposition. A car is not a bed, while driving, you should not sleep. ‘Sleep before you drive’.
the attributes of a message and the process of conviction of the spectator in nowadays-empirical research and refers more to the kind of message and argumentation than specific referring to the visual aspect. The kind of argumentation used, the manner in which you approach the public is important in translating it into a visual argument. Arguments are supposed to be tools of persuasion and supply us with reasons for accepting a point of view. Traditionally seen arguments are verbal constructions. In the context of social campaigns (or advertising) an argument consist of both, imagery and text.

65. ‘Bad water kills more children than war’. The boy turning his toy water weapon towards his head. Ready to kill himself with water. It seems ridiculous but the message is clear, water kills! Looking into the big brown eyes of an innocent child strengthens the message and makes the viewer guilty if he or she will not act and donate. This example shows a combination of Ethos and Pathos.

66-68. ‘Has he/she been good enough to get something for Christmas?’ Poor, desolate children in foreign countries are depicted in public space. The statements on the shirts do not fit to the children. The statements belong to wealthy children. It creates an ambiguous feeling.

The Conviction Process and Logos: The Role of Argument Quality
If the spectator is motivated and cognitively capable, he/she will base a decision on evaluating the arguments carefully. An argument can be described as strong when this argument produces positive feelings on the spectator after processing, a weak argument would produce a more negative feeling on a critical viewer (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Rieke and Sillars (1984) differ between an argumentation based on analogy (anecdotal evidence is used to support the point of view), an argumentation based on generalization (statistical evidence is presented) and causal argumentation (cause and consequence as evidence). McGuire (2000) sees an important difference in the classic rhetoric’s and the present rhetorical research. Empirical research shows that statistical evidence is seen as more convincing in an argumentation then anecdotal or causal evidence.

The Conviction Process and Ethos: The Role of Heuristic Cues
If the public is approached with ethos, a systematic processing whereby the public is guided by the quality of the arguments does not take place. The spectator does not carefully investigate the arguments due to a lack of motivation or cognition. Research also shows that people often have difficulty in the evaluation of arguments (Garssen, 1997). Out of this reason people make use of so called heuristics. Heuristics are “rules of thumb”, educated guesses, intuitive judgments or simply common sense. You focus on a fact and leave others without consideration. When information is processed heuristically, a person applies simple rules such as ‘beautiful people tell the truth’, ‘the majority will be right’, ‘he is an expert, he will tell the truth’, ‘it is his own fault’ (rules of thumb). The use of rules of thumb can lead to a right conclusion but not always. The use of an argumentum ad misericordiam (argument from pity or misery) is often used to stimulate people to donate money in a donation campaign for people suffering from hunger, illness or a nature catastrophe. As the suffering is getting more intense for the people in question, people will
donate more money. But if the help-seeking people are seen as responsible for their problems, an audience is less willing to donate.

Weiner (1980) tries to describe the willingness of people to help in a model, called the attribution-emotion-action model. The request to help somebody is evaluated in how far the person/people are responsible for the problems they have (attribute). The resulting answer will create an emotion. If the help-seeking people are not seen as responsible for their problems, people will feel pity and sympathy (emotion) and will be stimulated to help (action), in this case donate money. If you feel the people are responsible for their problems, people get heated (emotion) and will not offer any help (action). Out of this reason a lot of times help organizations make use of children due to the fact that children by definition are seen as innocent or they state explicitly that the people in question are not responsible for their problems. Another way to express the problems of a bigger group of people is the use of an exemplum, the story of one specific person standing as a model for of a bigger group. Research shows that also the use of an exemplum can determine if people donate or not depending on if this individual is seen as responsible or not for his/her suffering. A single starving child depicted becomes undeniably more present to the viewer, whereas the million individual children whose tragedy and suffering are summed up in a statistic are not. A photograph also proves the existence of this child more than a verbal description (IMAGE 65-68).

The conviction Process and Pathos: The Role of Experience Processing

In a lot of images the structure of arguments or heuristic cues misses, the opinion created is than more based on the feelings people create during the signification process. If the processing of the message is experienced as pleasing, as a result of humor or finding the solution for a kind of riddle, the message is seen as more favorable (Meyers-Levy, 1999) (IMAGE 69-70). If the emotional experience is negative, a negative opinion is more likely. This way of processing can be called experience processing. An important determinant for the nature and intensity of the evoked emotions are the use of rhetorical style figures. In the classical rhetoric this could be described as the influence of the public by ‘delectare’, to delight, viewed by Cicero as one of the three goals of rhetoric. In current advertisements and social campaigns, style figures play an important roll. Research shows that the image itself gets more attention than the text area. In advertising the images rarely just show a simple representation of the product itself.

The Dialogic Image

These classical approaches can still be seen as a categorization nowadays in attempting to influence and approach a public. In a visual persuasion the voice of the argumentation is seen in the kind of graphical style used. Communication is a construction. Designers are not the senders but the makers. The makers lend their voice to a sender. Real talking is different and more direct; it is your voice, your intonation, words, content and voice. In a talk,
The question is further how the viewer is involved in the process of persuasion. An image and its message can be based on the one hand more on fear or it can be more educational, leaving less space for interpretation. On the other hand an image can also be constructed more democratic and dialogic to give the viewer a role in the process of signification. You have to start where your audience is. A designer should not create an image which is closed in itself, but rather try to stimulate a visual-cognitive dialogue between the message and the public, creating mental space and opportunity for interpretations of the viewer.

The dialogical image is so constructed to gain new information. It is dynamic and stimulates development (Flusser 2003). The communication of the mass media is often constructed in a more discursive manner, where the technical image (photo, television, film) is used as communication, where the intention is to bring over some kind of information without any changes in processing. As it is communicated, it has to be understood. In this kind of communication structure there is not much space for the spectator. The message is ready, modifications are not possible and it is easy to be consumed without any cognitive effort.

The dialogical image develops and is created from out the conceptual image. In the conceptual image the transfer of the message is central. It is not just about the expression of the maker but also about the transfer, the signification process inside the viewer. In the visual translation of a message the sender and the recipient get a space in the code of symbols in the communication. Both be/are integrated in the visual expression. A ‘me’ of the maker creates and addresses or stimulates a ‘you’. In an argumentation where two or more people are involved in a discussion, arguments are exchanged leaving space for the different people involved. A persuasion is reached when the other is convinced by the arguments used. In a situation that an image gives arguments referring to a specific topic the viewer should get space to formulate his own arguments and compare it with the one(s) presented in the visual form.

Visual social campaigning should not be a one-way communication, although an image of course always stays an one-way communication. It refers more to the mental space you leave your audience to process the image. Images, which are very aesthetic are already finished. The viewer cannot finish the story himself. A design should facilitate and make a dialogue possible.
The viewer should be integrated in the process of argumentation. The viewer should be able to finish the story cognitively. The use of Rhetoric invites and stimulates the viewer to take part in a conscious cognitive processing of the image to understand and interpret the transferred message.

On the previous page you see a campaign against forced marriages in Switzerland. The campaign shows three different residential houses (IMAGE 71-73). They could be described as middle/upper middle class houses. The images of the houses are digital manipulated and alienated. Windows and doors have been eliminated. The images emanate a strange intriguing atmosphere. The pictures pose a lot of questions to the viewer, ‘What is going on here? What happened?’. The image is polysemous referring to its meaning. The caption of the image anchors how the image has to be understood. The image stimulates a cognitive process in the viewer. It triggers the thoughts of the viewer to gain more information. The viewer wants to understand what he/she sees, wants to solve the visual riddle. Human beings want to know the why and how. This is also how a (script) writer constructs a successful story. The audience watching a daily soap for example, getting information piece by piece, watching the different scenes from cliffhanger to cliffhanger just to satisfy the need to get to know what will happen next, what has happened in the past etc. I think that also a social campaign should stimulate and motivate this need in the viewer to gather more information to finish the story and getting more involved into the specific topic.

Visual Argumentation. A Conclusion.

“Designers are to our information age what engineers were to the age of steam, what scientists were to the age of reason. They set the mood of the mental environment. They create the envy and desire that fuels the economy and the cynicism that underlies our postmodern condition.”

(Kalle Lasn, founder of Adbusters, 1999)
The Visual Argument

Arguments supply us with reasons for accepting a point of view. Traditionally an argument is pragmatically verbal and essentially propositional. A vague or ambiguous image aiming to depict a visual argument cannot make an argument. The viewer cannot tell what we are being asked to concede, and we cannot decide whether to agree or whether the alleged conclusion follows. The presence of text in for example posters often function as a help to interpret the image and limit its content. It is often more a visual plus verbal argument. The image on the right (IMAGE 74) is an example of a visual argument which is ambiguous, the text of course anchors the meaning. It is not clear what it wants to tell, will we adapt to climate change by changing to a fish like creature, going back in evolution, or something else? Nonetheless the image stays intriguing and makes the viewer curious through an alienation of the human being. It is challenging our own identity.

The advantage of visual arguments over print or spoken word lies in their evocative, immediacy power and realism. Visual images can be used to convey a narrative in a short time. We do not just imagine the narrative, we “see” it unfolding before our eyes. Seeing is, can be believing, even if what we see is invented, exaggerated, half-truths or lies. The arguer must know and relate to the beliefs and attitudes of the intended audience, but also to the visual imagery that is meaningful to them. The visual imagery must be known and understood by the audience, consciously or unconsciously. The arguer needs also to be sensitive to the surrounding argumentative ‘space’ of the audience, because sometimes a part of the argument remains tacit or unexpressed. Visual arguments are typically enthymemes – arguments with gaps left to be filled in by the participation of the audience. An audience gets more easily involved in a visual argument and in just the way the arguer intends. The arguer should not just rely on the cooperation of the audience or its powers of sympathetic imagination. Visual argumentation is likely to be more efficient than its verbal counterpart. Further imagery can evoke involuntary
reactions. The effects of various symbols, like for example the use of the American flag in a visual message, can elicit emotions of pride and patriotism. Using people of authority or expertise conveying an argument is another symbolism learned by conventional associations (it is an appeal to ethos). An appeal to the character or stature of a person or a role to lend credibility to what is portrayed. The use of such symbolism in visual arguments can almost guarantee the ethic and pathetic rhetorical influences that the arguer intends. A lot of visual persuasion is therefore more unconscious causation and not rational persuasion. It evokes feelings and tries to influence by associations, affect transfer and use of visual symbols and does not use an argumentation in the traditional sense. A lot of advertising can better be called visual influence then a visual argument. The visual can add drama and force of much greater order, using devices as references to cultural icons and other symbolics.

The visual has an immediacy, a verisimilitude, and a concreteness that help influence acceptance and that are not available to the verbal. An important question would be how images could be used to prompt sustained reflective thinking instead of using them to discourage it? If you want to lead a serious argumentation you want the audience to think consciously about the arguments used, taking an active part in the process of persuasion. A conscious processing of an argument would also facilitate and stimulate an actually attitude or behaviour change inside the viewer, which is often tried to be achieved in social campaigning.

Six Principles of Sticky Ideas
In the book ‘Made to Stick’, Chip Heath and Dan Heath talk about the six principles of sticky ideas (abbreviated: SUCCES), which can also be taken into consideration by making a social campaign message stickier to an audience:

1. **Simplicity** How do we find the essential core of our ideas? We must create ideas that are both, profound and simple.

2. **Unexpectedness** How do we get our audience to pay attention to our ideas, and how do we maintain their interest when we need time to get the ideas across? We need to violate people’s expectations. Get people’s attention by surprising them and break their guessing machines. Hold their attention by creating a mystery to hold their interest.

3. **Concreteness** How do we make our ideas clear? We must explain ideas to you in terms of human actions and in terms of sensory information, use concrete images. Help people understand and remember, make abstraction concrete and put people into the story. Help people coordinate.

4. **Credibility** How do you make people believe and agree on your ideas? Sticky ideas have to carry their own credentials. Help people believe, by using authority or anti-authority. Use convincing details, make statistics accessible and give people examples.

5. **Emotions** How do you get people to care about your ideas? We make them feel something. Appeal to self-interest and identity.

6. **Stories** How do we get people to act on our ideas? We tell stories. Use stories as simulation and inspiration.
These principles are a kind of short summary of important issues we should keep in mind when producing a social campaign or campaigns in general, to bring a specific idea over to an audience. In the previous chapters some tools have been described and knowledge has been presented helping to achieve, to make a message sticky and stimulate an attitude or behaviour change in the viewer. Making a message sticky is maybe the first step to achieve this change.

**What’s the Responsibility of the Designer?**
As designers, we can influence the public’s cognitive awareness. The role of the designer should not just be to be a servant of the commercial market but create a certain kind of social responsibility and affinity with issues important for the society and the individual human being.

"Over 95% of the designers who have ever lived are alive today. Together, we have the power to define what professionalism in the communications industry will be about: helping increase market share or helping repair the World. Communications professionals have more conspicuous power than they realize, and play a core role in helping some corporations mislead audiences in order to invent unfulfilled "needs" in larger and larger markets. In a World where design has become a recognized corporate asset, creative people have the opportunity to use their persuasive skills responsibly and to accelerate awareness of the messages the world really needs to be shared. Recent developments regarding professionalism and ethics offer hope. Designers and other professionals need to choose what their still-young professions will be about: creating visual lies to help sell stuff, or helping repair the World by bridging knowledge and understanding." (David Berman)

At the beginning of the 20th century Otto Neurath already stated that the graphic designers' primacy roll should be to serve the needs of society. Otto Neurath Isotype movement is an excellent example from an attempt to meet these social needs. He wanted to educate the people referring to social and economic matters in order to pave the way for social change. Neurath must be seen as an important pioneer in the field of visual education in a period where people were not very receptive to the idea of learning through the eyes. He saw the picture language as an additional language which could exist next to other languages. He believed that in certain situations pictures could speak more clearly and with a greater chance of their message being remembered, than numbers or words. For Neurath picture language was less emotive than verbal language. "The picture language is an education in clear thought - by reasons of its limits... Pictures make connections, words make division." He believed that picture language was effective across a wide range of ages and abilities and that a food pictorial chart could speak as clearly, maybe differ in some respect, to a young child or to an intelligent adult. Picture language is less linear than written language. It is easier to make comparisons and see relationships between things. An aim of using abstract symbols or pictograms to visualize more complex data is to bring big numbers, or difficult scientific ideas into a human scale, to give them context in which people will understand them. Information design can help to tell your story and can be used as an advocacy too, for outreach or for education. It brings form and structure to information and can be called or elicit a more conscious process of persuasion. On the next page you see a campaign presenting their message in a more a more neutral, informative and educative manner (IMAGE 75) and an example of Otto Neurath’s information graphics at the beginning of the 20th century (IMAGE 76).

Neurath left out the emotional aspect of persuasion, but which is nowadays in our media society difficult to leave out. Social campaigning it is also not
just about education but about addressing different kind of problems to a specific group, creating awareness and convincing people to change attitudes or behaviour. The emotional level cannot be overlooked in this context and has often to be used to convince a public or find an excess to a human beings’ cognitive processing. For me as a young professional in the design scene, just starting his career, it is obvious that I do not just want to serve the needs of commercial business but want to use my visual communication skills and knowledge of psychology to help communicate ideas, which can serve the needs of society. If this will be in the context of non-profit organizations or organizations, which are specialized in social campaigns or just creating your own social projects, I do not know yet. Maybe these thoughts are too idealistic at this point in time, but it is obvious that a designer should be more conscious about his/her visual communication abilities and use them in a way, that it can help solve problems in society or at least help make people consciousness of them.

If we look at all the different variables which can be of influence in a persuasion process it is difficult to give a standard recipe for creating a certain message with maximal effect. It always depends on variables, which cannot be controlled, but the knowledge of this thesis can give a designer specific basic knowledge to think and take into consideration by creating a visual argument to persuade a public. Understanding how human beings process and experience information and being conscious about how visual messages can be created, can form a first step for a designer, who can better reason about choices he makes in the visualization process. A designer should always be aware of his/her design choices and its effect on the process of significances of the viewer and the target group.

Sex vs Fear
Social campaigns try to persuade people on much more difficult and complex issues than for example advertising. Advertising is always about addressing the viewer as a potential consumer, stimulating to buy the product in question. Its rhetorical dimension is often just to combine products with imagery, that elicits positive emotional reactions. Not a (visual) argument, based on facts, is presented but unconscious connections of the product and emotions are stimulated. The use of heuristics, sex and humor is omnipresent in this context to address the consumers’ attention or unconscious, supported by the constant repetition of the message. Consumer behaviour in a shopping context can often be described as impulsive. Unconscious justifications and decisions take control over our purchasing behaviour. People think they are in control of what they buy, but unfortunately most of the times they are not. The unconsciousness is manipulated and distorted by advertising in a higher
degree then we want to believe. Social campaigns often make use of the same visual language as advertising. Most of the social campaigns of course are presented in the same public space and context where also advertising is shouting for attention. It has to compete against advertising. In advertising a visual arguments, convincing the public to buy a specific product, is often build up with help of sex appeals; although the product maybe has nothing to do with sex (the product makes you more sexy, women/men will find you more attractive, etc). With using sex as part of the argument, the audience is approached with ethos. A systematic processing, whereby the public is guided by the quality of the arguments, does not take place. Sex helps to reach an audience which is not carefully investigating the arguments due to a lack of motivation or cognition.

In social campaigns on the other side fear is often used to get the attention of an audience. By using fear the public is more approached by pathos. The public will then try to explain the negative feeling coming up in their minds. If the spectator is motivated and cognitively capable, he/she will base a decision on evaluating the arguments carefully, having a deeper look at the visual argument presented. This means that with fear you also have to approach the viewer with logos. The viewer wants to find the reason or solution for the fear and danger he/she is visually confronted with. After having experienced fear in first place a more conscious processing of the message takes place. With using sex or fear in a visual argument, two existential and evolutional needs of human beings are addressed: the need of reproduction and of survival. By triggering the viewer’s survival instinct, a more consciousness processing of the message is stimulated. For social campaigns, often aiming to change complex behaviours, it is very important to stimulate a conscious process. Advertising in general, using sex as part of the argument, does not need these conscious processing viewers. The unconscious causation (sex) to buy the product can then already be enough.

If a social campaign uses fear, the visual argument needs a visual or verbal rational proof of the message stated. If a social campaign wants to change complex behaviours and attitudes it has to be trustworthy and has to persuade with rational facts, convincing the public by showing the risks of a certain behaviour. Fear should not be the only visual argument presented. An image or message is not always immediately understood by the audience. An impression of a strong, intriguing image stays in the memory of the viewer for a while. It can even raise later questions and doubts. The viewer then tries to interpret and understand, keeping the image in his/her memory and stimulating an active cognitive process. Then, suddenly he/she gets the point.

Instead of putting to much emphasis on fear, a message can also be more educative, presenting facts or solutions from which people can learn from. Some people like to ignore information which is presented in an imperative, ‘you have to behave like this otherwise you are in danger’. Another possibility would be to create a visual argument which gives the audience more mental, narrative space to process the message, leaving in the first place more opportunities for interpretation and conclusions. People have to finish the story mentally by themselves and should be triggered to look for more information concerning the topic. I would describe this kind of images as dialogic. I think that different kind of target groups ask for different approaches. Some need more fear and warning to be persuaded or triggered to process the information more precisely. Others, more cognitive based people maybe want to be stimulated and persuaded by a dialogic image. Images should be constructed in such a way, that they relate to the knowledge of the attended audience. If you as a designer are aware of the possibilities, you can mix the ingredients as fear, education, warning and dialogue into one visual argument and decide where to put the emphasis on. Social Psychology can give an insight in how people process information and help designers to be more conscious about how people react and behave relating to a persuasive message. The context
of social campaigns ask for images and messages which are well constructed. The Rhetoric can help to create a visual argument with persuasive power. It gives a repertoire of possibilities and choices for the designer to manipulate, change and sharpen relations between different signs and objects in an imagery. It could help to make design choices in a less intuitive way.

Interactive Interventions

A poster campaign can form the start (maybe in combination with a television spot) to trigger people’s attention towards a specific topic. Often these mediums are supported by the internet and interventions in real life. Campaigns make use of people and groups, which are also involved in the problem or can reach the target group in a personal setting (like doctors, teachers, social workers, etc). By interactivity in real life or a digital environment a public can be more stimulated and get more involved in an active process. The audience gets the possibility to react to an argumentation, stimulating a further process of persuasion. The vividness of the message and argumentation can be more intensive, giving it a dimension of conscious processing in the viewers’ persuasion. Interesting would be to investigate the rhetorical dimension of interactivity. The Anti-Aids campaign (IMAGE 77-79) in public space invites the people to interact. The billboard shows the word Aids, which is build up of hundreds of condoms. When people take the condoms for usage, the billboard changes as well and slowly the word Aids disappears literally and in reality. This is of course too simplistic, Aids will not disappear, but using condoms will limit its circulation. Another simple example of interaction is the paper dispenser (IMAGE 80-83). While using, it reminds you of saving paper (‘Save paper - Save the planet’) and proves that the survival of the forest is directly connected to what people consume. It depicts South America, which will change into a deforested continent by usage of the paper. Within a school project in 2nd life (a digital social platform, where people can create an avatar, walk around, communicate,...) I experimented to create an interactive campaign referring...
to smoking. I used an existing anti-smoking poster campaign (IMAGE 84) and translated it into the 3d digital world of 2nd life (IMAGE 85-86). Visitors could walk through a field of crosses, a kind of cemetery, gaining information of famous people who died because of smoking. In the middle of this field the visitor could find the non-smoking area. When entering this space information and graphics could be found referring to smoking and stopping with smoking. Smokers who wanted to quit could get helpful information or immediately contact a person for further help or tips. Some of these features were not working yet but it showed me the possibilities in communicating social issues in a virtual space. A big group of people can be reached with little costs. It is not just about exposing a specific message, but the visitor, viewer has the freedom to discover, experience and interact, and if necessary can contact people, specialists who can help individually or can provide the visitor with extra information. I think that a digital, more anonym setting can make it easier for some people to get involved in topics they would avoid otherwise in real life.

84-86. Translating an existing Anti-smoking campaign into a 3d digital interactive setting, where people could walk around with their avatars, discover, experience and interact with information referring to smoking. The digital non-smoking area was a place where people could gather information and contact people immediately for advice by willing to quit smoking. The individual crosses carried information about famous people died of smoking.

CONCLUSION.

In my visual research concerning social campaigns I also experimented with moving image and sound concerning smoking. I made a kind of anti-smoking film using rational and emotional means to bring over the message. I combined facts, the amount of cigarettes and the amount of tar consumed by smoker during the years. A person was rubbing slowly more and more tar onto his body while the amount of consumed cigarettes and tar increased in the course of years (IMAGE 87). At the end the person is totally covered with a black substance, the tar. After 40 years of smoking an average smoker has consumed 234.000 cigarettes and 2,9 kg of tar. The facts are supported by emotional imagery, which shows the person rubbing his body in with tar. Finally feathers are poured over him as a metaphor for a convicted criminal of his own behaviour.

Creating a Visual Argument

For my final project now I want to construct a campaign against hearing loss referring to the over exposure to hard music of young people when going out and listening to music with help of headphone devices, targeting an audience aged 14–30. There are hardly any existing campaigns addressing this topic. I contacted the Dutch Hearing association who provided me with further information and details concerning young people and hearing
problems by overexposure. This topic has a social relevant need with 20,000 young people damaging their ears irreparably each year.

I want to approach this topic by collecting and reorganizing the important facts and risks and try to experiment with constructing different kind of visual statements with help of the rhetoric, using ethos and logos and constructing different kind of rhetorical figures. Emphasizing emotions on the one hand and trying to stimulate a conscious process of persuasion inside the viewer by rationally convincing arguments on the other hand. I want to create a visual argument, which shows the target group the risks and persuade by a conscious process of signification without putting too much emphasis on fears or danger. I want to create a visual message which stimulates the viewer to gain more information referring to the topic, making him/her curious about the why and how.

I would love to implement these visual statements in a real context. The Dutch Hearing Association already showed interest and would maybe cooperate with me at a later point of time. First sketches of visual arguments concerning this topic can be found on the right page (IMAGE 88-93).
Appendix.
**Rhetorical Figures**

**Accumulation** Summarization of previous arguments in a forceful manner

**Allusion** An indirect reference to another work of literature or art

**Amplification** The expansion of a topic through the assemblage of relevant particulars

**Antithesis** The juxtaposition of opposing or contrasting ideas

**Anadiplosis** Repetition of a word at the end of a clause at the beginning of another

**Analogy** A verbal comparison is transferred to the visual sphere with equivalent semantic signs

**Anaphora** The repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses

**Anastrophe** Inversion of the usual word order

**Anticlimax** The arrangement of words in order of decreasing importance

**Antithesis** Juxtaposition of contrasting ideas

**Assonance and Alliteration** Three or more repetitions of a consonant or vowel

**Antimetabole** Repetition of words in successive clauses, in reverse order

**Aphorism** A tersely phrased statement of a truth or opinion, an adage

**Aposiopesis** Breaking off or pausing speech for dramatic or emotional effect

**Apposition** The placing of two elements side by side, in which the second defines the first

**Cacophony** The juxtaposition of words producing a harsh sound

**Chime** Key words in a phrase begin with the same letters or sound

**Ellipsis** Shows a gap or omission that has to be completed

**Hendiadys** Use of three nouns to express one idea

**Epistrophe** Repetition of beginning and ending of words

**Epaphrodisis** Signifies emphatic word replacement

**Epistrophe** Repetition of ending words

**Euphemism** Substitution of a less offensive or more agreeable term for another

**Exemplification** Meaning indicated verbally is illustrated visually

**Hyperbole** The exaggeration of an object beyond its natural and proper dimensions

**Irony** An expression that conveys a meaning opposite to its literal meaning

**Metaphor** An implied comparison between two things of unlike nature

**Metonymy** A meaning indicated verbally is set in relation to another meaning, based on a thematic connection, e.g. Cause instead of effect, instrument instead of result, producer instead of product.

**Meiosis** Reference to something with a name disproportionately lesser than its nature

**Merism** Referring to a whole by enumerating some of its parts

**Metaphor** Substitution based on underlying resemblance

**Metalepsis** Referring to something through reference to another thing to which it is remotely related

**Parallelism** Visual and verbal signs relate to the same meaning

**Periphrasis** Circumlocution, the indirect reference by means of well-known attributes or characteristics (go to a better world, instead of die)

**Personification** A comparison whereby human qualities are assigned to inanimate objects

**Rhyme** Repetition of syllables at the end of words

**Specification** A visual sign is incorporated by a minimum of text in order to make it clear and narrow it down semantically (making use of name of the firm producing the product)

**Proverb** A succinct or pithy expression of what is commonly observed and believed to be true

**Puns** A play on words, using words that sound alike but have different meanings; it is a kind of substitution based on accidental similarity

**Rhetorical questions** Asking a question as a way of asserting something; Or asking a question not for the sake of getting an answer but for asserting something

**Simile** An explicit comparison between two things

**Superlative** Saying something the best of something i.e. the ugliest, the most precious

**Synechdoche** A substitution for a part of something which stands for a whole, like in case of photography.

**Tautology** Redundancy due to superfluous qualification, saying the same thing twice
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Images

1-5 different posters, unknown
6 selfmade figure
7 Non-drinking water kills 8 millions persons a year, agency: BDDP & Fils, France
8 Adopt. Receive more than you can ever give, agency: Ogilvy & Matther, India, published: 2007
9 Save energy, save the planet from your own home, agency: Fortune Advertising, Greece, published: October 2006
10 Figure: Cognitive Dissonance Theory, Leon Festinger, 1957
11 You smoke up yourself, agency: Neogama BBH, Brazil
12 If you light up, you die, agency: Toro-VazquezMora / Fischer America, Colombia, published: December 2007
13 Smoking kills others, unknown
14 Smoking is harmful to your breath, agency: TBWA Paris, published: 2007
15 Children of parents who smoke, get to heaven earlier, agency: Serviceplan, Germany, published: October 2006
16 Smoking isn’t just suicide. It’s murder, agency: DRAFT FCB + IDB, Chile
17 Passive smoking kills, unknown
18 Figure: Theory of planned behaviour, Ajzen, 1991
19 He bumped into the pool table, agency: Marketforce, Australia
20 Pas op met illegal vuurwerk uit Belgie, on behalf of Sire, Netherlands
21 Figure: Aida- reaction model, Strong, 1925
22 Figure: Elaboration Likelihood Model, Petty and Cacioppo, 1986
23 Figure: Vividness of information, Hall, 2004
24-25 No one will keep us from seeing, agency: Air Brussels-Paris, Belgium, published: April 2008
26-27 Drugs don’t only hurt those who use them, agency: Sra. Rushmore Madrid, Spain
28-30 James Woodburn saves the planet, by watering after 6pm. Be the hero, agency: Ogilvy, Cape Town, South Africa, published: May 2008
31-32 It looks as stupid when you do it, agency: Martin/Williams Advertising, Minnesota, USA, published in 1993
33 Smoking kills, unknown
34 Change the course of things, agency: Kamicase, Montreal, Canada, published: November 2007
35 NRDC, agency: Denttsu, Beijing, China, published: October 2007
36 Ying Yang Campaign, unknown
37 Stop global warming. Save Holland, agency: Draftfcb Kohta, Vienna, Austria, published: 2007
38 A signature is more powerful than you think, agency: TBWA Paris, France, published: April 2007
39 Right to play, agency: Publicis, Chile
40 Silence hurts, agency: JWT, Lisbon, Portugal, published: May 2005
41 The average smoker needs over five thousand cigarettes a year, agency: Mile Caircraf Briginshaw duffy, London, published: 2008
42-46 Was last night really worth it? agency: Clemenger BBDO, New Zealand
47 unknown
48 Nobody wants to get HIV, agency: Lg2, Quebec City, Canada, published: May 2008
49 Global warming. If we don’t act now, the future looks blue, agency: Bhadra Communications, Bangalore, India
50 unknown
51 Support the poor at Christmas time, agency: Serviceplan, Dritte Werbeagentur, Munich, Germany, published: December 2006
52 One click could change your future. Belt up, agency: Marketforce, Perth, Australia
53 Figure: The fundamental operations of rhetorical figures and their relationship, Jaques Durand, 1970
54 Don’t drink and drive. Malteser Ambulance Service, agency: Ogilvy & Matther, Frankfurt am Main, Germany
55 Help them open a door, agency: Leo Burnett Colombia, published: March 2008
56 CO2 kills, Art Directors: Alexander Stauss, Eleonora Berenys (newcreatives)
57 A single golf course sucks away..., World Wildlife Fund Turkey 2007, agency: Ogilby & Matber, Istanbul, Turkey
58 Think about what it consumes before buying, unknown
59 A single can of dissolvent pollute millions of litres of water, ad for the World Wildlife Fund Spain (WWF/Adena), agency: Contrapunto, Madrid, Spain
60 Figure: Schemes and Tropes, McQuarrie & Mick, 1996
61 Figure: Visual Rhetoric, Philipps & Mcquarrie, 2004
62 Smoking kills, unknown
63 Burning the red light results in 15 victims a day, unknown
64 Stop before you drive, agency: Clemenger BBDO Wellington, New Zealand
65 Bad water kills more children than war, agency: Jung von Matt, Sweden
66-68 Has he/she been good enough to get something for Christmas?, unknown
69-70 Anti-Aids campaign, agency: 007, Cairo, Egypt
71-73 More than 1000 women live as prisoners in Switzerland. Stop forced marriages, agency: Publicis Zürich, Switzerland, published: December 2007
74 Stop climate change before it changes you, agency: Germaine, Antwerp, Belgium, published: January 2008
75 Amnesty International campaign, unknown
76 Infographic, Otto Neurath, around 1935
77-79 Take out a condom and help the fight against aids, agency: Escala Communication and Marketing, Brazil
80-83 Save paper-Save the planet, agency: Saatchi & Saatchi, Copenhagen, Denmark, Release: April 2007
84 Non smoking area, agency: TBWA Athens, Greece
85-91 self made images

APPENDIX.
Social Campaigns
The Art of Visual Persuasion
Its Psychology, its Semiotic, its Rhetoric

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Images: Most images of the social campaigns were found on www.adoftheworld.com and www.osocio.org. I could not provide information to all the images referring to the maker, place and time published. My excuses. The beautiful cover image is from Ohotos, found on www.flickr.com.

About: Marc Andrews was born in Kleve, Germany in 1978. His parents traditionally came from England and Switzerland and moved in the late 60s to Germany. At the age of 20 Marc moved after his Abitur to Nijmegen, the Netherlands to study Psychology. He finished his master in 2004 in Applied Social Psychology and was focusing on advertising and media in his final project. After getting his master degree he started at the HKU in Utrecht an education as Graphic Designer. In 2007 he moved from the HKU to the MaHKU to finish his art education at the master class of Editorial Design. This gave him the opportunity to combine his Psychology knowledge with the field of visual communication. Marc is now living and working in Amsterdam. Together with a partner he is establishing his own Graphic Design Agency in the center of Amsterdam and would like to be involved in making social campaigns in the future.

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