National College of Art and Design

The conquest of souls
Advertising through persuasion and inadequacy

A thesis submitted to
The faculty of History and Design and Complementary Studies
in candidacy for
Bachalor of Design in Visual Communications

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MO056403NC

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

· I would like to thank the following for there support,

Gerry Walker, Bill Bolger, Frank Bisset, Ken Dolan, Austin Butler, all at Design Image Cliona, John, Dara and Lyne for having the patience to do all the typing. Ciara for looking after me, Tiny, Judice, Bonney, Ghost, Biggles, Brains and Joker for the incouragement.

But most important my parents for giving me the oppertunity to go to college and do what I like best.

SOURCE OF QUOTATIONS

As indicated in text, if not indicated then the quote is my own.

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The six chapters in this thesis were written to try and answer the question 'Is Advertising Persuasion through Inadequacy'?

Vance Packard tells us in the 'Hidden Persuaders' that the 'Fishbeinial' model of intuition predicts whether or not a person will intend to do something on the basis of two factors: attitudes and social expectations.

The attitude component of this model is concerned with the person's evaluations of the consequences which are likely to flow from the act in question. The component dealing with social expectations is concerned with the person's perception of what other people think he or she ought to do in the situation and takes account of the persons motivation to conform to such expectations.

This model addresses behaviour indirectly through the concept of intention and the assumption is made that other things being equal, people will generally do what they have to do. In very few instances do people really know what they want - even when they say they do.

This Thesis looks at peoples inadequacy's and the fact that the Advertiser (cigarette advertising in particular) plays on these so as to persuade the viewer that their inadequacy needs the product.

There can be few activities involving fire, old leaves and the human body which have attracted as much attention and contraversy as smoking. In this thesis I want to consider the language of smoking as habit, ritual and romance, the smokers devotion to the advertising is demonstrated. It has been said that smoking can only be representing one thing: the infant pleasure in sucking. Freud himself a smoker, noted the oral pleasure of the action , but this thesis is not about

the act of smoking but rather the seduction of the smoker by the advertising industry. I intend to expose this by examining: the conquest of souls, the propaganda by which the advertiser presuaides the smoker to begin smoking and then relies on the product of maintain this through addiction. The fatal atraction, when the viewer is exposed to the ad which is trying to sell a potentially lethal product. Faith and fear the problem the advertiser faces through the taboo of cigarette smoking and the way he allays this fear. Lighten their darkness, the use of comfortable imagery to put the person at ease about the product, and finally the product itself.

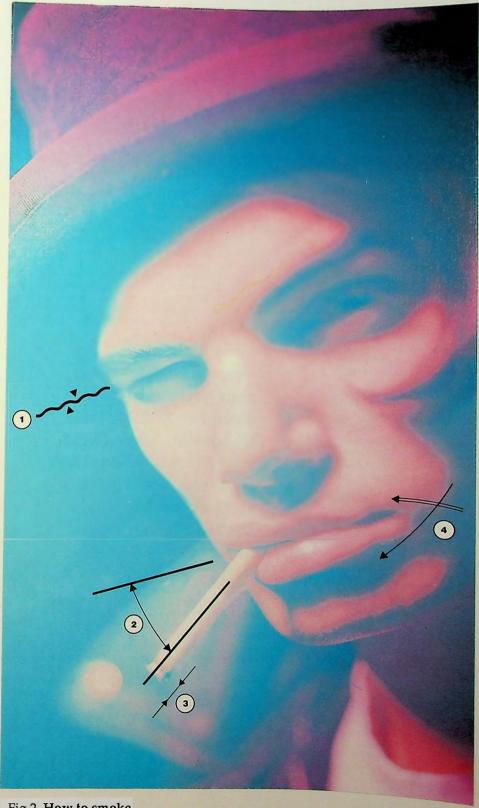


Fig 2. **How to smoke**Blitz Magazine

ILLUSTRATIONS

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Fig 2. How to smoke Blitz Magazine

Fig 7. The fashion smokers

Arena Magazine

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THE CONQUEST OF SOULS (SUBLIMINAL ADVERTISING)

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One particularly disturbing difficulty with the prospective consumer is their apparent perversity and unpredictability. Marketers repeatedly suffered grievous losses in campaigns that by all rules of logic should have succeeded. This was while still using conventional methods such as informative advertising before and during the period running up to the late 1930s.

Gradually many prospective marketers became suspicious of the assumptions they had made in their efforts to be logical concerning the predictable behaviours of human beings. They decided that you can't assume that people know what they want. Indeed some marketers concluded that you can't assume people will tell you the truth about their wants and dislikes— even if they know them themselves. What is more likely are answers that will project the informants in the contriving endeavours to appear to the world as really sensible, intelligent, rational people. Moreover it is known to be very dangerous to assume that people can be trusted to behave rationally in the first place. 'Business Week' in commenting on the often seemingly irrational behaviour of consumers, said. People don't seem to be reasonable, but people do act with purpose. Their behaviour makes sense if you think about it in terms of its goals, of peoples needs and their motives. That seems to be the secret of understanding or manipulating people.

The use of mass psychoanalysis to guide campaigns of persuasion has become the basis of a multimillion pound industry (fig. 1). I would like to illustrate this point with a comparison of (a) Hitlers control of Art in the Third Reich and its influence and power of persuasion on the German public and (b) an advertising campaign and the control advertisers have over the consumer. The similarities may not be obvious but the underlining deception is the same, with the same goal of winning control of the masses.

Propaganda:- the organisation of power.

The Art of Germany during the period of 1933-45 can't be considered in the same way as art of other periods. It must be seed as the idyllic artistic expression of a barbaric movement. For Hitler and his so called nation of Socialist Culture, Art was a key word. Its aim was to impose a Nationalist Socialist Philosophy of life. Political aims and artistic expression became one. Nazies discovered that art could not only carry a political message but that it was also a perfect tool for manipulating desires and dreams. The purpose of art was to shape peoples outlook and control their behaviour. (Showing the same goal as the advertiser allbeit to a lesser extent.) There was a total submission to state aesthetic and Art's aim was to convince the rest of mankind.

Arian art was supposed to abolish class distinction. Hitler played on the inadequacies of his people. These people had very little esteem and here was a man promising great prosperity and adventure. He had captured his audience and now all he had to do was sell the product i.e. the Nazi Party.

"You artists live in great and happy times. Above you, your most outstanding and powerful patron.... The Fuhrer, loves art because he himself is an artist. Under his blessed hands a Renaissance has begun. I proclaim 'Oh Century, Oh Artists...' what a joy to be part of it" — J. Geobles, The art of the third Reich, BBC documentary

It was Doctor Joseph Geobels who was probably one of the first psychoanalytical advertisers. It was his job to mislead and persuade the German public. So German art was his advertising campaign and he soon began to redesign it by removing Kendinski and Clay from public view, thus illiminating the competition. Germany began to dispatch its Art of Illusion, thereby impoverishing national cultural life and beginning the seduction of the German people.

Advertisers are groping at this use of psychoanalysis to this day to find more effective ways to ambush and pinpoint their consumers. They examine ideas, attitudes, goals and state of mind. They are primarily only interested in using their advertising to change our daily product consumption. The real influential part of Advertising Strategies is 'Motivation Analysis' the juggling of peoples impulses, attitudes, and frailties, quite simply the use of propaganda, mind games, that confuse, mislead and inform people of their inadequacy with out the

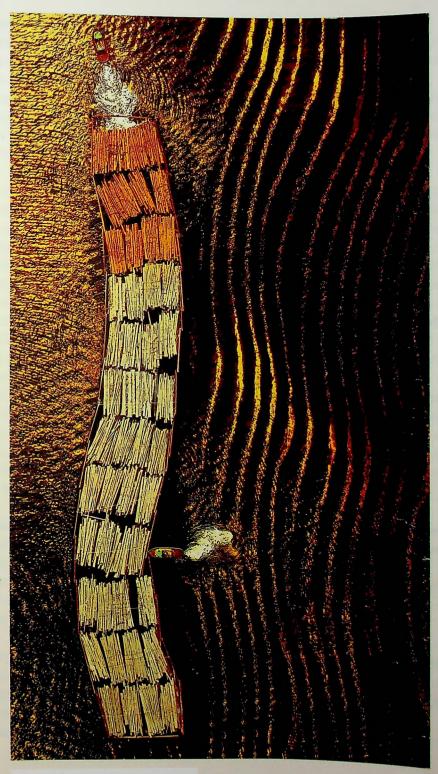


Fig 3. **Superkings**- Subliminal *Tribune supliment*

product that the Advertisers are selling (fig. 2).

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The efforts of the persuaders to probe our everyday habits for hidden meanings are often interesting purely for the flashes of revelation they offer us of ourselves. We are frequently revealed, in their findings as comical actors in a genial if twitchy Thurberian world (fig.7). The findings of the depth probers provide startling explanations for many of our daily habits and perversities. It seems that our subconscious can be pretty wild and unruly." — Vauce Packard, The Hidden Persuaders

These advertisers are only interested in searching out our hidden weaknesses and frailties so as to expose them for their own financial gains .Campaigners will go to any lengths to expose these weaknesses (fig. 8). In America they probe sample consumers and one agency has even gone as far as examining women's menstrual cycles so as t be more effective in selling to women. There is also evidence that European agencies use psychiatric probing techniques on children. American nationals are even more exposed, as all information on Americans is openly available to Advertising agencies such as, date of birth, spouses name, number of children, address and annual income. These fact can even go as far as to tell when a family are going to have a new baby. Therefore the companies can aim their postal advertising at exactly whom they want, and moreover get what they want. It is becoming more and more obvious that this same technique is being used all over Europe especially Ireland and Great Britain. This is a perfect example of our manipulation and the way our social position, our homes, our age and our wealth can tell the Advertisers exactly what we want to buy even though we don't know it ourselves most of the time. Its most Advertisers would say, - it's their job to tell us what we want! (fig. 4)

Overwhelmingly a group of top-drawer advertising agencies and executives, representing many of the worlds outstanding advertisers, favour the increased use of social sciences and social inadequacy in campaign planning.

Some of the nations most respected companies have sunk millions of dollars into advertising campaigns shaped at least in part by analysis of consumers motivations.

Our subconscious attitudes, of course, are far from being the whole explanation of our buying behaviour, even the depth probers are quick to acknowledge. But another way of exposing our subconscious is through moulding of images, the creation of strong visuals that people automatically respond to as being associated with a particular product (fig. 3).

FATAL ATTRACTION

It is a fascinating exercise to take advertisements apart to see how they function and to determine what they reflect about society. It is also a perilous business, for there is always the possibility that we are not examining society's fantasies, or those of the creator of the advertisements, but our own! In The Strategy of Desire, Ernest Dichter, one of the founding fathers of motivation research, writes—

"Human desire is the raw material we are working with. The strategy of desire is the tool of shaping the human factor, the most important aspect of our worldly arsenal. Human progress is a conquest of the animal within us. No conquest is possible without strategy."

Whether or not advertising and other tools of persuasion are leading us to higher levels of development is questionable. One thing seems quite evident — knowing the strategies used by the people who work at creating and shaping our desires is important, for then we can make more rational decisions and avoid manipulation. The person who is a slave to the cigarette is often also a slave to his or her own emotions — emotions that can be manipulated by the cigarette advertising industry. We must escape if possible. Most of the imagination, intelligence, and creativity found in popular culture is lavished on advertisements. This is because advertisements are most important, they are, after all, the difference between profit and loss.

We are first exposed to the fatal attraction when we are bombarded with slogans, images and announcements that use whatever subliminal or other persuasive techniques are available to make us feel anxious about ourselves, to generate feelings of relative deprivation, and to get us to buy something. Ironically, to assuage our bad feelings, to rid ourselves and our situation, we turn to media — movies, soaps, music and documentaries, which reinforce the very problems we hope they will help us solve. The people portrayed in these programmes, images and lifestyles are the very ones being sold to us or at least promised to us through advertising everyday. Thus we become caught in a vicious cycle from which there is no escape. The more interest we take, the unhappier we get, and so on. The people with the least are the greatest dreamers. It is not an exaggeration to say that smokers are fatally attracted to Cigarette advertising. The cigarette advertiser



Fig 4. The film star Arena Magazine

is a funny sort, he has one major advantage over his adversaries, he is primarily only interest in catching the first time smoker because his product is addictive, it therefore takes care of keeping the client, so the cigarette advertisement is merely a reminder to most of its consumers.

People have a terrific loyalty to their brand of cigarette and yet in tests they cannot tell it from other brands. They are merely smoking an image.

It is very important that any advertising agency with an account in cigarette advertising, such as Irish International or McConnells, uses every route possible to capture the market. It is a very restricted advertising product. Yet, although the cigarette cannot be advertised on television or radio we are exposed to the preconceptions through which it's sold everyday in television programming and cinema films - such as an actor smoking so as to realise a certain character. If this character or film is a success, this will obviously boost the sales of the particular brand portrayed. The success of Mickey Rourke in Angle Heart and more recently David Lynches Wild at Heart increased the sale of American 'Camel' cigarettes by 30% in their respective years (fig. 5). Advertisements are not merely reflective and reproductive of the status quo. They have a central role in producing specific ideological effects in a society, a partial and therefore a distorting view. That distortion, being amplified and incessantly transmitted through the visual image, has a highly powerful effect as a cultural force. The total inter-connectedness of the textual practices of advertising with all aspects of wider cultural practices and with the social and economic system means they cannot be uncoupled. It is important to remember that advertising is the most influential of businesses in society even more so than journalism. People have learned to be very apprehensive about what they read, yet seem very vulnerable to the advertising blurb. Also, journalists have to deal with a great deal of censorship yet the advertising agencies will push the boundaries to the very limit to get a message across and sometimes the best policy is to shock or disturb people as Howell. Henry, Chaldecott, Lury and Associates did when they released this press advertisement (Fig 6) campaigning against television advertising 'ratings'. It won the Economist Award for the best business to business advertisement of 1989.

But one area of advertising is very strictly supervised and that is the area of cigarette advertising. It is restricted from advertising on television, radio and in many public areas such as major sporting events although not all. Motor racing gets the large part of its sponsorship from cigarettes. Yet although the advertiser







Fig 5. Wild at Heart Film advertising



Fig 6. Economist, Best business to business campaign winner Creative Review

has these obstacles to contend with he has one major plus on his side. That is the product, as a highly addictive drug it becomes the after therapy to the campaign for once the client is lured into smoking the product then the product looks after sustaining this client through addiction. Also the cigarette is a great social tool so every time a person walks into a public place they are exposed to other people socialising through smoking, so the cigarette gets great public exposure. The cigarette also tends to be a status symbol for teenagers as many of them look upon smoking as being a grown up thing to do (fig 7), so social parameters and circumstances advertise the product through the natural course of everyday life. So the cigarette advertisement can be a fatal attraction from early on in life, and that fatal attraction stays with a lot of people all their lives (till death do us part). To illustrate the fatal attraction aspect every cigarette advertisement carries a government warning as follows:—

"Law to middle tar as defined by H.M. Government Warning: Smoking can cause heart disease Health Department's Chief Medical Officers"

This warning is compulsory and is there to warn us against disease and ill-health, so the advertisers aim has to be to make the product as appealing as possible. Each advertiser has a different slant on how to play on peoples inadequacy and anxieties, for example the latest 'Marlboro Lights' campaign is aimed at middle class America with cinema *noir* photographs of everyday American life such as the diner, Las Vegas, the motel and the construction site. When we examine these images they say absolutely nothing about the product in their visual impact, they just give the viewer something to associate with! The people in these images are all shown to be relaxing although we don't get to see their faces. So we are again exposed to the social aspect of the product, these advertisements tell us that we can relax with a Marlboro. The advertisements have a definite cinematic tone and running over two pages gives us a kind of big screen image, a fantasy, a desire!

"The deployment of a semilogical approach is based on the distinction between denotation and connotation in the advertising message. The positioning Metaphor has regularly framed semilogical discussion and served to connect it with issues of power and control" — M.A./J.O.T., The Hidden Persuaders

The notion of the positioning of products and subjects is essentially a spatial concept, - the location of images in physical space. Our own lives depend on us

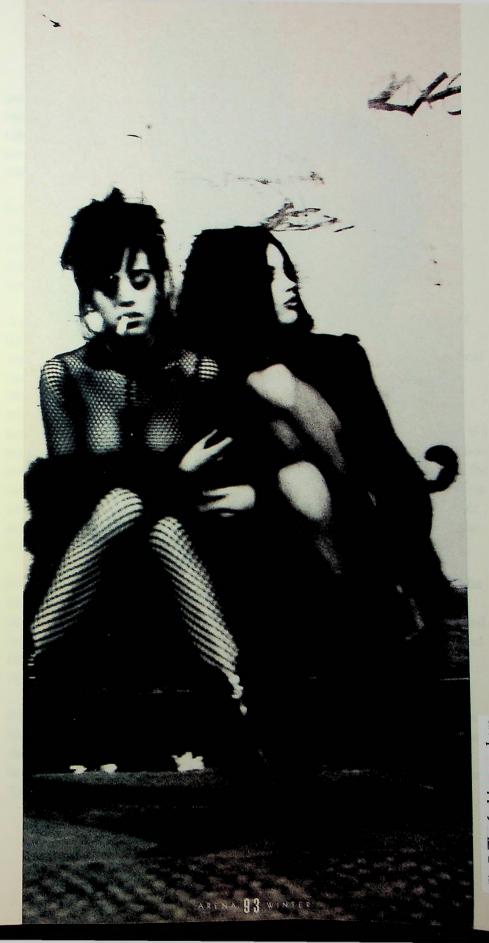


Fig 7. The fashion smokers
Arena Magazine

knowing who we are at all times, and this in turn depends in large part on knowing where we are and where we have been. Any persons sense of self-identity is immediately rendered confused by loss of memory, unfamiliar surroundings, or by hallucinatory — dream experiences which obscures spatial relations between certain objects or experiences and our relation to them.

So the designer-advertiser can confuse the viewer or make the viewer think, or make the viewer more comfortable. Cigarette advertising has firstly to be comfortable, (asthetically pleasing) this immediately diverts the person away from the potentially gloomy message shown at the base of all advertisements, once this has been achieved the seduction begins.

A clear illustration of the construction of physical space, and the positioning of the viewer in it, is provided by the magazine advertisement for 'Sterling' cigarettes in (fig. 8). The advertisement constructs a single, continuous physical image or space. The boat for example is in a definite position in relation to the bridge and the trees. It is also clear where the hands and the cigarette are in relation to the boat. What is more important, it is clear where the audience/subject is. If a woman, she is sitting in the boat to the left hand side, if a man, he is in the right side of the boat. These positions are fixed partly by the boat itself, with only the bow visible. But they are even more firmly determined by the hand - our hands - which we see in front of us. The advertisement constructs two unified, coherent and definite positions for viewers to occupy according to their sex. These positions are ready-made, locating views in the boat and hence in the action not inviting them merely to watch.

So now we no longer have to make up our own mind for the advertisement tells us what it is like to play the game. The new Marlboro campaign has the very same ideology working through it they are open to the viewer, so we look in and experience ordinary American life, indeed in the Las Vegas one we get real hand contact. The designer has incorporated us into the design by putting our hand reaching into the picture.

If we return to examining (fig. 8) the advertisement also constructs a particular kind of personal relationship between the two subjects, as signified by the glasses, the champagne and the text. They are not for example, strangers, enemies, business partners they are a couple, an 'us', as evidenced by the woman's remark 'Let's just...' precisely what sort of a couple isn't specified, except that their



Fig 8. Sterling add *Playboy* 1979

"Let's just glide through the greenery."

"What a Sterling idea."

STERLING MILD MENTHOL 25. .. Berson ... HEDGE

CC 867.85 641458.

relationship is, or is becoming sexual. Its sexual nature is signified by the phallic bow of the boat heading towards the dark cavern beneath the illuminated bridge and the phallic preferred cigarette about to be grasped between the woman's thumb and forefinger. The two subjects are positioned as lovers enjoying the pleasure of each others company in idyllic circumstances, and the point of the advertisement is to seek to transfer that recognisable pleasure to the cigarette. It is addressed to an audience of both sexes who can be assumed to recognise the pleasure depicted, and invites them to attach that pleasure, in imagination, to the cigarette. The product is thus positioned with champagne as having a central place in a certain kind of sexual ritual.

It is also represented, like champagne, as 'upper-class' though as something to which others may aspire, at least on special occasions. The class of the two subjects is signified by the hand which show no signs of having done manual work, and by the obviously upper class English surroundings. By virtue of the greenery and the phrase 'wild menthol' the product is suggested to be smooth and healthy and its mildness is signified by the phrase 'glide through the greenery'. The advertisement thus addresses those who not only recognise the pleasure of a certain kind of sexuality but aspire to the leisured lifestyle and good health. It is noteworthy, also that the only voices to speak are the voices of the subjects, signified by quotation marks. In occupying the two subject positions, we the audience address ourselves. The implication is that we don't need to be told what to do — living through the story of the advertisement has made us experience the situation, and has made the simple function of smoking the cigarette like floating down stream on a Sunday afternoon. While also feeling aroused, the observer feels it's like reading a book where you make up your own images of the characters. This is what the advertiser wants us to do. The fatal attraction occurs when the advertisement makes a potentially lethal products into a pleasant experience.

FAITH AND FEAR

A cigarette is a drug, smoking is an addiction so the product will make you keep the faith, but the advertising is to try and allay the fear.

If advertising is too radical it challenges peoples belief systems.

The phrase 'belief system', however, is misleading since it suggests a degree of coherence which may not exist. There are two currents of ideology present in the consciousness of the subjects which advertisements address - individualism and solidarity. It is not difficult to distinguish between advertisements which construct these two different kinds of subject positions. These are magazine advertisements addressed to men which construct a highly individualist, selfreliant, out-door subject. This genre is best illustrated by the Marlboro man (fig 9). In the recent campaign the man is suggested at first glance to be an independent loaner, an easy living, hardworking person, but when you examine the campaign closely he could be anyone. He could be the husband away on business, stuck in a hotel thinking of home while smoking his Marlboro, the Marlboro being the only comfort he can extract from his predicament. Also there is the lone construction worker who is trying to contend with the monotony of his job and wanting to be somewhere else probably with his children. This is the bright view given through these images, but there is also a story to read about loneliness, failure, deprivation and in this image the one grain of comfort is the cigarette. So the same image can be read across the board by many different people who have some thing with which they can associate (fig 10,11,12,13). The important thing to remember is that the advertisements more often than not try and portray relaxation and comfort thus allaying the Fear and keeping the Faith.

I have discussed the significant power of the various non-verbal elements in advertising and their persuasive power. But there is also another category which agencies and designers exploit. This is 'denotation' and 'connotation'. In advertisements, it is usually the connotations rather than the denotation of a signifying element that are important. It is usually what effects our subconscious that we remember. So it is important for the advertisement to tap into our mind and the more extreme the connotation the more interest that will probably be shown in the product. The distinction and connection between denotation and

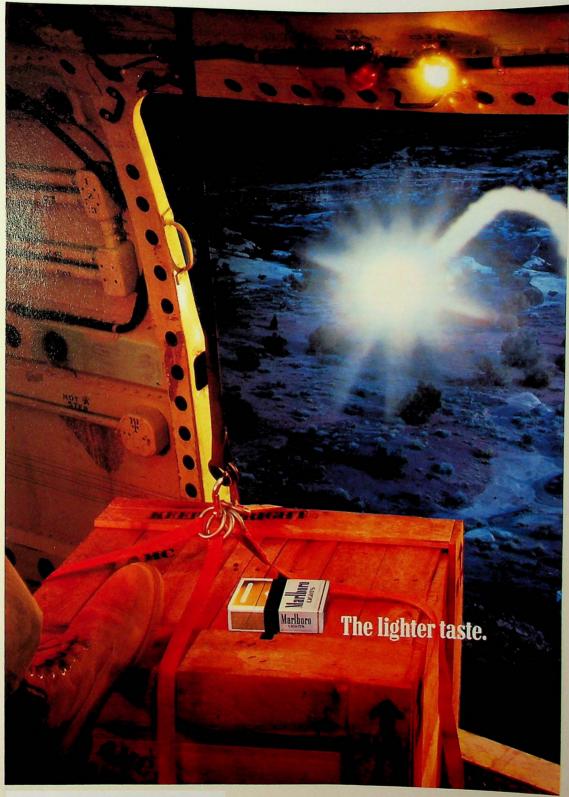


Fig 9. The Marlboroman, 5. Cargo Sunday Times Magazine

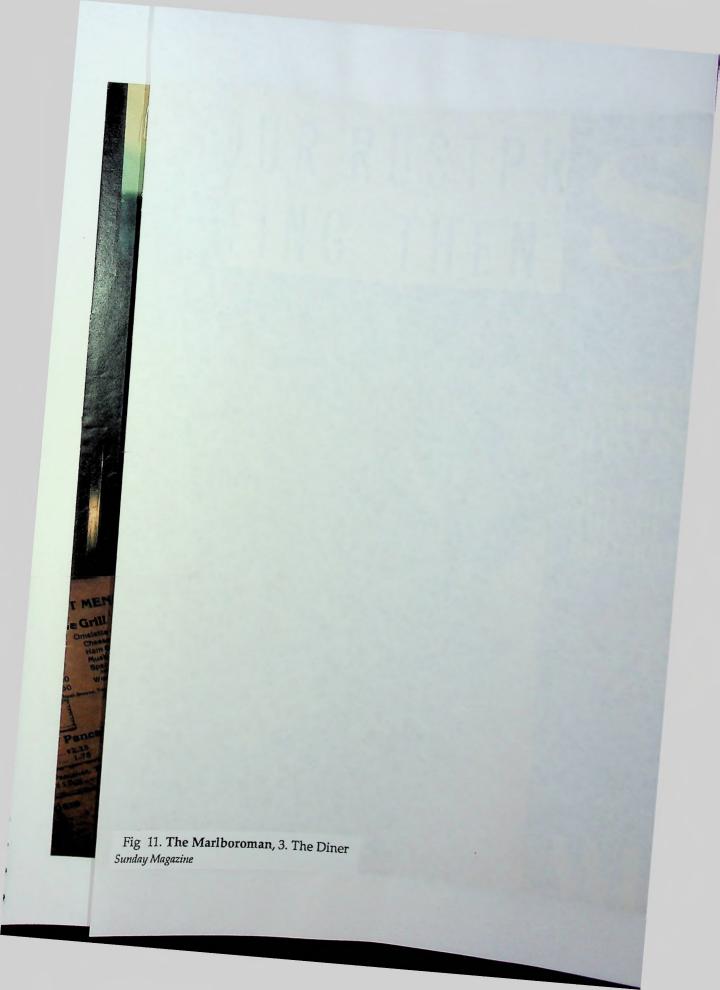




Fig 10. The Marlboroman motel Sunday Times Magazine

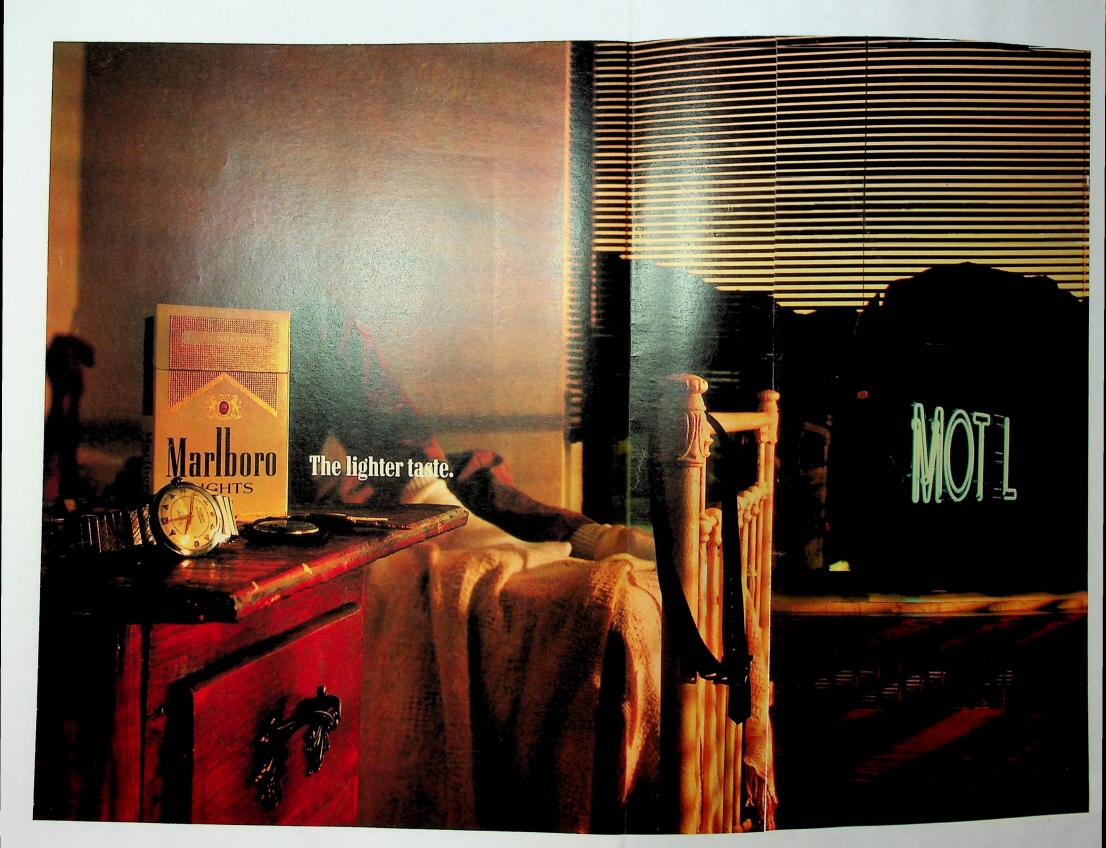
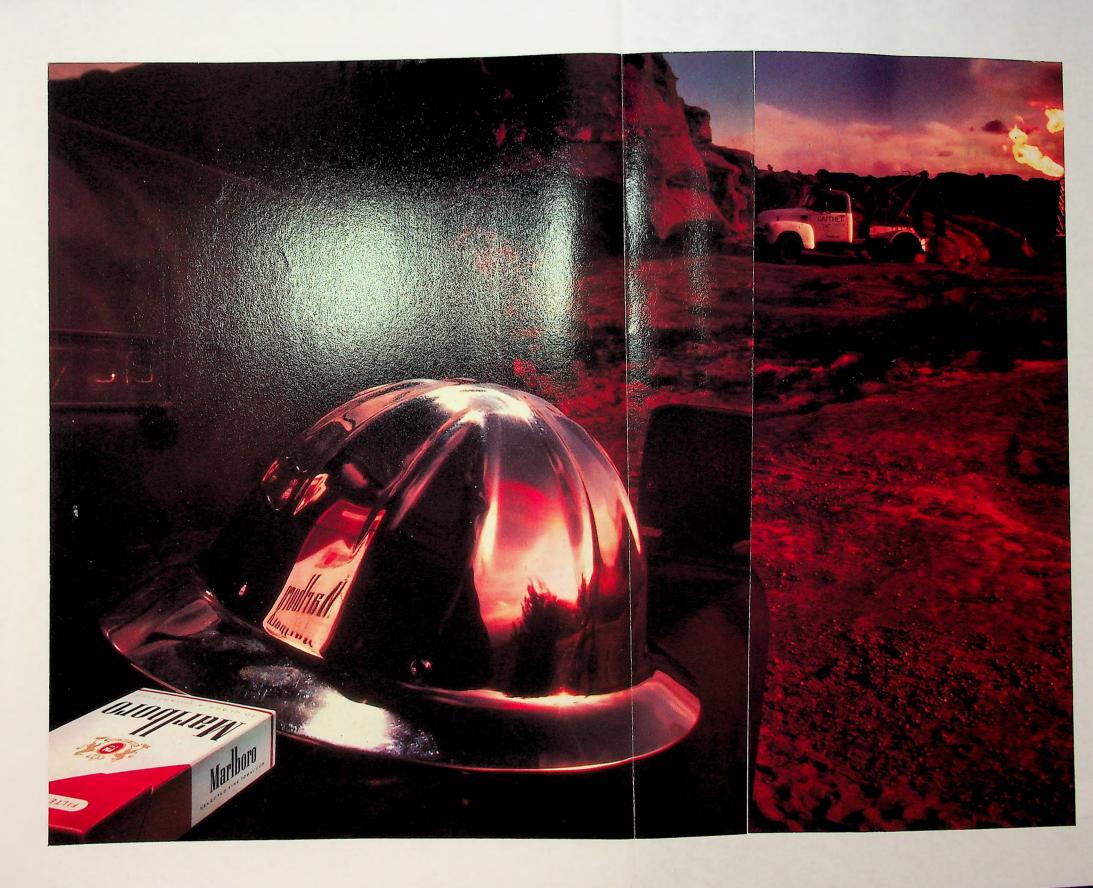


Fig 12. **The Marlboroman**, 2. Las Vagas Sunday Magazine



Fig 13. The Marlboroman, 1. The construction worker Sunday Times Magazine



connotation can be illustrated by examining the advertising campaign of the Silk Cut Stanley knife (fig. 14). The crucial signifying element is the knife. But the picture is to be read not simply as a Stanley knife in solitary confinement. The point of the knife is to signify a threat or danger, the unknown, a temptation, the silk can be seen as many things, softness, sanctuary, sexuality. Thus it is the connotation of this element, not its denotation which is of prime importance. However the denotation is not irrelevant. Indeed, it is a condition of the connotation. For if the advertisement is not read as a Stanley knife firstly, then there is no room for the connotation to work. The knife is very much a male image yet the silk is a female one. Another connotation of the advertisement is the fact that without the blade the knife can't work. So this can mean many things, a man can not survive without a woman and also a man needs a cigarette and a woman and vice versa. Also the fact there is not text means the ad is being left open to our own interpretation. It is important that we remember that to most people cigarette advertising is only a reminder and that's all it needs to be, to the addicted. The distinction between denotation and connotation opens up and accounts for a distinction between the manifest content of a visual and its latent content. At one level the Silk Cut advertisement could be read simply as depicting a Stanley knife with a silk blade, this is its manifest content, but at another level it can be read as sexual, temptuous, masculine and also feminine. Similarly the sexual content of associated with the bow of the boat and the bridge, is latent content.



Fig 14. Silk Cut Purple, Stanley Knife Sunday Times Magazine

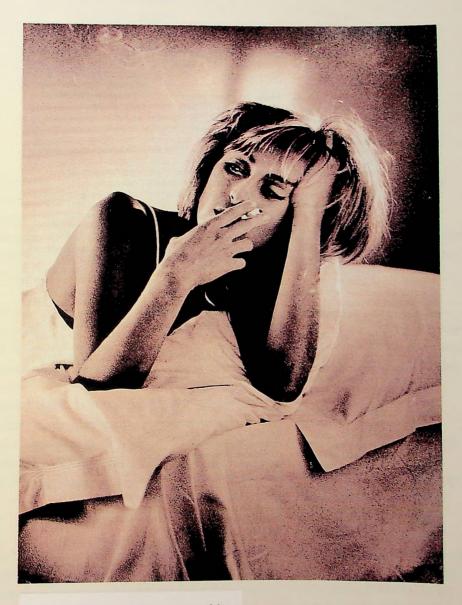


Fig 15. The sexual desert, Smoking Womans Way

People smoke to:-

- (a) relieve tension
- (b) express sociability
- (c) reward for effort
- (d) an aid to poise
- (e) aid for stress
- (f) proof of daring
- (g) proof of conformity
- (h) accustomed ritual
- (i) the need, the addiction

etc....(fig. 15)

They found that many people like to have cigarette in their fingers when they enter a roomful of people as it makes them seem less nervous, more sophisticated. The most interesting fact uncovered was the strangest. Many people smoke to overcome these health inadequacy, they smoke as if to show that their health cannot be threatened. This itself is a contradiction in terms, because by smoking they are opening themselves to addiction 'enslavement to habit'.

Young people who smoke are trying to be older, and older people trying to be younger. So it is obvious now that the advertiser has to put all these inadequacies at rest. But the interesting sales pitch is the fact that the cigarette is originally and manifestly sold as a relaxant, yet once the consumer or viewer is persuaded, the product is immediately portrayed as the medicine for the addiction yet the medicine is a potential killer. The fact that the product is a killer has over the years become insignificant. The advertisements have changed yet the 'government warning' has remained the same and therefore has become boring and forgettable. So although when the warning was introduced it caused problems for the advertiser, it no longer has to be a burden. It's a classic case of:

"It's so obvious that it's insignificant and inoperative."

So the cigarette advertisement of the 90s no longer has to compete against the old taboos, it can allay the viewers fears by merely being colourful and asthetically pleasing. It may not be obvious but a lot of cigarette advertising is sexual in its latent function and the earlier example in (Fig. 8) the Sterling advertisement is a perfect one.

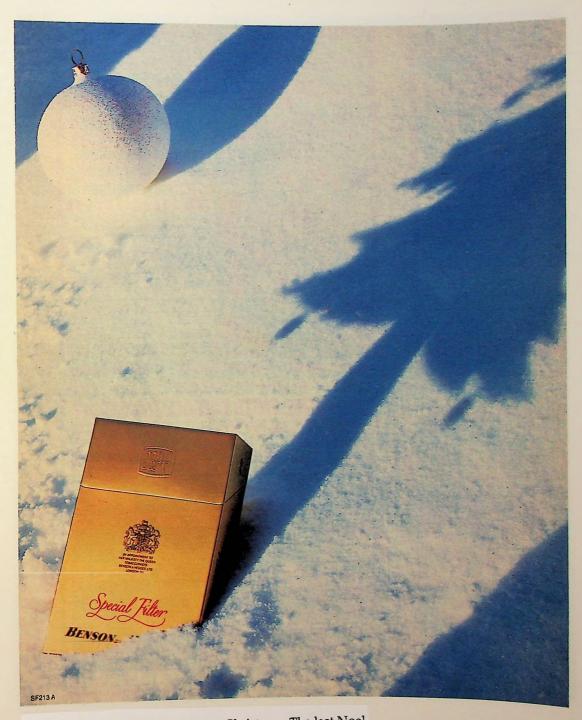


Fig 16. **Benson & Hedges**, Merry Christmas, The last Noel Sunday Magazine

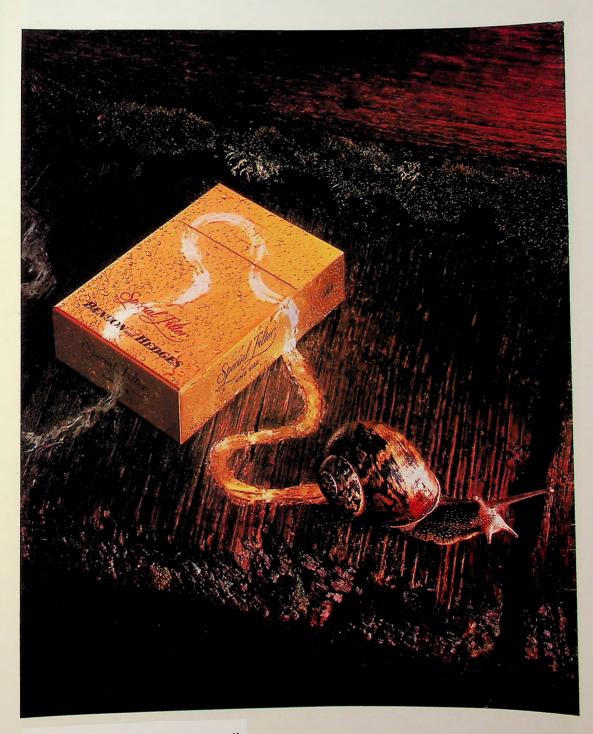


Fig 17. Benson & Hedges, The Snail Sunday Magazine

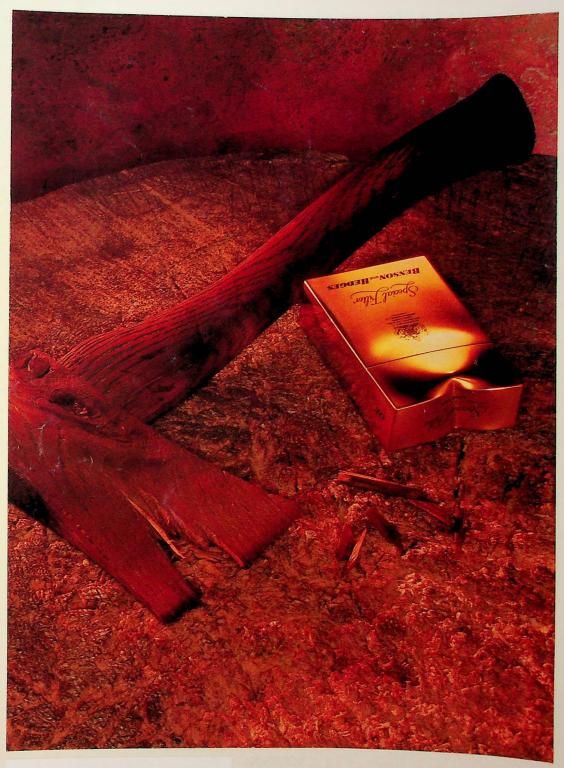


Fig 18. Benson & Hedges, The Axe Sunday Magazine

Infatuation with ones own body is an infantile trait that....persists in many an adult's subconscious....The ethic of exploiting it to sell goods are something else.

We all know the concept that a cigarette is the perfect way to finish off a romantic sexual experience and have all seen the images of the couple smoking in bed after consummating their relationship. The potency of sex as a sales promoter was not of course an original discovery of the indepth merchandiser. Sex images have long been cherished by advertisements purely as eye stoppers. But with the indepth approach, sex can take on some interesting twist and subtle uses. Penetration to deeper levels of thought and consciousness are the desired response. Silk Cut and Marlboro advertisements are very subtle in their use of sexuality. The use of hard and soft images by Silk Cut and the images of the hardworking lonely men in the Marlboro ones. Even Benson and hedges use the phallic symbol of a cigarette protruding through a hole in their new campaign for their new brand "XL". Moreover they play up the fact that you get extra length surely a sexual innuendo. "John Player" also use the sexual pitch and like Benson and Hedges they play up the size factor, the visual image they choose to use is one of the cigarette packet being the sexual prop, the cigarettes are shown in a bed format with the quilt or duvet forming the packet. The sexual format appeals to all races and sexual persuasion as much as possible, if we look at three examples of the latest Silk Cut campaign this is made obvious (fig 19,20,22). Firstly, Silk Cut is a sexual image of its own, be it a sadistic one, the words evoke images of intense sexuality. And it has been proven that most people enjoy being dominated sexually at some time. But the images are also there to play on our sexuality. Firstly the knife image I have already talked about is a very strong sexual image, the second is the ironing board and iron (fig 19). The sadistic element is much more obvious in this ad and the draped Silk clings to the board as it would to a woman's body. Then it is under the treat of being penetrated by the cold hard image of the iron. The manifest function of all Silk Cut adds is to give a visual image of the name but the latent function, and there are many, is sexual. The ads are not sexually threatening, but more sexually teasing.

The Benson and Hedges sales pitch seems to be a lot more obscure than the others, taking off beat images which play on the rich image of gold, but the underlying messages if any are quite hard to easily define. In the case of (Fig. 16) the gold Special Filter packet connotes quality and value. The thrust of the advertisement is not that Benson and Hedges has the literal properties of gold but rather that it has those properties which gold connotes. The advertisement

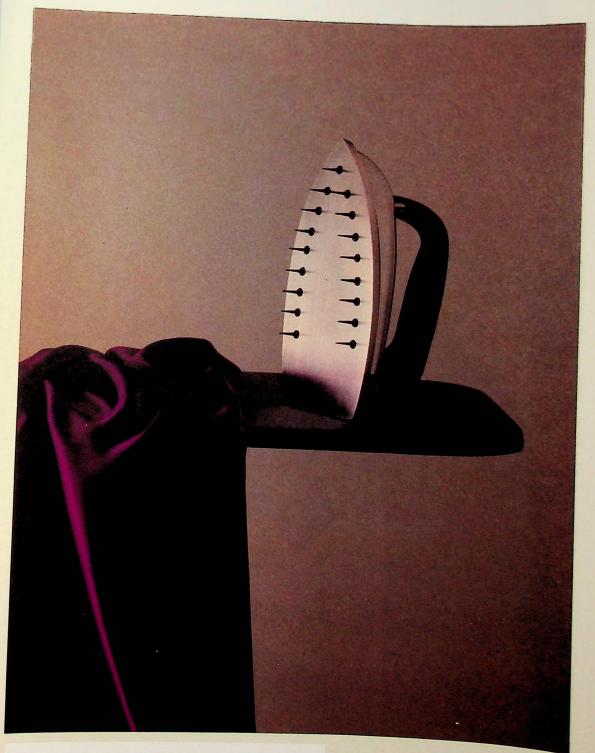


Fig 19. Silk Cut Purple, iron and Board, (treatening)

Blitz

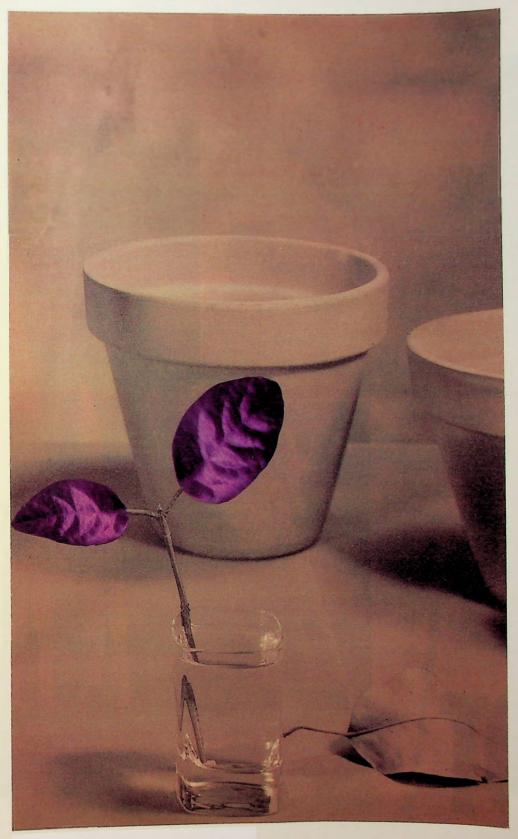


Fig 20. Silk Cut Purple, Silk Cut Bloom
Blitz



Fig 22. Silk Cut Purple, Sky at night Sunday Magazine

seeks to transfer the properties signified in the commodity to the dominant moving image of the snail (fig 17). So this is the most blatant use of persuasion, the ad is telling us it (the product) will clean up our image and make us a more desirable commodity. But why use a snail to bring this to our attention? In the second ad in this series we are shown a different view of what the little gold package will do for us. This advertisement tells us that Benson and Hedges will stabilise our lives through strong foundations, the image used is one of a broken "axe" and a slightly dented Special Filter box (fig 18). So these cigarettes will make us strong willed. Yet we are not obviously strong willed enough to "just say no". In my opinion cigarette advertisements are a concept to tease everybody knowing that smoking is detrimental to our health, yet it goads and dares us to smoke. Seemingly the Benson and Hedges art department will stop at nothing to sell their product in the next advertisement in the series, Christmas the season of goodwill is exploited, it seems nothing is out of bounds of an advertisement. In this advertisement Benson and Hedges Gold throws the shadow of a Christmas tree across a snowscape which includes decoration snowballs. The advertiser has to make the most of his visual sales pitch as further restrictions on cigarette advertising are on the increase, it seems that anything goes as long as it is deemed within the advertising code. The cigarette advertisement is probably seen and judged by hundreds of people every day.

"You are the advertisement you produce."

The sad aspect of cigarette advertising is the fact that the advertising industry seems to have accepted that fatalities are viable as long as the end result is financial gain. But these advertisers are coming up against an unlikely competitor even though the cigarette has been the top social accessory for many decades. In the opinion column of "Creative Review the question was"

"What will be the accessory of the Nineties?"

Ewan Douglas, manager of Designer Emporium said "it's a successor to the cigarette or more recently the filofax: it's something that is a mark of achievement, like a Mont Blanc pen, but now people are changing, they're not as materialistic as they once were in the Eighties. "Obviously, it's a baby, It doesn't matter whether Douglas is trying a little sarcasm, though there are rich possibilities for the cigarettes it is bound to waine somewhat. But it's everywhere you look, advertising is full of babies (fig. 23) — usually in the arms of a man, presumably the parent. A child is a clean image and a highly desirable one and as well as







Fig 23. Babies the accessory
Vogue Dec 90

being the accessory of the coming decade it is a great selling ploy and about the only one that would be outside the Advertising Code is one that is to be used in a cigarette advertisement because of the parental taboo of cigarettes. So how will they cope with this. Well probably the way it does at the moment, for most of the people who do smoke are parents, and as a direct result of parenthood. Cigarette advertisers have the great advantage in knowing that the mere cycle of life means that people begin to smoke.

By contrast American advertising is much more up front as there has been little objection to cigarette advertising over there. Camel cigarette advertising has been basically the same over the last 78 years since the American public were teased in newspapers and on bill boards — "Camels are comings" and "Camels!" Tomorrow there will be more Camels in this town than in all Asia and Africa combined. But the basic camel message is "Camel rich blend specially formulated for smoother, longer length smoking" or "No other low tar too can match Camel for taste" (fig. 24). American cigarette advertising is much more informative than persuasive, the american cigarette smoker is promised greater taste rather than the fantasy images that tend to sell European ones, suggesting that the European smoker need a lot more persuasion. It seems that the Europeans feel more at home with the idea that it is not their fault directly for being a smoker. So it seems it is important that advertisers in the west need to "Leighten the darkness" of the taboo we have about the smoking habit.

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15 mg. "tar", 1.0 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method. FILTERS SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health.

Fig 24. Camel (its for you)
Easyrider

THE PRODUCT

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When discussing the subject of persuasive advertising in the cigarette industry it is important to look at the product and it's packaging. On average a smoker smokes a packet of cigarettes a day, this means that the product is exposed and put on view at least twenty times a day, no advertisement in any magazine could hope to have so much exposure. In a highly competitive market with such a range of brands, the design and visual identity of the pack are vital if a sale is to be made. It is no accident that no real life spy story is complete without the unassuming but vital pack. The pack advertises the product everywhere be it in a movie, on a table, in a shop, or discarded on the street. Everywhere you look the cigarette is being given exposure either through the smoking of the product or its pack.

In the early days of the cigarette, its advertisers made a very shrewd decision, during the first World War they decided to associate their product with the Armed Forces, a good excuse for combining marketing with patriotism and national resolve. And it is obvious that the under lying trend in todays advertisements was very much the same at this early time. A good example was the "Will's" cigarette pack then called the "fearless" cigarette on which there is a illustration of a dozen Englishmen beating off an attack of a hundred men. So the young men going off to war were given the false impression that smoking was standard in a brave soldier. Cigarette sales soared at this time of great stress and fear. Other packs of the time were "British Heroes", "Iron Duke" and "The Allies", even "Players Navy Cut" a famous brand of modern times used the same subtle deceptions to boost sales. So the early twentieth Century was manipulated in the same disturbing way we are today. But at times the perversity of the persuasion was much more obvious as the use of premiums and coupons came into being. What this meant was during times of great hardship the smoker could save coupons sold with the cigarettes and then trade them for small items. The irony of this was that if the person wasn't smoking a product that they couldn't afford. then the situation they would find themselves in would be a lot more optimistic. Indeed, Camel turned the tables and manipulated the manipulations by saying:

> "Don't look for premiums or coupons, as the cost of the tobaccos blended in Camel cigarettes prohibits the use of them."

The use of coupons was discontinued after a short time. It seems that the cigarette

has been influenced in many different ways during the decades, so as to be able to play on the viewers fantasies and inadequacies. Cigarettes have long been associated with the great outdoors despite the fact that they are chiefly smoked indoors or at least in restricted areas. The cigarette industry has spent the last 100 years trying to associate their product with popular images. Benson and Hedges are set to break all the rules by setting up their own record label, signing international bands and having the company logo on each disc. This is a particularly devious way to expose the naive teenager to the smoking industry.

Once upon a time the romance between rock and roll, advertising and sponsorship seemed so simple....in a multi dollar sort of way. Super stars like Michael Jackson, Madonna and the Clash signed up for really massive deals and got their tours sponsored in return for swigging Pepsi or wearing Levis. But with Benson and Hedges wanting to get in on the act, they are going to make the cigarette a more glamorous object. As we know fans idolise their mentors and if Joe Strummer or Madonna condone smoking by signing for this label then Benson and Hedges will have made a great breakthrough psychologically (fig. 26). This would then pave the way for an era in which the cigarette would become an acceptable accessory of rebellion and a powerful social image. This being so, the marketing image of the cigarette would no longer be a problem. I would like to illustrate this last point through an existing advertisement (The Levi Strauss Campaign). Back in 1986, the top London advertising agency Bartle, Bogle, Hegarty were faced with the task of relaunching Levis 501 Jeans, a classic design that had been around for just over a hundred years. They could have picked any era of the jeans long history in which to base an advertisement, but, according to assistant managing director Tim Lindsay, they settled on the 1950s as the most ant decade because "it's always there, the '50s as a kind of theme a strand, but it had become very potent in 1985 and 1986.

It was also the era in which jeans had become a uniform of rebellion and that is what we wanted the advertisement to be about: sex and rebellion....visually they achieved this almost too well in the first two advertisements, which had male model Nick Kamen stripping down to his boxer shorts in a launderette and then another model lying full length in a bath of water in order to shrink his jeans to size (Fig. 25). Those images were so strong that they almost overshadow the rest of the series but it was the songs used in both - Marvin Gayes' "I Heard it Through the Grapevine" and "Wonderful World" by Sam Cooke, which turned the world of rock and advertising upside down. Although Benson and Hedges can't advertise on television, because of the advertising Code of Practice, but if Madonna or INXS are signed up on the Benson and Hedges label then every Madonna etc. Video becomes a glossy advertisement that the advertisers have





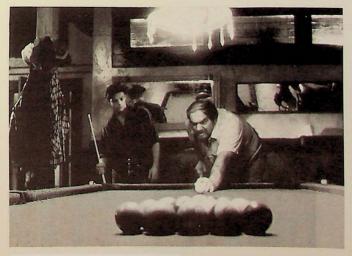


Fig 25. Levi's television ad Vox magazine

control over. So it is very important for the advertiser to explore every avenue in his quest to sell the cigarette and all that goes with it, the cough, the smell, the taste, the addiction, the non-smokers, the health hazard, the sex, the chat up line, the girl across the table, the fantasy, the prize and most importantly the inadequacy.



Fig 26. The Clash

CONCLUSION

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It is a commonly expressed view in the advertising world that people don't smoke the cigarette, they smoke the advertising: blind testing has shown that few smokers can tell one brand of cigarettes from another. My conclusion is that this is a very fair statement. We are subjected to 1300 commercial messages each day... We have to edit them or we go mad. The brain is designed to process only the unusual. So, a cigarette advertisement comes along — a couple of blokes lighting up on their way to the pub, the brain goes dib, dib, dib, puts it in a little box called cigarette advertising, and forgets it. The cigarette advertisement that we are most likely to remember is the one that is completely over the top and the one that offers something that it can not possibly give. After reading about this subject it has become obvious that the cigarette advertiser is much more preoccupied with the buyer than the product. In fact the advertisement does not even have to worry about informing the viewer of the dangers of smoking as the government warning is compulsory but it has become such a familiar part of the image that it is now generally considered to be useless as a deterrent, disregarded and very often concealed by the viewers fingers. Just to expose how much the viewer is mislead, the British Code of Advertising Practice July 1977 specifies that the advertiser must not persuade people to start smoking in posters and Press advertising, They must not persuade people to smoke more, exaggerate the attractions of smoking, exploit the vulnerable, claim it is natural to smoke, or necessary for relaxation, is more manly or enhances female charm, feature the hero's of the young and must refrain from linking the product with success in business life, sport or sexual prowess. This litany is virtually a description of modern sublime advertising, if advertising companies did keep to these rules then cigarette advertising would be more realistic, and therefore pointless as a selling the product would be concerned. Cigarette advertising is based around deception from the minute the page is open as most of the advertisements show imagery which has nothing whatsoever to do with the product, yet through clever psychoanalysis we are led to believe there is a connection between a sheet of silk draped over an ironing board and a cigarette.

Irish cigarette advertising is a lot more basic than the European or American types but it still holds to some of the same guidelines, although not as rigidly. Cigarette advertisements sell the product through peoples inadequacy to decide for themselves or else by searching out their inadequacies and exploiting them (fig. 31), putting them on show. If a person is a compulsive smoker all the advertisement needs to do is remind this person that it is time for another fag. If

somebody is trying to give smoking up then the last thing that they want to see is a reminder so the advertisement is playing on these peoples inadequacies in two completely different ways. Cigarette advertising has in recent years polished up its visual impact to attract viewers from the most cynical group — teenagers, although most youths are naive, they refuse to associate with anything that is uncool (fig. 32).

So advertisers decided that glossy high tech cinema noir images were needed for of male and female interest, so as to expose youngsters more easily to this potentially terminal drug. Advertisers have used many other characteristics in their advertising to turn heads and turning heads is what sells the product, It is the initial eye contact that the advertisement is trying to capture. Once the initial eve contact is made then the persuasion aspect takes over. Persuasion is a simple theory to persuade you thatall you have to do is make the viewer realise that they must have what they are looking at. This can be done in many ways, but by far the easiest is to lie to the public, so as to achieve a quick kill (if you excuse the pun). All the advertiser has to do is associate the product with a highly desirable item or associate it with something to which all viewers understand and have experience and then there is always the sexual connection guaranteed to be an attention grabber. The people who campaign against smoking find it is very obviously a loosing battle and it is a battle that they cannot expect to win. For the cigarette has far too much exposure, it is to well woven into the pattern of everyday life, the cigarette is a part of a way of life, it has become a primary function. if one is starting a new business and moving into a new premises, then it is imperative that the person has a toilet to use and an ashtray to stub his or her cigarette if necessary. So we build certain parts of our lives around the cigarette whether we are smokers or nonsmokers.

One thing is for sure, the cigarette is here to stay, it is vital too to many people and has become a cog in the workings of life. It is a unique product, one that more often than not keeps its customer for the whole period of their life and in the end may be the cause of the termination of the customer. The smoker receives no going away present when retiring from the smoking world. It is a mystery why people smoke when they are aware of its hazards but advertising does have a lot to answer for.

People usually fall into smoking when young and wanting to look older or when they are upset or frightened. To answer the question I asked at the start of this thesis, Yes! The cigarette advertising industry does persuade a great deal of people through inadequacy. The thing I have found is that it goes well beyond the realms of reason and responsibility so as to achieve the desired effect. In

TWENTY-TWO

advertising the cigarette the designers have used propagandist ideals in trying to organise power over the viewer. The viewer is invited to take part in the advertisement by viewing it and making their own assumptions, but only when they have left enough pointers so as to be sure that they know the message has got through. Cigarette advertisement industry is glossy and aesthetically pleasing to the viewer. But by its mere smugness and cruel persuasion it blatantly encourages each customer to damage their health and intices others into trying something that when examined is meaningless (inhaling and exhailing smoke). Some people have to do it, some people like to do it, and there will always be people who want to do it meaning that the Advertising Industry will always be more devious, more wealthy and of course moreprosperous.



Fig 27. Baby "Herman"

TWENT-THREE

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