

Persuasion in Anti-Smoking Advertisements: A Multimodal Approach

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1. Introduction

Smoking is considered the leading cause behind long-term health problems and premature death. In addition, it burdens the national economy with costs of hospital admissions, absenteeism due to smoking-related illness, and lost productivity during smoking breaks. Anti-smoking mass media campaigns, which are considered a prototypical example of social marketing, encourage smokers to cease smoking or protect others, particularly children, from second-hand smoke exposure. These campaigns, which may be publicised via television, radio, newspapers and/or billboards, have proved to be effective in changing smokers' behaviours and reducing smoking, second-hand smoke exposure and smoking-related disease in many countries, such as the UK, the USA, Canada, and so on. According to the Guardian (3-11-2004), smoking costs the NHS (the National Health Service, is the name used for the public health services in the United Kingdom) £1.5 billion each year and kills 120,000 annually, which is shockingly more than five times the collective death toll from car crashes, alcohol and drug abuse accidents, murders, suicides and Aids. This motivated the NHS to sponsor a two-year anti-smoking campaign which proved to be successful because it persuaded 1 million people to quit smoking.

In order to explore the persuasive effects of social marketing in the print advertisements promoted by anti-smoking campaigns in western countries, this study integrates Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001, 2006) multi-modal approach, Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive Theory and the persuasion model of threat and incentive appeals. The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- 1) To what extent would a multimodal approach provide a comprehensive analysis of the persuasive strategies employed in anti-smoking advertisements?
 - a. To what extent does Kress and van Leeuwen's multi-modal approach provide a comprehensive analysis of anti-smoking advertisements?

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- b. In what ways does Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive Theory explain the persuasive strategies used in anti-smoking advertisements?
- c. In what ways does the persuasion model of threat and incentive appeals explain the persuasive strategies used in anti-smoking advertisements?

The following section provides an overview of the theoretical frameworks employed in the study.

2. Theoretical Frameworks

2.1. Persuasion in Advertising

The idea of *persuasion* is indispensable for advertising. Indeed, “advertising is fundamentally persuasion, and persuasion happens to be not a science, but an art” (Bernbach, 1947 cited in Levenson, 1987, p. xvii) (Bill Bernbach is one of the founders of Doyle Dane Bernbach, the worldwide marketing communications network). The *success* of advertisements, which can be interpreted as their impact, conversion to sales and awareness, is likely to be measured quantitatively through sales ratios (Belch and Belch, 2004). However, it can also be measured, though a less prominent approach, by analysing the consumers' emotional response to a certain advertising campaign which can be regarded as an indication of the persuasiveness of that campaign.

This study, however, does not measure the persuasiveness of advertising campaigns through examining the emotional response of the target audience. It rather focuses on the advertisements themselves through conducting a multi-modal analysis augmented by two approaches to persuasion in advertising. Moreover, the study is primarily interested in social marketing, a special type of advertising which does not target profit but rather highlights the best interests of the audience. Social marketing is a *process* aiming to achieve social impact through the application of marketing concepts/strategies to social issues (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 5). As a discipline, social marketing can be defined as “the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society” (Andreasen, 1994, p. 110). It can be seen as “a bag of tools or technologies adapted mainly from commercial marketing and applied to issues for the social good” (Donovan and Henley, 2010, p. 20). As such, it can address and resolve “the wicked problems our world faces” (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 5) including, of course, smoking. This study is mainly interested in anti-smoking campaigns whose ultimate aim is to implement positive change through encouraging smokers to quit smoking, start a healthy

life style and, eventually, protect themselves and their loved ones. Accordingly, these campaigns fall within the scope of social marketing.

Social change can be seen as a kind of business which faces the same challenges as commercial marketing in getting people to *buy* and *act upon* the intended message (Donovan and Henley, 2010, p. 3). As such, social change is not about money; it can be viewed in terms of exchange, whereby social marketers increase people's readiness to change by offering something beneficial in return (Hastings and Domegan, 2014). This *exchange concept* requires that social marketers should: (1) offer a kind of benefit to their target audience, and (2) admit that their target audience must exert an effort and sacrifice resources (e.g., time, money, lifestyle change, psychological effort) in exchange for these promised benefits (Donovan and Henley, 2010). In addition, social marketers should maximise the promised benefits and minimise the required costs, efforts and sacrifices associated with the proposed behaviour change. In this respect, social marketers are supported by advertising campaigns which highlight the promised benefits and promote understanding and empathy in the target audience.

It should be noted, however, that in order to bring about behaviour change, information should be combined with persuasion, where the aim is to directly influence the target audience to adopt the behaviour recommended by the message behind the advertising campaign. Indeed, for social marketing to fulfil its goals, advertising campaigns should inform and persuade (Donovan and Henley, 2010), through addressing both the internal (personal) and external (environmental) forces that guide the undesirable behaviour (Hastings and Domegan, 2014). Such campaigns tend to rely on well-known persuasion approaches in advertising i.e., models of attitude and behaviour change, such as Bandura's 1986 Social Cognitive Theory and the threat/incentive appeals.

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) posits that learning occurs via a process of reinforcement: rewarded behaviours tend to be repeated and punished behaviours tend to be quitted. Many behaviours are learned and adopted through receiving reinforcements, or observing reinforcements delivered to others (which represents the basis of modelling). This theory provides the rationale behind the modelling of desirable health behaviours in advertising (Donovan and Henley, 2010). Health promotion, which can be seen as a prototypical example of social marketing, relies on a number of determinants (Bandura, 2004): (1) knowledge of health risks and benefits of alternative behaviours represents a precondition for change; (2) personal efficacy – i.e., one's belief that one can exercise control over one's health habits – is important in facilitating the adoption and maintenance of the new lifestyle habits; (3) expected outcomes

from the behaviour: physical outcomes (increasing or decreasing health or the pleasures of living), social outcomes (social approval/disapproval by others), self-evaluative outcomes (one's health behaviour/status, incurring self-approval or self-disapproval) and personal goals (a major source of motivation for behaviour change/maintenance); and (4) impediments that interfere with healthful behaviour (e.g., stress, fatigue, competing priorities). Hence, health promotion, such as anti-smoking campaigns, can be instrumental in encouraging behaviour change through empowering people with self-efficacy and establishing positive outcome expectations. Health promotion adopts what Bandura (2004, p. 150) terms *dual paths of influence*: the direct pathway of influence and the socially mediated pathway. Within the former path, the media promote changes by informing, modelling, motivating and guiding personal changes; whereas in the latter, the media link participants to social systems, which provide personalised guidance, incentives and support for change.

Threat appeals, according to Donovan and Henley (2010), include three main components: a source, a negative outcome and a contingent behaviour. The source - which should embody certain characteristics such as likeability, credibility, expertise and impartiality to ensure message acceptance - informs the target audience that a negative outcome will ensue, if the recommended behaviour is not adopted. Fear afflicts the target audience when they perceive that a negative outcome or harmful event is likely to affect them. Then, fear becomes a threat appeal when the source explains that the negative outcome is contingent upon the behaviour of the target audience (Donovan and Henley, 2010). Promotion tends to use three threat types: social threats i.e., concern with social rejection; physical threats i.e., consequences for body and health (Schoenbachler and Whittler, 1996; Dickinson and Holmes, 2008; Charry et al., 2014) and psychological threats i.e., a sense of failure or loss of self-esteem (Donovan and Henley, 2010). It should be noted, however, that when threat appeals are accompanied by high-efficacy messages, they are more likely to lead to changes in attitudes and behaviours (Witte and Allen, 2000). Incentive appeals, on the other hand, are based on promising the target audience that if they quit the undesirable/harmful behaviour and adopt the recommended one, they will be rewarded with benefits. The likelihood of success for these appeals increases when the target audience possesses the efficacy to complete and sustain the desirable behaviour. Both threat and incentive appeals are employed in commercial and social marketing with incentive appeals dominating the former and threat appeals dominating the latter. The literature shows that threat and incentive appeals are intensively used in social marketing, particularly health promotion in campaigns focusing on issues such as condom usage to prevent

HIV/AIDS, smoking cessation, alcohol and driving, flossing for dental hygiene, using sunscreen to prevent skin cancer, breast self-examinations, exercise promotion, and so on (Witte and Allen, 2000, p. 592).

2.2. Kress and van Leeuwen's Multi-modal Approach

Kress and van Leeuwen's framework is used as an analytical tool in a large number of studies. Of particular interest to the purposes of this paper is the application of this framework in studies on promotional discourse, such as adverts (Lick, 2015; Machin, 2007; Starc, 2014; Zuraidah and Ling, 2016), magazine covers (Lirola, 2006), leaflets (Brookes and Harvey, 2015; Lirola and Chovanec, 2012), and websites (Lam, 2013; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Thompson, 2012). This study also deals with promotional discourse, focusing mainly on anti-smoking campaigns as an example of social marketing. However, it is essential before delving into the analysis to provide an overview of Kress and van Leeuwen's framework.

A mode can be defined as “a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack are examples of modes” (Kress, 2009, p. 54). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 177) define multimodal discourse as any discourse that utilises two or more semiotic modes (e.g., spoken/written language and images or other semiotic modes) to convey its meanings. They develop a grammar of visual design which proposes that images, like textual discourse, can be analysed through examining their *grammatical* features (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2006). Their visual grammar aims to “describe the way in which depicted elements - people, places and things - combine in visual ‘statements’ [...], just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 1). This grammar is based on the notion that the visual elements in an image can correspond to the grammatical components of written language: for example, action verbs (e.g., *doing, going*) are realized visually by elements called vectors; and locative prepositions (e.g., *in bed, at home, on the floor, upstairs*) are realized visually by characteristics that create the contrast between foreground and background like overlapping, the gradients of focus and the degrees of colour saturation (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, p. 46).

The roots of Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) visual grammar, which is considered a major development in Social Semiotics, can be traced back to Halliday's (1985) functional grammar which construes all linguistic representations of actions, events and experiences of the world as process types and participants. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that visuals convey three

strands of meanings which can be correlated with Halliday's three metafunctions in respect to verbal language: (1) representational (ideational), since visuals construe experiences about the world as perceived and offered by their creators; (2) interactive (interpersonal), since there is a social relation between what or who is represented in the visuals, the visual creator, and the viewer(s); and (3) compositional (textual) meaning since, like verbal language which needs to be organized to form a coherent text, the elements of a visual need to be composed and organised into an integrated whole. They further elaborated that a social actor analysis of visuals can be conducted via transitivity patterns. This kind of analysis would require the analysts to identify what or who are pictured, the represented participants, their activities, and the attributes attributed to them.

The representational meaning, which describes the ways that various kinds of visuals are organised and represented, is conveyed via two major processes: narrative and conceptual processes (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 56). Narrative processes in visuals are further classified into two major kinds: actional and reactional processes. Actional processes, which involve the represented characters in some kind of physical action, can be non-transactional (where there is only one participant and therefore no action directed towards anyone or anything) or transactional (where there are two or more participants, i.e., an actor, a goal and/or a beneficiary, involved in a kind of action). Transactional and non-transactional processes, which correspond to transitive and intransitive verbs in language respectively, are realised by vectors, i.e., lines that can be visually projected from the actor and extended towards the other participant(s) or some goal (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 61-64). Reactional processes, on the other hand, are those whereby the represented participants are characterised by a reaction, which is realised by the direction of the gaze of one of the participants, namely, the *reacter*. The reactor should be a human or an animal, with visible eyes and facial expressions, in order to have a gaze. The direction or focus of the gaze creates an eyeline vector extended to the receiving participant or the whole process, which is termed the phenomenon (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p.64-67).

As for the conceptual processes in visuals, Kress and van Leeuwen recognise three major kinds: classificational, analytical, and symbolic processes. Classificational processes are those which relate the represented participants in terms of a taxonomy of types of things, or classes of things (1996, p. 79-88). Analytical processes, on the other hand, relate the participants in terms of part/whole relations, where one participant represents the 'whole', referred to as the *carrier*, and the other participants (of any number) are the 'parts', termed the Possessive Attributes. Symbolic processes relate to the meaning associated with

a participant in a visual. These processes are further classified into two categories: Symbolic attributive (which represents the meaning and identity conferred to the carrier, such as a virtue, motif, or greater significance) and Symbolic suggestive (which represents the meaning and identity as coming from within or deriving from qualities of the carrier).

Meanwhile, interactive meaning relates to the ways that visuals attempt to address their potential viewers. Visual grammar distinguishes between interactive participants (i.e., the participants who are communicating, such as the writer and the reader of a text, the speaker and the listener of a message, or the creator (artist) and the viewer of images) and represented participants (i.e., the participants, whether animate or inanimate, who or which are communicated about by the interactive participants in their communication; the people, places and things which are represented in speech, writing or images) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 45-46). Interactive meaning can be realized through three important devices in visuals: the absence or presence of gaze, the size of frame, and the type of angle used (1996, p. 153). The presence or absence of gaze either between the represented participants or directed by them to the viewers constitutes a social relation and may be interpreted as a demand or an offer that the viewers, or interactive participants can acknowledge or disclaim. In verbal language, one can offer information (make a statement) or goods and services (make an offer); and one can also demand information (ask a question) or demand goods and services (give a command) (1996, p. 127-129).

Visuals, however, tend to offer information and demand some kind of response from the viewer. A visual demand is realised by the presence or absence of a gaze, which indicates a form of direct or indirect address to the viewer (1996, p. 121-130). The gaze may often be supported by some kind of physical gesture, such as a smile (suggesting social affinity), a stare (suggesting disdain), or a pout (suggesting a sexual offer). Each of these gestures draws the viewer(s) into some kind of social relation with the represented character and requires some kind of response which, in this case, would be to accede to or deny the demand (1996, p. 122-123). Visual offers, on the other hand, invite the viewer(s) to examine or look at the represented participants, whose gaze are not directed at them, as “items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case” (1996, p. 124).

The size of frame in the visual - which can be close-up shots, medium shots, and long or distance shots - can convey a sense of social proximity between the represented participants and the viewers, ranging from being intimate, socially close but not intimate, to being strangers (1996, p. 130-135). Thus, a close-up shot implies engagement with the represented participants in the sense that they

can almost be touched or used; a middle distance shot implies more distance and less engagement; while a long distance shot suggests that the represented participants are to be viewed as objects of contemplation only, with no possibility of engagement beyond this.

Finally, the angle taken in visuals construes power relations and degrees of involvement between viewers and what is viewed. The vertical angle allows for the establishment of power relations between the viewer and the represented participants: if the represented participant is viewed by the viewer from a high angle as it were, then the viewer is deemed to have a more powerful position relative to the represented participant and vice versa (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 142-143). The horizontal angle, on the other hand, projects the degrees of involvement between the viewer and the represented participants: the frontal angle conveys a message of inclusion, implying that the represented participants are part of the viewer's world; while the oblique angle conveys a message of exclusion, implying that there is a lack of involvement between the represented participants and the viewer(s) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 146-148).

The textual or compositional meaning in visuals is realized through compositional layout elements such as information value, salience, and framing (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006; Unsworth, 2008). The first aspect of compositional meaning is information value. The placement of the elements in a visual endows them with specific informational values attached to the various 'zones' of the image: left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin. Kress and van Leeuwen propose that in the compositional structure of visuals there is a significant use of the horizontal axis in establishing the Given-New ordering, via positioning some of the represented elements on the left (the Given: the well-established, known, understood, implicitly held views), and some other elements on the right (the New: the contestable, to-be-established, presented as not yet known, to be agreed upon, or to be made explicit) (1996, p. 187). They also propose that the vertical axis is important in compositional structuring: with the top of a visual occupying the space of the *ideal* or most highly valued and the bottom occupying the place of the *real* or less highly valued (1996, p. 193). A third aspect of information value is the Centre-Margin ordering which highlights the importance of the central spaces in visuals: positioning a represented element in the Centre means that it is the nucleus of the information and all the other elements are, in some sense, subservient.

The second aspect of composition is salience, which refers to the ability of a viewer to assess the importance of the represented elements depending on factors such as the placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (colour), differences in sharpness, and so on (Kress and van

Leeuwen 1996, p. 213). Framing is the third aspect of composition which works in combination with the other two aspects, namely, information value and salience. It refers to the degrees of connectedness or boundedness provided by an actual frame or frame lines around the elements in a visual, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense. Framing allows for the interpretation that the represented elements *go together* and should be viewed as part of the same message; or that they can be disconnected from each other, conveying the sense that they should be viewed separately (1996, p. 214). Framing can be realised by elements within a visual by methods such as the use of discontinuities of colour hue or saturation, of variations in visual shape, or simply by the use of empty space (1996, p. 216).

In Kress and van Leeuwen's model, the verbal sections of a visual are referred to as syntagms. A transitivity analysis of the referential choice and the ideological effect of syntagms is quite significant for a comprehensive social actor analysis. Indeed, this type of analysis "shows us who is mainly given a subject (agent/ participant) or object (affected/patient) position [...] simply it is asking who does what to whom" (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 104). The activated social actors, the ones who do things and make things happen, are generally important and are usually foregrounded and presented as capable of "action, for making things happen, for controlling others and so forth, is accentuated" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 150). For the passivated social actors, on the other hand, "what is accentuated is their subjection to processes, them being affected by the actions of others" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 113). In the analysis of the verbal sections, this paper focuses mainly on: (1) mood, (2) naming, (3) the use of pronouns, and (4) the use of metaphors.

3. Analysis

This study adopts Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2001, 2006) visual grammar, SCT and threat/incentive appeals to conduct a multimodal analysis of 20 advertisements from various anti-smoking campaigns promoted in western countries including the UK, the USA and Canada. The 20 advertisements are downloaded from the websites of official health institutions such as the NHS, Smokefree and Health Canada. They are divided into three sections according to the size of frame (close-up shots, medium shots, and long shots) and are numbered in Table (1).

Table (1) Selected visuals divided according to the size of frame

	Close-up		
1		2	
3			
5			
7		8	
9		10	

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11		12	
Medium shots			
13		14	
15		16	
17		18	
Long shots			
19		20	

The interactive participants targeted by the selected visuals can be defined as any smoker and, in some visuals, any smoking parent. These participants are invited to empathise with the represented participants projected as actors of the action of smoking; sympathise with the represented participants projected as victims of the action of smoking, i.e., children; and/or respond to the visual gaze of the represented participant(s) and to the second-person address in the syntagm. The ultimate aim behind each advertisement is to persuade these interactive participants that they are endangering their lives as well as the lives of the surrounding people who are subjected to passive smoking. The producers of the advertisements attempt to realise this aim through creating three strands of meanings: (1) representational, (2) interactive, and (3) compositional. However, the selected advertisements (Ads 1-20) are to be described both in terms of the visual and verbal sections before commenting on how they manage to convey these three types of meaning.

Ad (1) projects a close-up of a boy directing his gaze at the viewer (who is supposed to be his mother) and addressing the mother in the syntagm using the second-person: 'Mum, I want you to stop smoking. Because I don't want you to die. Because you're the best mum I've had.' There is a lit-up cigarette accompanied by a measuring device on the right side of the ad with another syntagm (a question): 'How long can you live?' The question is presented using a special typography: each word is dedicated a line with the font size getting bigger downwards, making the word 'live' biggest in size. Ad (2) provides a close-up of a girl also directing her gaze at the viewer (supposedly the mother) and directly addressing the mother in the syntagm: 'Hello Mum. I know you walk past here. That's why I thought it'd be a good place to say, don't smoke. I'm scared that you'll die.' Ad (3) provides a close-up of a bruised, swollen and apparently beaten up face of a man accompanied by the syntagm: 'SMOKING BATTERS YOU INSIDE.' Ad (4) presents a close-up of a girl literally hooked-up from the mouth with her upper lip drawn to the hook, and a syntagm in the bottom reading: 'The average smoker needs over five thousand cigarettes a year. Get unhooked.' Ad (5) projects a close-up of a man directing his gaze at a handkerchief smeared by blood, together with the syntagms: '\$16 A PACK ISN'T ALL SMOKERS COUPH UP' and 'Coughing up blood can be the first sign of lung cancer.' Ad (6) projects a close-up of a woman chewing a rat in her mouth and having a lit-up cigarette in her hand, accompanied by the syntagms: 'SOME PEOPLE WILL PUT ANYTHING IN THEIR MOUTHS' and 'What goes into dodgy cigs is criminal.' Ad (7) provides a close-up of a teenager closing his eyes and smoking a cigarette with the smoke taking the shape of a skull, and a syntagm reading: 'Quit Smoking. Killing over 100000 people in the

UK every year. The time to quit might just be now. You're not alone.' Ad (8) provides a close-up of a teenager directing his gaze at the viewer and smoking a cigarette with the smoke taking the shape of a gun, accompanied by a syntagm reading: 'Kill a cigarette and save a life. Yours.' Ad (9) provides a close-up of a boy using a ventilator and directing his gaze at the viewers, together with syntagms reading: 'Warning', 'Your kids are sick of your smoking', 'Second-hand smoke causes more frequent and severe asthmatic attacks in children', and 'You can quit. We can help.' Ad (10) projects a close-up of a half-open cigarette pack showing at its centre the picture of the face of a young child using a ventilator and directing his gaze at the viewer(s), together with syntagms reading: 'SMOKING STILL KILLS/200 PEOPLE EVERY DAY.', 'Brand name. Variant name', '20 cigarettes', and 'Hundreds of children take up smoking every day.' Ad (11) projects a close-up of a woman carrying a cigarette to her large open mouth which contains another very small mouth smoking the cigarette, together with a syntagm reading: 'Pregnant smokers give birth to children who are susceptible to lung diseases. Put out the fire.' Ad (12) projects a close-up of a beautiful young woman directing her gaze at the viewers, carrying a lit-up cigarette and the smoke covering half of her face and showing wrinkles underneath. The accompanying syntagms read: 'Your Beauty. Up In Smoke', and 'Tobacco will destroy your face cell by cell, from the inside out. That's the ugly truth.'

Ad (13) presents a medium shot of a very sick woman, sleeping on a hospital bed and looking away from the viewers, together with the syntagms: 'Warning', 'This is what dying of lung cancer looks like', 'Barb Tarbox died at 42 of lung cancer caused by smoking', and 'You can quit. We can help'. Ad (14) presents a medium shot of a woman sitting on an arm chair, smoking a cigarette and looking at something far away, while being under potential attack by a skull-headed cloaked figure (the Grim Reaper) from behind – together with a syntagm reading: 'TILL DEATH DO US APART'. Ad (15) presents a medium shot of a boy directing his gaze at someone familiar to him and being suffocated by a hand made up of smoke, together with a syntagm reading: 'Your smoking harms your child'. Ad (16) presents a medium shot of a crying boy suffocated by a bag made up of smoke, accompanied by a syntagm reading: 'Smoking isn't just suicide. It's murder.' Ad (17) presents a medium shot of the belly of a pregnant woman with a smiley face of a baby drawn on top of it, accompanied by a syntagm reading: 'Quit for you. Quit for two'. Ad (18) is divided into two medium shots: the first shows someone carrying a pack of cigarettes in his hands, with a syntagm reading: 'Buy One'; and the second shows the same figure using a ventilator, with a syntagm reading: 'Get One Free. Smoking kills.'

Ad (19) presents a long shot of a skull-headed person cloaked in black (the Grim Reaper) carrying a young woman whose face evokes the sense that she is not happy, with syntagms reading: 'Get your life back.', 'Death can wait. Find the power to quit smoking today.' Ad (20) projects a long shot of a couple on their wedding day with the groom wearing a suit and the bride wearing a wedding dress and the bride is made up of smoke, accompanied by a syntagm reading: 'Smoking = shorter relationships.'

The representational meaning is conveyed via two major processes: narrative and conceptual processes. Narrative processes in the advertisements are further classified into two kinds: actional and reactional processes. Actional processes, in turn, are further divided into non-transactional and transactional. Transactional processes can be found in (3) which presents the picture of a man's bruised face and comments that 'smoking batters you inside', thus depicting 'smoking' as an actor and the smoker as a victim; (4) which shows a girl literally dragged by a hook; (6) which shows a woman involved in the actions of eating a rat and smoking; (7, 8, 11) which project people involved in the action of smoking; (14, 19) which project 'death' as an actor and one woman in each advertisement as his potential victim; (15) which shows a boy being suffocated by a hand made up of smoke; and (16) which projects a boy crying and being suffocated by a bag made up of smoke. Non-transactional processes, on the other hand, are found in (13) which presents a sick woman lying on a hospital bed; and (17) which presents the picture of a pregnant belly with the drawing of a smiley face on top of it. Reactional processes are realised by the presence of a gaze directed from one participant towards another participant or the whole process. These processes are found in (3) which projects a man, in shock, directing his gaze at a handkerchief smeared with blood; and (20) which projects a groom romantically directing his gaze at the bride who is shockingly nothing but smoke.

Conceptual processes, and more particularly symbolic processes, are also found in the advertisements. These processes are classified into Symbolic attributive and Symbolic suggestive. Symbolic attributive processes (such as a virtue, motif, or greater significance) are evoked by the lit-up cigarette which represents the length of life (1); the bruised face which represents that harm that smoking may cause to the internal body organs (3); the hook dragging the girl which corresponds to people's addiction to smoking (4); the rat in the woman's mouth which represents the dodgy stuff that might be added to cigarettes (6); the gun and the skull made up of smoke which evoke the sense that smoking causes death (7 and 8); and the skull-headed cloaked figure which represents death (14 and 20). Symbolic suggestive processes, on the other hand, suggest health

problems and loss of beauty and are evoked by the ventilators (9 and 18), the blood on the handkerchief (5), and the wrinkles underneath the smoke (12).

The interactive meaning is mainly realised in the selected advertisements through the absence or presence of gaze and the size of frame. The represented participant's eye contact with the viewer(s) is taken as a form of visual engagement and involvement. The advertisements (1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 12) are characterised by the presence of a gaze directed at the viewer(s). Eyeline vectors are created between the represented participants in these advertisements and the viewer(s), establishing a visual form of direct address and, thus, *demanding* the viewer to empathise/sympathise and eventually to change his/her behaviour. Other advertisements (3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 16, 17 and 18) do not have the viewer as the object of the represented participant's gaze. In this case, the viewer is invited to view the represented participant as an *offer* of information or an object for contemplation. It is noted that some advertisements (14, 15, 19 and 20) include both a demand (since one of the represented participants is directing his/her gaze at another represented participant) and an offer (since the viewer is not an object of the gaze).

The size of frame, i.e., close-up shots, medium shots, and long shots, convey a sense of social proximity between the represented participants and the viewers, ranging from being intimate, socially close but not intimate, to being strangers. The advertisements present the three options: 12 close-ups (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12) which tend to generate an intimate relation between the represented participant and the viewers; 6 medium shots (13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18) which are less personal than close-ups, but not as impersonal as long shots; and 2 long shots (19 and 20) which create social distance from the represented participant treating him/her as a stranger and also as an object of contemplation.

The compositional meaning in the selected advertisements is mainly realised through information value and salience. The placement of the elements in each advertisement endows them with specific informational values. The information structure of the semiotic space is organised via three separate dimensions: the vertical, the horizontal and the centre-periphery. The vertical dimension places general information at the top and more specific information at the bottom; the horizontal dimension places 'given' information on the left and 'new' information on the right; the centre-periphery places most important information in the centre and less important information at the margins. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 219), new information is placed on the right; general information is placed at the top and specific information at the bottom; important information is placed in the centre of the visual and less important information on the periphery; and graphically salient elements attract viewers' attention.

The ability of the viewer(s) to assess the salience of the represented elements depend on factors such as the placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in colour. In terms of information value, the advertisements (2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19 and 20) uses the vertical layout (Ideal-Real), where the upper part representing ‘what might be’, the Ideal, and the lower part showing ‘what is’, the Real. The top section, being the most noticeable place in the visual, is occupied by the *heavier* elements to catch the readers’ eye. The centre is the *nucleus* of the visual and, in terms of salience, the bigger the central element, the more eye-catching it would be. Other advertisements (1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 and 17) have a horizontal layout (Given-New) presenting the *Given* on the left and the *New* on the right.

In the majority of the advertisements, the text tends to occupy the right side, i.e., the zone of the new information (1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15 and 17). Only twice the text appears on the left side (2 and 12) and twice in the centre (16 and 18). In terms of the vertical axis, the text occurs at the top (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13 and 17), the centre (5, 9, 11, 13 and 18), and the bottom (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20). Some advertisements include texts occupying more than one position: top and bottom (1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13 and 17), and top and centre (5, 9 and 13). It should be noted that, in this case, the texts placed at the top tend to have the largest and boldest typeface in comparison with the fonts of the other texts placed at the centre or bottom. The represented characters, on the other hand, tend to be placed either on the left side (1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 and 17) or the centre (2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19 and 20), i.e., the zones of the most important and the familiar. In terms of the vertical axis, the represented characters tend to cover the full length of the visual.

The noticeability of the text and the represented characters could be explained in terms of their large size. The represented characters tend to be noticed first by viewers since they are the largest elements in the visuals and due to their position in the foreground. Likewise, colour plays a significant role in making objects salient in terms of composition. Colour differentiation evokes happiness and pleasure, while monochrome means ‘seriousness’ (Machin, 2007: p. 56, 78). Darkness and light are also associated with meanings, where light is interpreted as ‘optimism’ and darkness as ‘concealment’ (Machin 2007: p. 54). Indeed, the seriousness of the issue and the gravity of the effects of smoking both on smokers and others are reflected via the colours used in the selected advertisements. The font colour of the text varies between white against a dark background (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20), white highlighted in red (7), red (6, 9, 10 and 13), black against a light background (1 and 10), yellow against a dark background (9 and 13), and various shades of purple (17).

The backgrounds, on the other hand, tend to be black or dark grey (3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19 and 20), various shades of light grey (1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 15), and light blue (17). It is noted that the only advertisement (17) displaying bright colours which may be associated with positive prospects (purple texts and light blue background) also happens to be the only one including an incentive appeal i.e., promises of a better future.

The syntagms, i.e., the texts accompanying the images in each advertisement, are analysed in terms of mood, naming, the use of pronouns, and metaphors. In English grammar, mood refers to the quality of a verb in a sentence that conveys the writer's attitude toward a subject. There are five major moods: conditional (used to express an event whose realization is dependent upon another condition), imperative (used to express a request or command), indicative (used to make factual statements), interrogative (used to pose questions), and subjunctive (used to show a wish, doubt, or a hypothetical). There is an intensive use of the indicative mood in the advertisements in order to convey facts about the severe harm smoking can do to people's health: (3) 'SMOKING BATTERS YOU INSIDE'; (4) 'The average smoker needs over five thousand cigarettes a year'; (5) '\$16 A PACK ISN'T ALL SMOKERS COUPH UP'; (5) 'Coughing up blood can be the first sign of lung cancer'; (6) 'SOME PEOPLE WILL PUT ANYTHING IN THEIR MOUTHS'; (6) 'What goes into dodgy cigs is criminal'; (7) 'Killing over 100000 people in the UK every year. The time to quit might just be now. You're not alone'; (9) 'Your kids are sick of your smoking'; (9) 'Second-hand smoke causes more frequent and severe asthmatic attacks in children'; (10) 'SMOKING STILL KILLS/200 PEOPLE EVERY DAY.'; (10) 'Hundreds of children take up smoking every day'; (11) 'Pregnant smokers give birth to children who are susceptible to lung diseases'; (12) 'Tobacco will destroy your face cell by cell, from the inside out. That's the ugly truth'; (13) 'This is what dying of lung cancer looks like'; (13) 'Barb Tarbox died at 42 of lung cancer caused by smoking'; (15) 'Your smoking harms your child'; (16) 'Smoking isn't just suicide. It's murder'; (18) 'Smoking kills'; and (20) 'Smoking = shorter relationships'. These factual statements also help to support the credibility of the source of the messages in the advertisements and present these messages as expert opinions to achieve more powerful persuasive effects.

The imperative mood is also employed in many advertisements to involve the viewers and stress the fact that they need to change their behavior: (4) 'Get unhooked'; (7) 'Quit Smoking'; (8) 'Kill a cigarette and save a life. Yours'; (11) 'Put out the fire'; (17) 'Quit for you. Quit for two'; (18) 'Buy One', 'Get One Free'; (19) 'Get your life back'; and (19) 'Find the power to quit smoking today'. The interrogative mood is only employed in the use of the rhetorical question in

(1): ‘How long can you live?’ The texts in the advertisements (1) (‘Mum, I want you to stop smoking. Because I don’t want you to die. Because you’re the best mum I’ve had’) and (2) (‘Hello Mum. I know you walk past here. That’s why I thought it’d be a good place to say, don’t smoke. I’m scared that you’ll die’) convey a sense of both subjunctive and imperative moods since they express the children’s requests that their mothers cease smoking and also their wishes for healthy lives for their mothers.

Strategies of naming and modification are also employed for persuasive effects. In (9), the name given to the illness that is likely to afflict children subjected to second-hand smoke is ‘asthmatic attacks’ rather than ‘asthma’ or ‘lung disease. The use of ‘attacks’, which can be seen as a metaphor itself, foregrounds the harm done to children. Furthermore, the use of the modifiers ‘frequent’ and ‘severe’ to describe the ‘asthmatic attacks’ foregrounds the harm even further and evokes the viewers’ sympathy. The pack of cigarettes in (10) was supposed to have a brand name. However, the ad doesn’t use a specific brand name, but rather gives ‘Brand name. Variant name’ which suggests that the brand name doesn’t really matter since all brands are harmful. The reference to ‘death’ in (14) ‘TILL DEATH DO US APART’ evokes an intertextual relation with marriage vows which suggest that the couple will remain together for the rest of their, hopefully, long lives. In this ad, however, the use of the marriage vows can be taken as a kind of dark humour since the association itself between the woman and smoking would eventually invite death to end the woman’s life. In (16), ‘Smoking isn’t just suicide. It’s murder’, the use of the noun ‘murder’ stresses the guilt of the smoker in harming others including his/her own children. There is another intertextual link in (18) ‘Buy One’, ‘Get One Free’ with a very widespread marketing slogan. The noun ‘one’ is skillfully used with the images in the ad to refer to two different things namely: a pack of cigarettes and a lung disease. The creation of such association foregrounds the harms of smoking.

The use of pronouns is also significant in the advertisements. The second person point of view is adopted in many advertisements to involve the reader by using a direct mode of address. 10 out of the 20 advertisements employ the second person. This is clear in using ‘you’ (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9 and 17), ‘your’ (12, 15 and 19) and yours (8). The slot of the addressee in all these advertisements can be filled by any male or female smoker. However, mothers are particularly addressed in (1 and 2) and smoking parents in (9).

Metaphors can be used as powerful rhetorical and persuasive devices since they provide alternative ways of seeing a particular issue. The advertisements employ both textual and visual metaphors to achieve maximum persuasive effects. Textual metaphors are provided in the verbal sections of the

advertisements (3, 4, 5 and 6); and visual metaphors, on the other hand, uses the image itself as a visual pun (4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20). Sometimes, the same advertisement employs both textual and visual metaphors (4 and 6). In (3), the metaphor depicts the harm that smoking would do to the smoker's body and that harm is highlighted via the image and the use of the strong verb 'batters'; (4) presents the image of a girl hooked by her upper lip which metaphorically shows one's addiction to smoking; in (5), the metaphor relates the image with the text since the smoker is 'coughing' up blood literally and money metaphorically; in (6), the image of the girl eating a rat suggests that harmful things can be put in the cigarettes and nevertheless smokers would still smoke them; in (7) and (8), the images whereby the smoke takes the shape of a skull and a gun respectively suggest metaphorically that smoking would kill smokers; in (12), the image creates a metaphorical association between smoking and the disappearance of beauty and youth, depicting beauty as a victim of smoking. This association is further highlighted via the use of the verb 'destroy' with the actor 'tobacco' as well as the use of the modifier 'ugly' to describe 'truth'. In (15) and (16), the images respectively depict smoke taking the shape of an arm with the hand suffocating a small child and the shape of a bag surrounding a child's head and suffocating him. These disturbing, unexpected images, which metaphorically suggest the harmful effects of second-hand smoke on children, are likely to evoke a strong response from viewers. In (17), the pregnant woman puts both her hands tenderly on her belly which has a smiley face drawn on top of it. This image can be metaphorically interpreted as a promise that quitting smoking would guarantee a happy healthy life for both the mother and her baby. In (18), the use of the widespread marketing slogan 'Buy One' (accompanied by the image of a man carrying a pack of cigarettes), 'Get One Free' (accompanied by the image of the same man using a ventilator) creates a metaphorical association of smoking and health problems. This visual pun is supported by a textual metaphor 'Smoking kills' to stress the dangers of smoking. (14) and (19) create an intertextual link with the classical representation of 'death' as the Grim Reaper, a cloaked skull-faced man. This visual pun evokes a sense of danger and urgency to escape from that threat. In (20), there is another visual pun whereby the bride is made up of smoke which makes her look like a ghost and suggest the short span of her relationship with the groom and probably of all her life. This idea is further supported by the syntagm, 'Smoking = shorter relationships'

According to the Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) desirable health behaviours presented in advertisements can be modelled by the target audience. This is the epitome of the social marketing, or more particularly, health promotion, which aims at persuading the target audience to adopt a certain healthier life style for

their own benefit and the benefit of their dear ones. The selected advertisements include a number of persuasive strategies, or in SCT terminology, determinants, which are characteristic of health promotion: (1) they provide information about the health risks of smoking and benefits of quitting; (2) they focus on promoting the target audience's personal efficacy (as shown in 7, 9, 13 and 19) motivating them to believe that one can exercise control over one's health habits – which is important in facilitating the decision of quitting smoking and maintaining the recommended lifestyle; and (3) they also focus on the expected outcomes from smoking: physical outcomes (getting a better health in case of quitting smoking and developing health problems, eventually dying and hurting dear ones particularly children in case of continuing to smoke), self-evaluative outcomes (one is capable of quitting and eventually be healthier, happier, and more satisfied with his life) and personal goals (motivating the target audience to quit for their own and for others' best interests, i.e., a better health for themselves and for their children). It can be argued that the advertisements, through empowering people with self-efficacy, highlighting the negative outcomes and establishing positive outcome expectations encourage the target audience to change their behaviour and quit smoking. Hence, it can be said that the advertisements adopt what Bandura (2004, p. 150) terms “dual paths of influence”: the direct pathway of influence by informing(knowledge of risks to health – negative outcomes), modelling(the viewers are invited to empathise with models – this could be related to incentive appeals for positive outcomes and with threat appeals for negative outcomes), motivating (promoting self-efficacy)and guiding personal changes; and the socially mediated pathway by providing personalised guidance, incentives and support for change. It should be noted that the health institutions responsible for the anti-smoking campaigns offer help to smokers and advise them to call a telephone number and/or consult a website (as shown in 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 15 and 19).

The persuasive strategies mentioned above can be seen as a kind of threat and incentive appeals. The threat appeals dominate the selected advertisements. 19 out of 20 advertisements include threat appeals. They include three main components: a *source*, a *negative outcome* and a *contingent behaviour*. The source, which is likely to be knowledgeable medical researchers or practitioners, provides the message highlighting the negative outcome that the contingent behaviour, i.e., smoking, is harmful to health and would lead to severe health problems and potentially to death. All the threat appeals employed in the advertisements can be classified as physical threats, since they are related to the consequences for body and health in case of maintaining the undesirable behaviour of smoking. Incentive appeals, on the other hand, which promise the

target audience with a better health and better future for themselves and their children, are not frequent. It should also be noted that both threat and incentive appeals are accompanied by high-efficacy messages, that the target audience have the strength and power of self-control to quit smoking and offers of guidance and support. The persuasive strategies are supported by visual elements which convey foregrounding or salience effects such as the use of sharp colours, the large size and central or top position of the represented participants, the presence of the gaze directed at the viewer which may be taken as a form of address and so on. They are also supported in the syntagms by the use of the second person 'you' (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9 and 17), 'your' (12, 15 and 19), and 'yours' (8); linguistic metaphors (3, 4, 5 and 6) and visual puns (4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20); questions (1); warnings (9 and 13); and the use of strong negative words related to death, disease, and destruction such as 'die'/'death' (1, 2, 13, 14 and 19), 'batters' (3), 'cancer' (5 and 13), 'kill' (7, 8, 10 and 18), 'Asthmatic attacks' (9), 'lung disease' (11), 'destroy' (12), 'harm' (15), and 'murder' (16). This combination increases the likelihood of success for the advertisements since the target audience would be persuaded that they are endangering themselves and their children; and that they possess the efficacy to quit smoking and guarantee a better future.

4. Conclusion

The analysis, which deals with both the verbal and visual sections of the selected advertisements, have answered both the main research question (*To what extent would a multimodal approach provide a comprehensive analysis of the persuasive strategies employed in anti-smoking advertisements?*) and its sub-questions (*a. To what extent does Kress and van Leeuwen's multi-modal approach provide a comprehensive analysis of anti-smoking advertisements?; b. In what ways does Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive Theory explain the persuasive strategies used in anti-smoking advertisements?; and, c. In what ways does the persuasion model of threat and incentive appeals explain the persuasive strategies used in anti-smoking advertisements?*).

To achieve the aim of anti-smoking campaigns, which accords with the ultimate aim of social marketing, the selected advertisements have employed a number of persuasive strategies including strong self-efficacy messages, provision of information about the dangers of smoking and benefits of quitting, as well as the use of threat and incentive appeals. Indeed, the advertisements are predominated with threat appeals which are further supported by strong self-efficacy messages. These persuasive strategies are further supported by verbal and visual elements. The visual elements evoke three kinds of meanings:

representational, interactive, and compositional. Representational meaning is evoked through the use of narrative processes (14 times) and conceptual processes (12 times). Narrative processes are divided into actional processes (12 times) and reactional processes (2 times). Actional processes are further divided into transactional processes (10 times) and non-transactional processes (2 times). Conceptual processes, in turn, are manifested in the advertisements in the form of symbolic processes which are divided into symbolic attributive processes (8 times) and symbolic suggestive processes (4 times).

The analysis of the interactive meaning of the advertisements relies on the presence or absence of gaze and the size of the frame. It is noted that the selected advertisements include 9 offers created by the gaze when not directed at the viewers; 7 demands created by the gaze when directed at the viewers; and 4 advertisementseach including both an offer and a demand. The advertisementsemploy the three frame sizes: close-ups (12 times), medium (6 times) and long shots (2 times), with close-ups being the most frequent type since this suggests more involvement and intimacy with the viewers.

Compositional meaning, on the other hand, is created by information value and salience. As for information value, the advertisements adopt both vertical layouts (11 times) and horizontal layouts (9 times). In terms of the horizontal axis, the texts in the advertisements tend to occupy the right side or the side of the new information (11 times), with only 2 occurrences in the centre and 2 in the left side. In terms of the vertical axis, texts tend to come on the top (10 times) and bottom (17 times) rather than the centre (5). When texts occur in more than one place in the advertisements, they tend to occur in the top and bottom sections (9 times) rather than the top and centre (3 times). As for the represented characters, they tend to occupy the full length of the visual vertically due to their large size. In terms of the horizontal axis, however, characters tend to appear in the zones of the most important and most familiar, namely, the left side (8 times) and the centre (12). In terms of salience, there is a tendency in the advertisements to use a large size for the represented characters and, in most cases, for the texts, particularly those in the top. There is a tendency in all the advertisements to highlight the contrast in terms of colour using dark backgrounds and light font colours. Dark backgrounds, which tend to evoke a sense of the seriousness of the issue is used 13 times. Even when lighter backgrounds are found, shades of light grey are used (6 times). Indeed, the colours, black and the variant shades of grey, can be associated with sorrow, sadness and potentially seriousness.

As for the syntagms, the advertisements tend to use the indicative mood to provide information (19 times), and the imperative mood to involve the viewers and advise them (8 times). There is also a skilful selection of nouns, adjectives

and intertextual links to highlight the dangerous effects of smoking. Finally, the advertisements use metaphors as persuasive devices, thus, offering alternative ways to view the issue at hand. There is a tendency, however, to use shocking visual puns (11 times) rather than textual metaphors (4 times).

In conclusion, the selected advertisements skilfully employ both the visual and textual sections to highlight the harmful effects of smoking in an attempt to persuade the viewers to quit smoking.

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