

The Smoking Image: Persuasion in Western Cigarette Advertising

Bachelor's Thesis

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<i>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</i> <p><i>Savukemainoksilla on ollut kiistelty maine koskien tupakoinnin vaaroihin liittyviä väittämiä ja niiden kommunikointia julkisuudessa sekä terveysviranomaisten että tupakkayhtiöiden omalta osalta. 2000-luvun vaihteessa paljastui laajempi savuketeollisuuden harjoittama harhaanjohtamisoperaatio koskien tupakointiin liittyviä tieteellisiä faktoja. Tämä tutkimus pyrkii kartoittamaan operaation ja perinteisen mainonnan välistä yhteyttä, jota aiemmissa akateemisissa tutkimuksissa ei ole vielä kattavasti käsitelty. Diskurssitutkimus käsittelee kuvan ja tekstin välistä multimodaalista yhteyttä lehtimainoksissa, minkä motivaationa toimii savukemainoksien lisääntynyt visuaalisuus sekä kulttuurinen konteksti, joka koskee savukemainontaa länsimaissa rajoittavaa politiikkaa.</i></p> <p><i>Cigarette advertising has a controversial reputation due to the debate on health hazards associated to smoking and knowledge expressed by the scientific community and the cigarette industry itself. In the turn of 2000's, there was exposed a large public obscuration strategy machined by the cigarette industry, concerning scientific claims about smoking. This study seeks to map the connection between the operation and traditional advertising which is not comprehensively covered in the previous academic research. The discourse analysis examines the multimodal relation of image and text in print advertisements, which is motivated by increased visibility in the commercial messages by the companies and a cultural context of the political debate concerning the restrictions of exposure of cigarette advertising in Western visual media.</i></p>	
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1 Introduction

In 1954, consolidated cigarette companies gave public a Frank Statement on health hazards associated to smoking, promising to reduce uncertainties around the scientific discussion indicating connection between smoking and cancer. It took almost 50 years, before the health claims were publicly acknowledged, requiring longstanding litigations. During the historic period, the scientific findings had a significant influence on cigarette industry's behavior with its public exposure, which has been subject to previous academic studies. Much of the emphasis in the research has been on the political context that caused restrictions to media exposure as well as the industry's response to scientific discourse.

The cigarette industry initiated a collective strategy against the claims from health organizations with the Frank Statement which promised to reduce uncertainty associated to facts related to the harms of smoking (Cummings et al. 2002). The industry's public relation representatives recommended that responding to the hostile environment, the companies required to shift the public consent about smoking. On contrary what was promised in public, the public narrative of the industry was to be centered on creating uncertainty about health hazards, and subsequently, the responsibility was to be assigned to the consumer from a legal perspective (Brandt 2012). The method included publishing scientific research funded by the cigarette industry itself, providing results that supported the dissident narrative and working against the factual disclosure, which lasted until the end of the 20th century when court litigations exposed the strategy.

With the court documents, Brandt (2012) and Cummings et al. (2002) show that the public relation experts relied on coerciveness of scientific obscurity, and its effects on public opinion and political debate about the governing legislation. However, an earlier content study by King et al. (1991) indicates that changes in the cultural context motivated changes in the form of cigarette advertising as well, and during the peak years of the industry's strategy campaign, the advertising progressed on predominant visuality with salient colors and human models, following restrictions caused by political resistance to cigarette advertising that shaped the media participation.

This study examines the qualitative elements of the advertising discourse and its role in the narrative of the tobacco industry. The study analyzes the discourse related to print advertising and methods of persuasion by the tobacco companies, reflecting the personal responsibility of the individual consumer that was described as the main goal of the narrative created by the public relations strategy.

2 Advertising Discourse

The advertising discourse is described in the academic discussion as a fluid and complex concept that can be considered from different perspectives, effecting on the analysis of the cigarette advertisements. According to Cook (2001), discourse consists of context and text which in case of advertising overlaps genre properties. The forms of advertisements change during time as new technologies and social practices emerge. Political messages, magazine advertisements and product placements in film or television are all part of the same monolithic realm of messages that is considered advertising. In recognition with the complex nature, one settlement of the definition is that advertisement is a promotional message that has a sender and a receiver (Cook 2001, Goddard 1998). The sender is trying to address the receiver in a context which enables a satisfactory interpretation of the message.

The text embodies a promotional function, but the surroundings of the text can have other implications as well. Goddard (1998) illustrates that some texts may be informative while others are persuasive, and the advertising message can include concurrent functions. However, it is desired that the text operates as an attention seeking device. Therefore, the creator of the text is often someone else than the provider of the promoted product or service, and the different senders co-exist inside the text and the context. The senders and functions intertwine. A copywriter of the text may have an aesthetic goal, and the provider might seek commercial profit while the message can be coercive in terms of the environment in which the text exists (Cook 2001:10).

Subsequently, the discourse can and is disposed to shape the conditions in which the message is received. The advertising discourse operates as a display of social standards that create cohesion in a society (Cook 2001:235). This applies both the fantastical aesthetic nature of advertisements and to representations of social practices inside a culture. People are inclined to surround themselves with amiable imagery that substantiates the surrounding reality and soothes the pervasive and intrusive nature of advertising texts. At the same time, advertisements represent reality which the receivers inhabit. The messages promote as well as construct world around them, preferably for the benefit of the advertiser. (Cook 2001.)

The performative functions are seen connecting to genres and modality system of the text. According to a social semiotic view, the reception regimes that direct translation of a message are assigned according to the genre and control the disposition of the receiver (Hodge & Kress 1988). The regimes are set of rules, and the receivers are inclined to attach a modal value of credibility to the message, varying between genres, and the value affects social behavior. For example, a newspaper reader can

separate advertisement from a news article beside it, and the disparate texts are comprehended accordingly. Cook (2001) refers to a prototype, and the text is understood to represent something of a similar form, a learned process of interpretation of a text. The notion is important in the context of cigarette advertising, since modality was in a significant role in the narrative created by the tobacco industry. According to Brandt (2012), the inception of the scientific discourse in connection with the public relation strategy was a reaction to low modality assigned to the advertising discourse. The truth value of a traditional product advertisement was considered relative, and insufficient, in consideration of scientific facts which the industry had to combat, and subsequently produce.

The indicated stance of the cigarette industry reflects genre conventions in the discussion associated to product advertisements of the time. Williamson (1978) defines the discourse in the advertisements as mythological systems. The product is represented in a simile relation against the text, either visual or verbal, which they signify, and the relation between the product and text is usually arbitrary and lacking natural coherence, producing a myth. Williamson gives many concrete examples and mentions a few product categories that are particularly prominent in the style, including cigarette advertising. The products are represented in a context which has no logical connection to the attributes of the product. For example, a cigarette pack is portrayed against a pastoral setting along a smoking person, while the burning and smoking product itself has an adversary function with depicted nature.

Cook (2001) describes exaggerated adverts by a subgenre of soft-sell ads, and notes that while the advertising has since changed notably, the fictional scenes were generic for the period during which the cigarette industry's campaign was at its height. A prototypical advertisement at the time was a fantasy associated to the advertised product in an action that is not prototypical. Cook (2001:102-103) notes that soft-sell adverts have frequent inclination to use poetic language opposed to scientific knowledge. The persuasion to buy the product or service is conducted through affection on personal values rather than objective facts, and the genre thus resembles fictional prose.

Another feature that Williamson (1978) assigns to the advertisements is the relation of a receiver and the product. Receivers are seen to have a similar connection to the advertised product as the text. In other words, the fictional representation stands for signifying reflection of achieved attributes by the receiving subject if the product is purchased. The advertised fantasy becomes an exchange of value which materializes with the product that serves as a symbol of social status for the target group (Williamson 1978:45-47.) The signifier is transferred from the world of the advertisement into the world of the receiver, and the signified in the advert is a process of transformation. The meaning of the message is coded in the mythological reference that is supposed to persuade the receiver.

Goddard (1998:28-33), on the other hand, notes that the receivers may have different positions toward advertisements; and hence, the meaning can be different for someone outside the target group. Goddard refers to literary theory, as the advertisements can have writers who are different from the speakers inside a text, and the speakers take a position of a narrator. The narrators address the target receivers who, in contrast, are assumed a position of a narratee, the subject to whom the story or message is told, and the text constructs the narratees accordingly. For example, the addressed receiver, in many cases referred as the subject 'you' in the advert, is constructed through the narration, as the signification in the transformation suggests, although, rather through ideological identification with a fictional narrative position. For a receiver outside the target group, the relation to the representation is different, and the meaning is not to identify, but to inform that the representations of the target group exist and refer to reality, although, perhaps in an amplified manner. According to Goddard's view, the identification is not necessary for a meaningful interpretation.

Cook (2001) shares the Goddard's view and extends the positions to roles which the receiver is assumed to incorporate. The world of an advertisement is not merely imposed on the receiver, but the fantasy operates as an invitation to participate in the scene the advertisement creates. The scene may be constructed through multiple characters or voices that display the narrative which addresses the participants. The receiver may assume a role in the fantasy by an implied social position which is usually signified by a direct gaze by the character in the advert, or the receiver 'you' may be a third person as a general reference without a direct contact. The roles in the advert can vary, and the exchange is not necessarily conducted with a reflection of the ideal 'self', but some other persuasive voice or voices created by the senders. Cook (2001:181-184;186-187;193) refers to heteroglossia, meaning that the monologic voice of the manufacturer can be replaced by multiple voices which compete, although ostensibly, since the dominant voice is usually assigned to represent the ideology of the manufacturer, and if the advert is successful also the narratee consumer's.

In addition, the meaning of the text is conditioned by the speakers, and some voices are more influential than others (Cook 2001:95). Advertising uses movie stars and other recognized characters as they tend to increase credibility of the message. The speaker's identity is part of the ideology: the age, sex, or activity can alter the message, which influences the reader interpreting the text. In a similar manner with literature or any other speech genre, advertising assumes a relation between the text and the interpreter. The sender creates a scene with the voices, prevailing over the characters, and all receivers do not assign the same value to the speaker, since the cultural background is part of the ideology. Ideology operates as a paradigm of social knowledge that is omitted information in the discourse (Cook 2001:179; Hodge & Kress 1988:60-61).

Goddard shares the view, and notes that advertising, as any discourse, is regarded a social product, and the interpretation of the meaning is contingent on previous knowledge of the receiver. Stereotypes, for example, are an effective form of persuasion since they are easily accessible for the receivers because the information is based on common knowledge. However, stereotypes can also exclude as they tend to promote knowledge of powerful groups. (Goddard 1998:62-64.) Other voices of the society are subdued while the message may be more appealing to vast target groups, because stereotypes enable to convey ideas with a small amount of data. Subsequently, the persuasion is connected to the representation that is operating as a form of an ideology produced by the sender.

According to Williamson (1978), products such as cigarettes differentiate themselves from competitors by the associated identities, because there exists very little difference in the actual attributes of the products. The signified relation between the product and the connected text is the source of Williamson's semiotic approach but also critique. Advertising seems to represent a false ideology with the mythological referential system, because the products do not produce the attributes outside the fantasy. Cook (2001) shares the view that some ads indeed are deceptive, but also propose an alternative view and suggests that there exist rather a logical and contextual connection between the signifiers than an intrinsic and systematic parallelism between the signified product and the connected text. To fulfill the requirements of different senders and functions, advertisements compose different modes, such as image and text, in an innovative way, which is disposed to alter modal properties for speculation, separating the genre from co-existing discourses. The multimodal relations generate persuasive meanings, and the advertising text is an ideological construction, including but not limited to the advertised product.

2.1 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

There are different approaches for analyzing ideologies in multimodal advertisements which, as both Williamson (1978:175) and Cook (2001:42-44) note, have inclination to predominant visuality. In the field of social semiotics, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have developed a critical approach for multimodal discourses. In consideration with print advertising, the text and the image are considered modes that can be further divided into functions of modes associated to a specific semiotic sign as affordances in meaning making. A sign can appear in different size, color or layout position which alters the meaning production. The visual texts are considered syntagmatic compositions, meaning that signifiers create connections, syntagms, with each other, and hence, new meaning potentials

according to the relations. The texts are organized from a subjective position that is ideology in operation, expressing the social motivation of the producer of a text.

The analysis could be also conducted with a method by Barthes (1977b), considering the signs by the denotative literal meaning and its connotations which are culturally derived contextual meanings producing the ideology of the formation. Although, Barthes expresses concern about the system of classification in the context of visual images, which is also shared by Cook (2001). Visual signs are seen meaningful but in a form without codification, leaving the culturally bound connotative meanings open for a subjective designation of the cultural paradigm. In this regard, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) make extensive efforts to provide a systematic approach to codify visual representations in an objective manner coined as grammar of visual design which is based on regularities in visual compositions and consumption in western cultures.

In the core of visual grammar is a syntactical ordering of visual texts which contrast with verbal processes such as reading from left to right and top to bottom, although, extending to more complex structures. In narrativized images, such as fictional scenes in print advertisements, the representational and social processes direct the reading, for example, with gestures or gaze forming vectors between the represented participants as noted by Cook (2001), referring to the significance of the narrative position of a receiving subject. The discourse is formed simultaneously with representational and interactive modes that are interrelated by textual affordances, such as layout composition, directing interpretation of the overall meaning. To these visual affordances, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) provide a system of classification which enables treatment of visual syntagmatic compositions in a similar manner with verbal constructions. The representational, interpersonal, and compositional features are further interrelated by material and modal properties that extend also to verbal forms.

While visual grammar concentrates on properties of visual processes, the verbal forms are part of the overall meaning construction. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the attached verbal content either substantiates or configures the visual information. In both cases, the verbal content asserts control over preferred interpretations of the composition. Cook (2001) provides a detailed analysis method for the verbal content. Meaning making in advertising is seen idiosyncratic, particularly in verbal constructions. Lexical and material choices construct the identity of the speaker and relation to the receiver of a message, which relates to representational and interactive affordances in visual grammar.

This in mind, the interdisciplinary method is considered to provide depth and coherence to the analysis. While the qualitative analysis is to an extent subjective, the advertisements are considered commercial messages to a targeted receiver, which produce idealized meanings seeking to change behavior, either to buy the product or shape the environment plausible for such a conduct. The persuasive message is considered a motivated construction in this context. (Cook 2001.) The discourse analysis is projecting the preferred meanings in the advertisements, how texts are constructing the ideological coherence between the sender and the receiver.

In previous studies, multimodal discourse analysis has been applied to print advertising in connection to underlying ideologies and cultural context motivating the construction of the images. Lirola and Chovanec (2012) applies visual grammar in connection with Cook (2001) verbal analytics, and the findings illustrate connections with constructed representations and prevailing cultural ideologies of human body in a commercial context that served as the motivation for the persuasive imagery. Maiorani (2007) applied visual grammar to movie advertising, illustrating changes in the representations motivated by the cultural context. The movies had developed followers that were targeted with embedded commercial messages relating to identity and look of the film characters. Both studies and their findings are useful in connection to analysis on cigarette advertising which employs representations of human models in persuasive constructions.

3 Present Study

The present study concentrates on print advertisements of cigarettes in the 1970's, which provides a cultural context for the analysis. King et al. (1991) point out that a major shift in print advertising towards visuality and increased frequency in magazines was motivated by the broadcast ban in 1971, and popular themes included human models in active roles with large and colorful representations. The materials for the present study are gathered from Popular Science magazine, originally appeared in United States, which shows correlation with the King et al. (1991) study. Bonnier Corporation has published a history of the magazine, including annual publications between 1950-2000, and the magazines show rapid expansion in cigarette advertising immediately after the broadcast ban, with prevalent absence before.

The materials were selected by brand popularity and the manufacturer's position in the industry's public relations campaign. The selected materials include products from Marlboro, Winston, and Camel. The foremost was a prominent popular brand during the target period, and the latter two were

rivaling popular brands from a competing manufacturer. Both manufacturers were also prominent figures in the strategical operation related to public relations (Cummings 2002). In this regard, the site of the present study is interesting, since science magazines have tendency to shape understanding of the world, which cannot be completely surpassed in the case of commercial messages inside the magazine. It is also noteworthy that according to Hiilamo (2017) and Cummings (1987), the target audience of the popular cigarette brands were less educated and lower income classes. However, the Popular Science magazine included long stories with a specialized linguistic register, and the other adverts promoted expensive products, implying that the cigarette adverts were presented for audiences that were not normally considered smoking oriented or targets of the brands.

In the 30 magazines examined, the advertising campaigns by the popular brands during the years 1970-1979 represented recurring themes and stabilized brand identities with active or activity related men. During the period, Marlboro adverts portrayed exclusively a cowboy with a horse, and Winston adverts included a middle class American male model. Camel adverts presented variation by multiple concurrent campaigns in the first part of the decade, but the latter part depicted a sole campaign with an adventurous male model, usually the same person with a woman in the scene. The progress of presentation implies a popular advertising strategy and significance of identities in persuasion. The analysis emphasized on materials concentrating on time after health warning labels appeared on the print advertisements in 1972, briefly after the ban. In this regard, a study by Nelson (2003) suggests that the adverts were successful while the contrastive warning labels were ineffective as the sale of cigarettes increased in the given period.

The materials indicate English speaking male audience as the magazines in target period consist of mainly stories about adult and older men, aged over 30 years, in science, technology or engineering related activity. Advertisements in the magazine also suggest a male target audience with themes and products relating to hunting, sports and motor vehicles that are stereotypically considered masculine activities. Studies by Fernandez (2005) as well as Cummings (1987) show that cigarette advertising has a historical tendency for gender and ethnically profiled audiences. Although, Fernandez (2005) indicates that in regions with a liberal political environment, the adverts included mixed gender audiences in men's magazines. The advertising in the Popular Science during the target period mainly include white male participants, but in some cases coupled with women of the same ethnic background, which suggests correlation with afore mentioned studies. It could be derived that target audience was based on education, economic stability, and social position, implying an identity group with a political leverage in the 1970's America.

The final selection consisted of an advert from each brand considered by the representation of brand identity, with two images including mixed genders, implying a social position of the target audience which is considered to influence the ideological construction of the composition. The adverts are from long standing campaigns, which should indicate commercial significance and competition in the given temporal frame. The adverts were considered to represent an average of the increasing trend of the popular brands with the stereotypical depictions in a predominant visual form. The temporal frame is also concurrent with Williamson (1978) description of genre properties discussed previously, relating the analysis to the fictional scenes discussed by Cook (2001) and Goddard (1998).

In the target of the analysis is the persuasive role of identities and multimodality in the discursive structure, how the image with text form the advertising message in the given context. The analysis considers the use of colors and the role of the warning label in the overall composition in connection to the representations of the product. The analysis seeks to assign the ideological formations producing knowledge for the interpretation of the texts and to assign the receiving subject position in the advertising discourse. By illustrating the multimodal processes, the study seeks to answer, how the advertising discourse reflects the position of the cigarette industry in the discussion of responsibility of an individual consumer in connection to harms of smoking.

4 Analysis

4.1 Narrative structure and subject position

In visual grammar, there are two distinctive features that relate a receiver to the visual message, the narrative structure inside an image and the subjective position of an external viewer. The narrative structure is described through representational processes, by movement or gaze forming vectors between participants, or attributive elements describing an identity. The receiving subject position is constructed by interpersonal processes that express the viewer's stance to the represented narrative. The relation of these two functions produces the ideological position of the narrative (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:131). The representational processes construct relations between the participants in the image and the interpersonal processes configure the receiver's point of view to the action.

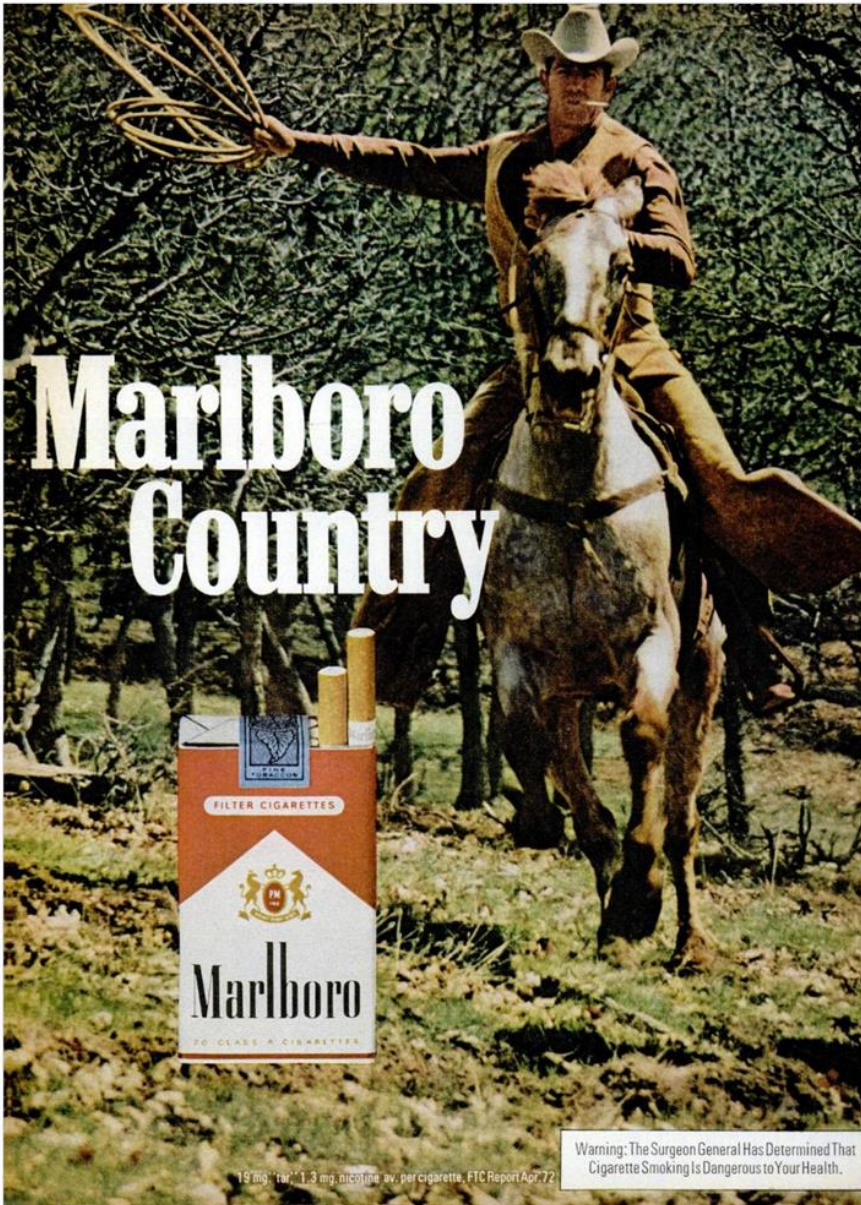


Figure 1

(Marlboro Ad – CC 4.0 Anthony Raath)

In **figure 1 (Marlboro, 1972)**, the hand of the man in cowboy clothing forms a vector to the horse. In the scene, the cowboy is an actor in the representation and the horse is the goal of the action. The image is described as a transactional process, as it depicts action between animate participants (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). The man is also smoking a cigarette implied to be the advertised product. While the man smoking is an actional process, it does not include a vector-goal relation, and therefore, it is described as an analytical process. It expresses the identity of the represented participant that is called a carrier of attributes. These processes could be contrasted to linguistic forms of possessive clauses or transitivity in verb clauses (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006).

The man is partly constructed by the depicted position of a composed linear line with the cigarette and the other hand holding a rope, which signifies balance in movement. The transactional process creates tensions with diagonal angles of the hand and the rope. The tensions implicate action (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:56). The horse on the other hand is depicted running, as the legs form disarrayed vectors, and a detached shadow. The background is unfocused, signifying elements in movement as a locative circumstance (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:72). The circumstance expresses the relation of the setting and the participants without vectors. In conclusion, through the processes, the smoking man is represented in control of a wild and fast animal, expressing the identity of a Marlboro smoker.



Figure 2

(Winston Ad – CC 4.0 Anthony Raath)

On the other hand, the setting can be also considered a participant in a narrative structure and a carrier of attributes (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:50). In parallel to an animated participant, the setting as a carrier is constructed through an analytical process, and the process can have a symbolical status (Kress & Leeuwen 2006:105). In **figure 2 (Winston, 1973)**, the participants are depicted in framed photographs which are placed in the pictorial space. The frames are on a white surface, probably a table, which also includes two packs of cigarettes, constructing the viewer position in the scene. Protruding cigarettes form vectors outside the image, but the goal is not defined. The action process without an actor is called event (Kress & Leeuwen 2006:64). In this scene, the event is symbolic. The spectator is looking at a congregational space implied by multiple protruding cigarettes. The two frames form a diptych of personal photographs that are objects of contemplation, indicating the symbolic values.

The photographs represent embedded scenes, constructing transactional processes that are objects of external viewer's scrutiny. In both images, a man initiates the action. In the left picture, the man reaches to a woman who is the goal of the action, expressing a relation. In the right frame, the man is in a similar relation with a skating trophy. The parallel relation signifies the man's achievements that are also implied by the text "winning" above the pictures. In the right picture, the man is smoking a cigarette which is implied to be the advertised product. The smoking man is winning in family life and in sports, and the spectator is implied to be in a position of admiration.

The subject position is further emphasized by the interpersonal processes. In the left image, the man is looking outside the picture, forming an actional vector by the gaze. In visual grammar, the process is called a demand image which relates the receiver to the imaginary space (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:117-118). The man in the image demands attention, and addresses the viewer with a direct contact, implying identification and forming a social relation between the represented participant and the receiver. In this image, the angle is distorted. The frames are in an oblique angle while the image inside is in a frontal view, avoiding a naturalistic representation. A similar effect is produced by the vertical axis, which situates the spectator in a descending view position, implied by the angle of the objects and shadows, but the man in the picture is at eyelevel of the receiver. The vertical angle expresses a power relation to the receiver (Kress & Leeuwen 2006:140). The concurrent level suggests an equal power balance, and the spectator is identifying with the smoking man who is in control of the transactional processes, and hence, the imaginary space of the fantasy.

The direct social contact and the relating objects situate the spectator to the narrative, forming the ideological position in such an advertisement (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:143). A similar narrative construction is seen in **figure 3 (Camel, 1979)**. A cigarette pack implies the subject position by

forming a vector that reflects the direct gaze of the man, who is identified as “Camel Filters Man” in the print text. The man is reacting to the spectator, which is also implied by the fists that appear to be raised in a defensive position, forming vectors to the external participant. The woman, on the other hand, is reacting to the man’s reaction. Woman’s gaze is directed towards the man’s face, and perhaps the cigarette, while the hands create a transactional process by gripping the man’s arm, and the actions have different goals, and hence, processes. There are three protruding cigarettes, which implies an offer by the constructed spectator, one piece to each participant. The scene revolves around the offering gesture, implied to cause the reactions.



Figure 3

(Camel Filters – CC 4.0 rchappo2002)

The narrative constructs the viewer in a social situation which can be further emphasized by the interpersonal processes. The image frames the represented participants in a close long shot, which implies a social distance, but not a close relation (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:124-125). The external participant is making a gesture over the personal space of the couple. According to visual grammar, the horizontal axis defines the social relation to the depicted world. The frontal angle implies high involvement. On the other hand, the woman is in an oblique angle. The identification is with the man who is in a standing position, depicted from a lower angle, indicating an iconic and idolized power position. The man is demanding attention which could be related to the gesture of the woman, to the defensive gesture of the hands, as well as to the cigarette he is already smoking, rejecting the offer.

The camel pack connects all the participants and configures the narrative roles in the scene. The man and the woman are in similar clothing, implying a social relationship, and the salient hiking gear of the woman relates to the Camel label which connotes long distance walking by the feral referent. The spectator is implied to be another Camel smoker who is advancing to the scene. While the target audience is established by centralizing the man in the composition, the narrative structure could also include a woman into the possible spectator position. The scene in the **figure 2** is constructed in a similar way by the offering of cigarettes that leaves open the spectator position regarding the gender while implicating a male target audience with the interpersonal processes.

In **figure 1**, the narrative construction deviates from the other two adverts. It has a similar involvement by the vertical axis representing a male participant in a frontal view, but the cigarette pack and the social interaction constructs a different kind of relation to the image. The cigarette pack is placed against the background, but not as a part of the scene as in the other adverts, implying an indirect involvement, at least for the part of a smoking instance. In addition, the demand of attention is made by the horse, not the man whose gaze is obscured. The low angle places the man in a power position, but the spectator is encountering the horse slightly below eyelevel, demanding attention to the speeding mass, and perhaps to the rope in an active position. The meaning of the representation could be interpreted as a catching moment that draws the smokers into the Marlboro Country, and the two cigarettes could be offered to spectators regardless of gender. However, the interpretation is not fixed for one sole meaning or metaphorical implication.

4.2 Textuality and information value

The meaning potential in an image is partly contingent on the compositional elements that form syntagms through salience, framing and information value (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). In linear

compositions, such as a diptych, the reading patterns normally follow left to right and top to bottom structure, whereas, in a non-linear composition the reading is directed by salience of participants and framing elements including vectors and color schemes. In terms of information value, the most important object is usually in the center of the layout and the margins are divided by given-new and ideal-real information relations, directing the ideological construction of the composition.

In **figure 1**, the cigarette pack is foregrounded with a distinctive bright red color drawing attention from the volume of the active agents, indicating the reading pattern. The cigarettes form a vector to the text that is superimposed with the volume of the smoking man and the horse by the last syllable - try. The compositional features form a meaningful unit through the syntagms, implying relation with the product which is also constructed by the connectedness of framing of the pack and the background which are spatially separated, also from the spectator. The actual attributes of the product are almost invisible in the bottom margin. The syntagms could be interpreted to construct a metaphorical reference to a product of a wild experience.

According to visual grammar, the upper margin in images is the location of ideal information while the bottom margin refers to real or concrete information (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:186). The title text divides the image in two parts which represent the composed smoking man as ideal, while in contrast, the product, as well as horse legs and the warning sign are in bottom section of real. The elements of speed and danger are in the concurrent layout position with image of the product, creating an ambiguous connection with the warning label. The danger of smoking Marlboro is estheticized, while the man is in control of the situation.

In **figure 3**, the reading of the image constructs around the man and the cigarette pack, which are the most salient features in the image. The foregrounded cigarettes form a vector to the man who gazes to the viewer, creating a revolving pattern. The woman, on the other hand, is framed to the right side of the image by the pole, separating the represented participants, and the frame of the man contains most of the information in the image. The vector of cigarettes pierces the title text “one of a kind” which is also superimposed with the man, attaching the meanings into a unit, implying that both the man and Camel Filters are unique.

All the three cigarettes are in the frame of the man, as well as the shopping bag indexed by the open sign on the door. In terms of information value, the left margin of an image contains given information which is usually presented first as a culturally evident, and the right margin includes section of new unsubstantiated information (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 179-181). Ideologically, the frame of the man includes the offering of all the cigarettes and the bag as a cultural standard of social norms,

indicating possessive rights and obligations assigned to a male actor. However, the woman is reaching out to the man's frame, implying a shift in the culture and suggesting that the target position is also open for women. The woman's reaction to the smoking man is idealized by the layout position, which could also refer to the smoking sensation in her vision.

The composition in **figure 2** is a combination of linear and nonlinear arrangement. The objects and textual features are composed in a circular reading pattern with the embedded linear structure of the diptych. The images and the title text are equally salient, and the image could be read clockwise or counter wise according to framing elements. However, both directions point out to the quoted text "winning", as the hand and head gestures in the left image form vectors towards the text, while on the right, the cigarettes, the trophy, as well as the man's head, create a similar vectorial relation. The *winning* could be associated to both the man and the Winston cigarette, depending which way the image is read. The image is divided in a way that the diptych and the quotation occupy the top half as the promise of the product.

The frames of the diptych are situated in left-right margins producing a sequential relation in the linear composition. The images could be read as a film montage whereas rhythmic patterns form a metaphorical synthesis by the sequential reading (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006:203-204;208). The woman and the trophy are cohesive elements between the frames. The left frame of given information represents the man holding the woman who seems to be literally satisfied, while the man is demanding attention to the process. In the right image, the man is celebrating a victory with the cigarette and holding the trophy in a same position as the woman in the previous image, representing new information or an outcome. The sequential relation implies a sexual reference which could be also inferred from the underlined word "when", implying the temporal significance of cigarettes associated to ceremonial representations of copulation in popular culture. The given side image does not include cigarettes, which implies that smoking is not evident, connecting to the sequential meaning of the composed frames. The framing produces an additional meaning to the narrative structure of the family man, and hence, to the ideology of Winston identity persuading the receiver.

4.3 Materiality and modality

The meaning of color and the material production in images have further implications for the complete composition, which relates to the subject position and framing. According to visual grammar, the interpretation of modality is associated to material constructions that direct the viewer's disposition, deriving from cultural conventions of what is considered 'realistic' such as the central

perspective and a photographic representation. (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006.) Modal values are associated to use of color which enables configuration of the representation. In addition, color can be applied to express symbolic meanings, deriving from historical contexts of cultural associations (Kress & van Leeuwen 2002; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006).

In **figure 2**, modality of the image is altered by use of perspective and material choices. The distorted angles of the frames and the representations of the photographs enable the viewer's subjective position, deviating from a realistic representation. The image is also completely painted, while it portrays photographs in realistic style. The painted style enables the distortion of perspective which produces the ideological position of the narrative representation. The style also relates the representations to expressive values of the image, connecting the use of color to the symbolic meanings of the overall composition.

White color is made salient in the image, signifying a symbolic event. In a historical context, white color is associated to purity and Christian religiousness (Kress & van Leeuwen 2002). The context of color is further constructed by the diptych which is a classical medium of representation of religious icons and paintings. The frames of the painted photographs are gilded, relating the colors to an act of winning that is also expressed by the golden trophy. The color choices in the image could be related to the narratee's contemplative position towards the pictures, whereas the cigarettes are offered as a sacrament. The narrative connects to family values, success, and tradition that are implied to be part of the smokers' ideology.

In addition, the material choices can produce more meanings. The first image shows the couple against a green background, perhaps outdoors, and the shirts are in black and purple colors. The next frame shows clear blue sky, and the man is in red clothing. The green and blue backgrounds imply indication to outdoor activities, making healthy associations to smoking. However, there is also a symbolical significance to the color choices, which could relate to the sequential reading of the images. Green color has a historical association to hope, while red is associated to passion, love, and danger (Lirola & Chovanec 2012). In the sequence, the hazy color of hope turns into clear blue color of the sky. In contrast to the given left side image, the black has started to shine, and the cold purple is changed into intense red, and the mood changes, indicating emotional charge which is presumably soothed with the cigarette.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:233) consider color as an affordance in a similar manner to prosody in language. In this respect, red is toned softer with the elements in the section of real that refers to the actual product, which contrasts to the intense red contextualized with the perilous activities of the

smoking man either implied or expressed explicitly with the trophy signifying success in a competition involving high velocity. The sexual and sports references are marked stronger by the intense red tone. The contrast between the tones could be associated to the framing of danger mentioned in the warning sign, since the man's act involving danger validate the smoking instance. Finally, the black and white color scheme could be inferred to refer to the winning and simplicity of the equation, as a culturally evident message promoting smoking.

In **figure 3**, a similar modal configuration can be noted, in which the material choices connect to the ideological construction of the spectator position. The foregrounded cigarette pack is painted with the scaffold, detaching the forms from other pictorial elements which are photographic representations. The material choice enables the point of view which appears to be slightly distorted against the floor planks of the terrace. Deviation from a realistic representation also implicates that the scene is to be interpreted as a fantasy, and not as an actual occurrence.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:159) note that this kind of modal shift is used in advertisements for creating emotional connections between the product and the fantastic promise. In the picture, the woman is clothed in matching colors with the cigarette pack, implying the woman to be part of the Camel smoking fantasy, as she is drawn to the smoking man. The visually modified representation of the product could also distract the spectator from the message of the warning sign. The color scheme of the overall image includes the pure and salient white emphasizing the colors of nature in the scene, relating smoking to naturality. The color scheme further relates the cigarette pack to the represented participants who are depicted in association to healthy activities. The modulated cigarette pack implies a promise of a natural and sexual experience.

The variation in modal configuration is the highest in **figure 1**. The cigarette pack is painted against the photographic representation which is focused on the man and the horse. The surrounding elements are in lower modulation which creates a monochromatic representation and stress the sensory coding orientation of the active agents. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:171) associate the stressed sensory coding to idealization of a subject. In the case of the Marlboro image, the visual elements refer to an impression of an object, as in impressionist paintings depicting an ephemeral moment in time and space. The head of the horse and the man with the rope are in the focus of the picture. The active agents draw the attention visually and metaphorically to the Marlboro country which is created with surrounding colors. The title is in white color of purity, which relates to the green and brown colors of nature in the image. The man is wearing similar brown hues of the depicted ground, creating a link to the text and to the product, which implies a promise of natural elements. On the other hand, the

salient red could be associated to caution of the moving mass, recontextualizing the danger in the image.

4.4 Verbal content and narrative voices

According to Cook (2001), language in advertisements is inclined to avoid definitive meanings that could be questioned by the addressee. The effect can be achieved by using images, conative expressions, and informal language which imitates a personal relationship with the receiver. The speech imitating interaction is also considered a sign of credibility because it ostensibly refers to shared information. Cohesion in the message can be created through referring expressions, ellipsis, and conjunctions (Cook 2001:151).

In **figure 3**, the impersonal style is established through devices of ellipsis with foregrounding that are connected to a parallel relation to the advertised product. Ellipsis refers to omitted words in syntactic ordering, and the style is used in advertisements to imitate spoken interaction (Cook 2001). In the Camel text, ellipted language is a salient foregrounded feature. Ellipted sentences further connects to the advertised product “the cigarette” that is represented in a similar grammatical structure as “the man”. The concurrent grammatical positions create a parallelism in a text (Cook 2001:135-136).

The uniqueness of the product is paralleled with the smoking man. The caption title “one of a kind” is attached to similarly constructed clauses presenting only noun phrases “the man” and “the cigarette” with a definite article referring to established information of Camel identities which are contrasted with “ordinary cigarettes” that do not have the same quality. The linguistic choice personifies the product. The construction exempts the advertisement from referring any detailed product data, and the actual attributes are in the top margin with a small print indexing less important information. The stylistic choices referring to spoken interaction create an impression that the information about the participants is common knowledge of the receiver.

The verbal constructions also refer to the pictorial representation, as the woman is holding the man’s arm as if taking a stand on some subject. The text implies that the man does not have to react to the woman’s gesture because figuratively he, and the cigarette, “speak for themselves”. Although, the verbal form is also contested in the text itself, since the speaker is implied to be someone else than the represented Camel Filters Man. The speaker addresses the receiver with a second person pronoun “you”, creating a direct contact, but the Camel man is also addressed in third person, implying an

external narrator, which creates a contradictory arrangement in the text as the man is not actually speaking for himself.

The text refers to the product by mentioning “Turkish” and “Domestic” blend, which denote the country of origin but have also conative qualities extending to the image. *Turkish* refers to an exotic oriental origin which could be associated to adventurousness of the brand image. Turkish could be also associated to strength, and the man in the image has appearance that resembles a regional stereotype. The woman, on the other hand, is depicted with a light skin and hair, referring more to a domestic stereotype in the case of American audience. The product is referred both by feminine and masculine qualities, which is also connoted by the clothing as the woman is in the Camel colors.

The mix of blends creates a sexual reference that is also connoted by “pleasure” and “satisfaction”, written in the same foregrounded elliptic style as the *man* and *cigarette*. The man is occupying the agency as the cigarette “gives him what he smokes for”, referring possibly to the woman, constructing a heterosexual male target position, as well as an adventurous receiver role. The effect of the product is implied to be known culturally established information, and the same knowledge is framed by the image on the pack stating “Famous Camel” with the last word in the composition is cut out in half.

There are also other references to known information, and the text is implied to create high modality with verb phrases, in addition to the speech imitating situation. While the man “speaks for himself”, he also “understands why best times are often the Simplest”. The propositions could be contrasted with the warning sign in which “Surgeon General has determined that cigarettes are dangerous to your health”. The warning sign is not explicit, and it does not contain a descriptive clause relating to causes of smoking, but rather a general estimation of facts, as in contrast, the man is referred to be occupied with a similar level of knowledge, and capable of making his own judgements. On the other hand, the cigarette is also said to speak on its own behalf, contesting the voice of the Surgeon General.

The warning sign is also contrasted with a rhetorical question in the end of the text. The question is ellipted “do you (understand the simple things in life for which the Camel Filters Man smokes for)?”. However, the text is again ambivalent, and the simple thing could have multiple referents. On one hand, it could refer to filtered smoke. On the other hand, it could relate to rural life depicted in the picture, the relation with the woman, or a fist fight, all of which are stereotypical, and hence also parodical, qualities associated to men.

Goddard (1998:106-107) notes that the rhetorical questions in adverts are used to create uncertainty in the receiver’s minds while the question also acts as a hook for drawing attention. The Camel text refers to masculinity and knowledge of the receiver, which are both questioned by the narrator. The

question is placed immediately before the warning from the opposing voice, diminishing its value, and the overall arrangement appears to impose uncertainty on the receiver, since the logical content of the text is ambivalent. However, the narrative structure of the image implies that the man is accustomed to danger, drawing the logical proposition of the warning to the pictorial representation, and shifting the tone of text towards the parody. A fight, caused by the cigarette offering, is literally “dangerous to your health”.

In **Figure 2**, there are also similarly ambiguous verbal components. In the image, deviance in typography is foregrounded. The phrase “winning” is in captions, implying an external voice of someone else apart from a narrator. The title text and the product text are in different size and colors. Goddard (1998:16) notes that deviance in typography implies different voices, and the graphic elements are used to create identities of the speakers. In the Winston image, the graphic elements imply multiple voices created by the manufacturer, in addition to the voice of health warning.

Both Cook (2001:173) and Goddard (1998:61) also point out that the elliptic quotations are used to assign the receiver role in a dialog or speech imitating situation, and the device is implemented for creating a sense of higher modality which engages the receiver to refer to common knowledge in the interpretation of the image, imposing the ideology of the sender. The quotation in the Winston advert could be assumed to be an admirer’s comment to the framed images, indicating the receiver role, and the italics implies weight on the statement “winning”.

In the title caption, the text states “how good it is”, and the smaller caption below states “Winston tastes good when a cigarette should” with the temporal conjunction underlined, and thus, foregrounded. The forms of the texts create multiple possible referents for the words, but the temporality is clearly signified. “It” in the text could refer to a winning moment in the case of sports or to the Winston cigarette experience in a social situation. However, *it* could also refer to sexual activity phrased in colloquial terms *doing it*, which is implied by the symbolic linear reading of the diptych. In the cases, the reference is made to culture. The wording avoids making any references to actual attributes of the product, and the temporal signification relates to cultural context which the smoking validates. Cigarettes are implied to be a part of cultural norms which Winston fulfills. The actual attributes of the product are in a small print in the below corner, almost invisible to the eye.

There are no personal pronouns to indicate the identity of the speakers in the advertising texts. Cook (2001:149-151) notes that advertisement have inclination to construct identities through emotive signifiers that are reflected to the receiver. In the Winston image, a shift in the font size, typography and color implies a tonal change, representing variation on an emotional level. The emotional effect

is also implied by the content of the texts. The verbal text framed to the cigarette pack create a sense of users of an offered product, attaching the texts to the product experience in a shared situation, while the quoted text is attached to the framed images. References are made to an experience, and to situations that are validated by the product, while the agency is constructed through the narrative structure and framing.

The warning sign is situated outside the circular arrangement with frames detaching it from the rest of the composition. The disclaimer’s tone is analytic with the same wording as in the Camel image. In contrast, the graphic choice of the only product referring text implies disarmed danger by dispersing the saturation of red color. The brand texts appear to connote the mood of the left side frame while the warning text suggests attachment to the right frame in which the danger is contrasted with the left side conformity. The framing of the man’s achievements is connoting danger, offering the Winston identity to the target receiver, and on the other hand, distracting from the warning by anchoring the voice of the warning to right side image, and the speech imitating situation with the conforming and established product user role are framed around the conservative interpretations.

In **figure 1**, the verbal components have been reduced to minimal. The copy text is constructed around the noun phrase “Marlboro Country” without any further information referring to the narrative. Cook (2001) labels such constructions as fusions which consist of conative words that signify vague associations to the brand image. The fusion is a composite of a literal, denotative, meaning of the text and the connotations deriving from culturally specific meanings that are determined by the context of the advertised product. In the Marlboro advert, the fusion is a combination of words of *Marlboro* and *country* and the context of the image. The possible meanings could be charted as follows.

	Marlboro	country	composite
denotation	brand name	English geographical entity rural	no meaning
connotation	English heritage (Marlborough) value country of origin	wilderness nature Americana cowboys	world of the brand (abstract/conceptual) American place place of value

Figure 4 Meanings of *Marlboro Country*

The fusion in the advertisement derives from conative values of the noun phrases that are connected to the visual structure of the image. The product name makes a reference to a historical name of

Marlborough that could be interpreted to contain a meaning of a herald origin which is also implied by the seal in the cigarette box. The brand name is associated to cultural value, which could be connected to representations of the brand in popular culture such as sports car sponsoring and pervasive advertising with the Marlboro Man cowboy. The transformed name implies an Americanized form, relating the product to a geographic entity that is further described by the conative meanings of the successive word *country*.

The word has a strong connotation to Americana, referring to country music and a complete way of life which is exemplified in popular culture by symbols of cowboys represented also in the advertisement. Country also relates to nature and wilderness, making associations to the American past of charting unknown territories, which is a reference also salient in popular culture in the form of cowboys and native Americans in a conflict. The fusion of the ad could be interpreted that the Marlboro Country is a place of masculine activity overcoming perils, but also a place of value associated to cultural history that materializes in the form of the product. The connotations referring to popular culture create an image of a cinematic place where strong men are habiting uncharted lands, and the product attaches to national identity of Americans.

The advertisement does not make any explicit claims about the product, and there is very little information that could be contested because there are no concrete claims by the manufacturer. The product information is in small print, and only the warning sign includes a full sentence with a subject and a predicate. The persuasion is visual and substantiated by the fusion of verbal components. The warning sign includes the same text as in other adverts in the analysis, and it could be associated in same manner to the image. The man is framed to be in control of the danger, while the product is framed by less harmful and more positive qualities relating the product to healthy associations. The visuality extends also to filter technology identified on the Marlboro pack, but not in the copy text. In the Winston advert the filters are also visually represented, while the Camel advert includes the only copy text that has a salient persuasive reference to the technology, although, the filters are not visible in the picture.

5 Conclusion

The analysis suggests that visuality is in an important role in constructing the message in the advertisements. The salient images represent active agents in vital activities framed by bright colors which also direct the reading of the logical content in composite texts. Both visual and verbal analysis

show that the narrative is constructed around open interpretations with conative meanings which can be read differently depending on identity and ideological preferences of the receiving subject.

Interpersonal processes in the images suggest a male target audience which relates to multiple possible interpretations of the texts. Male participants are represented initiating the narrative processes, and visual grammar suggests identification with the participants from a masculine point of view. The male target audience is approached through stereotypes that refer to sexual activity and control of danger, also with parodic qualities mixing the representations with conservative values. The readings apply the advertising discourse to the dispute in cigarette discourse by extending the parodic quality to the warning sign that is framed in a way that the narratee position is assigned for a preferable interpretation.

The messages are constructed around conative signs and multimodality in framing of the narratives. The adverts appear to use color to support the symbolic as well as transactional representations related to the ideology of smoking. The smoking image indicates the paradigm of the Western cultural creed in the given temporal frame. The powerful men overcome perils in competitive situations, in the vicinity of adoring women, taking place in natural settings. The representations are depicted from an idolizing point of view, and the identification with the activity is labelled by commercial branding. The modal properties of the fantastic genre enable the ideological construction of the message.

The stereotyped men are in control of the narratives, and the verbal language comment on the activity without making identified statements on behalf of the manufacturer. The qualities of the product are mainly implied by the framing of the composition, associating the color schemes to culturally prevalent ideas of masculinity and vital way of life. The symbolic qualities of the products are included in the representations, and persuasion related to product attributes is conducted by active, and ostensibly natural, agents which represent the defeat of danger while at same time creating a metaphorical connection to user experience of the product. The identities are in the core of the persuasive function, and the actual attributes of the products appear only in small print.

The conative verbal language avoids making statements regarding dangers of the products, and the informative function is implied without direct statements on behalf of the producer. The companies are ostensibly fulfilling their responsibility by including the warning signs and not refuting the opposing texts directly. However, the image construction is avoiding any negative reference to the products, which includes the small prints and exclusion of foregrounded persuasion by the preventive filter technology. The ambiguity in the messages assigns the burden of interpretation to the receiver who is left to confront the narrative against the warning label which can be also read in support to the

industry in the parodical form, which may be appealing for those who identify with the constructed stereotypes.

The identities further relate to the display function that can be also persuasive for the science magazine's readers who are not in the target group. While the representations purport conservative values, the interpretations indicate women in the brand user category, which may have been considered to cause a positive impact on women readers of the time. The images not only make statement about smokers, but also about people in general, and the representations support smoking as a cultural norm for both men and women. Since the text is open for multiple interpretations, it enables the code of the message to be interpretable for various identities, making the products available for heterogenous target groups. The stereotyped representations also establish cultural norms by reserving the voice to a specific demographic group which is in this case the ethnically white men. The power in the narratives is in the sphere of the cigarette use, and thus, submitted to the demographic representations in the site magazine with the ideology.

Because of the complex nature of the conative and visually oriented messages, the study does not suggest that the analysis is exhaustive. There are also other approaches that could alter the interpretations and illustrate new meanings in addition to existing ones. The images are part of campaigns, and they refer to successive images of a series, and hence, the intertextual aspect could have been explored for supporting meanings. The verbal texts relied on analysis from a perspective designed for advertising texts, but other approaches could have discussed relations with image and text, such as concentration on semantic roles in verbal forms. The visuality could have been also approached from an aesthetic principle and its emotive function. In addition, the co-text and surrounding discourses could have been analyzed in association to ideology in the messages.

However, the applied multidisciplinary approach shows similarities between the results with the different modes, suggesting preferred interpretation of the message in the texts as they appear on their face according to conventions of advertising discourse. While the producers' intention is impossible to conclude with absolute certainty, the analysis draws a connection to questions that have been subject to previous studies on cigarette advertising. The ambiguous messages appear to persuade to buy as well as to distract the consumer from the health discourse. The distraction relates to the conative affordances by a salient role of visuality with colorful representations and human agents, which is in correlation with study by King et al. (1991), suggesting a motivation for the rhetorical shift succeeded by the broadcast ban. The results are also interesting regarding the notion of Nelson (2003) about ineffectiveness of the warning signs, as the sign could be interpreted differently from its original meaning, connecting the rhetorical strategy to the industry narrative discussed by Brandt

(2012) and Cummings (2002). The analysis implies similarity with the strategy regarding actual harms of smoking and the legal responsibility of the receiver in the interpretation of the message. The results suggests that scientific discourse was not the only domain of influence regarding the public consent, and the study implies that the public relation strategy of the industry might have extended to individual marketing materials as well. In conclusion, the print materials could be subject to extended research regarding the advertising discourse, which could be useful for regulators.

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