This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

BREAKING POINTS AND THE ROLE OF THE PRINT VISUAL

IN PUBLIC SERVICE COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

presented by

VERONICA GONZALEZ

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in MASS MEDIA

HOWARD BOSSEN
Major professor

Date 11.17.94

BREAKIN

PU

BREAKING POINTS AND THE ROLE OF THE PRINT VISUAL IN PUBLIC SERVICE COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

By

Verónica González

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Mass Media Ph.D. Program

1994

BREAKIN

IN PUB

The s

communica

responsible

documenta

Michigan S

focal points

study desc

campaigns

Michigan S

of Educat

research p

that the st

but the co

appropriat

the visuals

the produc

ABSTRACT

BREAKING POINTS AND THE ROLE OF THE PRINT VISUAL IN PUBLIC SERVICE COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGNS

By

Verónica González

The study explores the nature and use of the print visual in public communication campaigns. The work is based on interviews with persons responsible for the planning and execution of those campaigns and documentation found largely in the files of public agencies and the library of Michigan State University. Official posters, booklets and brochures, the visual focal points of the study, are also among the sources cited in this work. The study describes, interprets and analyzes the printed visual within the context of campaigns of the Michigan Travel Bureau, the Native American Institute of Michigan State University, the Office of Minority Equity of the State Department of Education and the Michigan Office of Substance Abuse Services. The research provides insights into the complexity of the print visual, demonstrating that the strength of a message is based not upon the number of visual elements, but the coherence of its parts, including composition and color, and its appropriateness to a given target audience. In so doing, the work reveals that the visuals reflect either a harmony of effort or a series of inconsistencies within the production process. The work notes, especially, the presence of gaps, or

breaking points, in

describes those po

visual message. T

journalism and ad

campaigns, in de

judge the roles a

and art educatio

visuals. The stud

visual from conc

effectiveness of

as to the role of

breaking points, in the development of the visuals. The study defines and describes those points and analyzes their relationship to the creation of the visual message. The study draws upon the literature of mass communication, journalism and advertising, particularly as they relate to public service campaigns, in describing the campaign process and in determining ways to judge the roles and effectiveness of the visual components. The literature of art and art education provide insights into the nature and aims of a variety of visuals. The study proceeds within an analytical framework in delineating the visual from concept to construction. The work offers judgments regarding the effectiveness of the print visual in the four campaigns and renders conclusions as to the role of breaking points in those outcomes.

Dedicated

to

Peter and Julie Dawson

chai

Jam

my

und

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express gratitude to Dr. Howard Bossen, chairman of my dissertation committee and Mary Bresnahan, James Victoria and Joseph Straubhaar, the other members of my committee, who guided me with patience and understanding of my intellectual pursuit.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 6: T

CHAPTER 7: T
OF MICHIGAN

CHAPTER 6: THE ZERO ONE THREE CAMPAIGN

CHAPTER 7: THE MICHIGAN TRAVEL BUREAU: "SECRETS OF MICHIGAN" CAMPAIGN

LIST OF FIGURES

Public servi

the written word ar

sanction the behav

a variety of methoc

visual components

white or color phot

flashed upon a tel

professional actors

Despite the

components for pu

with far less plann

the written word. I

audience respons

suggested that gr

training with "mor

structures in orde

(Covert, 1987, p.

In the cou

or a sentence to

expenditure of cr

are carefully writ

Creative writers

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Public service campaigns have traditionally included a combination of the written word and accompanying visuals. Indeed, in attempting to change or sanction the behavior of a target audience, campaign directors have employed a variety of methods to attract attention and convey an intended message. The visual components have covered a wide range of approaches from black-and-white or color photographs to reproductions of art work or from single pictures flashed upon a television screen to commercial productions involving professional actors and elaborate studio sets.

Despite the commitment of time and money in producing visual components for public service messages, that effort has often been undertaken with far less planning, and subsequent evaluation, than the elements involving the written word. Indeed, evidence suggests that there is little research to verify audience response to visual composition. Against that background, it has been suggested that graphic artists and planners supplement their intuition and art training with "more critical study of viewer likes and dislikes among design structures in order to make their products more effective visual communications" (Covert, 1987, p. 135-6).

In the course of writing a public service message, whether a lengthy text or a sentence to complement a picture, after all, there is little doubt that the expenditure of creative energy and concern is considerable. That is, the words are carefully written, edited and rewritten with regard to content and style. Creative writers and campaign directors may, in fact, differ over the placement of a single comm

printed flush left

On the vi

critical analysis,

visual is, in effe

subtleties that a

Visual message

construction mu

have historicall

Part of th

communication

world, and its r

mass communi

foundations of

communication

for such texts t

example—in th

1989).

Far from

attempts to en

The visual mes

provides image

visual percepti

1971).

This dis

campaigns is d

of a single comma or whether paragraphs should be indented or should be printed flush left.

On the visual side, though the product appears to face a measure of critical analysis, the evaluation, as previously stated, is far less severe. The visual is, in effect, said to hit or miss the target audience with little regard for the subtleties that account for the strength or weakness of a given visual message. Visual messages are, in fact, much more complex, and their effective construction much more demanding than campaign directors and academicians have historically understood.

Part of the reason for that misunderstanding is that while mass communication studies have borrowed from a range of theoretical bases, the art world, and its related fields, have not been prominent among them. Typically, mass communication texts acknowledge the importance of "concepts as the foundations of knowledge and the starting point for a theory of human communications" (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p. 234). Nor is it uncommon for such texts to cite Greek philosophers—Plato and his Theory of Forms, for example—in their discussion of those foundations (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989).

Far from attempting to detract from those foundations, this dissertation attempts to enhance them by encouraging the use of "visual thinking" as well. The visual message in public service communication campaigns, after all, provides images of objects, qualities and events, and, in so doing, provides "the visual perception that lays the groundwork of concept formation" (Arnheim, 1971).

This dissertation suggests that the success or failure of communication campaigns is due, in part, to the attention given to all phases of the planning and creative pr

many forms.

The pur

steps in a pub

elements whic

campaigns. Th

assigned tasks

concentrates s

when those pe

because it bre

communicatio

My thes

exists "breakin

developing vis

argue that an a

the production

visual did, or d

those points, b

process, provic

and literature o

and creative process and, in particular, to the role of the printed visual in its many forms.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of my dissertation is to define and evaluate each of the steps in a public service campaign process. Each step consists of several elements which, when taken as a whole, account for the complexity of such campaigns. The elements at each of the steps can include people, their assigned tasks and the assumptions under which they function. This work concentrates specifically upon a part I define as a gap or interval that appears when those people and assignments converge. I call this a "breaking point" because it breaks the process of planning and designing effective visual public communication campaign messages.

Thesis

My thesis is that in the process of creating pubic service campaigns there exists "breaking points" whose presence signals key intervals in the process of developing visuals to reach the target audiences of those campaigns. I further argue that an awareness of those "breaking points" can serve both as a tool in the production of effective visuals, or in retrospect, as a way to evaluate how a visual did, or did not, reach its intended audience. Proving the existence of those points, by definition, reveals an added complexity in the campaign process, providing a perspective that has been absent from previous research and literature on visual elements in public service campaign topics.

The effect

attention of man

Geller. In additio

advertisers, as w

about the effecti

clear is how or t

targeted audienc

amounts of mon

through campaig

use visual or au

Persuasio

outcomes for pu

service campaig

basis of scientif

knowledge," it s

have been built

or of proven co

persuade a targ

Lack of u

suggests, can le

or to inclusion c

experiences of

that same study

analysis of publ

Problem

The effectiveness of public service campaign messages has attracted the attention of many scholars including Greenberg, Gantz, Kurth, Hansen and Geller. In addition, many social commentators, communication practitioners and advertisers, as well as members of the general public, have shown concern about the effectiveness of public service campaigns (Atkin, 1981). What is not clear is how or to what degree public service messages have influenced the targeted audiences, those so-called "audiences at risk" for whom enormous amounts of money are spent in the name of changing destructive behaviors through campaign messages. What is clear is that the the final messages may use visual or audio/visual constructions.

Persuasion, motivation and information are most often cited as aims or outcomes for public service campaign messages. The literature on public service campaigns points out that few have been purposely designed with a basis of scientific theories or other scientific methods. Rather, "common knowledge," it seems, is the most popular foundation on which such campaigns have been built and directed. Without knowing the roots of persuasion theories or of proven communication methods, strategists aim to motivate, inform and/or persuade a target audience.

Lack of understanding of the meanings of visual elements, a study suggests, can lead to misuse of the symbols of everyday life of the target group or to inclusion of strategies and appeals far from the preferences, tastes and experiences of the target group (Rogers & Storey, 1987, pp. 837-8). Although that same study fails to mention elements of visual communication in the analysis of public communication campaigns, it does suggest that the closer to

the tastes of t
be. In his artic
(1981) provid
approaches b
are the use o
translated into

Part of
study of the p
messages sh
can enhance
literature revie
that review in
almost exclus
journalism an
existence, He
message in h
offering an oc
period, printed
the methods u
service campa
know or what
feel about an
suggestion in
relation to me
audience anal
message.

the tastes of the audience the appeals are, the more effective a message can be. In his article "Mass Media Information Campaign Effectiveness," Atkin (1981) provides some insights and poses questions as to which stylistic approaches best reach the audiences. Among the styles to consider, he said, are the use of comic books or television soap operas. These criteria can then be translated into visual constructions.

Part of the problem is that the literature shows little has been done in the study of the production of messages. In the literature, analysts talk about what messages should say, but offer little information about how visual construction can enhance the message. While an examination of readings cited in the literature review would confirm that assertion, it may be pointed out, in brief, that that review includes citations from Health Communication, a journal devoted almost exclusively to public service campaigns, and Journalism Quarterly, a journalism and mass communication review. During the two years of its existence, Health Communication has devoted none of its articles on the visual message in health campaigns. Journalism Quarterly, meanwhile, though offering an occasional article on a facet of the visual, has, during the same period, printed no information on visual construction. Nor can we find much on the methods used to identify the target audiences. In the literature on public service campaigns, the discussion is mainly about what audiences need to know or what they need to change, but little information is sought as to how they feel about an issue or about a message. Palmer (1981) offers the only suggestion in regard to research strategies for audience identification and its relation to message creation. However, there is no suggestion that this audience analysis is used to formulate a plan for visual elements in the message.

To the

formulate the

Commonly, th

issue. The pri

campaign, to

negotiate the

the creative p

interpretation.

the campaign

The de

common in pu

that use wider

guided by at l

formal proced

and have follo

methodology.

of Michigan is

informal proce

campaign des

the Departmer

Education" (AC

philosophy. Ar

contribute insi

campaign desi

practitioners d

To the contrary, campaign practitioners rely on a creative person to formulate the concept and form the message presentation (Atkin, 1991). Commonly, the creative person then constructs his/her interpretation of the issue. The primary role of the practitioner is to provide the theme of the campaign, to outline what the messages should include and, finally, to negotiate the approach with the creative person. However, the practitioner sees the creative person as the specialist and mostly accepts his/her own interpretation. Typically, the creation and production of the visual elements of the campaign are turned over to the art specialist.

The delegation of responsibility for visual design to the creative artist is common in public service campaigns in the United States, even in campaigns that use widely varied planning methods. Public service campaigns have been guided by at least two identifiable procedures. One may be described as a formal procedure in which communication practitioners have been in charge and have followed a theoretical framework with a systematic, well-defined methodology. The Zero One Three anti-alcohol-drinking campaign of the state of Michigan is an example of this procedure. A second approach employs an informal procedure in which an individual or staff member becomes the campaign designer and acts intuitively. The Michigan Office of Minority Equity of the Department of Education (OME) campaign effort, the "Achieve a College Education" (ACE) campaign, in its earliest days, at least, reflected that philosophy. An analysis of the common threads in these methods could contribute insights to show how, or if, visual considerations are weighed during campaign design, and if the different paths taken makes a difference in the way practitioners decide upon their final visual products.

In pre

Such an exe
that have mo
practitioners
examination
the planning

The lit
public commu
media and the
seems, howev
where and hov
public commur
sub-head "Visu
comprehensive
which include e
Health Educati
considerations.

In a seco
communication
mostly, to test if
analysis of the f
existence of thos
aware of the con
campaigns. Thro
framework, I sug
be improved. In

In presenting and defending my thesis, I first reviewed the literature. Such an exercise revealed those aspects of public communication campaigns that have most frequently reflected the concern and focus of communication practitioners and other social scientists. At the same time, this background examination reveals the awareness and importance given to visual elements in the planning and execution of public information messages.

The literature has discussed theoretical issues that may be applied to public communication campaigns including the potential impact of the mass media and the matter of perceived appropriateness of a given message. It seems, however, that the literature suffers from a gap in the matters of when, where and how visual elements might be considered in the designing of a public communication campaign. Articles cited in the literature review under the sub-head "Visual Communication in Practice," for example, present a rather comprehensive look at the process in its various phases. Yet those offerings, which include entries in the Journal of Advertising Research, the Journal of Health Education and the Journalism Quarterly, fall short of making those considerations.

In a second part of this study, Chapters 4 to 7, I analyzed four public communication campaigns. The analysis served to verify the framework and, mostly, to test if the "breaking points" within that process hold through the analysis of the four campaigns. This, in turn, contributed to accounting for the existence of those breaking points and to making communication practitioners aware of the complexity of the visual messages, the end product of the campaigns. Through such awareness and with that tool—that is, the process framework, I suggest—the effectiveness of public communication messages can be improved. In the final portion of this dissertation, I present my conclusions.

The hist

surprisingly, re

refinement of t

(Paisley, 1989)

noting the evol

campaigns by a

significant to p

visual commun

campaigns and

It hardly

authority both i

century would b

governments. T

for early abolitio

printing press. S

bore rather ardu

on the Human E

The popu

Paine's "Comm

word, as well as

geared to makin

those campaigns

believe that the

presentation mig

Historical Overview

The history of public communication campaigns in the United States, not surprisingly, reflects the growing complexity of the nation's institutions and the refinement of the communication skills needed to influence those institutions (Paisley, 1989). One may trace that development over 200 years by briefly noting the evolution of campaigns from those of individual reformers to campaigns by associations or the federal government. In doing so, it is significant to point out an often overlooked aspect of that history: the role of visual communication. This term is not usually associated with the early campaigns and is generally understated even in the multi-media world of today.

It hardly seems unusual that in a country with a limited governmental authority both in colonial and national systems, the campaigns of the eighteenth century would be conducted by strong-willed individuals rather than by governments. These were advocates who preached their messages—whether for early abolitionist causes or temperance efforts—from the pulpits or the printing press. Such campaigns were traditionally accompanied by tracts that bore rather arduous titles, such as "Inquiry into the Effect of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body Mind" (Paisley, 1989).

The popularity of many of those reform publications, such as Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" with its 100,000-copy sales, indicates that the printed word, as well as the spoken, was considered an important part of any strategy geared to making political or social change. Although the words in many of those campaigns are now required reading in history classes, it is naive to believe that the early pamphleteers disregarded how a pleasing visual presentation might encourage the eventual adoption of their messages. Indeed, the need to "pa

techniques to e

writers and prin

large type faces

sheet (Gonzale

and the use of "

making borders

available tools

As the n

on numeric stre

associations (P

individual, prov

abolition and te

are examples o

century and re

Women's Chris

then, mass cor

lobbying, had b

affecting chang

Another

attempt by refo

leaders they so

as battles for vi

newspaper. Su

themselves had

then, newspape

the need to "package" a message to attract attention and to apply visual techniques to emphasize important points were as important to those early writers and printers as they are to computer graphics experts today. The use of large type faces, screaming "ABOLITION" at the top of a pamphlet or single sheet (Gonzalez Llaca, 1981), the application of exclamation points in bold type and the use of "graphics" in the form of lines across the top of pages or in making borders attest to an awareness of the visual influences even though the available tools were, by today's standards, primitive.

As the nation grew, communication campaigns, because of a need to rely on numeric strength and to ensure continuity of effort, came to be directed by associations (Paisley, 1989). That method, as opposed to reliance on a single individual, proved to be essential in achieving reform over a long time. The abolition and temperance movements and the campaign for women's suffrage are examples of reform efforts that continued through much of the nineteenth century and relied on associations (the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, for example) to further their causes. By then, mass communication, along with grass-roots organizing and legislative lobbying, had become significant weapons in public campaigns geared toward affecting change (Paisley, 1989).

Another tactic, confrontation, has been described by historians as an attempt by reformers to "steal headlines" from government officials or business leaders they sought to challenge. It is not far-fetched to describe such clashes as battles for visual impact, since they were bids to capture the largest type in a newspaper. Such headlines would, in turn, draw attention, just as reformers themselves had won attention by facing their adversaries in a public forum. By then, newspaper graphics featured the cartoon, a device used liberally by all points on the pol

slaves in chains

portray the cruelt

By the ear

magazines as we

problems, shifted

Rokeach, 1989).

to provide rallying

public that condit

children were soc

be found. Further

than processes.

enabled reform b

not in the passing

extent, photograp

that cried out for

surpassed the inv

Upton Sinclair, Id

By the sec

graphics to influe

but to the govern

inevitably, was c

within the federa

> As federa
> informatic
> with 'brea
> slower pr
> roles wer

points on the political spectrum. To the abolitionists, for example, drawings of slaves in chains or beneath the whips of their masters were attempts to visually portray the cruelty of slavery in ways that words alone could not convey.

By the early twentieth century, the expansion of newspapers and magazines as well as the population growth and associated increase in social problems, shifted the initiative for reform to the mass media (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). Solutions for social problems, in fact, were no longer enough to provide rallying causes for organized activity. Writers first had to convince the public that conditions such as impure food and the employment of young children were social evils. Then they had to document where those evils were to be found. Further, twentieth century reforms began to focus on outcomes rather than processes. That is, reformers realized that laws and judicial decisions enabled reform but did not ensure it (Paisley, 1989,). The proof of success was not in the passing of a law but in a visible improvement of people's lives. To that extent, photography was quickly becoming a major force in showing conditions that cried out for change. Use of photographs supplemented and sometimes surpassed the investigative and literary efforts of muckrakers Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, Ida Tarbell and Samuel Hopkins Adams (Barck & Blake, 1965).

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the power of words and graphics to influence social change had become apparent not only to reformers but to the government, a frequent target of social reformers. The result, inevitably, was creation of communication, or public information, programs within the federal government.

> As federal agencies developed their own public information arms, their ability to scoop the media with 'breakthroughs' discouraged the essential but slower process of investigative reporting. Communication roles were reversed, on occasion, when government

ex
ar
ac
go
as
(Pa

It fo

the mass m
reform. The
example, dre
charter. The
of Lyndon Jo
previously be
government, c
major stakeho
government ha
upon which to

That the
in public campa
Security Admini
poverty in ways
1980). Brightly c
Want You") were
wartime (Barnico

A danger
such efforts is it
approaches. Ad

> experts exaggerated the extent of progress in their areas of responsibility. Reporters without privileged access to the evidence then had to evaluate the government's claims in order to cover the story either as presented or with input from other sources (Paisley, 1989, p. 19).

It followed, then, that government, just as individuals, associations and the mass media had done, would eventually become stakeholders in social reform. The passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Child Labor Act, for example, drew the federal government into roles removed from its original charter. The New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Great Society programs of Lyndon Johnson further involved the government in issues that had previously been championed by associations and the mass media. The federal government, due to its size alone, overshadowed communications efforts of the major stakeholders of earlier eras. By the mid-twentieth century, too, the government had nearly 200 years of public communication campaign history upon which to draw.

That the federal government realized the value of visual communication in public campaigns has since become apparent in many ways. The Farm Security Administration photographers of the 1930s, for example, pictured poverty in ways rarely portrayed, before or since, in the mass media (Freund, 1980). Brightly colored recruiting posters with brief messages in big letters ("I Want You") were attempts to appeal to patriotism and a sense of duty during wartime (Barnicoat, 1976).

A danger, in the reformers' view, in relying on the government's role in such efforts is its unpredictability. Elections bring changes in personnel and approaches. Adversarial issues, such as the campaign for civil rights, also tend

to batter the go
year 2000 appr
changed its foc
has taken a rol

Althoug
communication
term used for c
public service r
States have fre
radio spots, se
volunteers, cal
families, conse
forests or regis
campaigns, wh

> Purposiv
> behavior
> generally
> individua
> given tim
> activities
> by interp

A review
campaign is or h
communications
natural context,
examination.

to batter the government into a protective shell that stymies action. Still, as the year 2000 approaches, the history of public communications campaigns has changed its focus. That is, the government, once seen as a campaign target, has taken a role as an agent of change.

Contemporary Overview

Although capable of being defined in many ways, a "public communication campaign" is, according to the literature, the latest umbrella term used for campaigns involving health information and disease prevention, public service messages and community programs. Most people in the United States have frequently viewed television public service announcements, heard radio spots, seen posters, read magazine ads, conversed with community volunteers, called hot lines or received pamphlets on topics such as planning families, conserving energy, reducing alcohol or cigarette consumption, saving forests or registering to vote. These are examples of public communication campaigns, which are, according to Atkin (1990):

> Purposive attempts to inform, persuade or motivate behavioral change in a relatively large audience, generally for non-commercial benefits to the individuals and/or society at large, typically within a given time and by means of organized communication activities involving the media and often complemented by interpersonal support (p. 7).

A review of other definitions as to what a public communication campaign is or how it is envisioned, will complete the map of this communications phenomenon. The definitions, however, are taken out of their natural context, to serve the purpose of illustration rather than of comprehensive examination.

I

commun

groups th

campaign

campaign

education,

public use.

pollution we

forest "peop

and to insta

misusing the

limit access,

engineering a

communicatio

responsible at

these two strat

problem, its co

fails as it empha

positive aspects

ideas, the educa

campaigns.

Modern p

from the intentio

above all else, "

that outcome, re

be employed in

In his study, Paisley (1989) mentioned two trends in defining public communication campaigns, definitions in terms intended to influence other groups through strategies of social control and through the process by which a campaign is designed and planned. An example of an intention defined campaign is that of the U.S. Forest Service which used the three E's strategy, education, engineering and enforcement, to protect the forest from excessive public use. Public communication campaigns concerned with vandalism and pollution were part of the education strategy. Foresters, in trying to make the forest "people proof," directed engineers to design campsites that are fire-safe and to install fixtures such as steel fences and signs. Public persistence in misusing the forests would then lead to enforcement, meaning that foresters can limit access, require permits and prosecute vandals. Dissatisfaction with the engineering and enforcement strategies became evident in the 1980s. Public communication campaigns were not succeeding in creating a positive and responsible attitude by U.S. citizens toward their forests. According to Paisley, these two strategies failed because: "engineering makes a faulty analysis of the problem, its constraints and incentives for change. The enforcement strategy fails as it emphasizes the negative aspects of noncompliance rather than the positive aspects of adaptive behaviors" (Paisley, 1989, pp. 3-5). In this order of ideas, the education strategy prevailed and has been pursued in modern campaigns.

Modern public communication campaigns have also shifted attention, from the intention to the process definitions. While "intention" signifies outcome above all else, "process" gives credence to the complexity of each step toward that outcome, recognizing the choices from among several strategies that may be employed in reaching the desired goal.

of this s

and ind

definition

Sc

understan

social fact

determinat

and the targ

combination

time to allow

A com

a preplanned

people using

be conducted

should contain

said, should al

To Atkin

promotional me

channels to targ

campaigns are i

as socially unde

media, face-to-fa

home or the offic

Briefly, process definitions are the definitions that will serve the essence of this study by providing clues as to when the message is being constructed and indicating moments in which we may seek visual considerations. Such definitions are many and varied.

Schramm (1964), for example, would base an entire campaign on an understanding of the life, beliefs and attitudes of the target audilence and the social factors that help determine how they live. To help make those determinations, he called for face-to-face communication between field workers and the target audience. To reach the intended audience, he would use a combination of communication channels, employed in such a way and at such a time to allow the information to reach its maximum effectiveness.

A communication campaign, in the view of Rogers and Storey (1987), is a preplanned set of communication activities designed to reach and motivate people using a particular type of messasge. To be effective, campaigns should be conducted for a short period, usually from a week to three months, and should contain specific attitudinal and behavioral objectives. The approach, he said, should almost always be multi-media in nature.

To Atkin (1981), information campaigns usually involve a series of promotional messages in the public interest disseminated through mass media channels to target audiences. Flay and Cook (1981) add that media-based campaigns are increasingly being designed to prevent behaviors that are seen as socially undesirable or harmful. They include campaigns using various media, face-to-face interventions in schools and programs that occur in the home or the offices of professionals.

A public
intention to influ
McQuail (1983,
number of medi
with a chosen p
advertising, func

McGuire
convincing indiv
altering their life
and other comm
them to reduce
healthful lifestyle

Campaign
ways. The defini
than in the speci
and diversity of
are used.

We face a
the approaches
channels. Due to
set of minimal co
as a model. Thes

A public information campaign to Paisley (1989) seems to represent an intention to influence someone else's behavior, using communicated appeals. McQuail (1983, p. 180), though, calls a campaign the situation in which a number of media are used to achieve a persuasive or informational purpose with a chosen population, the most common examples being found in politics, advertising, fund raising and public information for health and safety.

McGuire (1984) said a health communication campaign involves convincing individuals to exercise personal responsibility for their health by altering their lifestyles in more healthful directions (through use of) mass media and other communication channels to inform people about dangers, motivate them to reduce risks or train them in skills that enable them to adopt more healthful lifestyles.

Analysis of Definitions

Campaigns have been defined by practitioners and theorists in many ways. The definitions above show more of a diversity in the general purposes than in the specific objectives: duration, intended effects, the units of analysis and diversity of benefits of a campaign and the channels of communication that are used.

We face a diversity of process definitions that generally focus either on the approaches used and/or on the sequence of activities involved and the channels. Due to this variety, Rogers and Storey (1987) suggest that there is a set of minimal common elements within a process definition which can be used as a model. These elements demonstrate that:

a. A cam

from the commu

can be extreme

societal-level st

the campaign m

although the ob

aggregate term

b. A cam

to distinguish a

communication

others. Most ca

of interpersona

extent by camp

make an organ

usually designe

campaign or by

can usually be

target populatio

population of a

c. A can

time span for c

the campaign i

impacts of the

Some campaig

periodically wh

the end of a ca

a. A campaign is **purposive**: Specific outcomes are intended to result from the communication efforts of a campaign. The specific effects of campaigns can be extremely varied, ranging from individual-level cognitive effects to societal-level structural changes. Effects can benefit either sender or receiver of the campaign messages. Ultimately, campaigns seek to influence individuals, although the objectives of a campaign may be, and often are, stated in aggregate terms.

b. A campaign is aimed at a **large audience**: the word "large" is used to distinguish a campaign from small-scale, interpersonal persuasive communication by one individual or a few seeking to influence only a few others. Most campaign strategies, however, have a direct foundation in theories of interpersonal persuasion. The campaign audience is determined to a certain extent by campaign goals, which usually include influencing enough people to make an organized expenditure of worthwhile resources. Campaigns are usually designed and implemented by organizations created specifically for the campaign or by an existing institution. The expense and effort of a campaign can usually be justified only by a target population of some size. Nevertheless, target populations can range from a few hundred citizens to the entire population of a nation.

c. A campaign has a more or less specifically **defined time limit**: The time span for campaigns is demarcated by the period between the initiation of the campaign intervention and the conclusion of evaluation efforts to assess the impacts of the campaign, in other words, by the span of activities in the field. Some campaigns have ongoing objectives. Messages can be changed periodically which will then serve to initiate a new campaign. The beginning or the end of a campaign can become blurred if extensive formative research and

planning prec
audience are
campaigns la
several mont
consist of a se
1981).

d. *A ca*
activities: *Us*
which current c
desired goals.
it is particularly
result of the ge
campaign orga
content. It also
coordinating the
Even campaigns
aim to increase
design and distr
While the logisti
example, with a
environmental g
measure upon t
Although such a
linear process w
practitioners (Ja

planning precede the intervention, or if long term effects on part of the target audience are sought (Rogers & Storey, 1987). Nevertheless, most information campaigns last for a specified period, often ranging from only a few weeks to several months. If planned for a longer period, the process may well, in effect, consist of a series of related but distinct campaigns (Maccoby & Solomon, 1981).

d. A campaign **involves an organized set of communication activities**: Usually these are temporarily established to reach an audience for which current channels and institutions are thought to be insufficient for meeting desired goals. Organized activity may be seen in all phases of a campaign, but it is particularly evident in message production and distribution. This is a natural result of the generally linear nature of most campaigns. In most cases, the campaign organization determines the form messages will take, if not their content. It also assumes major responsibility for selecting and creating or coordinating the channels through which the message will be disseminated. Even campaigns that take the "emancipatory" approach, that is, campaigns that aim to increase grass roots participation, still involve organizing message design and distribution, albeit from the bottom up rather than from the top down. While the logistics of campaign planning are quite different when working, for example, with an advertising agency versus a non-professional community environmental group, the success of the campaign will depend in great measure upon the effective coordination of the communication activities. Although such a statement of a campaign has the limitations of suggesting a linear process within an effects orientation, this approach is commonly used by practitioners (Janis, 1977).

Obje

naturally lea

becomes a

literature or

process ma

mention the

Com

designing p

Application

campaigns

of the creat

marketing, c

formative ar

of research i

Comr

design of pu

practitioners

methods bor

Sometimes,

have been n

and organize

becomes dir

campaign co

reflect the ca

graphic desig

photographer

Objectives, time and the number of individuals involved in a campaign naturally lead us to the question of just where and when the message idea becomes a concrete object, whether a poster, brochure, video or radio spot. The literature on process definitions does not overtly mention at what point in the process matters related to the visual construction come into play, nor does it mention the elements alone, like photos.

Communication scholars have undertaken the task of planning and designing public communication campaigns on the basis of **research**. Application of theories of persuasion to the creation of public communication campaigns has been, for example, one of the results of this group's examination of the creation of successful public communication campaigns. Models of marketing, of sense-making, and of assessment and evaluation—including formative and summative evaluation research—are other examples of the use of research in this type of communication.

Communication practitioners, people responsible for the planning and design of public communication campaigns, are key in the process. These practitioners are dedicated to assuring success of the campaigns by using methods borrowed from the social sciences, psychology and mass media. Sometimes, however, they face obstacles to fulfilling this mission and, at times, have been negligent. Public communication campaigns may also be planned and organized by a member of the group initiating the campaign. This person becomes director or coordinator. In either case, the practitioners devise the campaign concept, then a creative person creates visual constructions that reflect the campaign concept. This creative person or group can be an artist, graphic designer, illustrator, video producer, celebrity in the field or a photographer. In some cases, the whole campaign concept is contracted to an

advertising
for content
construction
perspective
for the part
such eleme
message b

advertising agency or public relations firm that does part or all of the planning for content and visual aspects of the message. These visual materials or visual constructions are produced using the elements of color, shape, light, perspective, field and texture. Decisions about which elements are best suited for the particular concept should be based on knowledge of the meaning of such elements and of symbols that represent most appropriately not only the message but also the target audience's lifestyles, preferences and tastes.

The lit

why those ca

have been of

historical con

components

campaign pro

element migh

whole. Some

outcomes the

those viewers

Indeed

the audience

"Correlates o

Bellenger, 19

viewpoint, co

success of a

beyond audie

population re

Concep

forms of com

method or pro

campaigns, u

CHAPTER 2

THE LITERATURE

The literature of public service campaigns has traditionally focused upon why those campaigns have succeeded or failed. Certain articles, for example, have been of a general nature, taking a broad view of a campaign and the historical context in which it appeared. Others have studied individual components of a campaign with a view toward explaining a point in the campaign process or a single result in the hope that a focused look at a given element might provide an explanation for the nature and tendencies of the whole. Some recent literature has, in fact, gone beyond the process and outcomes themselves to more closely consider the target audience and how those viewers, readers or listeners may be reached most effectively.

Indeed, that consideration points out the complexity of the process and the audience and the care that must be taken to adequately appreciate both. "Correlates of Successful Advertising Campaigns" (Korgaonkar, Moschis, & Bellenger, 1984, p. 48), for example, looks at the matter from an advertising viewpoint, concluding that "understanding the target market" is essential to the success of a campaign. One might, in fact, borrow from the literature of art, beyond audience demographics, to recognize the way in which a given population reacts to visual stimuli (Newton, 1989, p. 6) .

Conceptually, information campaigns can be differentiated from similar forms of communication and from commercial advertising because of their method or process. According to Atkin (1985a), public communication campaigns, unlike other campaigns, are planned to benefit the individual receivers

the spons

classroom

informal r

But

acknowled

made in cr

Such

knowledge

and articles

Review

Adve

publications

and evaluate

academic wr

1986, p. 23)

strategy, an a

public service

interpreted an

The article "V

p. 59) points c

together, mus

to reach a targ

is given additi

receivers or society as a whole rather than to serve the private, self-interest of the sponsoring source. Unlike educational media (e.g., televised instruction in classrooms or homes), the attention and learning process is voluntary and informal rather than being enforced by external constraints.

But this concept of public communication campaigns fails to acknowledge a moment in which decisions about visual elements should be made in order to provide faithful interpretations of the campaign plan.

Such "moments," though, may be discerned through a general knowledge of campaign practices, as learned through observation, interviews and articles, and by piecing together information provided in journals.

Review of the Practical Aspects of Visual Communication

Advertising practitioners, for example, provide such insights in publications such as the Journal of Advertising Research, in which they relate and evaluate their own experiences in articles sometimes co-authored by academic writers. "The Role and Evolution of the Agency Planner" (Stewart, 1986, p. 23) makes reference to the "team process" of planning advertising strategy, an approach that allows for the study of several "moments" within a public service campaign. Data alone, Stewart said, are of little value unless interpreted and applied with wisdom by each person on the campaign team. The article "Visual Connectedness and Persuasion" (Young & Robinson, 1992, p. 59) points out that pictures, to be effective, must be linked to each other and, together, must be "connected" with all other campaign elements if a message is to reach a target audience. The notion of "team process" and "connectedness" is given additional weight in "Correlates of Successful Advertising Campaigns"

(Korgaonkar
clear unders
how misinter
the success

Thoug
communicat
Aesthetics o
planners in t
who design
"Health Con
(Miller, 1992
impact of pr
commercial
growing liter
the Journal
Advertising"
removed fro
campaign p
most visible

With
more aptly c
In providing
to find more
the Appropri
Children" (A

(Korgaonkar et. al., 1984, p. 49). That article, in brief, stresses the importance of clear understanding of process and mission between client and agency and how misinterpretation of lack of communication can have "a negative effect on the success of the campaign."

Though not fully related to the thesis at hand, several articles on visual communication are worthy of mention. "Maker and Viewer Disagreement In Aesthetics of Visual Composition" (Covert, 1987) has value to campaign planners in that it demonstrates that visual compositions which please those who design them may not please the audiences for which they are intended. "Health Communication Through Workplace Smoking Discouragement Posters" (Miller, 1992) is significant in that it puts forth the challenge of maximizing the impact of printed media by utilizing principles of social marketing and commercial advertisement. Noteworthy, too, is that the article represents a growing literature on public communication in health publications, in this case the Journal of Health Education. The article "Visibility Achieved by Outdoor Advertising" (Young & Robinson, 1992), while promoting a subject seemingly removed from the realm of advertising strategy sessions, is a reminder that a campaign process, to be effective, must present a message in ways that are most visible to the most members of a target audience.

With regard to target audiences, several recent articles have attempted to more aptly define those groups, often by revealing misguided media portrayals. In providing more accurate definitions, the articles may lead campaign directors to find more effective ways to reach those audiences. "Parents' Perceptions of the Appropriateness of AIDS Education Topics for Their Eighth Grade School Children" (Acosta, 1992) stated that more parents support sex-related AIDS

educat
could a
Relatio
the Mos
Arnher
assump
fashion,
These Di
prism, on
"Reaching
Public Info
Chewning
to a target

On
meanings
the study o
considerati
even briefly
"*visual*" in it

Revie

Altho
photographs
conveyed th
article "News

education topics than they did sex education a few years ago, a finding that could assist in the development of a public health campaign. "An Analysis of the Relationship Between News Coverage of Health Topics and Public Opinion of the Most Important Health Problems in the United States" (Sofalvi & Airhihenbuwa, 1992) may advise campaign planners which mistaken assumptions to avoid in charting health education campaigns. In a similar fashion, "Cancer, Heart Disease, and AIDS: What Do The Media Tell Us About These Diseases?" (Clarke, 1992) describes specific diseases through a media prism, one that, in the author's view, presents a distorted view of reality. "Reaching Hard-to-Reach Populations: Interactive Computer Programs as Public Information Campaigns for Adolescents" (Hawkins, Gustafson, Chewning, Bosworth, & Day, 1987) offers a "visual" way of delivering messages to a target audience through use of the newest technology.

On its own, of course, the term "visual" lends itself to a variety of meanings and interpretations, many of which may be deemed inapplicable to the study of a given public service message. At the same time, a thorough consideration of those messages hardly seems possible without consulting, even briefly, the literature of art, particularly as it pertains to the evaluation of the "visual" in its many forms.

Review of Research on PCC Visual Messages and Art

Although visual messages, most logically, would seem to be restricted to photographs, posters or drawings, it is important to note that any message to be conveyed through sight, by definition, possesses a visual component. The article "News as Art" (Barnhurst, 1991, p. 1) points out that the placement of newspaper s

if to suggest

sense, the us

packaging of

calm of the h

even on page

Since

words, it is no

that art canno

determine the

element in a

that must fea

"technical age

question inev

artist in produ

instructive in

with the defini

or if artworks

reduced to "ob

literature wond

"soul" of the a

might have pa

which the artis

time, the query

her "self" or "so

newspaper stories (messages) is done to attract the attention of the readers, as if to suggest which of those reports are the most important. In an aesthetic sense, the use of lines and white space represent differing approaches to the packaging of stories, the literature going so far as to make reference to "the calm of the horizontal, the vitality of the vertical and the energy of the diagonal," even on pages with few, if any, pictures.

Since the art of the visual may be found even in an arrangement of words, it is not surprising that the literature of art education stresses the point that art cannot be learned, or evaluated, in a vacuum. The ability of a student to determine the "value" and message of art, whether a painting masterpiece or an element in a public service campaign, is part of a critical approach to the visual that must feature a broad-based art curriculum that is something more than a "technical agenda" (Anderson, 1990, p. 139). Given that approach, a further question inevitably arises, one that is significant in measuring the role of an artist in producing and promoting a public message. That question, though instructive in examining the communication process, probably has more to do with the definition of the work itself whether, in fact, there is separateness in art or if artworks might be so intertwined with a social context that they might simply reduced to "objects of sociology or psychology" (Brown, 1989, p. 213). Other literature wonders whether the artist may "erase his subjective self" so that the "soul" of the artist might be brought to the work (Taylor, 1989, p. 54). That notion might have particular significance in evaluating public service messages in which the artist shares cultural characteristics with the target audience. At that time, the query might be raised concerning the artist's tendency to display his or her "self" or "soul" in an attempt to effectively communicate with that audience.

With

first describe

basis of art

is not there"

(Barrett, 199

and interpre

agree: color

Beyo

purpose crit

approach to

students, fo

verbal and

grade childr

art while the

stimuli as b

this regard,

notes that th

does not "fit

excluded fro

base upon v

finding is tha

have proble

Anoth

(Anderson,

public servic

With regard to evaluating a single visual, the literature suggests that one first describe what one sees. This seemingly obvious approach is, in fact, a basis of art criticism, offering, as it does, a view of "both what is there and what is not there" from within the artwork itself and from "external, contextual sources" (Barrett, 1991, p. 91). In this way, one is able to form a foundation of discussion and interpretation based upon the elements upon which all viewers might agree: color, size, arrangement of elements, for example.

Beyond that potential consensus, attempts to provide a single, all-purpose critical approach to visual art remain elusive, indeed. A recent approach to studying the "aesthetic response" of middle school and high school students, for example, used the semantic differential as it tried to capture both verbal and nonverbal measures (Newton, 1989). That study revealed that fifth grade children tended to be more "open" and "interested" in selected works of art while their older, eighth grade and high school, counterparts viewed art stimuli as being more "complex and unfamiliar." Another article worth citing in this regard, "Aesthetic Pluralism and Multicultural Art Education" (Hart, 1991), notes that the art of many immigrant and native children in the United States does not "fit standard Western aesthetic criteria for high art" and is often excluded from art education classes, depriving those young people of a natural base upon which to build an appreciation of art in its many forms. An additional finding is that North American adults, rather than children, are more likely to have problems with accepting a pluralist aesthetic (Hart, 1991, p. 155).

Another method calls for interpreting works of art as "social metaphors" (Anderson, 1989). This literature, as if to assist in the evaluation of the visual in public service campaigns, begins with the assertion that all art is "communica

visual meta

information

package. In

surface of t

of art, to wh

Furth

highly soph

techniques

been discu

(1991, p. 1

procedures

the princip

"comparati

(Koroscik,

the valuab

readers tha

communica

medium to

Whil

analysis tha

We Unders

explains ho

Although P

"communication of some sort." More than merely carrying a message, in fact, the visual metaphor enlarges upon that message by compressing and intensifying information, something akin to the idea of presenting a large present in a small package. In receiving the message, then, the viewer is asked to look below the surface of the artistic forms and obvious thematic content to the heart of the work of art, to what that "visual" is really saying.

Further literature reflects a variety of attempts to construct even more highly sophisticated measurement tools, as if to apply specific, quantitative techniques to terms—"art" and "aesthetics," for example—that have traditionally been discussed and defined by philosophers. An article by Robert Lee Russell (1991, p. 103) urges students to inquire about art philosophically, but through procedures derived from "ordinary-language philosophy" and geared toward the principles of concept analysis. Another recent study stresses the function of "comparative art contexts and verbal cues" as frameworks for understanding art. (Koroscik, Short, & Stavropoulos, 1992). "Art Metatalk" (Dorn, 1990) points out the valuable lesson that defining a work of art is difficult to do and instructs readers that each art has its own medium, that each is fitted for its own kind of communication. Once again, then, one is reminded of the importance of the medium to properly conveying an intended message.

While it may, in fact, be impossible to have one comprehensive tool of analysis that will fit for all persons upon all art media, Parsons (1987), in How We Understand Art, presents a developmental sequence which, in his view, explains how individuals grow in their comprehension and sophistication of art. Although Parsons focuses primarily upon an approach to paintings, a familiarity with his th

individual

In b

Expressiv

intuitive d

response

judgments

of the wor

who can c

the agree

An

Arts by Ha

appropria

campaign

advertisin

the same

Am

"image," a

The very u

done to it:

doctored,

entirely inc

portrait." H

even in the

responsible

with his thesis can assist those who wish to determine the artistic maturity of an individual or group, perhaps a campaign target audience.

In brief, Parsons calls his five stages Favoritism, Beauty and Realism, Expressiveness, Style and Form, and Autonomy. The continuum begins with an intuitive delight in paints, an attraction to color and a "freewheeling associative response to subject matter." It concludes in the final stage when one makes judgments on his or her own authority and not on that embodied in the tradition of the work. At that point, Parsons said, viewers of art are independent judges who can question the ideals and categories of a community without relying on the agreement of others to validate them.

An additional noteworthy contribution to the literature is the book Popular Arts by Hall and Whannel (1964). Consideration of the work seems especially appropriate to the study of the visual in public service communication campaigns since one might question whether posters or photographs in advertising campaigns may be considered art and, as such, might be judged in the same way that one would evaluate works appearing in a gallery.

Among the many areas of discussion, the authors consider the issue of "image," a word often tossed about in the planning of advertising campaigns. The very use of the word implies, the authors suggest, that "something can be done to it: the image can always be more or less successfully synthesized, doctored, repaired, refurbished, and improved, quite apart from (though not entirely independent of) the spontaneous original of which the image is a public portrait." Hall and Whannel, too, often refer to the "graphics revolution" which, even in the pre-computer graphics age in which the book was written, was responsible for a growing variety of choices in the planning of visual campaigns. T

require a heig

Here, s

psychologica

prime examp

the sum of its

revolution wa

advertising ca

ago said that

display and h

Signific

the real point

copy reinforc

words, and ri

Whannel, 196

The va

literature ava

audiences. In

challenge, bo

campaign un

approaches a

the final cam

the final visua

lack of discus

literature of s

campaigns. They imply that judging the effectiveness of those messages might require a heightened sophistication of critical analysis.

Here, subliminal advertising, with its apparent affinity to tap "hidden psychological feelings" through "dream colors" and blurred photographs, was a prime example of an approach in which the total visual was equal to more than the sum of its parts. To the authors, after all, the most significant feature of the revolution was a shift in emphasis from language to image. Just as present-day advertising campaign planners have learned to do, the authors three decades ago said that modern techniques require consideration of the total "impact" of a display and how the component elements work upon the consumer.

Significantly, they stressed that "the image or picture is, most frequently, the real point of sale, carrying the burden of the 'message.' The language of copy reinforces the appeal of the photograph, extends the mood of the picture in words, and rivets the name of the brand or product in the mind" (Hall & Whannel, 1964, p. 24).

The variety of relevant sources, again, demonstrates the breadth of the literature available in the study of public communication campaigns and their audiences. In so doing, those sources offer the researcher a rich and diverse challenge, both in the selection and application of material relevant to each campaign under investigation. The literature offers a number of theories, approaches and communication strategies that contribute to the construction of the final campaign message. The way in which all components help or hinder in the final visual production is yet to be resolved, owing, in large measure, to a lack of discussion, in the literature, about that specific concern. That the literature of several fields at least touches upon the several components is

testimony
sources, w
show how
judged.

Sig

of the com
nature of t
many parts
was the er
service ca
that the pr
and that, f
understanc
formative e
results are
process, nc
widespreac
bolster the
then, views
characterist
audience as
offers direct

Anotl
of public co

testimony to their importance. This study, in borrowing from that variety of sources, will define components within the visual construction process and show how those parts, both individually and in total, may be recognized and judged.

Review of Evaluation Research

Significantly, methods of evaluating public service campaigns take note of the complexity of the process itself and, instead of merely measuring the nature of the results, offer ways to weigh the effectiveness of a campaign's many parts. A most important development in the quest for an evaluation mode was the emergence of formative evaluation research in the design of public service campaigns (Atkin & Freimuth, 1989). That approach points out, in part, that the product of a public service campaign is derived from many decisions and that, for that product to be effective or to be judged, one must fully understand the nature and intricacies of those many parts. At the core of formative evaluation research is the understanding that shortcomings in the results are often due, in large measure, to weaknesses in the early stages of the process, notably with poor conceptualization. To that end, the method stresses widespread use of preproduction research and message pretesting as ways to bolster the effectiveness of public communication campaigns. The approach, then, views a campaign as a dynamic process and considers not simply the characteristics of the target audience, for example, but the behaviors of that audience as well. Further, in seeking the most promising campaign concepts it offers direction in eliminating the weaker ones.

Another approach receiving increasing attention in the literature of public communication campaigns is that of summative evaluation (Flay &

Coo

pose

in th

effec

have

mas

app

to w

scal

The

prev

glan

eval

cam

deta

coun

Hon

or in

unive

propo

that p

envir

incluc

interv

Cook, 1989). That method, in brief, is employed through a series of questions posed by the evaluator, queries that, again, are to be put forth at several stages in the process. Those questions concern audience, implementation, effectiveness, impacts, cost and causal nature of the campaign. The models have been applied, in particular, in the context of prevention campaigns with a mass media component. In that regard, the proponents of the summative approach present their models as having many pieces, offering suggestions as to when evaluators might be advised to undertake relatively inexpensive, small-scale experiments and when a single "giant" study might be more appropriate. The summative method has been executed largely, though not exclusively, in prevention campaigns.

A third approach that has recently appeared in the literature may, at first glance, seem rather narrow in focus. That method is a systems-based evaluation planning model that was adopted for use in health communication campaigns in developing countries (Rice & Foote, 1989). That model speaks in detail to specific considerations to be undertaken with regard to that developing country. (The Rice and Foote study mentions, in particular, programs in Honduras and Gambia.) At the same time, the evaluation model may, in whole or in part, be adapted to serve a wider range of needs. Among the possible universal applications is an awareness of a prior state. According to proponents, the model reveals that, before intervention takes place, there exists that prior state, perhaps a combination of people, family, community, environment and economy. That state is seen as a baseline for evaluation and includes the constraints that affects how the population interacts with the intervention.

The lit

sources, beg

areas in adve

specific mess

provides a pi

by the interp

Revie

In rec

increasing a

teach audien

campaigns u

interest diss

Some of the

others as ine

classified as

participants

Exact

ineffective ca

diverse, as w

literature for

ineffectivene

particularly t

message alo

However, it c

The literature of public service campaigns, then, borrows from a variety of sources, beginning, perhaps, with communication but extending to specialty areas in advertising and visual studies or in journals related to the content of specific messages, such as public health. Taken together, that literature provides a picture of processes and their outcomes and how each was affected by the interplay of societal attitudes and historical events.

Review and Examples of the Effectiveness of PCC's

In recent years, the mass media have been used to present an increasing array of public communication campaign messages designed to teach audiences more appropriate patterns of behavior. Public communication campaigns usually involve a series of promotional messages in the public interest disseminated through the mass media channels to target audiences. Some of these campaigns have been classified as effective campaigns and others as ineffective. In this study we will be looking at four campaign cases, two classified as effective and two as ineffective from the perspective of the participants in the process of planning and designing such campaigns.

Exactly what are the attributes and characteristics of an effective or ineffective campaign is not quite clear. It seems that the criteria used to do so is diverse, as will be shown below. For the purpose of this study, I looked in the literature for those criteria that specifically spoke to the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of a message due to the strength of the visual productions, particularly the posters. It may be obvious that, in any case, a single poster or message alone can be considered to be responsible for one or the other. However, it could be that the inclusion or omission of a visual element or

elements m
wrong elem
thus becom

Publi
vehicles of
program is
with its ran
articles, are
examples. T
topics, amo
tobacco or
public affai

Histo
information
residents a
War II. In th
gain or affe
during the 1
persuasion
regarding th
perspective
among soci
are often hi
defensivene
influences o

elements may well help in such classification. It could also be that by using the wrong element, like type size or color, the message can lose basic readability, thus becoming ineffective.

Public communication campaigns have several characteristics and vehicles of delivery. The broadcast spot announcement or the television program is one means of presenting the campaign message. The print media, with its range of publications possibilities from advertisements to pamphlets to articles, are another. Radio programs, billboards and films are still other examples. The subjects of campaigns cover a broad spectrum, too. Health topics, among the most popular, might stress nutrition, the dangers of drugs and tobacco or the importance of family planning. Other campaigns may focus upon public affairs, consumer advice or problem-solving skills.

Historically, social scientists have examined the effects of numerous information campaigns, beginning with the classic campaign to teach Cincinnati residents about the United Nations after it was created at the end of the World War II. In that study a heavy flow of messages produced almost no knowledge gain or affective change. Combined with other scientific studies of media impact during the 1940s, such as the apparent minimal influence of political persuasion in presidential campaigns, a pessimistic outlook developed regarding the likely effectiveness of information campaigns. A "null effects" perspective became dominant in the 1950s in academic circles, especially among sociologists and psychologists who contended that audience members are often highly resistant to mediated messages because of apathy, attitudinal defensiveness, and cognitive ineptness; further, it was felt that interpersonal influences outweigh and overcome mass media inputs (Atkin, 1981). Articles

such as "Sou
Audience" re

The p
campaigns c
and oversim
under such l
view, that sk
audiences a
reactionary r
dramatic imp
popular amo
critics of the

A mor
perspective h
communicati
information c
the key issue
of effects, an
The conclusi
long-held pra
media persua

Resea
effects" persp
the following
and assessec

such as "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail" and "The Obstinate Audience" reflect this pessimism.

The pessimistic outlook stands in contrast to the perspective that media campaigns can be successfully used to achieve important effects. A primitive and oversimplified version of this approach was widely held prior to the 1940s under such labels as "hypodermic effects" or "bullet theory." This strong effect view, that skilled media strategists can profoundly sway impressionable mass audiences at will, was so overstated that it contributed to development of reactionary null effects theorizing when research evidence didn't demonstrate dramatic impact of specific campaigns (Atkin, 1981). "This viewpoint is still popular among observers outside the scientific community, especially social critics of the mass media" (p. 269).

A more restrained and sophisticated version of the strong effects perspective has been revived within the past decade by some mass communication researchers. The contemporary theory holds that mass media information campaigns can be moderately successful under certain conditions; the key issues involve defining criteria for success, distinguishing various types of effects, and identifying the maximizing conditions for impact (Atkin, 1981). The conclusion that media campaigns can have important effects parallels the long-held pragmatic perspective of practitioners working in an applied field of media persuasion, such as advertising and political communication.

Researchers supporting either the "weak effects" or the "moderate effects" perspective can point to research evidence supporting their position. In the following sections, studies showing both degrees of impact will be reviewed and assessed. Such an examination of the literature is instructive in providing realistic expe

and in illumin

Most c

since this top

The following

campaigns w

effectiveness

focus of acad

directors (At

Ineffective

<u>Unitec</u>

on quantity r

designing ap

campaign di

lives of the p

material (Sta

approaches

attentivenes

of the evalua

attract atten

<u>Seat</u>

1976) devise

automobile s

(PSA's) wer

system for s

realistic expectations of the strengths and weaknesses of mediated campaigns, and in illuminating some of the factors that either restrict or facilitate effects.

Most of the examples are drawn from research on health campaigns, since this topic area has generated the preponderance of scholarly analysis. The following examples are instances of assessment of public communication campaigns where the media have proven ineffective. Assessment of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of some public service campaigns has been the focus of academic studies, communications practitioners and campaign directors (Atkin, 1985b).

Ineffective Campaigns

United Nations Campaign. The basic problem appears to be a reliance on quantity rather than on quality of messages and less stress given to designing appeals relevant to needs and interests of the ordinary citizen. The campaign did not emphasize how the United Nations related to the personal lives of the people living in Cincinnati, who saw little reason to learn the material (Star & Hughes, 1950). Furthermore, the use of dull stylistic approaches and unimaginative slogans simply did not engage widespread attentiveness among uninterested segments of the audience. The conclusions of the evaluation suggest that heavy message flow alone is not sufficient to attract attention or stimulate learning in the mass communication setting.

Seat Belts Campaign. In the 1970s, scholars (Geller, 1989; Robertson, 1976) devised an elaborate investigation to test the effectiveness of an automobile seat belt campaign. A series of public service announcements (PSA's) were repeatedly presented on one channel of a split-cable television system for several months, while an equivalent set of homes did not have access to t

exposed to

in the contr

behavioral

methods s

Birth

planning c

several me

The resear

explicit rec

specificity

Gen

disappointi

on the publ

viewed; the

problem wi

programs c

unpopular

formative r

invest the e

with varyin

tended to g

(e.g., seeki

fruits, self-e

children im

hearing pro

access to the messages. Observation of daily belt use indicated that drivers exposed to the experimental channel did not differ significantly from the drivers in the control condition. The ineffectiveness was assessed by the lack of behavioral consequence in spite of further efforts to include other intrusive methods such as automobile buzzers, lights and interlock systems.

Birth Control Campaign. Unwanted births were the focus of a family planning communication effort. The promotional messages were placed in several media in experimental cities, but no decline was found in the birth rate. The researchers reported that the message featured vague slogans rather than explicit recommendations regarding contraceptive methods. This lack of specificity may have diluted the potential strength of the message (Udry, 1972).

General Health Campaign. Another major campaign that yielded disappointing results was the health-orientated Feeling Good television series on the public TV network. The degree of impact was limited, since few people viewed; the average Nielsen report rating was only 1.4 points. The primary problem with the initial execution of the series was the use of hour-long programs containing a broad assortment of health topics, carried on the unpopular public channels. Although the producers relied on state-of-the art formative research to develop an entertaining format, few viewers wanted to invest the effort to seek out and watch lengthy programs containing information with varying relevance to their needs. It is noteworthy that those who did view tended to gain knowledge, change attitudes and alter simple behavior patterns (e.g., seeking information-seeking about heart check-ups, eating more fresh fruits, self-examining breasts, encouraging a friend to take a Pap test, having children immunized, and learning about alcoholism, cholesterol, and preschool hearing problems). Thus the failure of this campaign can be primarily attributed to low

the t

while

brief

effec

minin

with

coun

anti-

well-

inves

comb

mess

Simila

amon

impor

media

educa

drug c

threat

audien

duratio

audien

to low viewership. Lack of exposure precluded any further impact for the bulk of the target audience. An alternative approach minimizing the exposure effort, while maximizing the informational as well as entertainment benefits (e.g., briefer messages focusing on discrete health subjects) might have proved more effective (Atkin, 1981).

Drugs. Anti-drug campaigns aimed at youth have consistently yielded minimal impact (Atkin, 1981). Drug abuse radio PSA's have been ineffective with teenagers. Researchers discovered that many older teenagers counterargued against claims made in television PSA's. One study reported that anti-marijuana messages had little influence on high school students due to well-developed attitudes toward the substance. Atkin further describes another investigation examined a public service campaign on TV and radio designed to combat abuse of psychoactive drugs by adult females. In towns receiving the messages, respondents reported little attitudinal or behavioral change. Similarly, Atkin comments, researchers found no increase in behavioral change among adult women who viewed a set of PSA's designed to heighten the importance of this drug abuse issue.

While the array of drug campaign evidence indicated the limits of mass media influence for a highly-involving topic, it should be noted that formal educational programs have also met with resistance. Furthermore, many anti-drug campaigns have been criticized for relying on preachy hard-sell or overly threatening message appeals inappropriate for the sophisticated target audience. The campaigns studied, as Atkin suggests, tended to be of short duration, and most of the PSA's appeared in marginal time slots when audiences were small. Finally, these studies have not focused on cognitive

respo
media

Effe

soug
facto
spots
perio
comp
interp
signif
and b
camp
chang
disea
disse
engag
were
more

impac
sexua
progra
of the
also h

responses; indeed, other research shows that adolescents rely on the mass media for initial awareness and knowledge about drugs.

Effective Campaigns

Heart Disease. The Stanford heart disease field experiment campaign sought to modify cigarette smoking, cholesterol intake, and blood pressure factors that increase the risk of heart disease. The strategists used TV and radio spots, broadcast programs, and newspaper columns and ads over a two-year period in experimental locales. The town receiving the media campaign was compared to a control town and to a third town with both media and interpersonal support services. Among high-risk target persons, there were significant reductions in saturated fat intake, cigarette use, plasma cholesterol and blood pressure, along with major knowledge increases. At the end of the campaign, Atkin (1981) explains, the media-only town showed almost as much change as the media-interpersonal town. The positive results from the heart disease campaign can be attributed to the pervasiveness of message dissemination combined with carefully prepared appeals presented in an engaging manner. "Indeed, the intensiveness and expense of the campaign were so great that caution must be exercised in extrapolating the findings to more typical modestly-mounted campaigns" (p. 269).

Singing the V.D. Blues. Greenberg and Gantz (1989) assessed the impact of the multifaceted "V.D. Blues" TV program that sought to inform sexually active persons about venereal diseases. Surveys showed that the program attracted a wide audience and increased their perceived seriousness of the problem. Self-perceived and objective knowledge levels of viewers were also higher, particularly knowing the modes of V.D. transmission and the best

cure. In
broadc
to pers
of infor
some c
certain
effecti
were w
style t
source
progra
local s

Nation
million
improv
technic
alterna
own ab
effectiv

viewer
increas
and fac
of thes
present

cure. In addition, thousands of persons visited V.D. clinics in the days following broadcast of the program. Obviously, the success of this program is partially due to personal vulnerability felt by certain segments of the public. Almost any type of information, no matter how presented, would have been seized upon by some of these persons. The intensity of an explicit need for information is certainly a key factor predicting receptivity to a campaign, resulting in greater effectiveness. Beyond this, the qualitative elements of the package of messages were well-conceived and produced. The program used a highly entertaining style to present straight facts in understandable language from credible sources. Even though it was a one-shot presentation, the network program was extensively publicized and follow-up segments were provided on local stations.

National Driver Test Program. As Mendelsohn (1985) reported: the National Driver Test program attracted 30 million viewers, generated over a million letters to the TV network, and stimulated thousands to enroll in driver improvement courses. This widespread response is largely attributed to the technique of portraying difficult driving situations and posing questions about alternative coping methods. This allows over-confident drivers to measure their own ability and discover if they are capable of handling each situation. The effectiveness, according to Mendelsohn, is attributable to the quiz show format.

National Citizenship Test. Knowledge among high school students viewers concerning constitutional rights and obligations was considerably increased Atkin explains. The quiz show format apparently attracted interest and facilitated learning about this dry subject. The initial key to success in each of these two cases centers on the engrossing nature of the program presentation, which served to attract the attention of an indifferent public.

publi
reta
serie
cogr
com
diss
leve

cam
how

from
patte
gene
term
on th
subs

cons
comr
while
some
On th
that p

In addition, Atkin goes on, effective campaigns have been reported using public service promotional materials to teach audiences about mental retardation, smoking, drinking, and littering. The successful Sesame Street TV series can also be considered as an information campaign that teaches cognitive skills to a voluntary audience of children. In all of these cases, the combination of engaging style, carefully-targeted appeals and high frequency dissemination helped produce substantial impact, especially at the cognitive level among receptive segments of the public.

In reviewing the above evaluations of some of the public communication campaign (Atkin & Freimuth, 1989), some solutions have been suggested as to how to improve such messages or as to what made them successful.

• Effect expected: effects can be arrayed along a hierarchy ranging from simple awareness and knowledge, to values, to actions and habitual patterns of behavior, each with varying degrees of maintenance over time. In general, the mass media have much greater potential for producing shorter-term and cognitive effects than longer-range and behavioral effects. Depending on the level and duration being considered, either limited effects or more substantial effects conclusions can be drawn.

• The substantive topic of the effects within each level must be considered; certain subjects are difficult to teach while others maybe readily communicated, and certain well-established behaviors are difficult to change while others require only a minor effort. Indeed, people are also resistant to some kind of change so that laws or monetary incentives are often ineffective. On the other hand, individuals may have existing or elicitable needs or values that predispose them to be quite receptive to incoming messages on certain

subjects. T
specific top

between th
argues for
driving by
behavior fr
interpret s
and, there
interpretat
politicians
percent of
multi-millio
comment
interpretat

communic
ineffective
and under
insufficient
incorrect s
stylistic qu
are likely t
use the mo

cannot be

subjects. Thus interpretations of the effectiveness of the media depend on the specific topics under consideration.

• The definition of "success" apparently varies in the magnitude between the two camps evaluating information campaigns. Mendelsohn (1973) argues for the adoption of realistic, non-grandiose criteria, such as cutting drunk driving by a small proportion rather than trying to eradicate all poor driving behavior from the highways. Those holding the null effects perspective tend to interpret small changes (e.g., less than 10 percent of the variance) as trivial, and, therefore, conclude that the media are impotent. More liberal interpretations regard such outcomes as socially significant. Advertisers and politicians are usually quite satisfied if their media messages can shift several percent of the public in the intended direction, and back up this conviction with multi-million dollar investments. Thus, much of the divergence in opinion comment Atkin and Freimuth (1989), regarding media impact is due to differing interpretation of the same degree of change in the audience.

• The quantitative and qualitative attributes of campaign communications vary considerably from one campaign to another. Many of the ineffective campaigns have been poorly conceived, inadequately pretested, and underfunded is the judgment of Atkin and Freimuth. This results in insufficient frequency of presentation, undesirable channels and time slots, incorrect source presenters, inappropriate message appeals and unattractive stylistic quality. When such campaigns are selected for evaluation, null effects are likely to be obtained. On the other hand, the authors argue, campaigns that use the most advantageous strategies, will produce much more positive results.

• Low budgeting does not necessarily mean that the campaign cannot be successful, if the resources are used adequately. Appropriateness ca

ca

un

sys

Ho

me

To

ap

F

the

Sto

the

is r

spe

Info

Auc

not

Cin

195

"two

and

who

can also be related to the social influences at the time of the release of the campaign and the need for the information.

From the above, one can confirm that the criteria are varied, unpredictable and even arbitrary. Evaluation research, formative, summative or systemic can contribute to the field and are now more commonly used. However, there are no instances in which the visual constructions are explicitly mentioned as a factor for the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the campaigns. To understand the applications of those criteria, it is important to consider their application within the context of changing historical eras.

Review of Research on Communication Campaign Trends

After the extensive propaganda of World War I had faded, for example, the early belief in the power of the media faded as well (Atkin, 1985b; Rogers & Storey, 1987). Communication researchers became generally pessimistic about the probable success of public communication campaigns, and their pessimism is reflected in literature that recalls and analyzes those days. Among articles speaking to that topic, two are most noteworthy: "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail" (Hyman & Sheatsley, 1947) and "The Obstinate Audience" (Bauer, 1964). The belief in the minimal effects of the media rested not only on evidence of several famous unsuccessful campaigns, such as the Cincinnati campaign to win support for the United Nations (Star & Hughes, 1950), but also on the concept that media influenced individuals primarily by a "two-step-flow" through opinion leaders (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1948), and that an audience consisted of a homogeneous mass of "know nothings" who selectively exposed themselves to, perceived and retained media content

t

1

p

C

c

F

e

w

ps

pi

fa

to

"n

be

pr

int

se

co

str

va

trac

seg

can

that conformed to their previous knowledge and attitudes (Hyman & Sheatsley, 1947).

Eventually, though, communication researchers changed their perceptions, as indicated by the article "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Can Succeed" (Mendelsohn, 1973). The changing view was caused by successes of some campaigns in the 1960s and the 1970s. Furthermore, over the years theoretical developments and evaluations of effective campaigns have shown that the chances of success have increased when research is used to assess needs, identify relevant audiences, identify program failures and continuously evaluate messages and effects. Systematic planning, developing message strategies and consideration of external social factors, it was determined, can also help in this task. These eras of attitudes toward public information campaigns were called by Rogers (1987) the "minimal effects," the "hope of success" and the "moderate effects" eras.

Documentation of these trends prove that at times some things work better than others. Researchers in the 1990s use the experience of the past to produce a complementary mix of the most appropriate mediated and interpersonal channels for a particular campaign, (Atkin, 1990). However, it seems more attention is given to the channel than to the audience and to the construction of the message. If this is true, it could indicate that campaign strategists still hold the belief that proper selection of a medium is more valuable than designing the proper message for a particular audience.

Anti-consumption messages—anti-smoking and anti-drinking—have traditionally been linked to public information campaigns. Indeed, to large segments of the general public, such messages are synonymous with those campaigns. Public information messages are defined as having public concern as a

publi

welfa

appl

appr

mod

one

eva

acc

ana

of t

car

cor

tha

He

ca

ou

Wi

de

ch

su

pe

inte

as a motivation with no interest except to persuade, motivate or inform the public or specific groups of the public to follow ideas that could improve their welfare. It is argued that there is no simple separation of theory, design and application in modern communication campaigns. Different theoretical approaches and perspectives include models of persuasion, rejection of linear models of communication, social marketing approaches, community orientations, formative evaluations, systems perspectives toward planning evaluations and summative evaluations designs. All these perspectives, according to Atkin (1990), suggest different ways to design, conduct and analyze campaign efforts. In this part of the paper, I will, therefore, review some of the most commonly used paradigmatic foundations of public communication campaign design and planning.

Theoretical Background

Among the persuasion theory holders, McGuire (1989) has suggested a comprehensive overview of concepts, processes and theoretical mechanisms that provide a sound foundation for understanding communication campaigns. He describes how basic directive and dynamic theories from social psychology can be applied in designing effective campaigns to influence audiences. He outlines an input-output matrix of communication and persuasion variables. What McGuire offers is a checklist of stops which are suggestions for campaign designers to follow. The input (independent) variables are the source, message, channel, receiver and destination. For the output (dependent) variables, he suggests the message should produce 12 response steps for mediating persuasion, such as exposure to the communication, attending to it, becoming interested or linking, comprehending it and reaching post-behavioral

con
thin
ord
rec
suc

ser
ter
doc
(19
inte
pe
dir
cha
pro
giv
be
res
mo
exp
abo
the
me
qua
pov
mer

consolidation. Following this list has proved useful. However, it is difficult to think of such a message that can be designed to accomplish all 12 steps in that order. It is not that the actual message does not follow the steps, but the receivers do not necessarily decode the message and change behaviors in such an orderly manner.

Persuasion does not automatically, nor immediately, accompany the sending of a message. Persuasion may, in a more practical sense, rely on long-term recall. The individual may become aware of a specific suggestion, but that does not mean he/she is willing or able to change. The Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) model has served to test and measure the changes in beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviors an individual undertakes after being exposed to a persuasive message. The indicators of this measurement are based upon the direction or level of intensity of the desired change or even resistance to change. Another model used for this purpose is that of McGuire (1978) who proposed a matrix for discerning the process of persuasion. In his model, he gives several independent communication variables, which he calls "input," to be tested against the "output," or dependent variables, which, in fact, are 12 response steps mediating the persuasion process. Most studies using this model have also employed techniques of an experimental or quasi-experimental nature. To consider the results of the studies based upon the above models, one would have to consider not only the persuasive elements in the message but the adequacy of the visual elements used to articulate it. The message, whether it is a visual or audio construction, should have all the qualities required by this model and then, together with the medium, be powerful enough to cause the desired outcome. McGuire, however, makes no mention of how that could be accomplished using visual elements. Neither is

there n
of usin

fundar
argues
comm
mode
produ
who c
reality
to a p
audie
sugg
Most
Dervi
audie
quan

desir
canc
cohe
quali
this a
intere
and t

there mention of who should design the visual components nor the importance of using visual elements congruently with his model.

In a different study, Dervin (1989) has challenged some of the most fundamental concepts in communication campaign design and research. She argues that an information-as-construction model is more appropriate in communication situations than an information-as-description model. The former model assumes that information is created by human observers, is inherently a product of human self-interest, and can never be separated from the observers who created it. Switching from conceptualizing information as a description of reality also changes the concept of communication from an act of transmission to a process of dialogue. This shift might emphasize the way the receivers or audiences are treated. It also includes the nature of society. She has also suggested that this approach is best suited for community based campaigns. Most mass communicators, however, find it too complex and not practical. Dervin describes her own approach to this changed conceptualization of the audience as the sense-making approach. It combines ethnographic, qualitative, quantitative and systematic procedures.

This perspective has been put in practice in campaigns for a library desiring more Hispanic patrons, a blood center desiring repeat donors and a cancer clinic wanting to more effectively serve anxious patients. Devising a coherent assessing tool under the principles of ethnography and other qualitative methods involves working with varied and diverse variables, making this approach rich and potentially dynamic. This approach represents an interesting alternative method that might help to better analyze the audiences and to better construct the visual messages needed. Dervin (1989), however,

does
or in

the
con
can
her
way
acc
"ma

the
res
con
sec
em
car
auc
ele
ass
tha
prir

or v
fielc
bas

does not talk about the visual constructions and the way in which the audience or individuals make sense of them.

Dervin's approach stresses that a message will reach a target group if the message makes sense to that audience. She emphasizes person-to-person contact, as opposed to extensive use of a mass medium, in community campaigns to achieve the value and meaning of a message. Close contact, in her view, means an availability of sources to answer questions and in other ways clarify that message. The approach, though, does not fully take into account the impact of well-constructed visuals in reaching an audience—and "making sense"—in strong and immediate ways.

A much different perspective on communication campaigns, drawn from the field of marketing, was introduced by the academic-turned-market-researcher Douglas Solomon (1981). He demonstrates how the philosophy, concepts and techniques of commercial marketing can be adapted to public sector programs through the "social marketing" approach. Solomon emphasizes several key ideas for improving traditional public communication campaigns. These include responsibly meeting the needs and wants of the audience and broadly considering product, price, place and positioning elements as well as promotion, precise segmentation of submarkets and careful assessment of the competition. He has offered numerous illustrations of the way that social campaigners can achieve greater effectiveness by applying the principles used so successfully in the private sector.

The treatment of public issues such as the individual's health, education or values, as if they were commodities, has caused serious discussions in the field. The use of the "four P's"—price, product, place and positioning—as the basis of the campaigns turns values of public information into commodities. In

t
c
c
v
t
r
p
v
c
e
c

p
r
A
"c
c
a
h
a
p
cc
e
ef
cc
pr

that sense, those campaigns take on the characteristics of efforts to sell soap or other consumer goods. The selling of vital habits for a better life as if they were commodities has certainly caused misconceptions in the public. The mixed value systems communicate contradicting messages and make it difficult for the target audiences to understand the messages. Individual goal achievements do not seem to be reached through direct-sell approaches. The misconceptions presented about the issue itself and about the public's values is reflected in the visual constructions as well as in the non-visual elements. Visual elements in campaigns promoting well being are structured no differently than are visual elements in campaigns selling products. The lack of differentiation might well contribute to a lack of effectiveness in public information campaigns.

Researchers and policy makers have not paid sufficient attention to the particular challenges and needs of community communications campaigns with respect to appropriate theories and to the need for useful, informed guidelines. Alcalay and Taplin (1989) have pointed out that because the idea of "community" involves a context, a process of interaction and a problem, campaign designers need to understand power distributions and need to use available media effectively. They argue that part of the process should consider how best to place messages in various media, both from a commercial advertising perspective and from a public relations and public affairs perspective. Deriving from a social psychological point of view, with contributions from sociology, the concept of community is integrated and explained in different ways by the "agenda setting" model, the "cultivation-effects" theory and the "knowledge-gap" mass media theory, all used in constructing public communication messages. Community-based campaign projects use more print media to build community leadership and awareness.

Th

Th

ac

ida

se

(1

de

ro

au

res

rec

me

me

Ho

ca

ap

we

to

tha

lim

ma

onl

the

These include local newspapers, brochures, pamphlets and other forms. Throughout the literature, there is no mention of the elements needed for acceptance by a given community. No consideration is given to such things as identifying symbols or tailoring type sizes for children or adults.

One of the reasons mass media campaigns for health and other public service goals have achieved only limited success, argue Atkin and Freimuth (1989), is the lack of sophisticated formative evaluation research in the development of campaign strategies. Atkin and Freimuth have discussed the role of pre-production research and message pretest in identifying target audiences and target behavioral outcomes, specification of critical intermediate response variables, ascertaining channel exposure patterns, determining receptivity to potential message components and testing preliminary versions of messages. They have suggested a stage-by-stage key audiences evaluation.

No doubt evaluation and testing are important before releasing messages. However, such activity has failed in some of the campaigns like the Honduras campaign on dehydration and the "Say No to Drugs" (Figure 37) campaign in Michigan. In the latter, the design resulted from an eclectic approach. The posters, for example, used a group of young actors who recently were caught dealing drugs as role models, a situation that was exactly contrary to the goals of the campaign. Most of the testing was made with small groups that are non-representative of the target audience. Also testing usually employs limited methods for retrieving information about symbols used in the visual materials. Formative research, in spite of its limitations in actual practice, is the only approach that considers the assessment of the visual materials themselves.

Th

situation

such as

appropri

instead (

T

approac

commur

examina

from car

acknowl

material

contribu

F

commur

importar

an issue

campaig

issue us

the issue

be favor

endorser

campaig

of comm

use of as

media m

The visual or audio-visual materials are assessed in a focus group situation. The criteria for assessment are still vague and based on qualifiers such as "pretty", "cool", and "like it." There needs to be more focus on the appropriateness of the visual elements so they may be powerful messages instead of just "pretty" pictures.

The history of public communication campaign studies and theoretical approaches give this paper a background and explanation of the communications phenomenon, public communication campaigns. This examination serves a further purpose of developing criteria for analysis of data from campaign sources as to its limitations, misconceptions and lack of acknowledgment of visual elements which are represented in the campaign materials. Visual communication can provide a whole set of insights which can contribute to making public communication campaign messages more effective.

From this background examination, I also note that historically, public communication campaigns have been affected by the public's perception of the importance of an issue, by the credibility of the public in the sources presenting an issue and by the stakeholders of an issue. Not surprisingly, before a campaign is aired, stakeholders try to guarantee some level of awareness of the issue using press releases or other media. There are also the cases in which the issue is already a latent one and then the conditions of the campaign may be favored. The literature also shows that the presenting source and endorsement is carefully selected (even in the cases of non-effective results campaigns) in order to create positive reception of the message. From the field of communications and theoretical approaches, we are faced with a common use of assumptions based on theories of persuasion and a focus on multi-media mediated messages.

Planning for modern campaigns seeks more and more a systematic well-defined process which requires stating objectives deciding on a message, the contexts and the audiences. The process consists of specifying goals, clarifying the stakeholders' roles, adapting approaches and strategies to audience differences, sequencing and coordinating campaign activities, monitoring and assessing the campaign's possible failure points, improving it on the basis of field trials and transferring the success of one campaign in one setting to other campaigns in other settings.

Insofar as public issues and interest in them have multiplied and conflict on the part of stakeholders has also multiplied, careful attention to the process has become a key factor to a successful campaign. However, this has not ensured success in itself. Success of a campaign also depends on the perception of the public that the campaign issue is important and that the importance is reflected in the public's agenda. It also depends upon the perception of the public that the group supporting or opposing an issue has entitlement to advocate a view. But mostly it depends on how all of these elements are articulated in a visual manner, a visual construction.

Public communication campaigns are also designed to educate the public. Education should be understood to mean that the campaign will inform, persuade or change behavior of the target group on a given issue. The teaching is more likely to be accepted if the source presenting the issue is viewed as credible and as having the right to do so. If the issue is not very specialized, role models or just peers are used as credible sources.

framev

develo

framev

and, m

This w

campa

approa

analyti

relatio

stakeh

and co

proce

decide

membe

intuitio

underta

approa

CHAPTER 3

THE METHODS

In this study, I used, as the basis of analysis, the process analytical framework of planning and designing a public communication campaign that I developed in a previous work (Gonzalez, 1992). To define that process framework, I determined what constitutes a public communication campaign and, more specifically, the role of visual communication in such a campaign. This was best achieved through a study of the history of public communication campaigns in the United States, campaign trends, theory-based campaign approaches and a variety of campaign definitions. The four steps of the analytical process framework as identified and explained are:

1. The public communication campaign (PCC) message in relationship to the **messengers or stakeholders**. A concerned group or stakeholders decides that an issue needs to be presented and disseminated and commits a given part of their budget to it.

2. The PCC visual message in relationship to the **approach or procedure** followed in planning and designing the campaign. The group decides who will take charge of the organization of the campaign, a staff member, a specialist or both. The director will then decide to follow his or her intuition and that of his or her colleagues, an **informal** approach, or to undertaken the design of a campaign in a systematic manner, a **formal** approach.

followe
directo

qualita
clarify
decisio
consid

analys
releva
meani
describ
of eacl

design
sugges
public
problem
interva
campai
break t
commu
the proc
attempt

3. The PCC visual message in relationship to the **method(s)** followed in identifying and characterizing the target audiences. One or more directors set up objectives, define a target audience, and define the time frame.

4. The PCC visual message in relationship to the concept and qualitative factors of the **message** itself. The director and group develop and clarify objectives and develop the concept of the campaign by making strategic decisions pertinent to the source, message, channel and receivers. Budget considerations will affect the selection of channels and quantity.

In using this analytical framework (Figures 1 through 4) as a tool of analysis, I limited the interview questions and reading materials to those relevant to the essence of each step and to those that clarified possible meanings to be derived from the visual elements. The following figures, then, describe the process framework. They lead the reader from the broad statement of each step to the specific notions for discussion. (Ramesh & Meischke, 1989).

The present study investigates the process of campaign planning and design through analysis of the specific visual materials. With this study, I am suggesting that apparent problems in the visual materials, the end product of public communication campaign design and planning, are a reflection of problems in the process itself, more specifically of decision-making at key intervals—which I have called "breaking points"—in the public communication campaign. I use the term "breaking points" because, to my understanding, they break the process of planning and designing effective visual public communication campaign messages. It is through this systematic illustration of the process, the questions, answers and scheme for discussion that I have attempted to find key intervals or "breaking points."

SPECIF
SCHEME F

Step 1

The M

• St

• Go

• Fin
Co

(Possible p
effort but

Figure 1:

Process Framework		
Specific Campaign Scheme for Discussion	**Campaign Notions to be Identified**	**Considerations for a Deeper Understanding**
Step 1 **The Messengers**		
• Stakeholder(s)	• Identification of the group(s)/messenger(s)	• Volunteer groups, philanthropic associations, the media, the government. other. **Who?**
• Goals & Outcomes	• Role(s) in society • Concern(s) • Motivation(s) • Expectations • Goals-outcomes relationship	• The group or groups perceive an issue to be important enough to promote awarness or change. **Why? What** is at stake? **Who** is to change **whom?**
• Financial Commitment	• Expenditures • Limitations • Constraints • Emphasis (image or issue) • Budget time-period	• The commitment is shown by the funds allocated to promote the issue. **How much** and under **what conditions** can it be spent?
Possible place for a "Breaking Point" (Possible problems reflected in the visuals: Stakeholders seeking to participate in a given effort but have different motives and therefore seek different outcomes and messages, face different limitations on expenditures, hold dissimilar goals.)		

Figure 1: Step one of the process of planning and designing a campaign

Process Framework		
Specific Campaign Scheme for Discussion	**Campaign Notions to be identified**	**Considerations for a deeper understanding**
Step 2 **The Approach** • **Formal** **or** • **Informal**	• Identification of the campaign coordinator or director of the campaign effort • Personnel involved in the process, role and profession. • Identification of the approach in order to accomplish the task. • Strategies needed to procede • Distribution of budget	• The concerned group will then decide on the person(s) to coordinate or direct the campaign efforts. • A communications practitioner, a member of the concerned group or organization, a special agency or a combination of the above. **Who?** • The coordinator(s) will begin the project. **How?**
The results of what happens at this step are reflected in the visuals only after the next step has been taken. Therefore, no breaking point is suggested.		

Figure 2: Step two of the process of planning and designing a campaign

Step 3

The

• Target a

• The is

Target grou

Figure 3: S

Process Framework		
Specific Campaign Scheme for Discussion	**Campaign Notions to be Identified**	**Considerations for a Deeper Understanding**
Step 3 **The Method**		
• **Target audience(s)**	• Identification of the method(s) to gather information about the target group(s). • Tools used in learning about the target group(s).	• Method or methods chosen by the coordinator to identify the target group(s). **Which?** • Tools which are congruent with the method(s) and are reliable. **Which?**
• **Target group(s) characterization**	• Demographics • Psychographics • Others	• Coordinator(s) use a set of characteristics of the target group(s) to develop the plan and strategies of the camapign. **Which** will, and will not be used?
• **Numbers and outreach possibilities**	• Population census • Location	• Campaign coordinator(s) use target group(s) considering their number, places where they spent most of their time and media habits. **How many are there? where are they?**
• **The issue at stake** • **Depth** • **Breadth**	• Identification of methods and tools to know about the issue.	• Coordinator(s) learn about the issue. **How much?**
Possible place for a "Breaking Point" **Target group(s)(TG) and issue may be misinterpreted. For example, everyday life styles of TG may be overlooked.**		

Figure 3: Step three of the process of planning and designing a campaign

S
Scr

Ste

• I

• (

• S

• (

The
sens

Figu

PROCESS FRAMEWORK		
SPECIFIC CAMPAIGN SCHEME FOR DISCUSSION	**CAMPAIGN NOTIONS TO BE IDENTIFIED**	**CONSIDERATIONS FOR A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING**
Step 4 **The Message**		
• **Background factors**	• Identification of the theories and/or beliefs by which the message will be constructed. • Strategies chosen to construct the message.	• Coordinator may or may not have a theory in mind but surely has a belief. **Yes or No and which one?** • Persuasion, information, awareness.
• **Qualitative factors**	• Identification of: • Appeals and Incentives • Theme and style • Attractiveness, relevance, clarity and uniformity	• The understanding of the coorditanor(s) as to how can the campaign aims may be best obtained. **Which? & of what kind?** • Criteria selected to develop the concept and content of the camapign message. **Which? How?**
• **Source**	• Entitlement • Credibility	• Selection of source presenting the issue and/or delivering the message. **Who or what?**
• **Channel**	• Multi-media • Uni-media • Frequency • Amount	• Belief as to the way in which information is transmitted and disseminated. **Which way?** • Knowledge of the TG preferences. **Which ones?**
Possible place for a "Breaking Point" **(The closest to the target group(s) (TG) that the concept and content is shaped in this step, the more sense it will make to the TG and vice versa. The breaking point at this step is deeper if the creative person or agency misinterprets the decisions made at this step.)**		

Figure 4: Step four of the process of planning and designing a campaign

which

"brea

public

comp

camp

the da

and s

Fram

while

analy

desig

the U

Publi

proce

comm

theor

One

exam

in wh

acts i

the D

comm

how c

The scope, then, is limited to the verification of the process framework which served as an analytical framework, through the verification of whether the "breaking points" within that process hold through the analysis of four different public communication campaigns. This method, therefore, determines the complexity of the visual messages, revealing how public communication campaigns arrive at the visual articulation of content, form and style. In addition, the data is viewed and evaluated in a schematic manner through the categories and sub-categories presented in Figures 1 through 4 labeled "Process Framework." These figures serve to guide the reader through the framework while, at the same time, setting the boundaries of interpretation by restricting the analysis to that framework and its individual parts.

I am further suggesting that the delegation of responsibility for visual design to the creative artist seems to be common in public service campaigns in the United States, even in campaigns that use widely varied planning methods. Public service campaigns have been guided by at least two identifiable procedures. One may be described as a formal procedure in which communication practitioners have been in charge and have followed a theoretical framework with a systematic, well-defined methodology. The Zero One Three anti-alcohol-drinking campaign of the state of Michigan is an example of this procedure. A second approach employs an informal procedure in which an individual or staff member becomes the campaign designer and acts intuitively. The ACE campaign of the Michigan Office of Minority Equity of the Department of Education (OME) reflects that philosophy. An analysis of the common threads in these procedures could contribute insights that may show how or if visual considerations are weighed during campaign design, and if the di

dec

al

M

ca

mo

ca

ca

st

D

cr

ca

p

m

p

th

c

s

c

m

th

different paths taken, whether formal or informal, make a difference in the decisions of practitioners.

The Data

The data consist of four campaigns. The first is the Zero One Three anti-alcohol drinking campaign of the Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition and the Michigan Office of Substance Abuse Services. The second is the ACE campaign of the Office of Minority Equity of the Department of Education to motivate minority high school students to achieve a college education. The third campaign considered is the Educational Opportunities for American Indians campaign of the Native American Institute of Michigan State University. Finally, I studied the "Yes Michigan" campaign conducted through the Michigan Department of Commerce. These campaigns were chosen under the following criteria: They represent three common topics of public communication campaigns in the United States, health, issues of the minority ethnic populations, and tourism. The four campaigns used posters as a medium for message dissemination. They all fall within the trends and definition of modern public communication campaigns in the United States. The Zero One Three and the "Yes Michigan" campaign were planned and designed under what I have called formal process, the first an unsuccessful campaign and the other, a successful campaign. The other two campaigns, The OME and the NAI campaign, fall into those campaigns which relied on intuition to arrive at their message, one successfully, the other unsuccessfully.

These campaigns, therefore, have characteristics essential to accomplish the aims of the use of the process analytical framework, that is, to verify whether

the

spe

forr

sug

the

pla

off

ca

off

ex

ea

de

da

co

res

the

co

m

us

in

the suggested "breaking points" hold within this range of examples. More specifically, they categorize the campaigns on the basis of their following a formal or an informal process or their being successful or unsuccessful. If the suggested "breaking points" hold in all cases, we might be able to suggest that there is a paradigm in the procedures, formal or informal, taken in campaign planning and design.

I carried out this analysis by using primary data consisting of relevant office documents of each campaign, describing the nature and direction of the campaigns and the visual materials used to disseminate the messages. The office documents—the Ross Roy Strategic Plan for the Chicago Program, for example—and the visuals were provided by the director or chief planner of each campaign. I sought additional information by conducting interviews with decision-makers in the design and planning process. I evaluated the primary data according to the process analytical framework suggested. I looked at the consistencies and inconsistencies between the initial campaign aims and the resulting conveyance of these aims into the visual materials.

Procedure

Implicit in the work of this study are the observations and reflections on the common elements of PCC visual messages, the qualities of form, shape and color. These observations also note the scenarios used as well as the explicit message(s) delivered. These observations and reflections were based on the use of the items in the column called "specific campaign scheme for discussion" in the analytical framework presented in Figures 1 through 4.

the fo

syste

mana

deriv

used

diffe

the c

the p

so d

gath

sour

the

mor

fram

Cha

Des

fram

poir

cam

eva

of it

disc

After the observations and reflections were made of the visual materials, the four steps suggested in the analytical framework were followed systematically. I asked, at each of the steps, a set of questions leading to manageable PCC notions for discussion (see Appendix). These questions are derived from the nature of each of the steps themselves. The questionnaire was used as a guide for interviews and for eliciting relevant information from the different sources primary and, when necessary, secondary.

This procedure enabled me to learn in more detail the manner in which the decisions were made in the planning and designing the campaign and in the production of the visual materials used to release the campaign message. In so doing, I involved the explicit elements in the visual message with the data gathered from all of the other sources. In interweaving the information from all sources I was able to identify most important campaign notions as expressed in the framework under the column called "campaign notions to be identified." A more in-depth analysis was then made by following the last column in the framework, "considerations for a deeper understanding," which appears in Chapters 4 through 7 in the section called Soundness of the Overall Campaign Design.

The specific campaign "scheme for discussion" elements, found in the framework, served as the basis for analyzing the occurrence of the "breaking points" and the consistencies and inconsistencies with the original aims of the campaign. It also served as the beginning of a possible procedure of evaluation. As I used this scheme for analysis purposes, the particular elements of it also served the purpose of guiding the conclusions and facilitating the discussion of the analysis of the comparison of the different visual messages.

T

plannin

through

reflect a

and the

uncove

lack of

figures-

only at

a visua

visual e

designi

but sin

togethe

framew

narrativ

consis

docum

descrip

campai

determi

chronic

points."

The questionnaire (see Appendix) and the descriptions of the steps of planning and designing a campaign as described above, served as a guide throughout the analysis and the writing. The results of the analysis of the data reflect a systematic manner of proceeding based on the analytical framework and the strategy of looking at consistencies and inconsistencies. This leads to uncovering some of the problems that PCC visual messages possess through lack of consideration of visual elements—color, form, shape, scenarios and figures—throughout the whole process of planning and designing a PCC, not only at one moment. It also uncovered issues of complexity. The construction of a visual message is not the addition of elements, but the idea as a whole. If the visual elements are considered at all four steps of the process of planning and designing a PCC message, it is usually the case that the result be a complex, but single effective message, rather than parts of a disjointed message put together on a piece of paper. Following the four steps in the process analytical framework helped demonstrate how that complexity is constructed.

The analysis of the data is offered in the following four chapters in a narrative form. Since the study relies heavily on primary sources, the analysis consists largely of interpreting the information provided by those sources. Office documents, visual materials and interviews, for example, are used to give a descriptive view of the process in play during a public communication campaign. Further, and more significantly, the information is weighed to determine if it does, indeed, form a coherent process, one that may be properly chronicled and analyzed on the basis of potential creative gaps or "breaking points." The process under study, then, may be measured to determine whether it is in c

framew

A

photog

the foll

activitie

soundr

follows

it is in congruence with the many elements presented in the "process framework" figures and reflected in the visual components.

A discussion of the findings follows a narrative manner with reference to photographic copies of original visual materials. The analysis chapters include the following common sections: introduction, rationale, goals, concept, purpose, activities, incentives, the "breaking points" illustration and an overview of the soundness of the overall campaign design. A final chapter on conclusions follows the analysis chapters.

Educa
minori
public
Cesar
of the
school
surpris
as a pa
featurin
distribu
several
poster-
College
featurec
words "

CHAPTER 4

THE OFFICE OF MINORITY EQUITY "ACE" POSTER CAMPAIGN

Introduction

The Office of Minority Equity (OME) of the Michigan Department of Education has, since the mid-1980s, attempted to increase the enrollment of minority students in Michigan higher education, specifically at the state's 15 public universities. Beginning in 1986, the OME launched a Martin Luther King-Cesar Chavez-Rosa Parks (KCP) initiative to intensify that effort. A cornerstone of the KCP program is a College Day program in which middle school and high school students visit campuses throughout Michigan. Part of that project, not surprisingly, includes a media campaign. In this case, "media" may be defined as a packet of materials handed to each student attending College Day and featuring a large poster. While more than two-thirds of the posters are distributed on campus, the remainder are passed out by volunteers within several Michigan communities.

While this analysis focuses upon the creation of the OME's 1990 poster—picturing young people and race cars under the headline "Achieve a College Education"—it is significant to note that the poster was the second to be featured in the College Day packets. The first depicted a globe and carried the words "Welcome to College Day in Michigan" (Figure 5). When all copies had

beer
post
peo
beg

min
stuc
(199
with
mot

saw
pare
grou
all n
stak
age
of M
prob
For,
drink
pers

been handed out, OME officials decided that, instead of reprinting the old poster, they would create another one. The present poster—featuring young people and race cars—was the result (Figures 6 and 7). (The OME has since begun developing new campaign materials [Figures 9 through 11].)

Rationale

The rationale for the King-Chavez-Park initiative is that by exposing minority youth to university campuses and their faculty and students, minority students will be motivated toward higher education. Indeed, Ana Cardona (1991), coordinator for the OME poster project, said that the poster coincides with the overall assumption of the initiative, that young people need to be motivated to attend college.

The Department of Education, through the Office of Minority Equity, then, saw itself as acting in behalf of a wide range of Michigan citizens—educators, parents, employers, the students themselves—who constitute a "concerned group," that is, persons who want more minority youth to attend college. While all members of that group may be said to have something at stake, the major stakeholders is, in fact, the Michigan Department of Education. As an executive agency, the Department represents "education," at the state level, to the citizens of Michigan. If the Department can be considered to be "concerned" about the problem, the concern must be deemed as "institutional" rather than personal. For, unlike a campaign conducted by a coalition of non-drinkers opposed to drinking, for example, an OME campaign may or may not be directed by persons who face the problem being addressed. And that nearness to, or distance from, the target audience is likely to be reflected in the finished work—in this case, a poster to encourage minority students to attend college.

The budget to create and print the poster was not a concern, Cardona said, but, as College Day drew near, OME officials felt pressed for time. It must be stressed, too, that what the OME called a media "campaign" was not a campaign in the truest sense of the word. That is, as Ana Cardona pointed out, the project was intended solely to provide a poster as part of the much broader College Day effort.

Goals

The 1991 Annual Report of the King-Chavez-Parks Initiative, published by the Office of Minority Equity, states that: "The King-Chavez-Parks College Day Program functions to increase the number of students preparing for and entering college." An OME (1989a) fact sheet reported that minority enrollment share of first-time Michigan college freshmen in 1990 was 12 percent, up from 8.9 percent in 1980 but still below their share of 16.5 percent of the state's population.

Although a specific enrollment goal has not been stated, the implication is that minority enrollment should, at least, equal the percentage of minority residents in Michigan. And the poster, in the view of the OME, can assist in motivating young people to reach that goal.

Concept

As mentioned earlier, the OME, upon distribution of its College Day "Welcome" posters, decided to create a new poster, rather than simply reprint the ol

for th

seek

than

appr

the n

proje

comm

Amer

comm

many

prepa

oppo

atten

draws

the ac

the po

winnin

campa

informa

and co

the old ones. According to Ana Cardona (1991), coordinator of communications for the Office of Minority Equity and director of the ACE campaign, the OME was seeking to develop a poster that would motivate students to go to college, rather than merely welcome them to College Day activities. Although the specific approach had yet to be achieved, Cardona said OME officials determined that the new poster would, in effect, reflect the theme of another ongoing agency project known as "ACE" or "Achieve a College Education."

The ACE program (1990c) is described by its literature as being "a community-wide effort supporting Michigan's Black, Hispanic and Native American students to achieve a college education." A goal was to recruit community volunteers to inform middle and high school students about the many aspects of going to college, including the need for taking college preparation courses in high school and advice on costs and scholarship opportunities. Among suggested volunteer activities was recruiting students to attend College Day events.

The concept for the "Achieve a College Education" poster obviously draws upon the idea of working hard over a long time to reach a goal. In racing, the achievement is crossing a finish line and winning a race. For young people, the poster suggests, the achievement is completing college courses and winning a diploma. Knowing how the "race car" concept evolved from the ACE campaign is vital to the understanding of the OME campaign process. That information is best presented in the following segment—Campaign planning and considerations—of this paper.

project

theme

of Min

govern

possib

requir

else.

agenc

that th

attract

reachi

"corpo

car th

drawin

a lot a

grab th

the pos

the pro

T

element

said in a

team (Fi

Campaign Planning and Considerations

As previously stated, the OME campaign under study was, essentially, a project to produce a single poster following an "Achieve a College Education" theme and intended for distribution to College Day participants. Although Office of Minority Equity directors decided to hire a creative person from outside state government to develop the poster, they soon learned that such a move was not possible. That is, since the state employed two graphic artists, the OME was required to seek their services, rather than using state funds to hire someone else. Against that background, Ana Cardona was appointed from within the agency to coordinate the poster campaign. (Cardona [1991] said in an interview that the idea of hiring a consultant through bidding had not been "particularly attractive" to her. In the past, she said, few agencies had proved capable of reaching minority audiences. Instead, most seemed able only to produce "corporate images" that were far removed from the experiences of minorities.)

Before consulting a graphic artist, Cardona had determined that a race car theme would be an appropriate way to motivate high school students while drawing upon the concept of the ACE program. "I've heard young people talking a lot about cars," she said. "I felt that pictures of cars would be a good way to grab their attention." Cardona took a curious, roundabout route in developing the poster theme, one that pointed out the intuitive, hence informal, approach to the process.

The ACE program materials, while not mentioning racing, had several elements that reminded Cardona of cars. The reference to an "ACE Team," she said in an interview, was reminiscent of the name given an automobile racing team (Figure 8). Further, a headline in an ACE booklet advised students about "gettin

sense,

Cardo

Cardo

notion

worke

assum

OME s

target

fact, cr

and se

knowle

consid

planne

unnece

agency

why the

in reach

T

assump

"kids tal

are able

Po

considera

budget, fo

"getting on the right track" when planning high school courses. In a graphic sense, the jagged dark lines that appeared throughout the booklet seemed to Cardona to resemble the checkerboard finish line at a race track. While Cardona was developing the race car idea by studying ACE literature, her notion was reinforced, she said, through informal discussions with OME co-workers. Indeed, she said, in the same interview, that her campaign assumptions evolved, in part, from what she "heard people say at the office."

Before stating those assumptions, it is significant to point out that the OME should have had abundant insight into the patterns and attitudes of its target audience—minority middle and high school students. The agency was, in fact, created by the Legislature for the sole purpose of informing, encouraging and serving minority young people through college age (OME,1991b). With knowledge gleaned from previous contacts with the target audience, and considering that several staff members are themselves minorities, OME planners might have felt that further research on minority young people was unnecessary. The lack of added research, and the widening gap between agency and audience at each process breaking point, may be cited as reasons why the final product, the poster, would seem to have only limited effectiveness in reaching the target group.

The poster campaign, Cardona (1991) said, proceeded with two assumptions: (1) that young people want to see immediate gratification (2) that "kids talk a lot about cars." Further, she said, cars are "something young people are able to obtain quickly," whatever their economic backgrounds.

Poster production, Cardona went on, was not limited by budget considerations. The project had been allotted $7,000, from the general OME budget, for the printing of 30,000 posters, and the state was providing the services c

concept o

choice of

have bee

Hispanic

"racing c

for his w

T

portraye

idea did

comput

remake

little tim

Cardon

offered

Pedraz

that: "I

be suita

"graphi

their ro

out, too

college,

services of a graphic artist. Significantly, Ana Cardona was responsible for the concept of the campaign with the artist responsible merely for its execution. The choice of artists was simple, since one had previous commitments and would have been unable to carry out the assignment for several months. Cardona, a Hispanic, then instructed the remaining artist, an anglo male, to carry out a "racing car" theme, supplying him with photos of cars she had taken as a guide for his work.

The result, Cardona said, was not acceptable to her. "His poster portrayed racing as a male sport," she said. "He depicted only white males. The idea didn't represent women and diversity." Given the time limit, the artist used computer clip art, another practice Cardona found objectionable. When told to remake the poster, the artist refused, leaving the OME without a poster and with little time remaining to have the posters ready by College Day. At that point, Cardona contacted the Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts Center in Detroit which offered to produce the poster on a volunteer basis. The poster artist was George Pedraza, Cardona's brother. Unlike the previous effort, she made clear this time that: "I want to see a representation of diversity." The poster, she added, would be suitable for placing in an envelope for mailing. The work would need to be "graphically attractive" so that young people would want to place it on a wall of their room. Though not a responsibility of the graphic artist, Cardona pointed out, too, that the back of the poster would contain information on getting into college, just as the ACE Team booklet had done.

the
int
a g
bet
aut
roo

stak
targ
acco
such
itself
num
Card
colle
also
stude
poste
syster
might
able to

project

The Breaking Points

The campaign theme is far removed from the realities, or aspirations, of a the target audience—minority middle and high school students. In this case, an intuitive process is the best explanation of how a racing theme was derived from a general notion that young people like cars and a vague resemblance between previous OME materials (used in the ACE campaign) and the world of automobiles. At the same time, the unusual visual result can be said to be rooted, in part, in the process breaking points.

The first critical moment or breaking point occurred when the stakeholders, the Department of Education, decided to produce a poster for a target audience without knowing what aims the effort might reasonably accomplish. Further, the department seemed unaware of the obstacles facing such a campaign. The education bureaucracy was, in a sense, working against itself in that not all high schools in Michigan have the means to prepare large numbers of minority students for college entrance. Part of the overall problem, Cardona pointed out, is that many schools do not offer sufficient numbers of college preparation courses to potentially college-bound students. Cardona also blamed many middle and high school teachers for not properly advising students toward higher education. Although that does not mean an effective poster campaign is impossible, it does signify that an early evaluation of the system and the target audience would be in order. Such study, for example, might segment the audience to produce posters toward groups who are best able to take early steps to college success.

The second breaking point came when Cardona, aware of the project aims, followed no method, with the exception of intuition, to better identify the target audience. The working assumptions of the Office of Minority Equity showed typical minority stereotyping—that is, that they (minorities) are all alike. Research would have revealed that minorities in Michigan reflect a wide range of interests and outlooks and a rather wide range of incomes. Such investigation might have convinced the OME to include a broader range of poster characteristics or even aim at an audience segment most likely to take advantage of a college opportunity—based on income, for example. (Certain "car" themes might have been accepted by middle-income minorities, though, ironically, that group would be less likely to need encouragement to go to college than low-income students.) Once the assumptions were integrated into the campaign (at the breaking point), however, they were destined to become part of the visual result.

The third breaking point traditionally comes when the designer, or creative person, becomes involved in the process. The goal is to adequately relay the aims and themes of the campaign to the artist so he or she can portray them with visual effectiveness. In the case of the OME poster, the artist was not so much an interpreter as an executor. That is, he was told to adapt a racing theme and to add diversity. At this breaking point, then, the role of the artist was not to come up with his own theme, but to carry out one already determined. The fact that one of the models is of uncertain ethnicity either speaks to the inability of the artist to accurately portray the person as Hispanic—which she is—or in the uncertainty with which directions were conveyed from director to artist at the breaking point.

Soundness of the Overall Campaign Design

Target Audience Identification

The objective of the poster was to reach minority middle and high school students with the aim of motivating them to attend college. In this case, the target audience was easily identifiable since it was clearly defined as certain persons (minority students) in a certain place (middle and high schools) and even at a certain time (College Day).

Desired Outcomes

The purpose of the Office of Minority Equity is to assist minority students in gaining success in higher education. The goal may be achieved in part, the OME believes, by enlisting students in College Day activities. Since the poster was designed by the Office of Minority Equity, incorporates an overall agency theme (The ACE Team) and is distributed at a major OME event, its success is largely tied to the success of the department itself.

Since the poster campaign did not include a component to measure effectiveness even in a most basic form—asking students whether they put the posters on their walls, for example—its role in helping the agency reach a desired outcome is virtually left for campaign directors to evaluate. The distribution system assures that the material will reach the target audience. The effectiveness of the message, however, must remain unclear.

In a bureaucracy as large as the Department of Education, success, or lack of it, is measured through numbers. The published reports of the OME, for example, compare minority enrollments in colleges in 1980 versus 1990 and also list the numbers of students attending College Day events. The quality of work of the Office of Minority Equity, including its poster campaign, is tied to those figures, even if other factors—such as changing economic conditions or improvements in the curricula of high schools—play a more significant role in attaining them. Regarding evaluation, Cardona (1991) simply said that there has been "no negative reaction" to the poster

Channel Selection

Selecting a channel was not a consideration for planners of the Office of Minority Equity poster campaign. That is, one poster had been distributed and, to the OME, the only decision was whether to order reprints or produce a new one. The poster had seemed an appropriate channel since its distribution to the target audience was virtually assured through attendance at one event. The planners, as Cardona made clear in the interview, believed the channel to be effective, even without evidence to support that claim or without considering whether another might be even more effective.

Visual Construction

With regard to attractiveness, the OME poster seems capable of attracting attention. The cheering young people, the race cars and the size alone are bound to require a closer look. If attractiveness refers to the engaging quality of the message, though, the judgment is less clear. The poster attempts to portray a sense of excitement, of victory, of achievement using a sporting event—a common source of such elements—as the setting. The problem is whether an analogy between a graduation and the end of a sporting event is appropriate to the target audience.

More specifically, the choice of an auto race seems a spurious one, even if, by itself, a sense of excitement is conveyed. The problem with the poster, after all, is its credibility, not only in attempting to tie in auto racing with education but in attempting to attract minority students through that approach. Quite simply, the auto racing theme, selected by Ana Cardona in the most intuitive of ways, appears, through an overview of the most common U.S. sports, to be as far removed from the experience of minorities as virtually any other sporting theme might be. With the exception of hockey, no other major sport is as nearly exclusively white and male as car racing, more specifically, as the poster depicts, Indianapolis-style racing. In the 76-year history of the Indianapolis 500, by far the most prestigious and most publicized U.S. race, only two women, one black and a small scattering of Latin American drivers have taken part. Participation in such races, in fact, is limited to drivers who can finance, or can convince others to finance, cars that cost more than $1 million to build. It is questionable, then, that minority students could identify with the subject at hand. (Nor is it surprising that the original graphic artist, when assigned to produce a race car poster, depicted only white males.)

Given that the "car" theme was, in fact, considered suitable by the campaign director, one might reasonably question—given the near-exclusion of women and minorities in professional auto racing—whether a more general approach would be better suited to reaching the target audience. It could be concluded, after all, that while youth do, in general, have an interest in cars, that interest is more closely related to driving a passenger, rather than an Indianapolis-type vehicle. The history of minority participation in racing and the high cost of professional cars, at least, argues for a broader campaign message. Cardona, for her part, offered no argument or data even as strong as that for making the choice she did. The second assumption, that the young seek instant gratification, might also have some merit, but it is, again, a rather broad, perhaps unfair, characteristic to place upon the large segment of youth comprising the poster target audience.

The depiction of the students themselves causes confusion. While the young man with a flag in his hand clearly is black, the identity of the young woman is less certain. Cardona said that a few OME staffers were confused, too, not knowing whether she is supposed to be Hispanic, Native American or even white. The model for the drawing was Cardona's niece, a Hispanic.

The slogan for the ACE program ("Achieve a College Education") appears prominently in the poster. The remaining text attempts to carry out the car theme by saying "You are in the driver's seat." The reference to "Your eyes are on the prize" seems a tired cliche of the title of an award-winning documentary on the civil rights movement. The term "high performance formula" is another car or car racing term whose use seems stretched in this instance. That is, it is unclear whether "high performance" refers to the academic showing of the students or, to correctly use a car analogy, whether it points to college as a "high performance" fuel that will power students to future success.

Conclusions

The study shows the existence of critical intervals, or breaking points, in the process employed in public service communication campaigns. The study points out that those points are as much a part of the process as any other element, from the moment the campaign is conceived to the completion of the project message. Since the breaking points simply exist and cannot be avoided, they cannot be judged as "good" or "bad." Rather, merely knowing that they exist and what their existence may mean to the effectiveness of a visual campaign message can, in itself, be of vital importance to a communications practitioner in carrying out his or her role in the campaign process. Planning a campaign without knowledge of breaking points is akin to taking a journey without consulting a map, then wondering why the trip took or long or, worse, why the desired destination was never achieved.

The previous discussions and examples show, above all, that the breaking points influence the process in the most significant of ways—in helping determine the extent to which the messages reach and influence the target audiences. The study points out, as well, that breaking points appear in both forms of campaign processes, the formal and the informal. In each case, no attempt is made—indeed, perhaps one is not possible—to measure the impact of the breaking points in a quantitative way. At the same time, it is enough to say, and to have proved, that such critical intervals can have some effect upon whether the target group is, in fact, to be reached in an effective manner through visual communication.

The OME campaign relied heavily upon one person, a simplified approach that led to an oversimplified, not to mention stereotypical, result. There, preconceived notions as to the make-up of the target audience and how that audience could best be reached, led to a series of haphazard decisions which were reflected in the visual nature of the campaign poster.

In addition, the study illustrates that the development of visual material is a complex matter, certainly one that transcends the ability just to guide a drawing pencil or create computer graphics. That is, all persons involved in the campaign process must be aware of each part of that process, including the critical intervals where misunderstandings or shortcomings in communication are most likely to occur. To do otherwise is to risk producing a finished product, whether large-scale campaign or single poster, that reflects a lack of appreciation for the intricate nature of the process that created it.

Further, the study suggests that breaking points, though they cannot be circumvented, need not be considered in a negative way. Rather, they may serve as points where campaign managers can evaluate what they have accomplished and in what direction the campaign might best proceed. Attentive managers will judge whether the audience has been, and will continue to be, well served, rather than going forth in ways that serve to compound a problem. It is in recognizing the potential for problems, after all, that steps may be most easily taken to avoid them. The key to negotiating the critical intervals is, somewhat ironically, the key ingredient in the success of the overall campaign—communication. In this case, the reference is to communication among all members of the process, rather than with persons in the target audience. Each person in the campaign, then, can best serve by realizing that he or she is a significant part of a dynamic flow of events, rather than believing to be acting alone.

In a general sense, the critical intervals remind campaign planners of the importance of knowing the target audience and keeping that audience in mind at every step of the process, pointing out that to do otherwise is to jeopardize the purposes for which a campaign is formed and the goals it seeks to achieve.

More specifically, this study reaches several conclusions which add to the literature and should be considered in future public service communication campaigns. It has been demonstrated, for example, that if critical intervals in the process of designing and planning a campaign are not handled properly, the

process does seem to "break" or lose focus, and that these "breaking points" are reflected in the visual construction of the messages.

The literature shows that there has been little or no mention of the visual elements in public service campaigns. This study shows the importance of adding a step in the process of designing and planning a campaign where visual considerations are discussed exclusively.

While the field of communication borrows heavily from several disciplines, psychology, marketing and sociology among them, in the planning and execution of visual campaigns, the literature indicates that the field of graphic communication is not among them. The research, however, shows that that field is vital to the analysis and understanding of visual elements and should be included by communicators in charting and carrying out the campaign process.

A review of the literature established that most research used to identify the target audiences has been based on marketing and or quantitative approaches. Certain qualitative methods, such as ethnography or observation, meanwhile, have received little attention in the field of communication. A more comprehensive view of target audiences and the issues that affect them would employ such methods. Such attention is, in fact, particularly vital if minority target audiences, Hispanics among them, are to join the ranks of American communities and interest groups which, throughout U.S. history, have benefited from the successful execution of public service communication campaigns.

FIGURES

Figure 5: "Welcome to College Day in Michigan," First OME Campaign Poster

Figure 6: "Achieve a College Education," Current OME Poster (front)

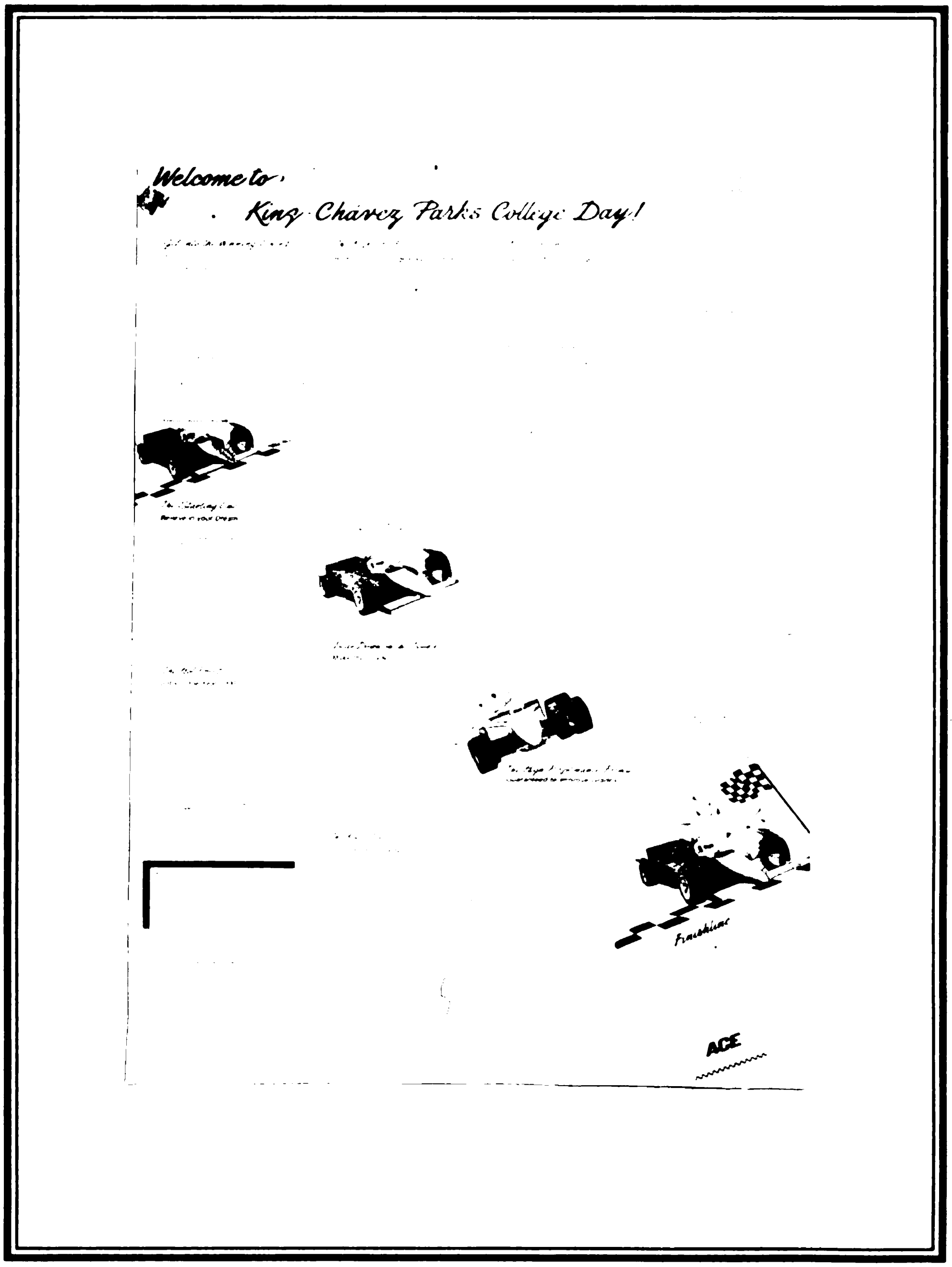
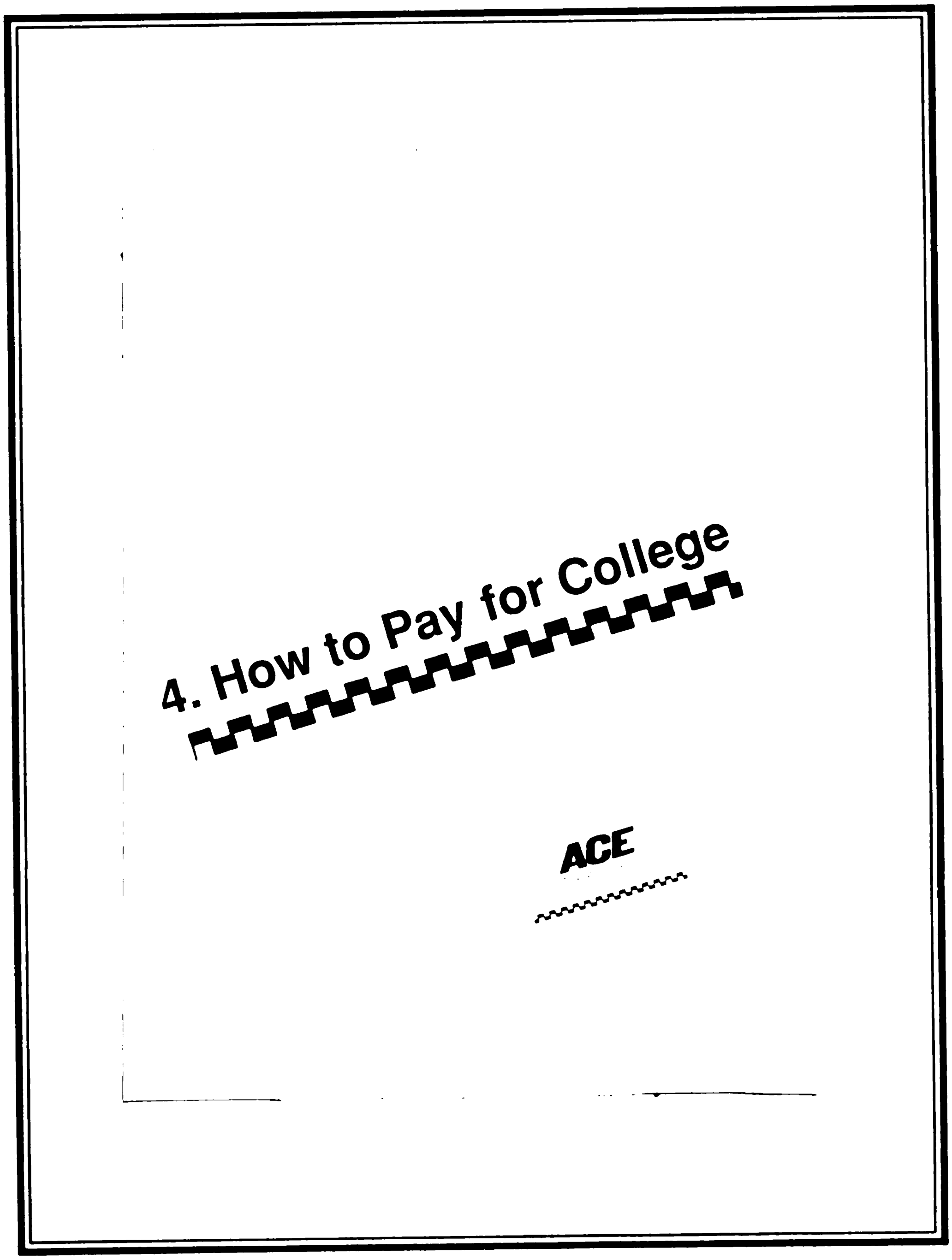


Figure 7: "Achieve a College Education," Current OME Poster (back)



4. How to Pay for College

ACE

Figure 8: Page from ACE Recruitment Booklet

Figure 9: "Grab College Prep," Future Poster for OME Camapign

Figure 10: "Check College Prep," Future Poster for OME Campaign

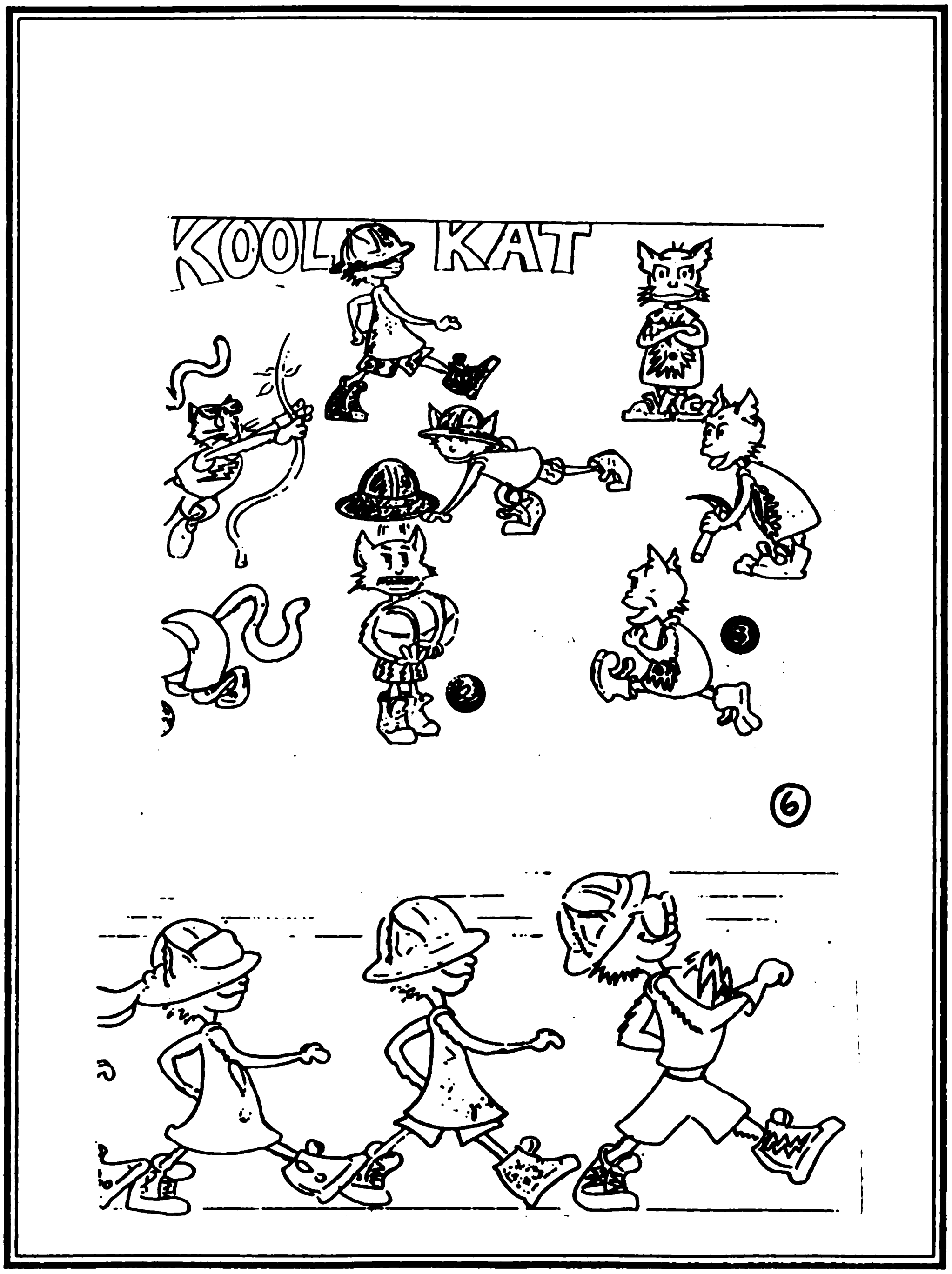


Figure 11: Cartoon Figures for Future OME Campaign

CHAPTER 5

A PROMOTIONAL POSTER OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN INSTITUTE

Introduction

The Native American Institute (NAI) was established in 1981 at Michigan State University as a component of the school's Center for Urban Affairs. Although located on the MSU campus, and dedicated, in part, to recruitment and service for Michigan State, the mission of the NAI is to serve American Indians throughout the state with training and technical assistance and by enhancing public knowledge of Michigan Indian customs, history and art.

Institute Director George Cornell said in an October 1992 interview, in fact, that the NAI's most recent efforts have focused upon providing assistance, upon request, to Michigan tribes. As an example, Cornell pointed out his role as adviser, to the Grand Rapids Indian Council in its sponsorship of the Michigan Indian Press, a publishing house specializing in books on Indian history and customs.

At the same time, as NAI director, and as a member of the MSU English Department faculty, Cornell said he recognizes an ongoing need for the Institute to promote educational opportunities for the state's Indian population. During the first several years of the NAI's existence, he said, the university had done virtually nothing to promote the Institute, and the admissions office had made no special effort to encourage Indian high school students to attend Michigan State. Against that background, Cornell said he decided that the Institute should undertake, on its own, the task of recruiting Indian young people to MSU while promoting all programs of the NAI.

A key element in that mission was the creation of a brochure that would provide information on educational opportunities for Indian people. Central to that effort was a multi-colored drawing that would serve both as a poster to attract attention to the Institute and its aims and as a cover for a booklet to be called "Michigan State University, Educational Opportunities for American Indians."

The project resulted in a poster of a young Indian man and woman, dressed half in traditional Indian clothing and half in green (MSU) graduation gowns, against a background of teepee and trees with a likeness of the Michigan Capitol in the center. This analysis considers the development of that poster, through the views of Cornell and the artist, and evaluates the extent to which it reflects the needs, aspirations and culture of its target audience.

Rationale

The rationale for the Native American Institute booklet and poster was that Indian young people, to be encouraged to attend college, must be motivated and that an information campaign, with a colorful poster as a centerpiece, would assist many potential students in taking the first step. A working assumption was that education has long been considered important to all Americans, regardless of background. "People have agreed for a century and a half that education is a way to make it," Cornell said.

The Native American Institute set forth to emphasize a role that it had established years before: to be a major stakeholder in the promotion of college education for the Indian people of Michigan. Indeed, the NAI's existence depends to a large degree upon how Indian communities, and university administrators, perceive the Institute to be carrying out that role. Almost by definition, the NAI concern was "institutional," rather than personal, toward the primary "concerned groups" of parents, potential students and the several state Indian communities in general. At the same time, it is worth noting that Cornell and Institute specialists Jerry Church and Arnold Parish are themselves Native Americans. (Cornell and Parish are Chippewa, Church a Narraganset.) Since NAI staff members share a common heritage with the target audience, and are employed by the university they desire Michigan Indians to attend, the analysis will consider, too, whether this nearness to the target audience was evident in the poster and its message.

Although Cornell said the Institute sought a "high-quality" poster, the total cost of producing the work, he said, was "maybe $500." The relatively low cost was due, in part, to the fact that the poster was printed at (Michigan State) University Printing. "This was far less expensive than going to a design firm or professional consultant," he said, "and I don't believe we could have done any better at any price."

Goals

A goal of the Native American Institute, and of its literature, is to inform Indian students about Michigan State University and, in so doing, to encourage them to enroll. The inside of the NAI booklet is as understated, with regard to recruiting those students as the cover. That is, there are no campaign slogans, no special testimonials to the quality of Michigan State and no graphics. The opening paragraph reflects the tone and approach of the entire booklet, stating: "The Native American Institute (NAI) at Michigan State University extends a warm invitation to Native American high school and transfer students to visit the MSU campus before making a choice of the four-year institution they wish to attend while pursuing their educational goals."

Such an approach is consistent with an overall goal of the NAI to work closely with the tribal communities of Michigan. With a strong network already in place, NAI literature can assume that education is, indeed, important to the Native Americans of Michigan and that many in those communities are already familiar with Cornell and the Institute. A goal of the NAI literature, then, is to enhance the Native American network and its educational aims rather than to appear to be wresting a leadership role from others within the Indian communities. As Cornell (1992) said:

> The Indian people who know Michigan State and the Native American Institute like us. Our best salesperson is someone who has attended MSU, maybe even for a couple years, and has had a good experience. The word travels quickly when that person returns home. Our booklets and posters are another way to make our message stronger, to add to good feelings that are probably already there.

A reason for the success of that network is its "workable" size. The Native American population of Michigan may be difficult for a non-Indian to penetrate but its total, according to the most recent census figures, is only about 44,000, or just slightly higher than the enrollment at Michigan State University.

Although the authors of an Institute for Educational Leadership, Center for Demographic Policy report (Hodgkinson, Outtz, & Obarakpor, 1990) stated that "numbers are still not acceptable in terms of access," they added that "it does appear that a higher percentage of Native American youth are making the transition from high school to college than in the past." Using the 1980 census as a baseline, the Center found that of American Indian students who graduated from high school that year, 64 percent had been enrolled in some form of high education in 1986. That percentage compares with 91 percent for Asians, 71 percent for white and 67 percent for African Americans (Hodgkinson et al., 1990).

Cornell said that the Native American Institute literature, like the NAI itself, aims to make all Michigan Indians aware of opportunities in higher education, especially at Michigan State University. Then, without specific targets, he wants to see the number of Indian students at MSU rise "as much as possible" each year.

Concept

A goal of the Native American Institute is to attract attention to Michigan State and the programs it can offer in assisting the Indians of Michigan. Significantly, Cornell believed that a first step toward that goal, particularly as it related to encouraging Indians to enroll at the university, was through a visual approach. "As a starting point, we thought MSU needed something visual," Cornell said, "perhaps a poster to promote the Institute, to tell people there are programs here. We needed an eye-catcher." The booklets and posters, about 5,000 of each, would be distributed through the NAI's information "network," through high schools, non-profit organizations and, in general, through contacts among the state's seven federally-recognized tribes, including tribal governments. (Several of the posters and booklets were presented in combination. That is, one approach had several booklets enclosed in a pocket attached to a single poster.) In addition, the materials would be available for MSU admissions office College Day programs or other promotional activities of that department.

The poster, Cornell said, was an attempt by the Native American Institute to take a "more active role" in promoting its services. As such, he believed that the poster would attract attention to the ongoing work of the NAI rather than announce a new approach. The public service campaign, then, would not become a campaign unto itself. For that reason, despite the colorful cover poster, the booklet is essentially a straightforward compilation, over 16 pages and without graphics, of scholarship opportunities and admission requirements for the target audience—Michigan Indians. The center of the booklet features a pull-out card addressed to the MSU admissions office on which a person may request additional information on enrollment, tuition or housing or obtain university catalogs of courses and programs. Far from offering a catchy slogan, the cover simply promotes the booklet as "Educational Opportunities for American Indians" and "A project of the Native American Institute, Michigan State University."

The concept, Cornell reiterated, was to reinforce a widely held notion, that education would lead to success, by inviting the target audience to take part in programs of the Native American Institute, particularly the NAI's recruitment efforts. The task before the Institute staff, Cornell said, was how to gain the attention of the target audience in a visual way. "We wanted to make a statement," Cornell said, "about the work we were doing and the people we were trying to reach."

Campaign Planning and Considerations

In a sense, the Native American Institute approach toward creating a poster for the recruitment of Indian students to Michigan State University might be said to have been intuitive and informal. That is, Cornell did not ask the advice of a design or consulting firm in seeking, and carrying out, ideas that would help the organization reach its goal. Still, the selection of an artist was hardly haphazard, reflecting, as it did, an understanding of the cultural backgrounds of the stakeholders, concerned groups and the artist. Furthermore, the choice was based upon the artist's reputation and upon Cornell's friendship with that artist, Lyle James. An Ottawa Indian born in Kalkaska and living in the Lansing area, James had earned a statewide reputation for his paintings and drawings celebrating Indian culture.

"I didn't think it would be difficult," Cornell (1992) said. "I decided I'd call Lyle, talk a while and get the work done." He said he met with James to tell him what the Institute was hoping to achieve. Cornell said he mentioned the importance of using Indian symbols and images of Indian life, but, because of James' personal and professional background, he felt no need to offer specific directions. "There were no contracts, no written agreements," Cornell said. "Lyle told me: 'I know what you want.' Then he set out to do five or six sketches (Figures 14 through 17). I've worked with artists before. You can talk about conceptions, but you can't tell them what to do. You either like what they do or you don't."

James (1992) recalls having felt comfortable with Cornell's instructions. "George just told me we needed an ink and color drawing for a poster to get across the idea of Indians and graduation," he said. "We both talked about symbols that would represent Indian culture." As Indians themselves, Cornell and James both recognized the importance of using those relevant symbols to attract, and hold, the target audience. "I worked at blending in many ideas," James said. "I'd say doing five different sketches took about a week, maybe a little less." Producing the final drawing, James said, caused him to stay up "till I couldn't see no more."

Up to that point, the poster project had been the work of two people. Cornell had determined the need for the poster, had hired an artist and had shared his concept with that artist. When James handed over five preliminary sketches, though, Cornell widened the participation, relying on what he called "art by committee." That is, he brought together the two NAI specialists, a graduate assistant and two staff secretaries and, displaying the sketches, asked: "What do you like here." Each sketch portrayed scenes of Indian life of long ago with teepees, canoes, streams and trees and with recurring symbols including flowers, eagles and drums. Cornell said he and the NAI staff selected the sketch they did because the drawing "kind of fit" what the Institute was trying to achieve.

In Cornell's view, the sketch offered an appropriate combination of visual symbols that spoke across generations of Indian life. Most striking, perhaps, were the two Indians in the foreground with their mix of traditional Indian and graduation attire. "This gives an idea that there's a past and there's a future and a present," Cornell said. "Nothing is the old way and nothing is new." The committee, he added, also liked the use of both a male and a female figure and the concept of "living in two worlds."

To an outside observer even generally familiar with Indian culture, the use of feathers, flowers and drums was a proper way to attract a general Indian target audience. To those much closer to that culture, though, it is clear that the poster has a much sharper focus than that. Rather, it is intended to reach those for whom the NAI programs are primarily intended, the "woodland" or "Great Lakes" Indians of Michigan. The floral patterns, the glass trading beads, the quills and the drum, standing upright on a stand in the foreground, are all symbolic of woodland Indian life, Cornell said. "The drum, in particular, points out the culture," he said. "It was at the center of life, the heartbeat of a people, the life giver. That was important."

The use of a single feather or two in the "roach" of the headband, James said, also signifies Great Lakes tribes. "The very large Indian headdress has come to stand for many types of Indians," he said, "but it was a war bonnet that only belonged to the Sioux." The red streak in the background "stands for Indians," James added. The figures themselves, James said, were meant to typify all young Indian men and women and were not drawn on the basis of particular models. The dome in the center is that of the Michigan Capitol, the center of Michigan government and only a few miles from Michigan State University. The eagle is somewhat of a James trademark, appearing in several of his drawings and paintings. He said he, as well as other Indians, has traditionally viewed the eagle as a sign of strength and independence.

The poster, Cornell said, proved popular with Indians and non-Indians alike. "We had many complements and feedback," he said. "It was so popular, it didn't stay up very long. People just took it and framed it. We went into a second printing very quickly."

The Breaking Points

The theme of the Native American Institute poster is consistent with the background of the target audience—Michigan Indian high school students. That is, the visual is, in one sense, simply a depiction of the way life used to be for Great Lakes Indians, the main focus of NAI recruiting efforts. The "half gowns" worn by the young man and woman suggest to the target audience that achieving an education is consistent with the goals of earlier Great Lakes Indians, who placed high value on the strength of individuals and the community. At the same time, the poster is dominated by tribal symbols, implying that, in achieving a college education, one need not sacrifice his or her cultural heritage. The broad application of Native American symbols might be expected, too, in a poster promoting an organization that is, after all, known as "The Native American Institute."

The process of moving from concept to poster should be labeled intuitive, since Cornell, as he pointed out, did not seek the assistance of an outside firm. Yet, this was an intuitive decision based upon Cornell's own appreciation of the target audience and of the artist's reputation and understanding of that audience. To that degree, the NAI director was acting upon something more than a general notion when he made a unilateral decision as to concept and artist for the poster and booklet cover.

The first and second breaking points occurred when George Cornell decided that the Native American Institute would produce and promote NAI programs—particularly college recruitment of Michigan Indians—in a visual way, primarily through a poster. A potential for danger, at this point, was that Cornell did so unilaterally. That is, he failed to consult NAI staff members as to whether the poster might accomplish its aims and, further, did not seek to measure whether the visual might reach the intended target audience. Cornell successfully negotiated both points with conservative aims for the program and the poster itself. The NAI, that is, was not in the business of creating a new program, complete with slogans, or in placing Indians, visually, in an environment with which many members of the target audience might be unfamiliar. A poster showing a large classroom at Michigan State University filled with Indian students, for example, might have presented a strained message, since the majority of young Native Americans do not attend college. Instead, Cornell drew upon his own program that had been attempting to recruit students to Michigan State for nearly 10 years. In Cornell's view, a goal of the poster was to simply draw attention to the NAI services. He made no claims regarding numbers of people who must be reached, believing that an "eye-catching" visual would enhance the image and work of the Institute.

Regarding the audience, Cornell had reason to believe he knew the target audience. That notion was due, in part, to his having worked with Indians throughout the state on many projects for several years and the fact that Cornell is a member of a Michigan tribe and is, therefore, aware of Indian customs and culture. Notably, Cornell knew that "Native American" is a broad term, that not all Indians are alike and that, to be successful, an appeal must be to a specific target audience, members of what he and James called the "woodland" or "Great Lakes" tribes.

The third breaking point appeared when the NAI sought to employ an artist who would turn concept into reality. That the Native American Institute would hire a respected Indian artist to develop its poster is an indication that this crucial breaking point could be overcome. Equally important, Cornell and James met to discuss the aim and content of the program. In so doing, Cornell, as he indicated, provided direction to the artist without telling him specifically what to do. One useful direction was Cornell's suggestion that James produce several sketches. In that way, the idea could be refined with the advice of Cornell and fellow members of the NAI staff. Cornell's decision to draw upon others to contribute their opinions regarding program goals, poster design and Indian culture showed that he intended to make the poster an NAI project, not merely his own. The finished product clearly reflects the work of a Native American Institute which, through its poster, is seeking to reach a young Indian audience. The fact that Lyle James signed his name in the corner of the poster, Cornell said, in itself attracted the attention of Indians and of those familiar with Indian art, given the reputation the artist has achieved in Michigan. Considering the working relationship between Cornell and the artist, an arrangement that helped negotiate a critical breaking point, James could be described as one who both interpreted and executed the concept set forth by the Native American Institute of Michigan State University.

Soundness of the Overall Campaign Design

Target Audience Identification

The aim of the poster was to reach Michigan Indian high school students and encourage them to attend college, particularly Michigan State University. The audience was easily identifiable since it consisted of a specific population, young Indians of Michigan.

Desired Outcomes

The purpose of the Native American Institute is to assist the Indian population of Michigan in a variety of ways. In offering a poster and booklet cover geared to the recruitment of Indian students for college, the NAI director believes that that effort can only enhance the Institute's ongoing programs. The fact that the poster proved popular as a work of art, requiring a second printing, coupled with an effective distribution system through tribal networks indicates that the visual effort had the desired effect of attracting the attention of thousands of Michigan residents.

Since the project contained no instrument of measurement—the distribution card in the center of the booklet was a standard card placed in many MSU recruiting booklets—there is no way of knowing exactly how many reached those Indian people of an age most likely to consider attending college. To Cornell, the reaction to the poster was evidence that he had reached the goal of "attracting attention" to the Institute and its recruiting programs, something he believed the MSU admissions office had long ignored.

Channel Selection

The channel selection fit the purposes of the Native American Institute in its effort to recruit Indian students for higher education. That is, George Cornell believed that the NAI must produce something "visual" to draw attention to the work it had been performing for nearly a decade. The selection of a drawing to serve as a poster and as a booklet cover was due, in part, to Cornell's familiarity with a local artist and the quality of his work. Further, creation of another type of visual—a video, for example—might have required more money than the

Institute was willing to spend. A poster, too, could be drawn without creating a separate campaign. That is, the programs to be promoted were already in place as well as a distribution system—the tribal network—that would deliver the message to the intended target audience.

Visual Construction

By any measurement, the Native American Institute poster may be considered a work of art. Produced by a well-regarded Michigan Indian artist, the drawing with its floral border would attract the casual viewer through its color, portrayal of Indian life and the curious dress—half-grown, half tribal clothing—of the man and woman.

In a deeper sense, the visual nature of the poster must receive high marks not only for its attractiveness, but for its potential meaning to the target audience. The drum with its flowers, feathers and stand attracts the viewer because of its prominence and it represents a drum that Indians might have used. To young Indians of Michigan, though, that drum is even more significant in that it was the type used specifically by their ancestors, the Great Lakes tribes, as opposed to the tribes of the American West. The same could be said of the distinctive floral arrangement on the clothing and of the glass beads and feathers prominent in the poster.

What might seem out of place is the quality of the paper bearing the NAI visual message. In constrast to the natural, woodland feel of the poster itself, the paper is slick, the kind that more likely carry an advertisement for a car, an expensive restaurant or other products aimed toward upscale consumers. The poster, Cornell said, was printed on stock available to the NAI through

University Printing. "We were aware that the paper was slick," Cornell said, "but it's the best we could do. With the strong images and colors, we didn't think the type of paper would matter that much anyway."

Another element that strikes the viewer, and which may seem out of place, is the presence of the Capitol in the center. (James said it was the most difficult part for him to draw.) At the same time, the dome does represent the center of Michigan government, a symbol with which all Michiganians are familiar. A drawing of a Michigan State University symbol, Beaumont Tower, for example, would be sending a message that MSU is the only school Indian students should consider. Although Cornell prefers that students attend Michigan State—indeed, his livelihood, to some degree, depends upon that—he wanted the poster to convey, too, the general message that any formal education is important to Indian people. Artistically, the Capitol blends well with the graduation gowns, suggesting that students can be successful in Lansing while retaining cultural ties to their Indian heritage.

The "two worlds" concept, effective in a visual sense, offers a strong message to Michigan Indians. In pointing out that the Indians can live or thrive in those worlds, it does so without stressing standard symbols of success—a big car, condominium or sailboat—that conflict with, or are alien to, the cultural foundation the poster is attempting to enforce. The poster, then, attempts to move students into the future in a gentle way, showing the goal—education—as a concept, depicted by a gown and diploma, rather than as a specific prize. Significantly, too, most of the poster is devoted to symbols of Indian life, showing that a transition may be made into a new phase of life or a new world without forsaking another.

The poster is strong, too, in that the "visual" is allowed to speak for itself. Although Michigan State University and the NAI are printed on the cover of the booklet, the poster contains no slogans or catch phrases to steal attention from the drawing's color and composition. The viewers, then, are expected to make their own judgment as to what the poster might mean to them. The willingness of the NAI and Lyle James to allow that to happen, without embellishment, is testimony to the Institute's confidence in the strength of a visual to strongly carry out its message.

Significant, too, is that the "two worlds" approach is consistent with the final paragraph of the Center for Demographic Policy section on Native American education, which says:

> Looking at the information as a whole, it would seem that the decade of the 1990s might be one in which American Indian youth could both make significant progress in traveling both roads—one toward "mainstream" academic achievement and access to the job structures that follow from it; the other being improved access to their own rich cultural tradition, languages, values and learning" (Hodgkinson et. al., 1990, p. 5).

FIGURES

Figure 12: Cover of the NAI Recruitment Booklet

Figure 13: The NAI Recruitment Poster

Figure 14: Poster Sketch by Lyle James

Figure 15: Poster Sketch by Lyle James

Figure 16: Poster Sketch by Lyle James

Figure 17: Poster Sketch by Lyle James

CHAPTER 6

THE ZERO ONE THREE CAMPAIGN

Introduction

For decades, listeners, viewers and readers throughout Michigan have been exposed to public information campaigns that warn against the hazards of drinking and driving. Most Michiganians are probably aware of campaigns conducted during the Christmas and New Year season, a time of celebration often accompanied by the heavy use of alcohol. Beginning in 1988, though, the Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, representing about four dozen wide-ranging organizations within the state, decided to extend the campaign through the entire year. The impetus for the change came not from Michigan, but from the national level, more specifically from Surgeon General Dr. C. Everett Koop (1989, pp. 1-29). Through a series of well-publicized news conferences and interviews, Dr. Koop spoke out against the threat of alcohol to health and public safety. Most significant, perhaps, was his emphasis on drunken driving, particularly among the young, and a series of recommendations that included stronger law enforcement, a ban on college and other youth-oriented alcohol promotions and more reliance on prevention, education and treatment.

Michigan organizations responded with a year-long campaign with a new theme, "Enjoy Michigan Safely." And at the core of that campaign was a message created specifically for the expanded effort: "Zero One Three." The word "Zero" signified that it is acceptable NOT to drink alcohol at a party. "One" indicated that a drink per hour sets the pace for moderate drinking. "Three" pointed out that three drinks is the maximum for moderation (Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, 1990a, p. 2).

Rationale

The rationale for this campaign message, which served as the message in parallel campaigns, was that knowing that a problem exists—awareness—and knowledge of that problem are forerunners to changing behavior, a theory put forward by William J. McGuire in his article "Theoretical Foundations of Campaigns" (Rice & Atkin, 1989, p. 14). That is, media campaigns must first address issues and educate the public at large. Efforts should be made to address several target populations, adults as well as youth, and in a variety of settings.

The campaign was to be conducted on the assumption that messages must be reinforced throughout the year, preferably over a two- to three-year period. It was expected that the message would be strengthened through a united effort by state and local agencies who would, in effect, be voicing the same concern. "Zero One Three," it was felt, would increase public awareness of alcohol problems in Michigan and provide support for sound prevention policies and programs. The Enjoy Michigan Coalition (1990b) believed that the new awareness would result in changes in thinking and attitudes and, eventually, in cultural norms and behaviors.

The concerned group, the campaign stakeholders, then, were members of the Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition. In general, the Coalition could be said to represent a variety of organizations with an enduring interest in health and safety including advocacy/non-profit groups (Mothers Against Drunk Driving, for example), substance abuse/health agencies (Women's Services Network), media/business (Detroit Free Press), government (state representatives) and universities. The pledge from the nation's highest-ranking medical official encouraged Michigan groups committed to fighting alcohol to take a strong public position on the issue. Indeed, Koop's statement was a call to action, a call that led to the planning and financing a new campaign. The apparent goal, for each organization, was to bring about the reduction of drinking, at least to the extent that drinking helped cause or fostered a series of social and economic problems. At stake, too, was the reputation of those groups, like the Traffic Safety Association (1989), which had long spoken out against the dangers of alcohol abuse and, from the highest level of government, were being challenged to do more. For the business members of the coalition, the campaign allowed the opportunity to maintain or improve a public image by supporting an issue that few customers—or, in the case of the Free Press, readers—could oppose (Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, 1990c). Likewise, those in the government sector had their own image at stake, too, that and the possibility that the added focus to the issue might enhance their efforts, through the Legislature or through administrative offices, to do something about problem drinking. For the university members, the campaign allowed the institutions to be viewed as aligning themselves with an issue directly affecting Michigan youth, the colleges' greatest consumers. Further, success in discouraging alcohol abuse among the young would only serve to help universities, places that faced their own challenges of coping with excessive drinking by students (Nichols, 1989, p. 1A).

To accommodate these stakeholders, Dr. Charles Atkin (1989b), mass media specialist at Michigan State University, and Karen Kassner (1990), coordinator of the Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, in interviews, said they had wanted to change the traditional approach to public information campaigns that stressed fear appeals—ones that warned "Don't do this" or "Don't do that." They sought a more positive message, one that did not demand abstinence but suggested how to avoid becoming a heavy drinker and to steer clear of life risks. They apparently agreed with (Babor et. al. 1987), who expressed that: "In a pluralistic society, moderation is often defined by social norms rather than health risk. Moderate drinking is considered in the context of the public health notion of risk."

Goals

The coalition developed goals based on research obtained through Michigan State University. This research identified the following:

> Adults clearly overestimate the boundaries of moderate drinking, perceiving the limits as substantially higher. On the average, respondents feel that a typical male could consume at least six (6) drinks at an evening party before reaching an excessive level or four (4) drinks at a two-hour cocktail party; they believe that a female is drinking excessively after five (5) or more drinks three (3) drinks at a two-hour cocktail party. Ninety-three percent (93 %) surveyed felt that drinking moderately (as defined above) was acceptable. (C. Atkin, 1990, private files.)

From this research, the Coalition decided on the following goals for the anti-alcohol/driving campaign:

- To provide guidelines for low-risk consumption.
- To reduce health and safety risks associated with drinking and driving.

- To identify and reduce other health and safety risks associated with drinking alcohol.
- To target specific populations in specific settings.
- To provide a consistent message to all target groups.

Concept

The Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition (1990b) drew up what it called "simple guidelines" to help audiences make "low risk" choices regarding alcohol. The purpose of the message, Kassner said during the interview, was to support those who choose not to drink alcohol. In addition, the message was to strongly recommend that members of "high risk" categories—drivers, persons under 21, pregnant women and the chemically dependent—abstain from drinking. The Coalition also issued simple suggestions for persons who choose to drink, encouraging them to limit their consumption to no more than one drink per hour with a maximum of three drinks a day. The guidelines were suggested by the Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition based upon conclusions drawn from a review of health and research papers. "We made surveys on campus and sent a written survey into the area," Atkin (1989b) said. "We also reviewed the state regulations for drinking and driving and studied the police chart of levels of alcohol that a person can take."

Campaign Planning and Considerations

Activities in the early stages of the campaign indicated the adoption of a formal approach to the process. That is, the Coalition hired Dr. C.K. Atkin, a mass media specialist, to direct the campaign, and he, in turn, employed a researcher and writer to help with the effort. The use of surveys and review of previous research reflect a formal approach. The hiring of an outside consultant showed that the Coalition to Enjoy Michigan Safely felt the project important enough to warrant the expenditure of a significant amount of money. (All participants refused to divulge budget amounts.)

At the same time, while freely allocating funds to Atkin and his associates, budget considerations were a factor in charting at least one strategy. Such constraints led the Zero One Three campaign to diversify from one overall campaign to a series of smaller ones. Due to budget allocations, the campaign planners decided to develop seasonal sub-campaigns which will last up to 10 years. It was their belief that, by then, the guidelines will have had a high penetration level and, because of that, the drinking-driving problems in Michigan will have eased greatly (Kassner, 1990).

For Kassner (1990), the sub-campaigns meant creating posters and brochures. "It is the pictures the audience would love," she said, "because of all the colors." The theme of each campaign was presented in a poster and, in some cases, in related pamphlets.

The Coalition then decided upon the following sub-campaign themes:

Summer (Figures 20 through 22)

"Zero Alcohol=Safe Boating"

Targeted to: Those involved, in any way, in sports boating

Distributed by: The Department of Natural Resources, the U.S. Coast Guard and Auxiliary, the Michigan Sheriffs Association, the Michigan Secretary of State, the AAA of

Michigan, Operation Care, the Michigan State Police, several substance abuse coordinating agencies

"Have a Zero One Three Summer"

Targeted to: College students

Distributed by: Michigan colleges and universities, student affairs offices

Fall (Figures 23 through 27)

"Zero One Three Weekends"

Assorted pamphlets on the topic

Targeted to: The college community, including students, professors, those attending weekend sporting events and participants in tailgate parties

Distributed by: Michigan colleges and universities, student affairs offices

Holiday season (Figures 28 and 29)

"Have a Zero One Three Holiday"

Assorted pamphlets and a holiday card

Targeted to: Hosts, moviegoers, employers and employees, the general public

Distributed by: Michigan State Police, AAA of Michigan, the Michigan Secretary of State, the AMC theaters and the general public (Figure 30, Miscellaneous)

Winter "Zero Alcohol=Safe Snowmobiling"

Targeted to: Snowmobile users on farms and in ski areas

Distributed by: Same as in boating summer campaign

The Breaking Points

At this time, it is significant to mention the "breaking points" in the campaign process, the critical intervals that largely decide the success or failure of the enterprise, more specifically the effectiveness of the visual materials.

The first critical moment or breaking point can be said to have occurred when a concerned group sets about to pursue the aim of changing another group's behavior without learning more about that population, their needs and possibilities and/or desires to change. The name of the Zero One Three campaign itself indicates that a breaking point arose when the Coalition to Enjoy Michigan Safely chose to target three groups: non-drinkers, certain persons who, in the campaign's view, should not drink and those who choose to drink moderately. Although the Coalition gathered information before targeting those audiences, the information did not go into depth with the target audience, being limited, instead, to drinking patterns, including perceived patterns on what constituted "moderate" drinking. No research was performed to determine group behavior, particularly the likelihood for change. If a target population cannot change, campaign aims, virtually by definition, will fail to be effective.

The second breaking point takes place when campaign practitioners, having identified their audiences, view those groups in demographic, sociographic or psychographic terms, having gathered research to support a target group profile. Having done so, the practitioners may have omitted considering the lifestyles of the target audiences, the symbolic environment in which they reside and the possibility that they will react to certain visual elements and suggestions and not to others. It becomes clear that the Zero One Three campaign did not gather information through methods of ethnography, observation or other ways that would have added depth to the characteristics of the target audiences. That is, while campaign workers elicited information through focus groups and mail surveys, as well as through U.S. Census data, their inquiries were limited to the drinking habits of students. In a project with a heavy reliance upon visuals, researchers would have been well advised to determine which visual elements would best reach those students. As this study aims to demonstrate, such shortcomings are ultimately reflected in the visuals themselves.

The third breaking point is when the campaign plan and design is presented to the creative person to interpret and present in a given visual form. A lack of appreciation of the differences between social values and marketing values when creating the visual construction may be a factor in the ineffectiveness of certain messages. The success or failure of the Zero One Three campaign must be evaluated in light of this "breaking point" as well.

Soundness of the Overall Campaign Design

The soundness of the overall design will be analyzed according to four main communication components: target audience identification, desired outcomes, channel selection and recommendation specification. These components will be discussed in regard to their "appropriateness" for the print strategy within the larger objective of the campaign (anti-drinking and driving) as well as their appropriateness, and effectiveness, to the more specific strategies and products.

Target Audience Identification

The objective of the campaign was to reach moderate drinkers and the general public. More particularly, though, the effort targeted three groups: Non-drinkers (who were offered support), drivers under 21, pregnant women and the chemically dependent (who were discouraged from drinking at all) and persons who choose to drink (who were provided with guidelines to limit their drinking).

The Prevention of Drinking and Driving

Although more than 60 percent of college students in Michigan under 21 define moderate drinking as having nine drinks at a four-hour party (survey by Atkin & González, 1989), this group cannot be directly addressed by a public campaign because drinking under 21 is illegal. If addressed within a college environment, the problem would need to be met through a planned program to change the habits of that age group.

A further complication in addressing this group is that neither policymakers nor health organizations agree that nine drinks can be considered "moderate." In addition, the under-21 group, along with others in college, are difficult to reach because they are consistently bombarded by pro-consumption messages. School activities, for example, are often sponsored by alcohol dealers, college newspapers are frequently used as vehicles for alcohol advertising inserts, and partying during college years is always associated with drinking.

Research has failed to prove that there is a relationship between advertising and alcohol consumption (Atkin & Block, 1980, pp. 8-12). Students say they are not affected by the ads, but do read them because they are entertaining. The mass media theorists who believe in a link between advertising and alcohol think that the tie is strongest when "new" consumers are the target (Bandy & President, 1984). That is, it is thought that those who already drink can be convinced, through advertising, to change their alcohol preferences, not their drinking habits. The campaign, however, considers the "new" group only in terms of abstinence, placing them in the Zero category. The project, then, reaches only the "best behaved" and offers positive reinforcement of their behavior. Even if successful in encouraging non-drinkers to remain that way, then, the campaign is touching only a minority of the young.

Although targeting more than a single group is understandable, the segmentation-demographics of the effort in the Zero One Three campaign is vague, making it difficult to determine for whom the ads are intended. One problem in this regard, studies show, is that people questioned in reference to alcohol and advertising do not respond positively to self-categorization. An exception is a drinker identifiable by age.

Another such category is that of pregnant women. In that case, however, while the campaign informs them not to drink, it does not specifically point out why, that drinking may damage the fetus. In any case, I would suggest that the campaign give added focus to targeting and instructing the populations most "at risk."

It appears, then, that young groups should be addressed when relating alcohol consumption with driving. Further, such a campaign would be likely to have strong support from several segments of society, particularly in college communities and by police departments.

Campaign Strategies

Since the focus of the Zero One Three campaign is to reach the five mentioned groups in a positive way and with guidelines—support for non-drinkers, for example—the question might be asked as to how the audience has been targeted and by what means. To begin, the goals themselves appear vague, making targeting difficult. It seems, in fact, that the campaign tried to speak to too many people, that it found what it considered a good idea—the Zero One Three theme—and proceeded to expand the message into a far-too-large umbrella. The concept itself, moreover, became a complicated guideline to follow. It takes pondering, after all, to determine just what each number means and to whom it might apply. From the theoretical point of view, a persuasion justification ended up becoming a moral lesson, breaking the basic idea of the campaign. The reference to drinkers under 21, too, is in conflict with state law.

The parameters are perceived by the target audience as too rigid and unrealistic, specifically with the absence of the majority group. The use of a common theme in all sub-campaigns is a good strategy to provide unity and encourage memorization of Zero One Three. The theme, however, competes with the Coalition logo, which is constantly present and is, in fact, needed due to its role as the source presenter. Most posters, it appears, are directed to the general public, rather than to a particular group, a strategy that stresses a tendency to aim for several targets while lessening the possibility of hitting any (Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, 1988). The brochures and pamphlets, however, are more specific. Boating, snowmobiling and hunting posters address a group on the basis of activity. Despite the potential effectiveness of that approach, it should be questioned whether, among drinkers, people who seriously engage in sports are likely to consumer less alcohol than those who do not.

Most of the objects portrayed do symbolize socializing occasions of one sort or another, just as the advertising content analysis studies in the Review section reported. It was the idea of the campaign designers, Atkin (1989b) said, "to put some glamour into the idea that it is OK, that is is socially acceptable not to drink and that soft drinks are OK, too." Portrayals of serving soft drinks at parties as a countermessage were not to be found, however, with one exception—a holiday season poster suggesting a cup of hot chocolate rather than alcohol.

Desired Outcomes

The desired outcomes of the campaign were:

- To inform the public and specific target groups about how they could be at risk if drinking and driving and how that risk might be reduced.
- To persuade non-drinkers that their behavior is socially acceptable.
- To suggest minimums and maximums amounts of alcohol for the moderate drinker (Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, 1988).

Regarding the outputs, at least one sub-objective was to educate people without endorsing drinking and without raising the "fear" of hangovers. The point, though, is that the further the message appears to depart from reality, the greater the difficulty in challenging drinkers. Pseudo attractive messages run the risk of being empty messages, ones the target group might not read. Kassner (1990) spoke of "all the colors." Atkin (1989b) said "the students like them," though, even if that is true, it remains unclear why they liked them. In general, the criteria of "colors" and "like" are too vague to make decisions about the effectiveness of major messages in campaigns regarding the issue of drinking.

Channel Selection

Zero One Three was a multi-media campaign. The channels featured posters, pamphlets, brochures, cards and other minor "goodies" including key chains. The campaign also relied on news releases. At the same time, the poster was clearly the most important medium, because at times it was the only medium and the one upon which all sub-campaigns relied. At the beginning of the campaign, press releases were important since it was then that Surgeon General Koop gave a news conference to announce his opposition to alcohol advertising that appeals to youth or portrays dangerous activities. Considering other approaches, the distribution of key chains proved practical, serving, as it did, the purpose of repetition.

The channels, it appears, were selected on the basis of the targets' channel usage patterns. Persons on college campus are likely to attend major sporting events and walk to and into a stadium. Posters are ideal for walkers, offering a chance to stop, read and recall the message, even though, in a hurried society, many persons may pass on by. Because the Zero One Three posters were distributed to public organizations, it is likely they would have been posted in offices, on billboards and in other common places. The general public receives exposure to such postings, even at a distance. The poster strategy would apply to hunters, boaters and snowmobilers, too, each likely to use facilities common to the sport. All other items seem to have a practical use in those circumstances, too. For example, the State Department of Natural Resources, it might be suggested, could include campaign material inside the same envelope in which hunters receive their licenses. It should be pointed out, too, that though such a strategy may seem sound, it does not necessarily guarantee an impact upon campaign aims.

Brochures and pamphlets may be effective means of communication, giving the target groups an opportunity to read at leisure with time to comprehend the information. With regard to Zero One Three, the main theme is, at first glance, complex enough to merit reinforcement through other means. On balance, I believe the campaign channel selection adequately fit the audience usage patterns, although questions arise with reference to timing, placement and weather considerations.

The holiday card served as a mass medium to reach the target general public during the Christmas holidays. It is a relatively easy strategy to implement, but, at the same time, might prove wasteful, since people discard much of what they define as "junk" mail. Although the channels seem to have been appropriate, the Coalition (1990a) reported that most materials had "not reached a good level of penetration and more evaluation needs to be made on the problem." A well-devised campaign would have developed a high penetration strategy during the planning stages, certainly prior to the printing of the materials. In response, campaign officials have decided to distribute the leftover posters, brochures and pamphlets next year.

Regarding the hunters' sub-campaign, the effort made use of a large billboard ad placed beside highways. Despite its size, the advertisement, given its complexity, would have been difficult for drivers to grasp quickly, so the campaign did not include the image of the main theme (Figure 27).

Qualitative Factors

Although the campaign materials appear attractive and stylish, qualitative differences make some appear more so than others. These differences may best be studied with attention to attractiveness, credibility, relevance, clarity, incentives and uniformity.

In regard to attractiveness, which refers to the engaging quality of the message, the holiday season card seems the most successful because it conveys a warm atmosphere, indicative of the season. The safe boating materials, on the other hand, lose impact because of the use of a poor quality photo. All others have a degree of attractiveness even though considered to generally reflect a conservative image.

In terms of credibility, the source presenter, the Coalition, seems to make the message content credible. No notable figures or personalities are involved in the presentation, merely the logo. The lack of a figure (an identifiable person) is due to the Coalition's inability to come up with what it considered an appropriate ethnic likeness. Should the person represented, for example, be white, black, brown, yellow or red? Since the campaign directors were unable to solve this problem, and feared that the use of any particular likeness might cause others to reject the message, no figure was used (Kassner, 1990).

The poster messages fail the clarity test because they are complex to understand. Those messages, in fact, reflect a visual contradiction. That is, they appear simple at first sight, but, overall, the reader must spend considerable time to comprehend all the implied meanings therein. The main theme image is responsible for a large part of the problem. The incentives in all images are positive, but they contain a base conditioning fear appeal. The point is, the deep meaning of the message in the main theme, Zero One Three, is that if one does not follow the guidelines he or she is risking life, legal punishment or social rejection.

Finally, uniformity refers, in general, to the uniformity across all messages in the campaign. In the campaign, and the sub-campaigns, uniformity is derived from the fact that all posters were made through the same techniques— color photos in an artificial environment and with pronounced copy images in a contrasting color. All treat the copy and color in an arbitrary way. That is, they did not focus attention upon the readability of copy. They all carry the Zero One Three theme. The Coalition achieved a basically stable style through reliance on a single advertising agency throughout the campaign.

As a Health Communication Effort

The Zero One Three campaign, like similar campaigns, sought to alter the overt behavior of the target audience through persuasion and information. It is my view that as long as such change continues to be the expected outcome, health campaigns will fall short, having to settle, instead, for merely increasing some awareness of the problem. Awareness is, itself, a worthwhile goal, one worthy of expending energy and resources to achieve. But information does not necessarily bring about prevention or change. Many other elements must be in place for that to happen. Drinking and driving, in fact, are more nearly a social problem than a health problem. Campaigns like Zero One Three seem to simplify the complexity of the issues, or simply miss parts of them. This tendency was illustrated on Zero One Three posters in which the so-called inappropriate acts—getting drunk before age 21, for example—have been proscribed and substituted for guidelines and support. The value of the messages are diminished by their poor readability. The campaign messages deal with the target behaviors according to importance—actions contributing significantly to ultimate campaign goals; susceptibility—behaviors most likely to be influenced by campaign stimuli; and acceptability—behavioral alternatives preferred by policy makers and which are likely to be accepted by the target audience.

Visual Construction

The Zero One Three posters are all eye-catching. That is, they display, in color, familiar objects that are likely to evoke warm feelings from viewers, regardless of the intended message.

The "Enjoy the Hunt" poster, for example, features a dog and a fireplace, elements which could gain the attention of hunters and non-hunters alike. Their use, though, might also lead to a potential criticism of the poster. That is, the presence of a fireplace, gun, dog, cap, fire stokers and thermostat creates a "busy" background, especially when set against the relatively spacious foreground of the brown carpet. Unless each object is necessary to the success of the message, and unless the objects are arranged in the best possible proportion, the visual risks trying to say too much and, in so doing, confusing the viewer.

The holiday poster features a sled, toy soldier, ribbon, tree bough candle, cookies and mug, symbolic of a warm and "cozy" season. The presence of eye glasses in the foreground might be questioned, since they do not seem to add to the spirit inherent in viewing the other objects. The picture, too, has a glare that, while shedding light on the objects, might appear distracting. The candle glare, for example, might seem artistic to some viewers, a bit unusual to others. The heavy lighting in the foreground—on the glasses, cookies and mug—and off the sled farther back seems to have come from the photographer's flash, rather than the natural light of the candle or lights in the room. It seems to have whitened the picture more than would be necessary.

The summer and weekend posters, too, offer a look at familiar objects—from a beach ball to a football—that are likely to evoke a feeling for the seasons portrayed. Because of the need to place the Zero One Three logo prominently in the picture, the objects are shown only in part, with the words filling a significant portion of the upper right area of the poster. When a logo takes up that much space, it would seem especially important that it is one with which all viewers might be familiar. Whether Zero One Three has that familiarity is an appropriate question to consider.

The Zero One Three explanations on each poster are intended to let viewers know the meaning of the campaign slogan. Even considering that the reproductions in this study are much smaller than the posters themselves, those explanations, given the small type size, would seem difficult to read. The designers apparently faced the question of how best to place the Zero One Three text. Placement on an uncluttered foreground—on a rug or on a table—makes the text easier to read but requires that more objects be placed in a smaller space elsewhere. Placement on top of the objects—a football or baseball glove—might give better balance to the poster but can make the text more difficult to read.

The general poster may catch attention through its prominent display of Zero One Three. The presence of several added words, again, gives a busy quality to the poster, even though the argument might be made that the slogan is being explained in as few words as possible. A most unusual poster quality is the figure accompanying the word "Three." Intended to portray drinking glasses alone, the figure is really an optical illusion, the red space between the glasses turning to figures of "aces," then back to spaces again.

FIGURES

Figure 18: Logo of the "Enjoy Michigan Safely" Coalition

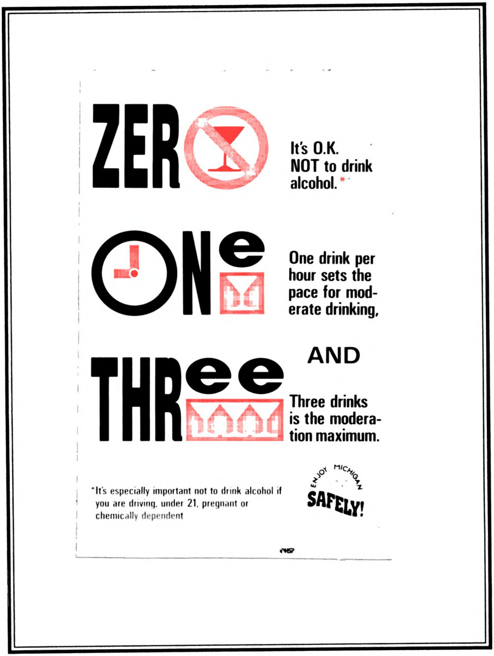


Figure 19: The "Zero One Three" Campaign Core Poster

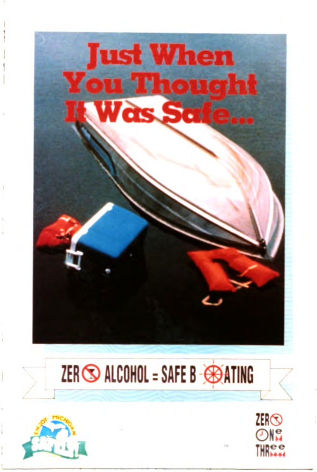


Figure 20: The "Zero One Three" Campaign, Safe Boating Poster

Figure 21: The "Zero One Three" Summer campaign, Plastic Bag

Figure 22: The "Zero One Three" Summer Campaign Poster

Figure 23: The "Zero One Three" Fall Campaign Poster

Figure 24: The "Zero One Three" Boating and Fall Campaign Brochures

Figure 25: The "Zero One Three" Hunt and Core Campaign Brochures

Figure 26: The "Zero One Three" Hunt Campaign Poster

Figure 27: The "Zero One Three" Hunt Campaign Bill Board

Figure 28: The "Zero One Three" Holiday Campaign Poster

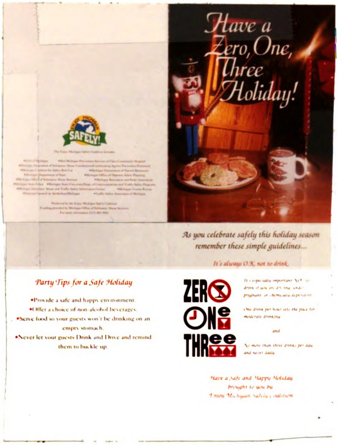


Figure 29: The "Zero One Three" Holiday Campaign Card (front and back)

Figure 30: The “Zero One Three” Campaign Miscellaneous Items

CHAPTER 7

THE MICHIGAN TRAVEL BUREAU: "SECRETS OF MICHIGAN" CAMPAIGN

Introduction

During the early 1980s, Michigan was, by most measures, a state in despair. Economic troubles within the automobile industry had produced a loss in jobs, and, with it a leveling in population. Indeed, by the end of the decade Michigan's unemployment rate was still among the nation's highest and, based on the 1990 Census, the state would lose three seats in Congress.

At the same time, as Michigan's jobless rate hit bottom and prospects for future economic growth looked bleak, state officials looked for ways to turn matters around. To do so, they took a hint from the Michigan motto—"If you seek a pleasant peninsula, look about you"—and sought to profit from the state's most obvious resource, its natural beauty. Far from merely appreciating esthetics, Governor William Milliken, among others, was aware of the size and potential of the tourism business, an industry that had traditionally ranked third in size in Michigan behind the automotive business and agriculture.

An investment in tourism, the thinking went, would require minimal capital spending from the state—the major attractions were already there—and would reap dividends by encouraging Michiganians and residents of other places to spend their vacation dollars on the state's many attractions. A parallel message in a campaign selling the state's natural virtues would be an appeal to a sense of pride, an approach that might encourage Michiganians to re-think notions to move elsewhere. In addition, that pride might bring forth a rise in spirit which might, in turn, promote heightened productivity or, at least, a resolve to meet the state's economic woes.

The means for heralding the new possibilities for tourism, and for the state itself, would be the "Yes Michigan" campaign, a wide-ranging promotional effort which was unveiled in December, 1981, by Governor Milliken and the state Commerce Department Director Norton Berman. The $10.2 million campaign, the governor said, would "increase tourism, economic and agricultural development" (Weller, 1982). In a more intangible way, he added, "Yes Michigan" was to be a state "booster effort" patterned after New York state's "I Love New York" campaign. The general concept had been put forth by Porter, Novelli Associates of Washington, D.C., an advertising firm hired by the state for that purpose (1982). While Milliken and Berman ("Berman Supports," 1983) were criticized for employing an out-of-state company to promote the state, especially in tough economic times, they said outsiders might appreciate Michigan in ways that state residents could not. Further, the governor said that a Michigan company would be hired to refine the "Yes Michigan" concept and execute the campaign in its many media phases.

The work of Ross Roy Advertising, the agency successful in landing the tourism account, is the focus of this study. More specifically, this analysis will consider the "Secrets of Michigan" campaign launched in 1990. Before that is possible, however, it is necessary to further trace the broad approach of the "Yes Michigan" campaign as it developed and redefined itself during the last decade.

The "Yes Michigan" campaign was launched on Jan. 19, 1982, with a television commercial appearing in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and

Wisconsin promoting the state's scenic beauty and its potential for economic development (Weller, 1982). That opening event was quickly followed by full-page ads in Michigan newspapers and Midwest editions of the Wall Street Journal. In brief, those advertisements were general in nature, offering pictures of lakes, rivers, beaches and woods and suggesting to the reader that Michigan was a good place to visit, live and work. Significantly, the ads carried the "Yes Michigan" slogan. In time, that phrase would be seen on posters promoting a variety of Michigan products, from automobiles in Detroit to bread produced in a tiny Mennonite bakery in Middleton. Ironically, too, the term would become closely associated with Governor James Blanchard administration's which took office a year after Milliken announced creation of the campaign.

The visual significance of those early efforts is that they painted the state's beauty in broad strokes, usually stressing scenery over people and carrying little more than the "Yes Michigan" theme (Figures 31 and 32). The goal, according to Ross Roy (1990) officials and documents, was to present a strong overall image of the state followed, over the years, by specific approaches. An early news account of the campaign, in fact, said those general images made "no mention of the state's current troubles—high unemployment and high taxes." ("Senator says No," 1983). As the years, and the campaign, progressed, the project took a sharper focus. One such approach was the "Secrets of Michigan," a campaign that promoted good times in small places geared to a Chicago audience and known within Ross Roy as the "Chicago Program" (Ross Roy, 1990), (Figure 33).

Steve Swanson (1991), in an interview, said specifics were needed to provide more incentives for Chicagoans to visit Michigan. The potential visitors, he said, required something more than a notion that the state possessed natural beauty. They would welcome a guide so that they could plan their own vacations, perhaps several short trips a year, as agency research had suggested. The visual, in his view, would remain a significant component in the Ross Roy strategy, conveying a "feeling" for the state that would differ greatly from the ambience of the big city that Chicagoans were seeking to leave. Jennifer O'Shaughnessy, a planner for Ross Roy, was responsible for refining the details of the "Secrets" campaign. It was her idea, Swanson (1991) said, to strongly integrate the "Secrets" visuals and text, as if to put the traveler in a close relationship with the food, lodging and other attractions available on the Michigan roads (Figures 34 and 35). Swanson, O'Shaughnessy and others at Ross Roy believed that the inclusion of maps in the "Secrets" booklet, and accompanying drawings to suggest what might be available farther on, would encourage visitors to "stretch" their trip—that is, to visit an extra place or two that they may have otherwise missed. An added purpose of "Secrets," Swanson said, was to list attractions and suggest, via the maps, drawings and text, trips to areas that repeat visitors may have missed even after several journeys, perhaps even long-ago excursions with parents or grandparents.

During initial planning sessions, voices of opposition were raised within Ross Roy as to the value of creating a "Secrets" ad and booklet. According to Swanson (1991), a few staff members believed that, despite research to the contrary, Chicagoans, as urban dwellers, would prefer "high-impact" sports and activities—skiing and boating—as opposed to the "laid-back" lifestyle to be portrayed in "Secrets of Michigan." Large, colorful posters and magazines with pictures of people water skiing or piloting sailboats, the thinking went, would be more effective than the relatively simple graphics planned for the "Secrets" booklet. Another concern of certain Ross Roy creative people, Swanson said, was that the "Secrets" approach might be too abstract for potential travelers and, therefore, would not be understood.

When the program was unveiled, however, it consisted of a series of newspaper, radio and television ads within the Chicago market and distribution of a booklet entitled "Secrets of Michigan" with the subtitle "A guide for Chicago travelers." The 32-page booklet, in black and white and with pen-and-ink drawings, took readers on guided tours throughout western Michigan, the area nearest Chicago, introducing them especially to small towns and back roads the casual traveler might otherwise miss.

Rationale

The rationale for the Chicago Program was based on factors both broad and specific. In a general sense, cultural trends indicated that, in the 1990s, persons living in big cities would increasingly seek to vacation in rural areas. Publisher Tom E. Benson (1990) could have been speaking for the Michigan Travel Bureau's Chicago campaign when he told CenStates tourism conference participants in 1990 about a survey of his Midwest Living Magazine readers. That survey, he said, showed travel to be the topic of greatest interest among those readers. More than that, the readers said they preferred articles on "best kept secrets" of travel destinations above all others.

Ross Roy, in a presentation to the Michigan Travel Bureau, also pointed to "Future Trends" that might encourage tourism planners in Michigan to more strongly consider the Chicago market. They were: (1) "People head for out-of-the-way places rather than traditional vacation destinations where specific attractions are the focus of the trip. Disneyland, for example."
(2) "Encouragement to travelers to see rural areas" (O'Shaughnessy 1991).

More specifically, the Michigan Travel Commission, in a 1991 report, after the Chicago Program had been launched, pointed out why a "new, more targeted approach" was needed "if Michigan is to improve its market share in Chicago" (MSU, Travel, Tourism and Recreation Center, 1991). Among those conclusions was the notion that while Chicagoans viewed Michigan as a destination for mini-vacations, such as long weekends, Michigan's marketing had tended to focus on longer trips. The research also revealed that Chicagoans wanted more specific information about Michigan, and that, in general, they relied on newspaper advertising for their travel information. The Travel Commission also concluded that once Chicagoans visit Michigan, they are likely to become repeat visitors and "Michigan loyalists."

With regard to the Chicago Program, then, the Michigan Travel Bureau, a department within the Department of Commerce, viewed itself as acting on behalf of a variety of Michigan citizens with a variety of interests. On one level, all citizens of Michigan were members of the "concerned group." That is, money spent in Michigan would benefit the state's overall economy. In applying a more intense focus, however, one could see that the communities nearest to Lake Michigan were likely to benefit most of all. In a political sense, the Michigan Travel Bureau was a major stakeholder, too, assigned, as it was, to promoting one of the state's major industries.

Finally, of course, the outcome of any high-profile segment of the "Yes Michigan" effort was likely to reflect on Michigan's governor. His political fortunes, particularly in difficult times, are tied, in part, to his ability to promote and otherwise encourage economic development in the state. To that extent, the governor might be considered the biggest single stakeholder of all.

Goals

The goal of the Chicago Program, almost by definition, was to convince increasing numbers of Chicagoans to take vacations in Michigan. Although neither Governor Milliken nor successors James Blanchard and John Engler set specific goals, it is clear that each hoped, and believed, that Michigan Travel Bureau promotions would assist in boosting the state's tourism revenue. Milliken (Weller, 1982) said he believed a $1 investment in promotion would result in a $6 return in income. (He based those numbers on results of the "I Love New York" campaign.) The Travel Bureau, 1990) said merely that it sought to improve the Michigan tourism industry's "market share in Chicago" (p. 12). When the Chicago Program was launched, it is apparent that the Michigan Travel Bureau was looking for ways to make new inroads into what had become a stagnant tourism market. The travel figures from 1989 and 1990, in fact, had looked virtually the same with Michigan jobs supported by travel holding steady at 341,000 and state tax revenues generated by travel in Michigan staying at $763 million (Michigan Travel Bureau, 19990, p. 7). Meanwhile, the state's Chicago market share in 1990 was 8 percent, third behind Wisconsin and Florida.

Concept

The "Secrets of Michigan" ads (Figure 36) and booklet, as part of the Chicago Program, was a new approach in a campaign ("Yes Michigan") that had lasted for nearly a decade. The state Travel Bureau had placed ads in Chicago media for many years and even supported a Michigan travel office in the heart of the city. The new element was the view that Michigan held several "secret" places, quiet and charming places that greatly differed from the noise and congestion Chicagoans consider part of their daily lives. Further, the campaign was to offer a booklet with guided tours, as if each visitor was being escorted on a special journey available only to special people.

The booklet itself is intended to reflect a relative simplicity of life in Michigan. It does so with a basic, black-and-white approach featuring maps, travel suggestions and drawings suggesting by-gone eras (a farmer and his horses), nature (bears in the woods) and lures for modern travelers (a walk along a Lake Michigan pier). As a way of offering a special welcome, the book begins with a greeting from Governor John Engler who refers to the potential visitor from Chicago as "Dear Neighbor." Stressing the "secrets" theme, the governor tells the reader that: "Chicago is our kind of town, and we're working hard to make Michigan your kind of getaway place. But that's just between us. So come on over for as visit and unlock Michigan's secret vacation treasures."

Campaign Planning and Considerations

The Chicago Program of the Michigan Travel Bureau is an example of formal campaign planning. Created almost a decade into the "Yes Michigan" campaign, the creation of specific campaigns, like the Chicago program, is an example of long-range planning. It is significant to point out that the formality in approach is due, in large measure, to state bureaucracy and state law. The Michigan Travel Bureau, after all, is merely a unit within the state Commerce Department. Further, Bureau policy and direction is determined by the Travel Commission whose members are appointed by the governor.

Regarding this study, it must be mentioned that, given the size and scope of the project, the selection of Ross Roy to carry out the "Yes Michigan" project in its many forms was based upon competitive bidding among many advertising firms. The complexity of the system, then, provides a series of checks which, however effective, at least gives many people a stake in a given program and, in so doing, suggests an ongoing accountability of the ad agency assigned to carry it out.

The Ross Roy project, then, required careful planning with periodic reporting to superiors, the Travel Bureau and the Michigan Travel Commission. That planning involved research, both qualitative and quantitative, intended to develop state tourism, under a "Yes Michigan" banner, to its fullest potential. The potential of the Chicago market became evident through two market studies from the Michigan Travel Bureau (1990). The first established focus groups which explored the perceptions held by Chicagoans about Michigan as a travel destination, particularly in comparison to Michigan's principal competitor in that market, Wisconsin. The second, based upon results of the focus groups, was a telephone survey that explored, in greater depth, the attitudes, perceptions and behavior of Chicago travelers.

Against that background, Ross Roy produced a "strategic overview" of the Chicago Program goals and methods. The major goal, agency documents reveal, was to convince Chicagoans to take a trip. To assist in that pursuit, the Travel Bureau was to provide "specific information" about Michigan and establish and staff a Chicago Program 800 number that would provide answers to virtually any Michigan travel question. The "Chicago Target Program Action Plan" (Michigan Travel Bureau, 1990) included a $1.35 million budget with $900,000 allotted to media, $350,000 to production and $100,000 to publication. The media buys featured ads in Chicago newspapers—the

Chicago Tribune being the most prominent—as well as television and radio stations.

The person at the Travel Bureau assigned to oversee the visual elements of the project was Don Wycoff (1992), a graphic designer for the Bureau. He said he discussed his ideas for "Secrets" graphics with Ross Roy creative staffers and worked with the agency in carrying out the plan. "The word 'secrets' was a great one for the project," he said, "but, by itself, no one would know exactly what we meant. To me, the graphics had to be 'whisperish.' The booklet had to have a certain feel, almost as if you'd wad it up and stick it in your pocket or maybe jot down notes in it. However defined, it was supposed to be the opposite of 'slick'." To achieve a "secrets" or "intimate" effect, the drawings, Wycoff said, should appear to be on parchment. To achieve that "feel," he suggested that line drawings and text be imposed upon a photograph of hand-made paper. "The background paper even appears to have a few 'chunks' and 'cracks' in it," Wycoff said. "That grabs attention, both in the booklet itself and when the booklet appeared in a newspaper ad."

To produce the drawings, Ross Roy hired Dave Van Voorhis, a free-lance commercial artist living in Rochester, whose portfolio was on file at the agency. Ross Roy executives, Van Voorhis (1992) said, particularly liked a series of greeting cards he had developed years before based upon rural scenes in his native Branch County in southern Michigan. "I'd done drawings of Amish people," he said, "and I'd included horses and buggies, barns, weather vanes and anything else that showed their way of life." Ross Roy staffers, he said, explained the "Secrets" concept and provided slides and snapshots of Michigan scenes, most of Greenfield Village. "After the first meeting," Van Voorhis said, "I started to draw, pretty quickly, and took them over. They said they might 'pick and choose' a bit, but, as best I can remember, used every drawing I did."

The place of the "Secrets of Michigan" ad in the multi-faceted approach might best be defined as being a vital element in the program's objective to "support Michigan's uniqueness and competitive difference." The implication, again, is that the state offers "secret," uncrowded places, especially attractive to the city dweller.

The newspaper advertisement, which promoted the "Secrets of Michigan" booklet, indeed, reveals a facet of Michigan that makes the state seem far removed from the urban life of Chicago. The ad's graphics of a waterfall, a bicycle at Greenfield Village, a fish hook with fly, a dinner train and a farmer on a horse-drawn wagon presents a contrast to the daily surroundings of the target audience. (The booklet contains a section on Detroit—Greenfield Village is just west of the city—but the advertisement does not mention the town by name.)

Greenfield Village, a re-created 19th Century village, fits perfectly in a promotion for a simpler, quieter time and place, even though the attraction itself is 275 miles from Chicago. The words of the ad complement the images by deftly weaving mention of Chicago museums into the text. "Just for starters, why not take the kids to one of the most interesting places in the Midwest—Henry Ford's re-creation of a 19th Century village, and a vast museum packed with Americana," the advertisement says. "Now, sure, Science and Industry is great, and so is The Field. But only here can your kids poke through Thomas Edison's lab. Or the Wright Brothers' bicycle shop. Or assemble wooden cars on a miniature assembly line."

The booklet itself conveys the spirit of simplicity with its drawings and its emphasis on self-guided tours, presumably to be made by car at a leisurely pace. The booklet is segmented into tours for "adults without children" and "family" travel. The former tour, the booklet says, places "a little more emphasis on B&Bs, gourmet dining, and shopping." The latter pays "more attention to restaurants with kids' menus and to hotels and motels geared to families."

Further, if the differences between the pace of life in Chicago and Michigan are not clear enough, the "Secrets of Michigan" booklet removes all doubt in its opening paragraphs when it says:

> Straight across Lake Michigan—so close you can almost see them—are beaches, dunes, harbors, orchards, vineyards, marinas, bed and breakfast inns, small towns, golf courses, ski trails, fishing chargers and sophisticated country restaurants. And what a difference 50 miles of lake can make. It substitutes quiet country for pounding city, driving freeways, and sprawling suburbs. (p. 5)

The ad and booklet, then, in their concept and presentation, support the research assumptions that Chicago is a strong market for Michigan tourism, one that can be strengthened by pointing out ways in which the state differs both from that city, or other urban areas, and from Wisconsin, another chief destination for Chicago travelers. The package, too, reflects an overall strategy of seeking specific markets and promoting specific Michigan themes, following years of a more general approach to the state's tourist attractions.

The Breaking Points

The campaign was well-researched and well-planned. The Chicago Program was, in fact, the product of a research effort that might have taken other marketing avenues had the data pointed in those directions. The project carried out its general purpose of selling Michigan tourism while, at the same time, promoting the more specific notion of promoting the state to Chicagoans. The campaign, as well, reflected the intention of Governor Milliken (Weller, 1982) who had called for a "booster effort" on Michigan's behalf.

The only significant **breaking point** in the Chicago Program occurred when the "Yes Michigan" concept was presented to competitive bidders. By then, the idea for a large-scale promotional effort had been unveiled, virtually requiring the winning agency, Ross Roy, to work within certain, if broad, guidelines. The nature of the bureaucracy, and the political sensitivities therein, dictated that Ross Roy work closely with the Travel Bureau and Travel Commission. Indeed, though the ad agency may have taken a lead role in how the concept was to be executed, it did so with the sanction of that bureau and commission. The strong research component, too, offered the possibility of a give-and-take between Ross Roy and the state agencies, allowing each with the numerical and qualitative ammunition needed to support ways in which the concept might be carried out.

The strength of the contact between the Travel Bureau and Ross Roy was displayed in the direction offered by Don Wycof (1992) in suggesting an overall "look" and "feel"—a "parchment" approach, for example—and the advertising agency's inclination to hire a commercial artist well-suited to the desired medium and concept. Ross Roy, in turn, made that concept clear to Dave Van

Voorhis (1992) by supplying slides and photographs that, in the agency's view, reflected the "Secrets" idea.

That the "Yes Michigan" campaign and the Chicago Program would include strong visual elements is hardly surprising. Indeed, tourism is, to a large degree, a visual experience, especially in a state with the outdoor attractions of Michigan. The bold, colorful posters in the campaign's early days were appropriate for gaining attention. The latter strategy, including the visual simplicity of the "Secrets of Michigan" ad and booklet, was well-tailored to a more narrowly-defined target audience.

Soundness of the overall campaign design

Target Audience Identification

The goal of the "Secrets of Michigan" campaign was to reach Chicagoans and encourage them to visit Michigan. The target audience, residents of the Chicago area, was easily identifiable since its members were defined as living in the same geographical location.

Desired Outcomes

The purpose of the Michigan Travel Bureau is to promote the state's tourism industry. Any project, whether a long-term program or a single poster, that can boost that industry must be considered successful.

The value of the "Secrets of Michigan" might be judged, in part, upon the volume of calls to the 800 number, for additional information and a copy of the "Secrets of Michigan" booklet, printed in the newspaper ad. On the other hand, inquiries do not necessarily guarantee that the callers will travel to Michigan.

Daniel M. Spotts (1992), of the Michigan State University Travel, Tourism, and Recreation Center, said it is difficult to isolate a single factor in a broad-based travel strategy and claim that it did, or did not, assist in bringing tourists to Michigan. In any given year, he said, many reasons may be cited for a successful, or unsuccessful, tourist season .

The 1991 Michigan Travel Activity report (Bishop & Spotts, 1991), of which Spotts was co-editor, revealed, for example, that the year had not been a strong one for Michigan Tourism. "Overall, it seems to have been an unimpressive year," (p. 5) the report stated. "While highway traffic counts increased 1.5% statewide, this was the lowest increase in this indicator in the last seven years. An economic recession, the Persian Gulf war, and shaky consumer confidence associated with these events probably contributed to the unimpressive results this year."

Qualitative measurement techniques in recent years may be questioned, too, Spotts (1992) said, since Ross Roy, creator of "Yes Michigan" ads, was also assigned to evaluate the effectiveness of those ads. Not surprisingly, he said, "Yes Michigan" ads have traditionally received a positive judgment.

Channel Selection

The choice of channels to advertise the "Secrets of Michigan" followed earlier patterns established by the "Yes Michigan" campaign. Since budget consideration was not a major problem, Ross Roy was free to select from a variety of major media outlets in the Chicago area.

Its selection of the Sunday travel pages of the Chicago Tribune was understandable, representing, as it did, placement in a major newspaper and geared toward an audience already inclined toward travel. That ad, on its own, had a visual impact in that it portrayed Michigan as a slow-paced, quiet, uncrowded place. Coupled with the booklet, the strategy provided readers with two strong images of Michigan, each reinforcing the other's concept of the state as a place with many travel "secrets."

The most important item in the Chicago Program package was, in fact, the "Secrets of Michigan" booklet. A poster might attract attention simply by offering an eye-catching scene of a beach or a forest. At the same time, it would offer little else. As a channel for information, Steve Swanson (1991) said, the guide served "the important function of being useful." If the "secret" attractions of Michigan were unique, he said, the visuals would help convince Chicagoans of that notion, and the booklet would assist the travelers in reaching their destinations.

Visual Construction

The "Secrets of Michigan" ad and booklet were destined to attract attention both in their own right and in contrast to other strategies in travel advertising. Even a brief look would reveal that "Secrets" was somehow different from the glossy, slick appearance of most travel posters and magazines. That difference was due, in large measure, to the "parchment" approach devised by Don Wycoff. That appearance proved the perfect background for the drawings which, in the simplicity of their lines and subjects, enhanced the feeling of intimacy that the promotion sought to achieve.
The combination of words, drawings and papers, then, sent the clear message that Michigan was a place "distant" from Chicago in pace and style, yet close to Chicagoans in miles and affordability.

The drawings of clocks—showing the travel time between a specific Michigan region and Chicago—on the upper corner of several pages is both an eye-catcher and a way to inform readers that the state is near enough for a weekend or mini-vacation journey, or even a day trip. The maps accompanying the texts are informative without being "busy." That is, they guide the reader on several possible outings without cluttering the drawings with an overabundance of names of cities and towns. The booklet was informative and visually attractive because it contained several small maps, instead of a single large one, again in keeping with the concept of simplicity and smallness.

Conclusions

The "Secrets of Michigan" ad and booklet succeeded, Don Wycoff (1992) said, in prompting Chicagoans to learn more about Michigan. The "property people"—those owning hotels, campgrounds, bed and breakfasts and other tourist attractions—phoned the Travel Bureau to comment favorably about the campaign, Wycoff said. At the same time, Michigan bureaus in Chicago and Lansing fielded numerous requests for booklets and fielded tourism questions through the 800 number listed in the ad. "The numbers definitely went up," Wycoff said. "That is, people called, people commented. In general, this campaign created a lot of interest. I was very pleased with the visuals we put together." Even though, as Wycoff added, it is difficult to measure, in dollar terms, how those visuals aided the Michigan Travel Bureau effort, certain conclusions can be drawn.

In a visual sense, the drawings and background the—"parchment" effect—drew attention because they differed from previous visual approaches of the Travel Bureau and from the "slick" look of many other travel ads, booklets and brochures. The "double-edged" strategy of the Chicago Program was effective, too, with the visuals in the newspaper ad setting the tone for the drawings and text which followed in the "Secrets" booklet.

Regarding the breaking points, the Chicago Program visuals pointed out that research, planning and communication among interested parties is vital in the smooth development of a visual from concept to finished product. To begin, Travel Bureau officials studied research data that defined a target audience and its potential interest in a commodity—Michigan tourism.

As previously mentioned, a built-in group of stakeholders within state government and the tourism industry helped assure a series of checks and balances to provide creative artists with a clear understanding of the campaign concept. While not all campaigns may possess the funding for research and graphics enjoyed by the "Yes Michigan" campaign and Ross Roy, campaign officials followed basic guidelines that would benefit any organization in negotiating the breaking points inherent in creation of visual elements in a public service effort.

The sponsoring agency, the Michigan Travel Bureau, for example, had access to a person with knowledge of graphic designing who might advise or help direct the ad agency in executing a visual concept. In this case, that person, Don Wycoff, was a member of the bureau staff. The ad agency, too, was careful to select an artist, from among many in the state, who could best fit a specific challenge. Dave Van Voorhis, was selected on the basis of his portfolio, especially for his previous work in drawing scenes of the Amish community. Though Ross Roy believed Van Voorhis to be the right person for the visual task, the artist received clear instructions from agency officials in the form of slides and photographs of Greenfield Village. While the visuals in the ad and booklet, then, were produced by an individual artist, with the assistance of a graphic designer, the effectiveness of the "Secrets of Michigan" campaign was really due to a process that, by its nature, took note of potential breaks and, through the ability of the participants to act effectively, contained the means to bridge them properly.

FIGURES

Figure 31: The "Yes Michigan" Campaign, Fall Travel Guide

Figure 32: The "Yes Michigan" Campaign, Travel Planner

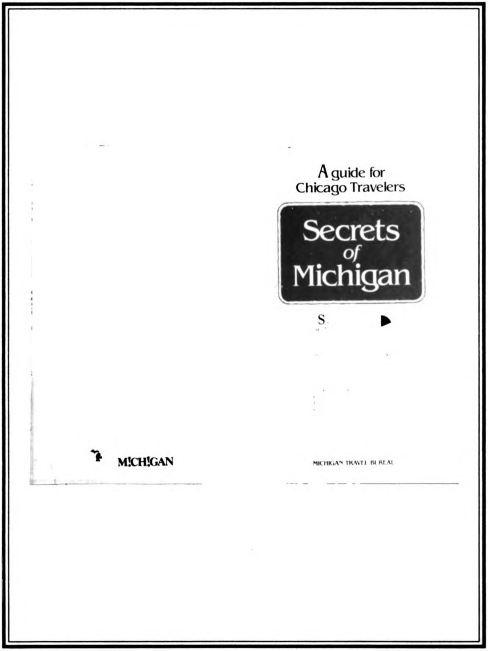


Figure 33: The "Secrets of Michigan" Campaign, Guide for Chicago Travelers

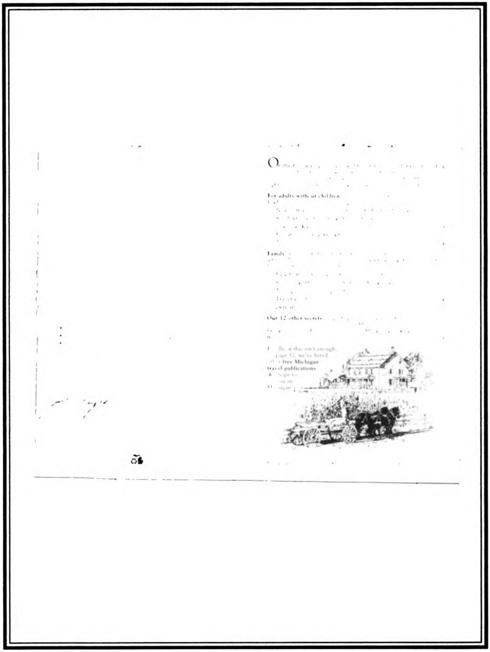


Figure 34: The "Secrets of Michigan" Campaign, Items in the Guide

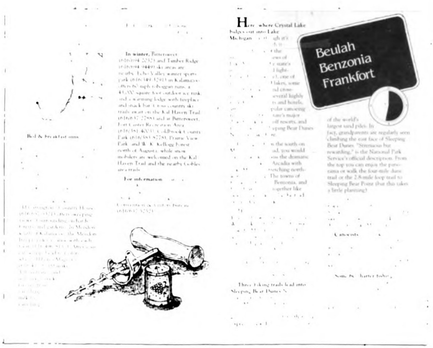


Figure 35: The "Secrets of Michigan" Campaign, Guide Drawings and Maps

Figure 36: The "Secrets of Michigan" Campaign, Newspaper Ad Page

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

The study shows the existence of critical intervals, or breaking points, in the process employed in public service communication campaigns. The study points out that those points are as much a part of the process as any other element, from the moment the campaign is conceived to the completion of the project message. Further, since the breaking points simply exist and cannot be avoided, they cannot be judged as "good" or "bad." Rather, merely knowing that they exist and what their existence may mean to the effectiveness of a visual campaign message can, in itself, be of vital importance to a communications practitioner in carrying out his or her role in a campaign.

The discussions and examples in the previous chapters show, above all, that the breaking points influence the process in the most significant of ways—in helping determine the extent to which the messages reach and influence the target audiences. The study points out, as well, that breaking points appear in both forms of campaign processes, the formal and the informal. The investigation does, in fact, reveal the paradigm that a campaign, by definition, will be conducted through the employment of one of the two—formal or informal—strategies. In each case presented in the study, no attempt is made—indeed, perhaps one is not possible—to measure the impact of the breaking points in a quantitative way. At the same time, it is enough to have demonstrated that such critical intervals can help determine whether the target group will be reached in an effective manner through visual communication.

In addition, the study illustrates that the development of visual material is a complex matter, certainly one that transcends the ability just to guide a drawing pencil or create computer graphics. That is, all persons involved in the campaign process must be aware of each part of that process, including the critical intervals where misunderstandings or shortcomings in communication are most likely to occur. To do otherwise is to risk producing a finished product, whether large-scale campaign or single poster, that reflects a lack of appreciation for the intricate nature of the process that created it.

Further, the study suggests that breaking points, though they cannot be circumvented, need not be negative. Rather, they may serve as points where campaign managers can evaluate what they have so far accomplished and in what direction the campaign might best proceed. These breaking points are:

1. The public communication campaign (PCC) message in relationship to the messengers or stakeholders. A concerned group or stakeholders decides that an issue needs to be presented and disseminated and commits a given part of their budget to it.

2. The PCC visual message in relationship to the approach or procedure followed in planning and designing the campaign. The group decides who will take charge of the organization of the campaign, a staff member, a specialist or both. The director will then decide to follow his or her intuition and that of his or her colleagues, an informal approach, or to undertaken the design of a campaign in a systematic manner, a formal approach.

3. The PCC visual message in relationship to the method(s) followed in identifying and characterizing the target audiences. One or more directors set up objectives, define a target audience, and define the time frame.

4. The PCC visual message in relationship to the concept and qualitative factors of the message itself. The director and group develop and clarify objectives and develop the concept of the campaign by making strategic decisions pertinent to the source, message, channel and receivers. Budget considerations will affect the selection of channels and quantity.

It has been demonstrated, for example, that if critical intervals in the process of designing and planning a campaign are not handled properly, the process does seem to "break" or lose focus, and that these "breaking points" are reflected in the visual construction of the messages.

It can be noted too, that there have been several attempts by researchers to find out why public communication campaigns do not always succeed, that is, where the process "breaks." However few investigators have suggested ways to prevent such failures, to forego ineffective messages. Summative evaluation research, though, is one attempt to do that. As suggested by Atkin and Freimuth (1989), if the construction of a message is evaluated at different times, the likelihood of its being successful increases. At the same time, problems arise in performing that method, too. First, the fact that the approach stresses widespread use of preproduction research and message evaluation makes its inclusion in a campaign costly. Second, the time span of a campaign is usually short, meaning that the evaluation process may seldom reach completion.The evaluation of public communication, in fact, seems a practice infrequently employed by the coordinators or stakeholders of campaigns. Such efforts not only take time and money, commodities often in short supply, but, given turnover rates in government or ad agencies, planners often embark on a campaign with little knowledge, or interest, in what has gone before them. Third, the method of evaluation is a vital point in its success or failure. Those methods seeking the participation of the target audiences, like focus groups exposed to the visual components of the campaign, are most likely to serve the success of the enterprise. The literature shows, however, that the most potentially effective means are not always employed in a campaign.

With regard to other aspects of timeliness, this study suggests that formative evaluation on specific campaign symbols and visual elements be conducted before the printing process is undertaken. Once those elements have been produced and the campaign is ready for launching, an evaluation is likely to serve only an "all or nothing" purpose, that the project proceeds as is or the planners virtually begin again.

Regarding the process itself, it is tempting to conclude that the framework suggested in this study flows in a rational, dynamic manner both in the planning of the campaign and in the production of the visual element. As suggested by Janis (1977), decision-making processes based on a behavioral approach show linear models for that decision making, based upon a rational, well-defined flow of events from beginning to end. Although the framework present in this study appears to offer a rational and linear conception, the analysis of the campaigns shows the existence of irrationality, a component which, for better or worse, is reflected in the visual materials of all the campaigns.

The tempting suggestion that the process of planning and designing a campaign is linear also can be found in the work of McGuire (1989) who describes how basic directive and dynamic theories from social psychology can be applied in designing effective campaigns. His input-output matrix of independent and dependent variables by which a message can be constructed and finally becomes effective fails, too, however. That is, it has difficulty accounting for the irrationality occurring in the process and in the symbols used to represent the lives and experiences of the target audiences. A simple input—output operation, then, is likely to miss the essence of the desired message.

These theories of persuasion, when applied by communication specialists, have also tended to reduce the process of change in the target audience in the same linear manner. While expectations of the impact of the message upon the target group is usually high, and change is anticipated immediately after the message is received, reality is not always so predictable, that is, change of behaviors, values or beliefs do not occur in real life in a neat, well-defined way.

Further, the campaigns being analyzed, whether successful or not, seem to have been planned and designed based upon persuasive methods and on theories of persuasion. However, the entire project may, indeed, be in jeopardy if those in charge fail to successfully carry the program across each critical point, or breaking point, throughout the campaign process.

One would expect that an output of a given matrix for designing and planning a public communication campaign would include the elements that will make that message the output product of the campaign. However, considerations of the visual components in the theories mentioned above are rarely present.

Information theories on their own attempt to spell out the elements of a message, at least in a verbal manner. However, those approaches seldom consider that information without specific visual suggestions, as in stressing prevention, is likely to be ignored by the targeted groups. Moreover, if the information relies on visual information and the visuals are not specific or do not clarify the issue at stake, the visual construction may, in fact, work against the stakeholders because it can be disregarded faster than text.

It is important to note, too, that public service campaigns are often based upon the conception that information alone will trigger prevention. In fact, the evidence shows, as Wallack (1989) asserted, that it usually does not.

Other theories, like that of social marketing, have offered suggestions in the pursuit of planning and designing more effective campaigns. Social marketing suggests that public issue values, such as health and education, can be treated as commodities and, therefore, sold under the four marketing principles of price, product, place and positioning. If the process within this suggestion is not linear, it fails, as well, to consider how the targeted group perceives and distinguishes the commodity with regard to an issue affecting their lives. The process in designing and planning a campaign following a marketing approach is also likely to "break" at the point of constructing the visual message. Visual elements in campaigns promoting well being are structured no different from those selling products. The target audience's understanding of a social issue issue may well lead to confusion rather that clarification when presented as a product rather than as a social value.

It is in the work of Dervin (1989) that the targeted group is put in the forefront of planning and designing a campaign. That work stresses not only members of the targeted group but the perception of what makes sense to them about a particular issue and how, then, a message can be considered effective. Dervin's work suggests that to be effective, the final product most likely would be a visual construction. Although this theoretical suggestion adds positively to the framework I am suggesting in this study, it leaves the visual considerations to the campaign planner, in which case the effectiveness of the "third breaking point," and the campaign result, is at risk. It is certainly an approach that includes and combines methods which, together, shed light on the process of campaign planning. Ethnography, for example, is an element I would favor throughout the process. Focus groups, observation and ethnography are desirable ways to understand and devise strategies to reach a target audience. The "Yes Michigan" campaign used focus groups as a method to devise and develop the Chicago Program. The Native American Institute, meanwhile, produced an effective visual with a tiny fraction of the "Yes Michigan" budget by demonstrating an understanding of Great Lakes Indian culture, employing, as it did, the talents of Michigan Indians at every step of the visual production.

To be successful, then, both the manner in which the visual element is produced and, of course, the nature of the visual itself should be a synthesis of all ideas and concerns of the stakeholders and program coordinators. The Native American Institute poster was careful to blend the culture of the American Indian with the culture of the world at large, as represented by a Michigan State University graduation gown and the State Capitol. Every element presented in the visual should have a purpose. The abuse of visual elements in a single message may serve as a distraction to viewers who, in turn, may overlook the essence of the message. The point may be raised, for example, as to whether the shadowy face of the hunter in the Zero One Three poster might have caused viewers to wonder just what that representation was supposed to mean.

Regarding other conclusions, this study reaches several which add to the literature and should be considered in future public service communication campaigns.

The literature in the background examination, for example, shows that there has been little or no mention of the visual elements in public service campaigns. This study shows the importance of adding a step in the process of designing and planning a campaign where visual considerations are discussed exclusively.

While the field of communications borrows heavily from several disciplines—psychology, marketing and sociology, for example—in the planning and execution of visual campaigns, the literature indicates that the field of graphic communication is not among them. The research, however, shows that field is vital to the analysis and understanding of visual elements and should be included by communicators in charting and carrying out the campaign process.

Although this study stresses the visual instead of the political, it shows, too, that it is impossible to separate the two. By definition, public service campaigns promote a message, one funded by stakeholders who seek to promote the values and beliefs of public agencies and their political benefactors. Further, while the study has shown that quality is not necessarily related to money spent, the fact remains that politically popular national and state causes, be they anti-alcohol or pro-tourism, are likely to receive strong funding. Those campaigns also have the potential for employing enhanced research and visual production components, as opposed to those promoting causes that are seen as being not so significant, like the recruitment of American Indian students to Michigan State University.

Reflections on this study must acknowledge, too, the role of "political correctness" in the visual production process. Although nationally most discussion has focused upon verbal political correctness, the notion, ultimately, reaches the visual world and, therefore, sometimes limits the elements from which creative persons might choose. Avoidance of human figures, for example, was deemed desirable in the second campaign of the OME to prevent failure through stereotypes. Proper use of figures may, in fact, have led to a more effective campaign message. As previously mentioned, planners of the Zero One Three campaign could not agree upon which race should be represented in its poster showing a hunter. As a result, the ad showed a shadowy figure whose lack of facial features might have raised more attention than the message itself. If verbal political correctness continues, so, too, will the issue of visual political correctness.

Although this study considers the process, and the breaking points therein, from concept to completion of the visual elements, one should note that the strength of a message depends, too, upon its proper dissemination. The life of visual materials depends upon the timeliness with which they are to be distributed and, as well, to their placement. Place and position, for practical purposes, are as vital as the presence of the visual construction itself.

Regarding future research, the study suggests that more work is needed on how public service campaign planners may better understand and reach a target audience. This study implies that ethnographic research may be a way to better evaluate the aesthetic preferences of an audience and determine which visual symbols may be most effective in constructing an effective message. Additional inquiry could render insights into the merits of this approach.

This study also shows that the beliefs and values of the stakeholders are revealed in the campaign's visual message. Further research may determine how to identify those beliefs and values, measure their strength, recognize their potential for conflict among stakeholders and discern how they are reflected in the visual constructions.

Since this work shows that a message is the result of a complex process, future research might more deeply consider ways to counter the problems that arise from dealing with a visual in isolation. That difficulty may be apparent, for example, when campaign officials believe they have produced a strong visual, then find the message ineffective with its audience.

Because public service campaigns are, by definition, planned and executed by bureaucracies, further research might reveal more about the relationship between a bureaucracy and individual choice in the construction of visuals. That research might show to what extent a given agency may allow or inhibit personal creativity in the development of a visual message.

This study is an example of how decision-making is an imperfect process, possessing several gaps and progressing along lines that may or may not be rational. Since this work focuses solely upon public service campaigns, other researchers in other disciplines may investigate the extent to which breaking points may be defined and acknowledged in decision-making in their fields of study.

Finally, this study suggests that public service communication messages are viewed by planners and artists as product messages, their creation similar to that of an advertisement for a physical commodity. Additional research is necessary to clarify how a public service campaign differs from traditional advertising campaigns and how that insight may be utilized in understanding and reaching a target audience.

While the study emphasized gaps, it showed, too, that those breaking points are merely part of a human process and, as such, may be viewed as places to strengthen a message, not merely to weaken it. In brief, this work showed that a printed visual reflects the knowledge and energy of those who created it, an understanding that, above all else, will ultimately determine whether a message is to succeed or fail.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROCESS FRAMEWORK QUESTIONNAIRE

STEP ONE

Who is the concerned group?

What motivates the group to spend money on such a campaign?

What is at stake?

How was the idea brought about and why?

Who is concerned about whom and why?

What is the size and allocation of the budget?

What does the budget say about the significance of the issue?

STEP TWO

Do conditions dictate a formal or informal approach?

To what extent is the decision based upon budget conditions?

STEP THREE

What methods are to be used to gather information about the target audiences?

What are the characteristics of the target audiences?

Who is to gather the information?

Is the issue as important to the target audiences as it is to the stakeholders?
Is the audience likely to perceive the issue as important?
Are the stakeholders, in the view of the target audiences, the proper advocates for the given issue?

STEP FOUR

Source

How are these sources portrayed visually?
How are the qualities that led to selection of the source—credibility, experience, competence dynamism, attractiveness—translated visually?
What visual elements—photos, illustrations, colors, contrast—will prove most effective?

Message and Style

Are the properties and format of the message and the combination of the two the responsibility of the agency's creative person?
Is the creative person responsible for translating style into visual elements and a corresponding visual concept?

Content Appeals

How does the campaign director instruct the creative person as to what the visuals should include?
What is the responsibility of the creative person regarding visuals?
Is it the job of the creative person or the agency to take the initiative to construct the visual message?

Channel

Is the choice of medium based on previous research or is it determined in a more intuitive manner?

If there are budget limitations to select the best medium possible, how is the decision made as to which other medium might be nearly as effective?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acosta, V. M. (1992, January/February). Parents' perceptions of the appropriateness of AIDS education topics for their eighth grade school children. Journal of Health Education, 23, 45-50.

Adhikarya, R. (1989). The strategic extension campaigns on rat control in Bangladesh. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 230-232). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

AHF. (1976). Forest fire prevention: An awareness and attitudes study. New York: AHF Marketing Research.

Alcalay, R. (1980). A minority health communication model (MHCM): Rationale and guidelines. Berkeley: University of California, School of Public Health.

Alcalay, R., & Taplin, S. (1989). Community health campaigns: From theory to action. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 105-129). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Alexander, P. (1986, September). Tourism and its significance in local development (Tourism Information Series No. E-1937). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Anderson, T. (1989, Spring). Interpreting works of art as social metaphors. Visual Arts Research (University of Illinois), 15, 42-51.

Anderson, T. (1990). Attaining critical appreciation through art. Studies in Art Education, 31(3), 132-140.

Arnheim, R. (1971). Visual thinking. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Asch, S. E. (1952). Social psychology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Atkin, C. (1978). Effects of public service announcements on mass mediated health communication campaigns. In D. Nimmo (Ed.), Communication yearbook 3. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Atkin, C. K. (1979). Research evidence on mass mediated health communication campaigns. In D. Nimmo (Ed.), Communication yearbook 4 (pp. 655-669). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Atkin, C. K. (1981a). Consumer and social effects of advertising. In B. Dervin & M. J. Voigt (Eds.), Progress in communication sciences (Vol. 4, pp. 205-247). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.

Atkin, C. K. (1981b). Mass communication research principles for health education. In M. Meyer (Ed.), Health education by television and radio (pp. 41-55). Munich: Saur.

Atkin, C. K. (1981c). Mass media information campaign effectiveness. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 265-279). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atkin, C. K. (1985a). The effectiveness of mass media information campaigns. In C. K. Atkin (Ed.), The effects of the mass media: Readings in mass communication and society (pp. 10-18). Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, Department of Communication.

Atkin, C. K. (1985b). Key factors in mass media persuasion. In C. K. Atkin (Ed.), The effects of the mass media: Readings in mass communication and society (pp. 46-59). Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, Department of Communication.

Atkin, C. K. (1989a). Be smart, don't start! In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 224-226). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atkin, C. K. (1989b, Winter). Professor, Department of Communication, Michigan State University. Personal conversations.

Atkin, C. K. (1989c, Winter). CAS 940 seminar syllabus and class notes. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Atkin, C. K. (1991a, September). Designing persuasive health messages. Paper presented at the Conference on Effective Dissemination of Clinical and Health Information, Tucson, AZ.

Atkin, C. K. (1991b). Political campaigns: Mass communication and persuasion. In M. E. Roloff & G. R. Miller (Eds.). Persuasion: New directions in theory and research (pp. 285-307). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Atkin, C. (in press). Effects of the mass media. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Atkin, C. K., & Block, M. (1980). Content and effects of alcohol advertising. Report 3: Content analysis of alcohol advertising. Final report submitted to Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Federal Trade Commission, National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, and Department of Transportation.

Atkin, C. K., & Freimuth, V. (1989). Formative evaluation research in campaign design. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 131-150). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atkin, C. K., & Meischke, H. W. J. (1989). Family planning communication campaigns in developing countries. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 227-229). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atkin, C., Neuendorf, K., & Block, M. (1980). Effects of alcohol advertising on young audiences. Paper presented at the ICA, Acapulco, Mexico.

Atkin, C., & Wallack, L. (Eds.). (1990). Mass communication and public health: Complexities and conflicts. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atkin, E. B. (1990). Issues and initiatives in communicating health information. In C. Atkin & L. Wallack (Eds.), Mass communication and public health publications (p. 38). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Atwood, R., & Dervin, B. (1980). Challenges to socio-cultural predictors of information seeking: A test of race versus situation movement state. Seattle: University of Washington.

Auger, T. J., Wright, E., & Simpson, R. H. (1972). Posters as smoking deterrents. Journal of Applied Psychology, 56, 169-171.

Ball-Rokeach, S., & Rokeach, M. (1989). The great American values test. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 218-221). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bandura, A. (1977). Social learning theory. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bandy, P., & President, P. (1984). Recent literaature on drug abuse prevention and mass media: Focusing on youth, parents, women and the elderly. 13, 255-271.

Barck, O. T., & Blake, N. M. (1965). Since 1900: A history of the United States. New York: Macmillan.

Barnhurst, K. G. (1991, December). News as art (Journalism Monographs No. 130). Austin: University of Texas at Austin.

Barnicoat, J. (1976). Los carteles, su historia y lenguaje [The posters, history and language]. Barcelona, Spain: Gustavo Gili.

Barrett, T. (1991). Description in professional art criticism. Studies in Art Education, 32(2), 83-93.

Bass, J. (1991, January 20). Hispanics fare worst in education, new study says. The Detroit News, p. A14.

Bauer, R. (1964). The obstinate audience: The influence process from the point of view of social communication. American Psychologist, 19, 319-328.

Benitez, J. S. (1989, November). Conference proceedings: Structural changes and their impact on Hispanics (Occasional Paper No. 1). East Lansing: Michigan State University, Julian Samora Research Institute.

Benson, T. (1990). Remarks to Censtates Travel Conference. Chicago, IL.

Berkowitz, L., & Walker, N. (1967). Laws and moral judgments. Sociometry, 30, 410-422.

Berman supports "yes" campaign. (1983, April 27). Detroit News, p. B8.

Bernstein, D. A., & Glasgow, R. (1980). The modification of smoking behavior. In P. O. Davidson & S. M. Davidson (Eds.), Behavior medicine: Changing health lifestyles. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Bernstein, T. P. (1979). Communication and value change in the Chinese program of sending urban youths to the countryside. In G. C. Chu & F. L. K. Hsu (Eds.), Moving a mountain. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Bernstein, T. P., & McAlister, A. (1979). The modification of smoking behavior: Progress and problems. Addictive Behavior, 1, 89-102.

Best, J. A., Bass, F., & Owen, L. E. (1977). Mode of service delivery in a smoking cessation programme for public health. Canadian Journal of Public Health, 68, 469-473.

Best, J. A., Owen, L. E., & Trentaude, L. (1978). Comparison of satiation and rapid smoking in self-managed smoking cessation. Addictive Behavior, 3, 71-78.

BeVier, T. (1991, April 14). Native Michiganians: What the figures say. The Detroit News, p. C7.

Bishop, G. R., & Spotts, D. M. (1991). Michigan travel activity--1991 annual report. East Lansing: MSU Travel, Tourism, and Recreation Resource Center.

Blanchard, J. J. (1989, October). Executive declaration in observance of October 1989 as Achieve a College Education Awareness Month. Lansing: State of Michigan.

Bland, J. M., Bewley, B. R., & Day, I. (1975). Primary schoolboys: Image of self and smoker. British Journal of Preventive and Social Medicine, 29, 262.

Blumer, J. G. (1979). The role of theory in uses and gratifications studies. Communication Research, 6, 9-36.

Boorstin, D. J. (1958). The Americans: The colonial experience. New York: Vintage.

Boorstin, D. J. (1965). The Americans: The national experience. New York: Vintage.

Boorstin, D. J. (1973). The Americans: The democratic experience. New York: Vintage.

Borland, B. L., & Rudolph, J. P. (1975). Relative effects of low socioeconomic status, parental smoking and poor scholastic performance on smoking among high school students. Social Science and Medicine, 9, 27.

Branch, T. (1989, April). Drug abuse and its effects on pregnancy. Prevention Network, 5, 2.

Brown, N. C. M. (1989). Aesthetic description and realism in art education. Studies in Art Education, 30(4), 212-224.

Bureau of the Census (Michigan). (1990a). Percentage of Hispanic female population by age categories. CRIS database. Lansing: Author.

Bureau of the Census (Michigan). (1990b). Percentage of Hispanic male population by age categories. CRIS database. Lansing: Author.

Butler-Paisley, M. (1975). Public communications programs for cancer control. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, Institute for Communications Research.

Callinan, T. E., & Applegate, M. W. (1989a, May 27). Dormitory drinkers facing new rules. Lansing State Journal.

Callinan, T. E., & Applegate, M. W. (1989b, June 2). Drunken driving must be curbed. Lansing State Journal.

Cantor, J., Alfonso, H., & Zillmann, D. (1976). The persuasive effectiveness of the peer appeal and a communicator's first-hand experience. Communication Research, 3, 293-310.

Capalaces, R., & Starr, J. (1973). The negative message of anti-drug spots: Does it get across? Public Telecommunications Review, 1, 64-66.

Cardona, A. (1989). Michigan takes on the higher education challenge. Lansing: Office of Minority Equity.

Cardona, A. (1991, May 23). Coordinator, Achieve a College Education (ACE) campaign. Personal interview.

Carey, J. W. (1989). Communication as culture: Essays on media and society. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Carter, D. J., & Wilson, R. (1991, January). Ninth annual status report: Minorities in higher education. Washington, DC: American Council on Education, Office of Minorities in Higher Education.

Cartwright, D. (1954). Achieving change in people: Some applications of group dynamics theory. Human Relations, 4, 381-392.

Chaffee, S. (1981). Mass media in political campaigns: An expanding role. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 181-198). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Cialdini, R. B. (1989). Littering: When every litter bit hurts. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 221-223). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Cialdini, R., Petty, R., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1981). Attitudes and attitude change. In M. R. Rosenzweig & L. W. Porter (Eds.), Annual review of psychology. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Clarke, J. N. (1992). Cancer, heart disease, and AIDS: What do the media tell us about these diseases? Health Communication, 4(2), 105-120.

Class notes on CAS 940 (Michigan State University). (1989).

Cochran, N. (1978). Grandma Moses and the "corruption" of data. Evaluation Quarterly, 3, 363-373.

College Board. (1988-89). Going right on: A college planning guide for students. New York: Author.

College Board. (1989-90). Going right on: A college planning guide for students. New York: Author.

College enrollment by racial and ethnic group. (1992, March 18). Chronicle of Higher Education, pp. A35-A39.

Collison, M. N-K. (1992, March 18). Many colleges report increase in applications for next fall. Chronicle of Higher Education, p. A1, A34.

Cornell, G. (1992, October 27). Director, Native American Institute, MSU. Personal interview.

Cortes, C. E. (1992, August). Media literacy: An educational basic for the information age. Education and Urban Society, 24, 489-497.

Covert, D. C. (1987, Spring). Maker and viewer disagreement in aesthetics of visual composition, Journalism Quarterly, 64, 133-136.

Cuello, M. (1991). El Barrio. Detroit: Casa de Unidad Cultural Arts and Media Center.

Cutting drunk driving. (1992). Brochure circulated by Office of Substance Abuse Services, State of Michigan.

Dallmayr, F. R., & Maccoby, N. (1977). Effects of mass communication. In F. R. Dallmayr & T. A. McCarthy (Eds.), Understanding and social inquiry (pp. 539-597). South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Deadly: Drunken driving must be curbed. (1989, June 2). Lansing State Journal, p. 10A.

DeFleur, M. L., & Ball-Rokeach, S. (1989). Theories of mass communication (5th ed). New York: David McKay.

Department of Communication, Michigan State University. (1991). Educational and career goals: A survey of Michigan secondary school students. East Lansing: Author.

Dervin, B. (1976). The everyday information needs of the average citizen: A taxonomy analysis. In M. Kochen & J. C. Donohue (Eds.), Mass communication research. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Dervin, B. (1980). Communication gaps and inequities: Moving toward a reconceptualization. In B. Dervin & M. Voight (Eds.), Progress in the communication sciences. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Dervin, B. (1981). Mass communicating: Changing conceptions of the audience. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 71-87). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Dervin, B. (1989). Audience as listener and learner, teacher and confidante: The sense-making approach. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 67-86). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dervin, B., Harlock, S., Attwood, R., & Garzona, C. (1980). The human side of information: An exploration in a health communication context. In D. Nimmo (Ed.), Communication yearbook 4. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

DeTocqueville, A. (1961). Democracy in America. New York: Schocken.

Dondis, D. A. (1980). La sintaxis de la imagen [The syntax of the image] (4th ed.). Barcelona, Spain: Gustavo Gili, S.A.

Donohue, W. (1990a). Memorandum on focus group. Unpublished memo.

Donohue, W. (1990b). Program on communication and cultural diversity: Office of Minority Equity project. Unpublished paper.

Donohue, W. A. (1991). Final report on educational and career goals project. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Program on Communication and Cultural Diversity.

Dorn, C. M. (1990). Art metatalk. Visual Arts Research (University of Illinois), 15(2), 19-31.

Douglas, D. F., Westley, B. H., & Chafee, S. H. (1970). An information campaign that changed community attitudes. Journalism Quarterly, 47, 479-487.

Eagly, A., & Chaiken, S. (1984). Cognitive theories of persuasion. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (pp. 267-359). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, Office of Substance Abuse. (1988). Statement of goals. Unpublished paper.

Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, Office of Substance Abuse. (1990a). Enjoy Michigan safely. Unpublished paper.

Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, Office of Substance Abuse. (1990b). Evaluation of Enjoy Michigan Safely campaign materials. Unpublished paper.

Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, Office of Substance Abuse. (1990c). Rationale for using the 0-1-3 limits for the year-round campaign. Unpublished paper.

Enjoy Michigan Safely Coalition, Office of Substance Abuse. (1990d). Statement of goals. Unpublished paper.

Equity Today (Office of Minority Equity in Postsecondary Education, Michigan Department of Education). (1990, Winter). 2 (Entire issue).

Evangelauf, J. (1988, March 9). Minorities' share of college enrollments edges up, as number of Asian and Hispanic students soars. Chronicle of Higher Education, pp. A33-A36.

Evans, R. I. (1978). Planning public service advertising messages: An application of the Fishbein model and path analysis. Journal of Advertising, 7, 28-34.

Farquhar, J. W., Flora, J. A., Good, L. T., & Fortmann, S. P. (1985). Integrated comprehensive health promotion programs (Kaiser Family Foundation monograph). New York: Kaiser Family Foundation.

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1980). Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Flay, B. R. (1986). Mass media and smoking cessation. Paper presented at the ICA, Chicago, IL.

Flay, B. R., & Burton, D. (1990). Effective mass communication strategies for health campaigns. In C. K. Atkin & L. Wallack (Eds.), Mass communication and public health. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Flay, B. R., & Cook, T. D. (1981). Evaluation of mass media prevention campaigns. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 239-264). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Flay, B. R., & Cook, T. D. (1989). Three models for summative evaluation of prevention campaigns with a mass media component. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 175-195). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Fox, K., & Kotler, P. (1979). The marketing of social causes: The first ten years. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.

Frank, R. E., Massy, W. J., & Wind, Y. (1972). Market segmentation. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Freedman, E. (1989, November 17). Migrants still face tough life, study says. The Detroit News.

Freund, G. (1980). Photography and society. Boston: David R. Godine.

Fritzen, R., & Mazer, G. (1975). The effects of fear appeal and communication upon attitudes toward alcohol consumption. Journal of Drug Education, 5, 171-181.

Gavrilovich, P. (1989, April 22). Booze ads "distort and glamorize." Detroit Free Press.

Geller, E. S. (1989). Using television to promote safety belt use. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 201-203). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. (1976). Living with television: The violence profile. Journal of Communication, 26(2), 173-199.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. (1986). Living with television: The dynamics of the cultivation process. In J. Bryant & D. Zillman (Eds.), Perspectives of media effects (pp. 16-40). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Get tough: Dormitory drinkers facing new rules. (1989, May 27). Lansing State Journal, p. B1.

Gonzalez, V. (1989a). AIDS campaign analysis and strategy development. Unpublished paper for CAS 940, Michigan State University.

Gonzalez, V. (1989b). A brief review of latest literature on warning labels for the pregnant women in alcohol products. Unpublished paper.

Gonzalez Llaca, E. L. (1981). Teoria y practica de la propaganda. Mexico: Editorial Grijalbo.

Gozzi, R., Jr. (1991). Mass media effects in high- and low-context cultures. Theoretical and Methodological Reviews, pp. 55-65.

Greenberg, B., & Gantz, W. (1989). Singing the (VD) blues. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 203-206). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Greenberg, D. (1986, March). Whatever happened to the war on cancer? Discover, pp. 47-56.

Gross, L. (1983). How much is too much? The effects of social drinking. New York: Random House.

Hart, L. M. (1991). Aesthetic pluralism and multicultural art education. Studies in Art Education, 32(3), 145-159.

Hawkins, R. P., Gustafson, D. H., Chewning, B., Bosworth, K., & Day, P. M. (1987, Spring). Reaching hard-to-reach populations: Interactive computer programs as public information campaigns for adolescents. Journal of Communication, 37, 8-27.

Higher education is justified!. (1989). Song with music by K. Amen-Ra and words by E. Collins-King C.

Hodgkinson, H. L., Outtz, J. H., & Obarakpor, A. M. (1990, November). The demographics of American Indians: One percent of the people; fifty percent of the diversity. Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership, Center for Demographic Policy.

Hoffman, K. B. (1990, March 29). Educators push for higher minority grad rates. Lansing State Journal, p. B1.

Holecek, D. F. (1987, February). Pricing tourism products and services (Tourism Information Series No. E-1999). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Holzner, B. (1968). Reality construction in society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hoover, B. (1992, June 13). Just say no. The Detroit News, pp. C1, C4-5.

Horn, D. (1978, June 27). Who is quitting and why? Progress in Smoking Cessation, pp. 2-3.

Hornik, R. C. (1981). Channel effectiveness in development of communication programs. In R. E. Rice & C. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hyman, H., & Sheatsley, P. (1947). Some reasons why information campaigns fail. Public Opinion Quarterly, 11, 412-423.

Hynds, E. C. (1981). American newspapers in the 1980s: Studies in media management. New York: Hastings House.

Iowa Division of Tourism. (1990, November 28). Rural tourism in the 90's: Economic redevelopment for America's heartland. Proceedings of the 11th Annual Conference, CenStates TTRA. Des Moines: Author.

Isaac, S. (1981). Handbook in research and evaluation (2nd ed.). San Diego, CA: EdITS Publishers.

Jaeger, R. M. (1988). Complementary methods for research in education. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Jaksa, J. A., & Pritchard, M. S. (1988). Communication ethics: Methods of analysis. Belmont: Wadsworth.

James, L. (1992, October 30). Artist. Personal interview.

Janis, I. L. (1977). A psychological analysis of conflict, choice and commitment. New York: Free Press.

Jeffrey, N. A. (1990a, August 10). Michiganders press for clout, schooling, jobs. Detroit Free Press, pp. B1-B2.

Jeffrey, N. A. (1990b, August 10). Work on farms leaves migrants poor, not proud. Detroit Free Press, pp. B1-B2.

Judges cite favoritism, send Dutko to jail. (1989, May 25). Lansing State Journal, p. A1.

Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University. (1990, June). La clase magica [The magic classroom]: University-community bilingual node proposal to Mellon Foundation. Distributed Literacy Consortium proposal. East Lansing: Author.

Kassner, K. (1990, October 8). Coordinator, substance abuse campaign. Personal interview.

Kessler, L., & McDonald, D. (1992). The search: Information gathering for the mass media. Belmont: Wadsworth.

Kinkead, G. (1987, November 9). America's best-run charities. Fortune, pp. 145-150.

Klapper, J. (1960). The effects of mass communication. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Klapper, J. (1985). The effects of mass communication. In C. K. Atkin (Ed.), The effects of the mass media: Readings in mass communication and society (pp. 19-33). Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, Department of Communication.

Kline, F. G., Miller, P., & Morrison, A. (1976). Communication issues in different public health areas. Consumer Research, 3, 290-294.

Kohn, P. M., Smart, R. G., & Ogborne, A. C. (1984). Effects of two kinds of alcohol advertising on subsequent consumption. Journal of Advertising, 13(1), 34-39.

Koop, C. E. (1989). The Surgeon General's drunk driving recommendations. Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General.

Koop, C. E. (1990). Planning session on Surgeon General's drinking/driving recommendations. Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General.

Korgaonkar, P. K., Moschis, G. P., & Bellenger, D. N. (1984, February/March). Correlates of successful advertising campaigns. Journal of Advertising Research, 24, 47-53.

Koroscik, J. S., Short, G., Stavropoulos, & Fortin, S. (1992). Frameworks for understanding art: The function of comparative art contexts and verbal cues. Studies in Art Education, 33(3), 154-164.

Kotler, P. (1972). A generic concept of marketing. Journal of Marketing, 36, 46-54.

Kotler, P. (1975). Marketing for non-profit organizations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kozma, R. B. & Croninger, R. G. (1992, August). Technology and the fate of at-risk students. Education and Urban Society, 440-453.

Kronick, R. F., Peterson, L., Morton, J., & Smith, G. (1989). Dealing with dropouts: A review of the literature and preliminary findings. Education, 110(1), 123-129.

Kuhn, T. S. (1970). The structure of scientific revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kunkel, L. E., & Temple, L. L. (1992, July). Attitudes towards AIDS and homosexuals: Gender, marital status, and religion. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 22, 1030-1040.

Landers, A. (1989, May 10). The lowdown on "coolers." San Francisco Examiner, p. C8.

LaRose, R. (1989). *Freestyle*, revisited. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 206-209). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lasswell, H. (1948). The structure and function of communication in society. In L. Bryson (Ed.), Communication of ideas. New York: Harper.

Lasswell, H. D., Lerner, D., & Speier, H. (1979). Propaganda and communication in early times. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Lazarsfeld, P., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1948). People's choice. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lazarsfeld, P., & Merton, R. (1948). Mass communication, popular taste, and organized social action. In L. Bryson (Ed.), The communication of ideas. New York: Harper & Row.

Lipstein, B., & McGuire, W. J. (1978). Evaluating advertising. New York: Advertising Research Foundation.

Logan, L. (1991, December). Project 1000 positively impacts the Hispanic graduate student population. National Hispanic Reporter, p. 17.

Loury, G. C. (1987, September). Why preferential admission is not enough for blacks. The Education Digest, pp. 42-45.

Lowery, S. A., & DeFleur, M. L. (1988). Milestones in mass communication research: Media effects (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Luks, A. (1983). Will America sober up? Boston: Beacon Press.

Maccoby, N., & Farquhar, J. W. (1975). Communication for health: Unselling heart disease. Journal of Communication, 25, 114-26.

Maccoby, N., & Solomon, D. S. (1981). Heart disease prevention: Community studies. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 105-126). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Margolis, K. (1989, November 20). MSU center to study Hispanic problems. Detroit Free Press.

Marinucci, C. (1989, February 19). Last call for alcohol. San Francisco Examiner, pp. D1, D4-5.

Martinez, F. (1989, November 17). New institute to break down barriers for Midwest Hispanics. Michigan State News, pp. 1-2.

Maxwelll, B., & Jacobson, M. (1991, Spring/Summer). Cultural dynamics mold marketing. Media and Values, 54-55, 24.

McAlister, A. (1981). Antismoking campaigns: Progress in developing effective communications. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McDonough, M. H., & Ackert, G. A. (1986a, September). Developing a promotional strategy (Tourism Information Series No. E-1992). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

McDonough, M. H., & Ackert, G. A. (1986b, October). Creating a promotional theme (Tourism Information Series No. E-1957). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

McGuire, W. J. (1968). The nature of attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), Handbook of social psychology (pp. 136-314). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

McGuire, W. J. (1978). The communication/persuasion matrix. The development of theory in social psychology. In B. Lipstein, W. J. McGuire, R. Gilmour, & S. Duck (Eds.), The development of social psychology. New York: Academic Press.

McGuire, W. J. (1981). Theoretical foundations of campaigns. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 41-70). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

McGuire, W. J. (1984). Public communication as a strategy for inducing health promotion behavior change. Preventive Medicine, 13, 299-319.

McGuire, W. J. (1985). Attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), Handbook of social psychology (pp. 262-279). New York: Rand McNally.

McGuire, W. J. (1986a). Attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), Handbook of social psychology (pp. 266-298). New York: Random House.

McGuire, W. J. (1986b). A perspectivist looks at contextualism and the future of behavioral science. In R. Rosnow & M. Georgordi (Eds.), Contextualism and understanding in behavioral science: Implications for research and theory (pp. 271-301). New York: Praeger.

McGuire, W. J. (1989a). The structure of individual attitudes and attitude systems. In A. Pratkanis, S. Breckler, & A. Greenwalds (Eds.), Attitude structure and function (pp. 37-69). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

McGuire, W. J. (1989b). Theoretical foundations of campaigns. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 43-65). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McLeod, J. M., & Reeves, B. (1981). The uses and gratifications approach. In D. Nimmo & K. Sanders (Eds.), Handbook of political communication (pp. 245-281). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

McQuail, D. (1983). Mass communication theory. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McQuail, D. (1984, June). With the benefit of hindsight: Reflections on uses and gratifications research. Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 1, 177-193.

Mehrabian, A. (1972). Nonverbal communication. Chicago: Aldine.

Mendelsohn, H. (1985). Some reasons why information campaigns can succeed. In C. K. Atkin (Ed.), The effects of the mass media: Readings in mass communication and society (pp. 1-9). Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, Department of Communication.

Michigan State Board of Education. (1992, September). Hispanic school dropouts and Hispanic student performance on the MEAP tests. Lansing: Michigan Postsecondary Education Database System.

Michigan State University Travel, Tourism, and Recreation Resource Center. (1991). 1990-91 winter season report (Seasonal Travel Monitoring Report No. 21). East Lansing: Author.

Michigan Travel Bureau. (1990). Michigan travel promotion program. Lansing: Author.

Milavsky, R., Pelkowsky, B., & Stipp, H. (1975). TV drug advertising and proprietary and illicit drug use among teenage boys. Public Opinion Quarterly, 39, 457-481.

Miller, N., & Dollard, J. (1941). Social learning and imitation. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Miller, R. E. (1992, May/June). Health communication through workplace smoking discouragement posters. Journal of Health Education, 23, 250-252.

Miner, B. (1989, November 17). Hispanic center open at MSU. Lansing State Journal.

Morrison, E. (1976). Guardian of the forest: A history of the Smokey Bear program. New York: Vantage Press.

Moss, R. (1980, February 14). The cancer establishment: Whose side are they on? The Progressive, p. 8.

National Committee for Citizens in Education. (1989). Network for public schools. New York: Columbia University.

Native American population on increase. (1991, March 13). The Detroit News, p. B1.

Nelson, E. (1990). They have the dream; now, let us pave the way empowering Michigan's African American, Latino and Native American youth (an invitation). Lansing: Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education.

Newton, C. (1989). A developmental study of aesthetic response using both verbal and nonverbal measures. Visual Arts Research (University of Illinois), 15(1), 76-85.

Nichols, S. (1989a, May 24). MSU tightens booze code. Lansing State Journal, pp. A1, A4.

Nichols, S. (1989b, June 11). Life of the party may be endangered species: The surgeon general's new assault on drunken driving shows that many no longer consider drinkers cool. Lansing State Journal, pp. A1, A4.

Nordenstreng, K. (1976). Definition of the audience and how to increase it. In H. Fischer & J. C. Merrill (Eds.), International and intercultural communication. New York: Hastings House.

Office of Cancer Communications. (1975). Where we are and where we are going. Bethesda, MD: U.S. Public Health Services.

Office of Cancer Communications. (1980). Progress against breast cancer: Report on evaluation of a public educational program on breast cancer. Bethesda, MD: U.S. Public Health Services.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1989a, August 10). Fact sheet on minorities and higher education in Michigan. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1989b, August 10). King-Chavez-Parks media campaigns. Mimeographed sheet.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1989c, August 10). Michigan takes on the higher education challenge. Press release. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1990a). The ACT team: A community-wide effort supporting Michigan's Black, Hispanic and Native American students achieve a college education. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1990b). Equity today. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1990c). Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, Rosa Parks Initiative, 1989-90. Brochure. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1990d, June 29). Memorandum from A. Cardona to B. Donohue re: contact persons for focus groups.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1990e). Timeline: A statewide media campaign. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1991a). Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, Rosa Parks initiative (Annual report, Fiscal Year '91). Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (1991b). A program to improve Michigan minorities' college matriculation and graduate rates through promotion of college-prep curricula in high schools. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (n.d.1). [Draft of animation for ACE campaign]. Unpublished paper. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (n.d.2). College day in Michigan. Brochure. Lansing: Author.

Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education. (n.d.3). Higher education is justified! Brochure and postage-paid return post card. Lansing: Author.

O'Keefe, G. (1981). Social psychological grounding for effective public communication on behalf of crime prevention. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles.

O'Keefe, G., Mendelsohn, H., Nenry, E., Rosenzweig, B., & Spetnagel, H. (1984). Taking a bite out of crime: The impact of a mass media crime prevention campaign. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

O'Keefe, G. J., & Reid, K. (1989). The McGruff crime prevention campaign. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 210-212). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

O'Shaugnessy, J. (1991). Account manager, Ross Roy Advertising. Personal interview.

Paisley, W. J. (1981). Public communication campaigns: The American experience. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 15-40). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Paisley, W. (1989). Public communication campaigns: The American experience. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 15-38). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Palmer, E. (1974). Formative research in the production of television for children. In D. R. Olson (Ed.), Media and symbols: The forms of expression, communication and education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Palmer, E. (1981). Shaping persuasive messages with formative research. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 227-238). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Palmer, F. R. (1976). Semantics: A new outline. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parsons, M. J. (1987). How we understand art. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pauly, J. J. (1981). A beginner's guide to doing qualitative research in mass communication. In R. E. Petty & J. T. Cacioppo (Eds.), Attitudes and persuasion: Classic and contemporary approaches. Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown.

Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Planning session on Surgeon General's drinking/driving recommendations. (1990). Zero-One-Three campaign materials.

Plans for press conference to announce the Surgeon General's drunk driving recommendations. (1989, May 31). Mimeographed program.

Prevention Network (NCA/Michigan). (1989, April). Entire issue.

Product plugs in the movies. (1989, March 27). Monday Morning Report (Alcohol Research Information Service), pp. 1-6.

Propst, D. B., Newmyer, P. S., & Combrink, T. E. (1986, September). Direct marketing of agricultural products to tourists (Tourism Information Series No. E-1960). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Racial/ethnic enrollment: Michigan public four-year universities (chart No. IPEDS). (1990). Unpublished raw data.

Ramesh, C. N., & Meischke, H. (1989). Recommendations for the 1989 AIDS prevention campaign in Michigan. Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, Department of Communication.

Ray, M., & Ward, S. (1976). Experimentation for pretesting public health programs: The case of the anti-drug abuse campaigns. Advances in Consumer Research, 3, 278-286.

Rice, R. E. (1981). Preface. In R. E. Rice & J. W. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 7-11). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Rice, R. E. (1989a). Mass campaigns in the People's Republic of China during the Mao era. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 212-215). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Rice, R. E. (1989b). Smokey Bear. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 215-218). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rice, R. E., & Atkin, C. (1989). Trends in communication campaign research. In R. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rice, R. E., & Foote, D. (1989). A systems-based evaluation planning model for health communication campaigns in developing countries. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 151-173). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Richardson, P., Reinhart, G., Rosenthal, A., Hayes, C., & Silver, R. (1987, June). Review of the research literature on the effects of health warning labels: A report to the United States Congress. Rockville, MD: National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration.

Richardson, R. C., Jr. (1991, January). Six ways universities can maintain quality and diversity. The Education Digest, pp. 22-25.

Roberts, D., & Maccoby, N. (1974). Information processing and persuasion: Counterarguing behavior. In P. Clarke (Ed.), New models for communication research. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Robertson, L. (1976). The great seat belt campaign flop. Journal of Communication, 26, 41-46.

Rogers, E. M., & Kincaid, D. L. (1981). Communication networks: Towards a new paradigm for research. New York: Free Press.

Rogers, E. M., & Storey, J. D. (1987). Communication campaigns. In R. C. Berger & H. S. Chaffee (Eds.), Handbook of communication science (pp. 817-845). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rokeach, M. (1979). Value theory and communication research. In D. Nimmo (Ed.), Communication yearbook 3 (pp. 7-28). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Root, K. (1989, October 16). Bracing for the future: Hispanics' clout is growing, but hurdles remain. Lansing State Journal, p. B1-B2.

Ross Roy Advertising. (1990). Strategic planning. Bloomfield Hills, MI: Author.

Rothenberg, R. (1990, February 19). Scare tactics rarely change behavior, study shows. Detroit Free Press, pp. E2-3.

Rubin, R. B., Rubin, A. M., & Piele, L. J. (1990). Communication research: Strategies and sources (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Russell, R. L. (1991). Teaching students to inquire about art philosophically: Procedures derived from ordinary-language philosophy to teach principles of concept analysis. Studies in Art Education, 32(2), 94-104.

Safire, W. (1991, July 28). Is it "Native American" or "American Indian"? The Detroit News, p. F10.

Salcedo, R. N., Read, H., Evans, J. F., & Kong, A. C. (1974). A successful information campaign on pesticides. Journalism Quarterly 51, pp. 91-95.

Santiago, A. M. (1990, May). Life in the industrial heartland: A profile of Latinos in the Midwest (Julian Samora Research Institute Report No. 2). East Lansing: Michigan State University, Julian Samora Research Institute.

Schramm, W. (1964). Mass media and national development. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Schramm, W. (1985). The beginnings of communication study in the United States. In E. M. Rogers & F. Balle (Eds.), The media revolution in America and in Western Europe. Norwood: Ablex.

Schudson, M. (1984). Advertising: The uneasy persuasion. New York: Basic Books.

Senate Bill 294 (Michigan). (1989, April 12). Introduced by Senators Carl, Irwin, Dingell, Geo. Hart, N. Smith, Cropsey, Fredricks, Ehlers, J. Hart and O'Brien and referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

Senator says no to "Say Yes" effort. (1983, January 23). Detroit News, p. B5.

Service, P. H. (1978). Surgeon general's report on the health consequences of smoking for women. In Health message testing service: A standardized approach for assessing audience response to health messages. Rockville, MD: Department of Health, Education & Welfare.

Setting straight some industry assertions about alcohol: What alcohol producers are saying and how to respond. (1989). Press conference: Surgeon General's drunk driving recommendations. Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General.

Shared space leader's guide. (1989, September). East Lansing: Michigan State University, 4-H Youth Programs, Cooperative Extension Service.

Shortess, G. K., & Clarke, J. C. (1988). Properties of a population of artworks in experimental aesthetics. Visual Arts Research (University of Illinois), 14(2), 1-12.

Social marketing: Does it work? (1980). Population report series. Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census.

Sofalvi, A. J., & Airhihenbuwa, C. O. (1992, July-August). An analysis of the relationship between news coverage of health topics and public opinion of the most important health problems in the United States. Journal of Health Education, 23, 296-300.

Solomon, D. S. (1981). A social marketing perspective on campaigns. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 281-292). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Solomon, D. S. (1989). A social marketing perspective on communication campaigns. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 87-104). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Spotts, D. (1992, November 3). Assistant Professor, Michigan Travel and Tourism Center, MSU. Personal interview.

Star, S., & Hughes, H. (1950). Report on education campaign: The Cincinnati plan for the United Nations. American Journal of Sociology, 55, 389-400.

Staub, E. (1978). Positive social behavior and morality. New York: Academic Press.

States exhorted to toughen drunken driving laws. (1989, April 23). The New York Times, p. A-25.

Stevens, M. (1989, May 2). Booze, cruisin': A night on the town can cost graduating seniors their future. Northfield Advance, p. 7.

Stewart, J. (1986, October/November). The role and evolution of the agency planner. Journal of Advertising Research, 26, 22-24.

St. John, P. (1991, April 24). Indian vision: Start dreaming again. The Detroit News, p. B4.

Stynes, D. J., & O'Halloran, C. (1987, October). Tourism planning (Tourism Information Series No. E-2004). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Surgeon General. (1982, May). Appointment press release by U.S. Public Health Service. Unpublished press release.

Surgeon General. (1989a). Report on drunk driving: Key recommendations. Mimeographed paper.

Surgeon General releases bold recommendations to prevent drunk driving. (1989b, May). Unpublished press release.

Surgeon General's Drunk Driving Recommendations. (1989, December 14-16). Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General.

Swanson, S. (1991). Account manager, Ross Roy Advertising. Personal interview.

Taplin, S. (1981). Family planning communication campaigns. In R. E. Rice & W. J. Paisley (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (pp. 127-142). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Taylor, C. (1989, Fall). The work of art as hermeneutic process: An artist "takes on" Heidegger. Visual Arts Research, 15, 52-57.

Teltsch, K. (1988, October 31). Taverns making effort to discourage the big drinkers, through service. The New York Times, p. A7.

They have the dream: Now, let us pave the way. Invitation to conference at Michigan State University, November 22, 1991, sponsored by the Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education, and the Program of Communication and Cultural Diversity, Michigan State University, in cooperation with Michigan 4-H Youth Programs, Cooperative Extension Service, Michigan State University.

Thoman, E. (1991, Spring-Summer). Media literacy: Just say yes. Media and Values, 54-55, 32.

Tucker, E. (1991). A theoretical and empirical assessment of involvement as an advertising policymaking tool. Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University.

Udry, J. R. (1972). Can mass media advertising increase contraceptive use? Family Planning Perspectives, 4, 37-44.

Van Voorhis, D. (1992, November 6). Free-lance artist. Personal interview.

Victoria, J., & Sacca, B. J. (n.d.). Research methods in art education. Unpublished course handout, STA 828, Michigan State University.

Wallack, L. (1989). Mass communication and health promotion: A critical perspective. In R. E. Rice & C. K. Atkin (Eds.), Public communication campaigns (2nd ed., pp. 353-367). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ward, J., & Hansen, K. A. (1987). Search strategies in mass communication. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Warnell, G. R. (1986, September). Feasibility analysis in tourism (Tourism Information Series No. E-1992). East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Warner, K. E. (1977, July). The effects of the anti-smoking campaign on cigarette consumption. American Journal of Public Health, 67, 645-649.

Weber, M. (1930). The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. New York: Scribners. (Original work published 1903)

Weiner, B. (1974). Achievement motivation and attribution theory. Morristown: General Learning Press.

Weller, L. (1982a, January 20). Milliken backs state ads. Detroit News, p. B8.

Weller, L. (1982b, June 9). State taps Ross Roy to handle "Say Yes." The Detroit News, p. C1.

Willy T. Ribbs has drive, needs money. (1991, May 9). Chicago Tribune, pp. D1, D2.

Wilson, E. O. (1978). On human nature. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Witte, K. (1991). Preventing AIDS through persuasive communications: A framework for constructing effective culturally-specific health messages. Theoretical and Methodological Reviews, pp. 67-83.

Workshop on drunk driving. (1989, April). Employee Assistance (Office of Surgeon General), p. 29.

Worth, S. (1981). Studying visual communication. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wright, B. A. (1991, November). How the media affect college admissions. The Education Digest, 65-68.

Wycoff, D. (1992, November 6). Graphic artist, Michigan Travel Bureau. Personal interview.

Yes: Youth empowered for success. (n.d.). Draft of paper by Cristo Rey Community Center, 4-H, Hispanic Women in the Network, Julian Samora Research Institute, and Office of Minority Equity, Michigan Department of Education.

Young, C. E., & Robinson, M. (1992, March/April). Visual connectedness and persuasion. Journal of Advertising Research, 32, 51-59.

Young, E. (1984, August/September). Visibility achieved by outdoor advertising. Journal of Advertising Research, 24, 19-21.

Your young adolescent needs you more than ever. (1989, Winter). Network for Public Schools, 15, 1, 7-8.

Zanna, M., & Fazio, R. (1983). The attitude-behavior relation: Moving toward a third generation of research. In M. Zanna, E. Higgins, & C. Herman (Eds.), Consistency in social behavior: The Ontario symposium. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.

Zanna, M., Olson, J., & Herman, C. (1987). Social influence: The Ontario symposium. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.