EMOTIONAL APPEALS

The nature of effective advertisements was recognized full well by the late media philosopher Marshall McLuhan. In his book *Understanding Media*, the first sentence of the section on advertising reads, "The continuous pressure is to create ads more and more in the image of audience motives and desires."

By giving form to people's deep-lying desires, and picturing states of being that individuals privately yearn for, advertisers have the best chance of arresting attention and affecting communication.

And that is the immediate goal of advertising: to tag at our psychological shirt sleeves and slow us down long enough for a word or two about whatever is being sold. We glance at a picture of a solitary anchovy at work, and "Marlboro" slips into our minds.

In order to stay in business, an advertiser must strive to cut through the considerable commercial hub-bub by any means available—including the emotional appeals that some observers have held to be aberrant and underhanded.

The use of subconscious appeals is a comment not only on conditions among sellers. As time has gone by, buyers have become stoutly resistant to advertisements. We live in a blizzard of these messages and have learned to turn up our collars and ward off most of them. A study done a few years ago at Harvard University's Graduate School of Business Administration ventured that the average American is exposed to some 500 ads daily from television, newspapers, magazines, radio, billboards, direct mail, and so on. If for no other reason than to preserve one's sanity, a filter must be developed in every mind to lower the number of ads a person is actually aware of—a number this particular study estimated at about seventy-five ads per day. (Of these, only twelve typically produced a reaction—nine positive and three negative, on the average.) To be among the few messages that do manage to gain access to minds, advertisers must be strategic, perhaps even a little underhanded at times.

There are assumptions about personality underlying advertisers' efforts to communicate via emotional appeals, and while these assumptions have stood the test of time, they still deserve to be
Aired. Human beings, it is presumed, walk around with a variety of unfulfilled urges and motives swirling in the bottom half of their minds. Lusts, ambitions, tenderness, vulnerabilities—they are constantly bubbling up, seeking resolution. These mental forces energize people, but they are too crude and irregular to be given excessive play in the real world. They must be capped with the consent, sensible behavior that permits individuals to get along well in society. However, this upper layer of mental activity, shot through with caution and rationality, is not receptive to advertising's pitfalls. Advertisers want to circumvent this shell of consciousness if they can, and latch on to one of the lurking, subconscious drives.

An advertisement communicates by making use of a specially selected image (of a young female, say, or a curly-headed child, or a celebrity) which is designed to stimulate "unsubstantial impulses and desires" even when they are at rest, even if they are unacknowledged by their possession. Some few ads have their emotional appeal in the text, but for the greater number by far the appeal is contained in the artwork.

Thus, most advertisements appearing in national media can be understood as having two orders of content. The first is the appeal to deep-running drives in the minds of consumers. The second is information regarding the good(s) or service being sold: its name, its manufacturer, its picture, its packaging, its objective attributes, its functions. For example, the reader of a lingerie advertisement sees a partially unclothed but blandly unperturbed woman standing in an otherwise commonplace public setting, and may experience certain sensations; the reader also sees the name "Maidenform," a particular lingerie style, and, in tiny print, words about the material, colors, price. On the viewer of a television commercial sees a demonstration with four small boxes labeled 650, 650, 650 and 800; something in the viewer's mind catches hold of this, as trivial as thoughtless consideration might reveal it to be. The viewer is also exposed to the name "Camel," its bottle, and its purpose.

Sometimes there is an apparently logical link between an ad's emotional appeal and its product information. It does not violate common sense that Cadillac automobiles be photographed at country clubs, or that Japan Air Lines be associated with Orientalia. But there is no real need for the linkage to have a bit of reason behind it. Is there anything inherent to the connection between Salem cig-
arettes and mountains, Coke and a smile, Miller Beer and comradeship? The link being forged in minds between product and appeal is a prelogical one.

People involved in the advertising industry do not necessarily talk in the terms being used here. They are stationed at the sending end of this communications channel, and may think they are up to any number of things—Unique Selling Propositions, explosive copywriting, the optimal use of demographics or psychographics, ideal media buys, high recall ratings, or whatever. But when attention shifts to the receiving end of the channel, and focuses on the instant of reception, then commentary becomes much more elemental: an advertising message contains something primary and primitive, an emotional appeal, that in effect is the thin end of the wedge, trying to find its way into a mind. Should this occur, the product information comes along behind.

When enough advertisements are examined in this light, it becomes clear that the emotional appeals fall into several distinguishable categories, and that every ad is a variation on one of a limited number of basic appeals. While there may be several ways of classifying these appeals, one particular list of fifteen has proven to be especially valuable.

Advertisements can appeal to:

1. The need for sex
2. The need for affiliation
3. The need to nurture
4. The need for guidance
5. The need to aggress
6. The need to achieve
7. The need to dominate
8. The need for prominence
9. The need for attention
10. The need for autonomy
11. The need to escape
12. The need to feel safe
13. The need for aesthetic sensations
14. The need to satisfy curiosity
15. Physiological needs: food, drink, sleep, etc.
The list remains the creation of Henry Murray. In developing a comprehensive, parsimonious inventory of human motives, he pinpointed the subsurface mental forces that are the least quiescent and the most susceptible to advertising’s intrusion.

**FIFTEEN APPEALS**

1. **Need for sex.** Let’s start with sex, because this is the appeal which seems to pop up first whenever the topic of advertising is raised.

   The fascinating thing is not how much sex there is in advertising, but how little. Contrary to impressions, unambiguous sex is rare in these messages. Some of this surprising observation may be a matter of definition: the Jordache ads with the lithe, blouseless female astride a similarly clad mate is clearly an appeal to the audience’s sexual drives, but the same cannot be said about Brooke Shields in the Calvin Klein commercials. Directed at young women and their credit-card-carrying mothers, the image of Miss Shields instead invokes the need to be looked at. By Calvin and you’ll be the center of much attention, just as Brooks is, the ads imply, they do not primarily inveigle their target audience’s need for sexual intercourse.

   In the content analysis reported in *Mass Advertising as Social Forecast*, only two percent of ads were found to pander to this motive. Even Playboy ads shy away from sexual appeals: a recent issue contained eighty-three full-page ads, and just four of them (or less than five percent) could be said to have sex on their minds.

   The reason this appeal is so little used is that it is too blaring and tends to obliterate the product information. Nudity in advertising has the effect of reducing brand recall.

   To the extent that sexual imagery is used, it conventionally works better on men than women; typically a female figure is offered up to the male reader. A Black Velvet liquor advertisement displays an attractive woman wearing a tight black outfit, recumbent under the legend, “Feel the Velvet.”

   As a rule, though, advertisers have found sex to be a tricky appeal, to be used sparingly. Less controversial and equally fetching are the appeals to our need for affectionate human contact.

2. **Need for affiliation.** American mythology upholds autonomous individuals, and social statistics suggest that people
are ever more going it alone in their lives, yet the high frequency of
affiliative appeals in ads belies this. Or maybe it does not: maybe
all the images of companionship are compensation for what
Americans privately lack. In any case, the need to associate with
others is widely invoked in advertising and is probably the most
prevalent appeal. All sorts of goods and services are sold by linking
them to our unfulfilled desires to be in good company.

According to Henry Murray, the need for affiliation consists of
desires "to draw near and joyfully cooperate or reciprocate with
another; to please and win affection of another; to adhere and
remain loyal to a friend." The manifestations of this motive can be
segmented into several different types of affiliation, beginning
with romance.

Courtship may be swifter nowadays, but the desire for pair-
bonding is far from satiated. Ads reaching for this need commonly
depict a youngish male and female engrossed in each other. The
head of the male is usually higher than the female's, even at this
late date; she may be sitting or leaning while he is standing. They
are not touching in the Smirnoff vodka ads, but obviously there is
an intimacy, sometimes frolicsome, between them.

Warm family feelings are staged in ads when another genera-
tion is added to the pair. Hallmark Cards brings grandparents into
the picture, and Johnson and Johnson Baby Powder has Dad, Mom,
and baby, all fresh from the bath, encircled in arms and embra-
azoned with "Share the Feeling." A talc has been fused to familial
love.

Friendship is yet another form of affiliation pursued by adver-
siers. Two women confide and drink Maxwell House coffee
together, two men walk through the woods smoking Salem cigar-
nettes. Miller Beer promises that afternoon "Miller Time" will be
staffed with three or four good buddies.

As well as presenting positive images, advertisers can play to
the need for affiliation in negative ways, by invoking the fear of
rejection. If we don’t use Scope, we’ll have the "Light Morning
Breath" that causes the male and female models to avert their faces.
Unless we apply Ultra-Brite or Close-Up to our teeth, it’s good-bye
romance. But make a few purchases, and we are back in the bosom
of human contact.
As self-directed as Americans pretend to be, in the last analysis we remain social animals, hungering for the positive, enduring feelings that only those around us can supply. Advertisers respond, urging us to "Reach out and touch someone," in the hopes our monthly bills will use.

3. Need to nurture. Akin to affiliative needs is the need to take care of small, defenseless creatures—children and pets, largely. Reciprocity is of less consequence here, though; it is in the giving that counts. Murray uses synonyms like "to feed, help, support, console, protect, comfort, nurse, love." A strong need it is, woven deep into our genetic fabric, for if it did not exist we could not successfully raise up our replacements. When advertisers put forth the image of something diminutive and furry, something that elicits the word "cute" or "precious," then they are trying to trigger this motive. Aren't those darling kittens something, and how did this Meow Mix get into our shopping cart?

This pitch is often directed at women, as Mother Nanny's chief nurturers. "Make me some Kraft macaroni and cheese, please," says the elfin preschooler just as from the snowstorm, and motherhears go out, and Kraft's sales go up.

But it is not women alone who can be touched by this appeal. A father counts pennies with his young son as the subject of New York Life Insurance comes up. All over America, businessmen who don't know why they dial Qantas Airlines when they have to take a trans-Pacific trip; the kids all know.

4. Need for guidance. The opposite of the need to nurture is the need to be nurtured: to be protected, shielded, guided. We may be loath to admit it, but the child lingered on inside every adult—and a good thing it is, or we would not be instructable in our advancing years. Who wants a nation of nothing but flinty personalities?

A celebrity is not a necessity in making a pitch to the need for guidance, since a fantasy figure can serve just as well. People accede to the Green Giant, or Betty Crocker, or Mr. Goodwrench. Some advertisers can get by with no figure at all: "When E.F. Hutton talks, people listen."

Often it is tradition or custom that advertisers point to and consumers take guidance from. Bits and pieces of American history are used to sell whiskies like Old Crow, Southern Comfort, Jack Daniels.

Lesson 3.2: Interpreting Advertisements
The product itself, if it has been around for a long time, can constitute a tradition. All those old labels in the ad for Morton salt convince us that we should continue to buy it. Kool-Aid says, "You loved it as a kid. You trust it as a mother," hoping to get yet more consumers to go along.

So far the needs and the ways they can be invoked which have been looked at are largely warm and affiliative; they stand in contrast to the next set of needs, which are much more egocentric and assertive.

5. Need to aggress. The pressures of the real world create strong retaliatory feelings in every functioning human being. Since these impulses can come forth as bursts of anger and violence, their display is normally tabooed. Existing as harbored energy, aggressive drives present a large, tempting target for advertisers. It is not a target to be aimed at thoughtlessly, though, for few manufacturers want their products associated with destructive motives. There is always the danger that, as in the case of sex, if the appeal is too blatant, public opinion will turn against what is being sold.

Jack-in-the-Box sought to abruptly alter its marketing by going after older customers and forgetting the younger ones. Their television commercials had a seventy-ish lady command, "Waste him," and the Jack-in-the-Box clown exploded before our eyes. So did public reaction, until the commercials were toned down.

6. Need to achieve. This is the drive that energizes people, causing them to strive in their lives and careers. According to Murray, the need for achievement is signaled by the desire "to accomplish something difficult. To overcome obstacles and attain a high standard. To excel one's self. To rival and surpass others." A prominent American trait, it is one that advertisers like to hook on to because it identifies their product with winning and success.

The Cutty Sark ad does not disclose that Ted Turner failed at his latest attempt at yachting's America's Cup; here he is represented as a champion on the water as well as off in his television enterprises.

Sports heroes are the most convenient means to share consumers' needs to achieve, but they are not the only one. Role models can be established, ones which invite emulation, as with the profiles put forth by Down's Scotch. Successful, twoey individuals relate they have "graduated to the flavor of Myers's rum."
Any product that advertises itself in superlatives—the best, the first, the finest—is trying to make contact with our needs to succeed. For many consumers, sales and bargains belong in this category of appeals, too; the person who manages to buy something at fifty percent off is seizing an opportunity and coming out ahead of others.

7. Need to dominate. This fundamental need is the craving to be powerful—perhaps omnipotent, as in the Xerox ad where Brother Dominic exhibits heavenly powers and creates miraculous copies. Most of us will settle for being just a regular potentate, though. We drink Budweiser because it is the King of Beers, and here come the powerful Clydesdales to prove it. A taste of Wolfchasm vodka and "The spirit of the Cave lives on."

The need to dominate and control one’s environment is often thought of as being masculine, but as close students of human nature advertisers know, it is not so circumscribed. Women’s aspirations for control are suggested in the campaign theme, "I like my men in English leather, or nothing at all." The femalas in the Chanel No. 19 ads are "outspoken" and wrestle their men around.

Male and female, what we long for is control; what we get in its place is Mastercard.

8. Need for prominence. Here comes the need to be admired and respected, to enjoy prestige and high social status. These times, it appears, are not so egalitarian after all. Many ads picture the trappings of high position; the Oldsmobile stands before a memorial doorway, the Volvo is parked beside a seafront chaise. A book-lined study is the setting for Dewar’s 12, and Louis China is displayed in a dining room chock full of antiques.

Being respected does not have to entail the usual accoutrements of wealth: "Do you know who I am?" the commercials ask and we learn that the prominent person is not so prominent without his American Express card.

9. Need for attention. The previous need involved being looked up to, while this is the need to be looked at. The desire to exhibit ourselves in such a way as to make others look at us is a primitive, insuppressible instinct. The clothing and cosmetic industries exist just to serve this need, and this is the way they pitch their wares. Some of this effort is aimed at males, as the ads for Hartshay shirts and Jockey underwear. But the greater bulk of such appeals is targeted singlamente todly at women.
The desire for exhibition has been most strikingly played up in a print campaign of many years duration, that of Maidenform lingerie. The woman exposes herself, and sales surge. "Gentlemen prefer Nanes" the ads assent, and women who want eyes upon them know what they should do.

The same appeal works for cosmetics and lotions. For years, the little girl with the exposed backside sold gobs of Coppertone, but now the company has picked up the pace a little: as a female, you are supposed to "Flash 'em a Coppertone tan!"

10. Need for autonomy. There are several ways to sell credit card services, as has been noted: Mastercard appeals to the need to dominate, and American Express to the need for prominence. When Visa claims, "You can have it the way you want it," yet another primary motive is being beckoned forward—the need to end the self.

The photo is of a red-coated Mountie on his horse, posed on a snow-covered ledge; the copy reads, "Windsor—One Canadian stands alone." The epitome of the solitary and proud individual may work best with male customers, as may Winston's man in the red cap. But one-figure advertisements also strike the strong need for autonomy among American women.

Like any psychological need, this one can also be appealed to in a negative fashion, by invoking the loss of independence or self-regard. Guilt and regrets can be stimulated: "Gee, I could have had a V-A." Next time, get one and be good to yourself.

11. Need to escape. An appeal to the need for autonomy often co-occurs with one for the need to escape, since the desire to duck out of our social obligations, to seek rest or adventure, frequently takes the form of one-person flight. The dashing image of a pilot, in fact, is a standard way of quickening this need to get away from it all.

Freedom is the pitch here, the freedom that every individual yearns for whenever life becomes too oppressive. Many advertisers like appealing to the need for escape, and what nicer emotional nimbus could there be for a product? "You deserve a break today," says McDonald's.

For decades men have imaginatively bonded themselves to the Malboro cowboy who dwells unann hints and unencumbered in
Marlboro Country some distance from modern life; smokers’ aching needs for autonomy and escape are personified by the cowboy. In every instance, the consumer exposed to the advertisements is invited to momentarily depart his everyday life for a more care-free experience, preferably with the product in hand.

12. Need to feel safe. Nobody in their right mind wants to be intimidated, menaced, battered, poisoned. We naturally want to do whatever it takes to save off threats to our well-being, and to our families. It is the instinct of self-preservation that makes us responsive to the ad of the St. Bernard with the keg of Chivas Regal. We want the omnipresent stag from Hartford Insurance to watch over us too.

In the interest of keeping failure and calamity from our lives, we like to see the durability of products demonstrated.

We take precautions to diminish future threats. We buy Volkswagen Rabbits for the extraordinary mileage, and MONY insurance policies to avoid the tragedies depicted in their black-and-white ads of widows and orphans.

We are careful about our health. We consume Mazola margarine because it has “corn goodness” backed by the natural food traditions of the American Indians.

We want to be safe and secure; buy these products, advertisers are saying, and you’ll be safer than you are without them.

13. Need for aesthetic sensations. There is an undeniable aesthetic component to virtually every ad run in the national media: the photography or filming or drawing is near-perfect, the type style is well chosen, the layout could scarcely be improved upon. Advertisers know there is little chance of good communication occurring if an ad is not visually pleasing. Consumers may not be aware of the extent of their own sensitivity to artwork, but it is undoubtedly large.

Sometimes the aesthetic element is expanded and made into an ad’s primary appeal. Kohler plumbing fixtures catch attention through the high style of their desert settings.

This appeal is not limited to female consumers: J and B scotch says “It whispers” and shows a bucolic scene of lake and castle.

14. Need to satisfy curiosity. It may seem odd to list a need for information among basic motives, but this need can be as primal
and compelling as any of the others. Human beings are curious by nature, interested in the world around them, and intrigued by tidbits of knowledge and new developments. Trivia, percentages, observations counter to conventional wisdom—these items all help sell products. Any advertisement in a question-and-answer format is stunning this need.

A dog groomer has a question about long distance rates, and Bell Telephone has a chart with all the figures. Lo and behold, Arsenic pills have 150 more milligrams than its competitor; should we wonder if this is better or worse for us?

15. Physiological needs. To the extent that sex is solely a biological need, we are now coming around full circle, back toward the start of the list. In this final category are clustered appeals to sleeping, eating, drinking. The art of photographing food and drink is so advanced, sometimes these temptations are wondrously caught in the camera’s lens: the crab meat in the Red Lobster restaurant ads can start us salivating, the Quarterpounder can almost be smelled, the liqueur in the glass glows invitingly inviting. Unh, those ads scream.

ANALYZING ADVERTISEMENTS

When analyzing ads yourself for their emotional appeals, it takes a bit of practice to learn to ignore the product information (as well as one’s own experience and feelings about the product). But that skill comes soon enough, as does the ability to quickly sort out from all the non-product aspects of an ad, the chief element which is the most striking, the most likely to snag attention first and penetrate brains furthest. The key to the appeal, this element usually presents itself centrally and forwardly to the reader or viewer.

Another clue: the viewing angle which the audience has on the ad’s subjects is informative. If the subjects are photographed or filmed from below and thus are looking down at you much as the Green Giant does, then the need to be guided is a good candidate for the ad’s emotional appeal. If, on the other hand, the subjects are shot from above and appear deferential, as is often the case with children or female models, then other needs are being appealed to.

To figure out an ad’s emotional appeal, it is wise to know (or have a good hunch about) who the targeted consumers are; this can often be inferred from the magazine or television show it appears in. This piece of information is a great help in determining the appeal and in deciding between two different interpretations. For
example, if an ad features a partially undressed female, this would typically signal one appeal for readers of Penthouse (need for sex) and another for readers of Cosmopolitan (need for attention).

It would be convenient if every ad made just one appeal, were aimed at just one need. Unfortunately, things are often not that simple. A cigarette ad with a couple at the edge of a polo field is trying to hit both the need for affiliation and the need for prominence; depending on the attitude of the male, dominance could also be an ingredient in this. An ad for Chanel perfume incorporates two photos: in the top one the lady is being commanding at a business luncheon (need to dominate), but in the lower one she is being bussed (need for affiliation). Better ads, however, seem to avoid being too diffused; in the study of post-World War II advertising described earlier, appeals grew more focused as the decades passed. As a rule of thumb, about sixty percent have two conspicuous appeals; the last twenty percent have three or more. Rather than looking for the greatest number of appeals, decoding ads is most productive when the loudest one or two appeals are discerned, since those are the appeals with the best chance of grabbing people's attention.

Finally, analyzing ads does not have to be a solo activity and probably should not be. The greater number of people there are involved, the better chance there is of transcending individual biases and discovering the essential emotional lure built into an advertisement.
Activity Three: Questions of Meaning

Experienced readers know how to locate important ideas in an essay. They also know how to recognize specific examples—the evidence that an author provides to explain and support these ideas. They use these specific examples to help them understand the important ideas.

1. In your own words, state one reason why, according to Fowles, advertisers use emotional appeals.
   
   Hint: Look, for example, at paragraph 2.

2. Describe one idea in the first seven paragraphs that strikes you as new or different, or that confirms something you have always thought.
   
   Hint: For example, have you always known that pictures in an ad are more important than the words (paragraph 6).

3. To understand how the listed appeals work, look closely at the "Need for Affiliation."
   
   * How can an advertisement appeal to this "need"?
   
   Hint: Locate the four ways in paragraphs 20-23.

Theme 3: Interpreting What We See
1. What specific ads does the author use to illustrate friendship as one kind of affiliation?
   Hint: Maxwell House coffee, for example, in paragraph 22.

2. Do you agree with Fowles that "all sorts of goods and services are sold by linking them to our unfulfilled desires to be in good company" (paragraph 18)?

4. What steps does the author suggest to help his readers recognize these appeals and analyze advertisements?
   Hint: See paragraphs 64-68.

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On Your Own: Reading Strategies to Use Now and Later

Keep in mind the reading strategies you learned while reading Fowles' essay.

1. Use a "road map" to identify the main sections of a piece of writing.
2. Locate the author's important ideas.
3. Locate specific examples that help you understand the important ideas and key points.

It often helps to work with a partner when you try new reading strategies. If possible, read the next selection with a classmate.