

Abject prevention – a critical study on European behavior change interventions

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Behaviour change intervention, 2003: EU guideline for the marketing of tobacco products

 as much as 75 percent of a pack of cigarettes have to be covered with written and photographic warnings.



The turn to fear messages: The little shops of horror: Brasil, Australia, Canada, etc...



Basics: Social advertising: scare techniques

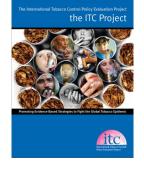
 Scare tactics or fear appeals are intended to scare people into engaging in a desired health behavior (e.g., quit smoking, avoid drugs, stop speeding, exercise more). The concept is very old. In policy circles it is well liked since it is proposed that it is a cost-effective and promising method to reach large consumer groups.

Supporting arguments and predictions

- "Photos are effective, warnings with pictures increase the likelyhood that people will stop smoking"; there is a "class"-argument too: "people with poorer education in particular are deprived of information and in need of strong messages."
- "The pictures won't have an effect on those people who regularly buy cigarettes. But nobody assumed that. The hope is for the measure to work preemptively. It's hard to test that definitively because you can't isolate the effect of this one measure " (Christoph Kröger)

The backing

- The proposals are derived from Canadian studies and from messages from the CDC, which imply that anti-smoking ads have great influence and do decrease the likelihood of young kids trying tobacco.
- The campaign is strongly supported by WHO.



 The impact of pictures on the effectiveness of tobacco warnings- Geoffrey T Fong, David Hammond & Sara C Hitchman. Bulletin of the World Health Organization 2009;87:640-643.



 In their paper from 2004 Hammond et al. explicitly propose that preventive messages will not function without a component that stimulates strong affects. Consequently, these authors give the message to policy makers, that they should not be reluctant to introduce vivid or graphic warnings for fear of negative outcomes.

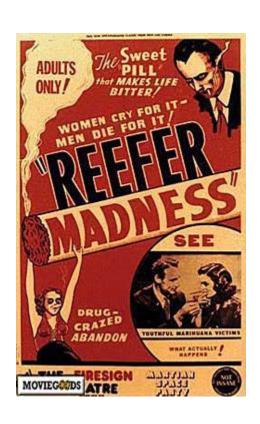
Two problem layers

- Prevention theory and good practice
- Ethics

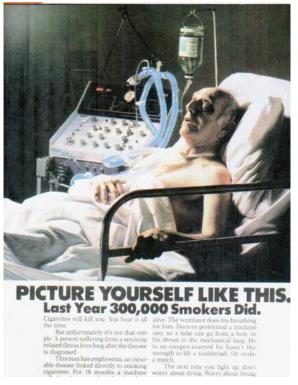
Social advertising: scare techniques



Strange partners: Religious pressure groups & Hustler magazine: camp value









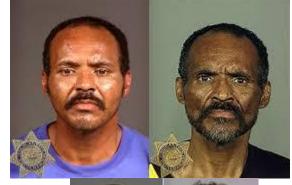
Multnomah Sheriff's Office: Stay away from drugs kids....















From Meth mouth to Marlboro



What's new

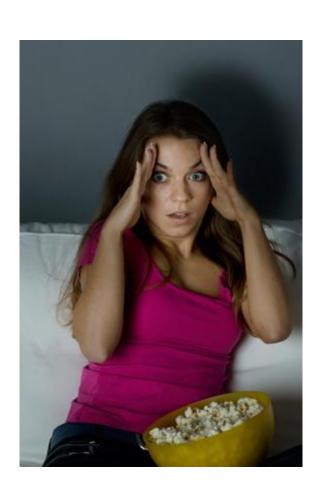
 That top level health authorieties dictate a prevention philosophy and strategy that challenges the selfunderstanding, the guidelines and good practice of prevention professionals.

The result: a strange and remarkable mismatch

 Officially dictated and implemented prevention of tobacco use and tobacco use related harm vs. scientifically designed and evidence based prevention projects.

Theoretical problem layer

A strange and remarkable mismatch



- Drugs & Health Blog
- Scare Tactics: Does Fear Influence Your Opinion About Drug Abuse?



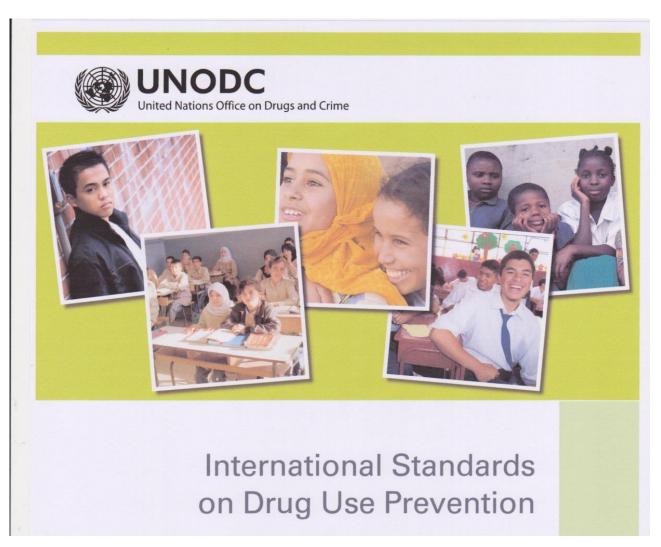
 Ineffectiveness of Fear Appeals in Youth Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug (ATOD) Prevention June 2008

This document was developed to provide a summary of the research regarding the ineffectiveness of the use of fear appeals in the substance abuse prevention field. Suggested citation: Prevention First (2008). *Ineffectiveness of Fear Appeals in Youth Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug (ATOD) Prevention*. Springfield, IL: Prevention First.

New Anti-Drug Programs Hope To Focus Less On Fear, More On Facts

- A large body of research has confirmed that the drug prevention programs of the 1980s and 1990s were ineffective, partly because the curricula relied on scare tactics that don't convince people to avoid using drugs. The Drug Abuse Resistance Education, also known as DARE, was implemented in schools across the country for years despite the evidence that it does not lower the rate of drug use among young adults.
- Proponents of NOPE tout the program's strategies as centered on the science of addiction, and less reliant on the scare tactics that fueled the "Just Say No" message of the Reagan and Bush eras. It tracks more closely with NIDA's recommendations.

UNODC 2015: Fear tactics in drug prevention linked to negative outcomes



Theoretical conclusion

 The big question remains: Why should scare tactics implemented in a very crude and nonspecific shape (neglecting differences regarding age, gender, social and cultural affiliations) be efficient for tobacco control? Why should their efficiency differ from prevention project directed against the use of other drugs?

The ethical problem area

Ethics of advertising

Prevention projects which use media are a distinct shape of "social advertising". The advertising industry has developed ethical regulations concerning the use of strategies which impact on the recipients emotional state and affective situation. Within the science of advertising two phenomena, which from an ethical perspective seem suspicious, have been defined:

Scare mongering

Fear mongering or scaremongering is the deliberate use of fear based tactics including exaggeration and usually repetition to influence the public in order to achieve a desired outcome. It is a tactic used to scare or put fear into those viewing a campaign/advertisement and influence the outcome based on fear. Using fear to persuade an audience can be seen in two different lights, one being the sheer genius to target others in a place of weakness and the other being thoughtful to the viewers and being ethical.

Psychoactive ads

 Definition: A psychoactive ad is any emotionarousing ad that can cause ameaningful, welldefined group of viewers to feel extremely anxious, to feel hostile toward others, or to feel a loss of self-esteem. Because some illconceived psychoactive ads can cause harm, ethical issues must arise during their production.

Harm production

- "As well as reducing the autonomy of affected persons, there is a sense in which a person is directly harmed if their emotional state is modulated in a negative way. If fear, anger, guilt or shame is induced by a behaviour modification programme, the modulations will cause suffering and emotional harm in addition to reducing the autonomy of affected persons, and of course not providing a sustainable behavioural solution." (House of Lords Science and Technology Committee, Behaviour Change. Written Evidence, 2010;
 Memorandum by Dr. Bennett Foddy and Dr. Eric Mandelbaum)
- The message may reach inentended people, like smoker's children and cause them harm.

Selectivity and specifity

-using fear to affect behavioural changes is typically only effective under certain conditions (when people perceive a level of personal control over their behaviour, and feel personally vulnerable to the threat being invoked). (same source; Memorandum by Dr Adam Corner, Dr Lorraine Whitmarsh, Professor Nick Pidgeon and Professor Greg Maio, Cardiff University)
- different groups (measured by age, socioeconomic position, ethnicity or gender) react differently to incentives and disincentives, or 'fear' messages. Effective interventions target specific groups and are tailored to meet their needs. (same source; Memorandum by the Wine and Spirit Trade Association)

 Such awareness of the limits of scare techniques seems alien to decision makers concerning tobacco policies. Contrary to evidence from research on advertising they base their position on the argument that the scary images can protect the young ones and the social underprivileged ones. Visual analysis: Scary messages between stark realism, symbolism and metaphor

 The scary pictures which the EU commission dictates to be put on cigarette packages are differently designed. Some of them are crudely realistic, others more informative and others use mood, symbols and metaphors.

Raucher sterben früher

Lebenslange Raucher verlieren im Durchschnitt 14 Jahre ihres

Raucher sterben früher





Rauchen führt zur Verstopfung der Arterien und verursacht Herzinfarkte und Schlaganfälle

Das Risiko, einen Schlaganfall zu bekommen ist ungefähr 50% höher bei Rauchern als bei Nichtrauchern

als bei manadadiem

Rauchen führt zur Verstopfung der Arterien und verursacht Herzinfarkte und Schlaganfälle





Rauchen läßt ihre Haut altern







Rauchen kann die Spermatozoen schädigen und schränkt die Fruchtbarkeit ein





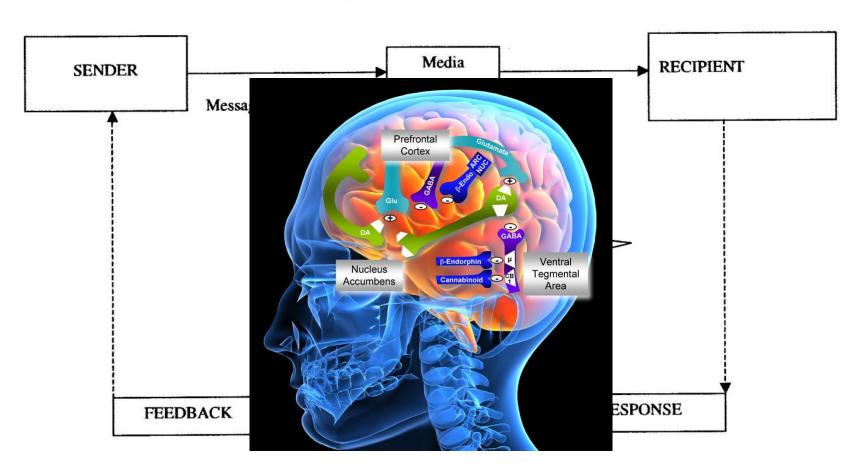


 In that situations it seems adequate to look into the background of the profession's attitude, to put it into a theoretic frame and to point out the danger zones and the shortcomings of the scare approach

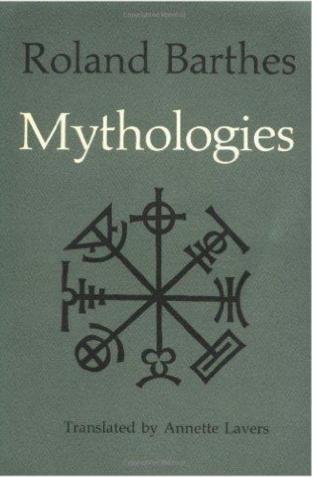
Theoretical frame 1: The science of advertising

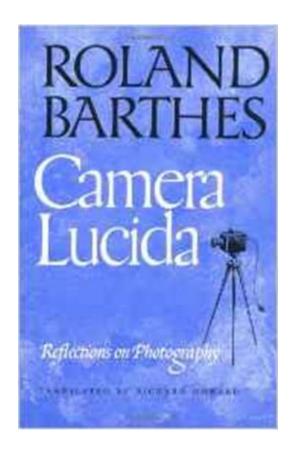
Shannon and Weaver, 1949

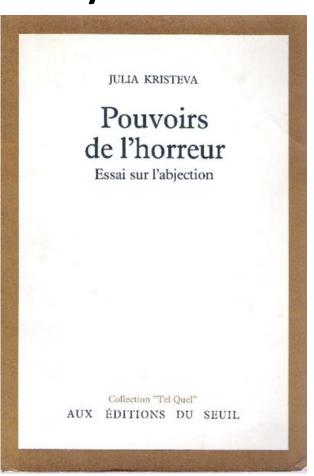
FIGURE 1 Communication Process



The broader theoretical frame: Semiology, Psychoanalysis







The rhetorics of the image and the diversity of meanings

 R. Barthes: A picture can be read by an individual highly differently according to his practical, national, cultural and esthetic knowledge (the "ideolectical" aspect). A pictures rhetoric results from an identifying and signifying process of connotations. That rhetoric is a type of ideology that is valid only for a certain circumscribed society and history; it is probably even different for different layers of society (like age, gender, class, cultural affiliation).

Shock failures -the scientific frame: Semiology –Camera Lucida

- There is an affective quality of fotographs. Investigating why some pictures are able to provoke different emotive states: interest, disentchantement, anger, tension, desire, Barthes identified two essential qualities of pictures: studium und punctum.
- Studium provokes interest; the pictures are esthetic and informative, but they are just the "liked" ones, not the "loved" ones. To stimulate major affective responses the "punktum" is needed. A quality that has real impact and captivates the viewer. It is a detail, that is irritating, probably painful, evokes memories...It is difficult to capture and connected with individual fixation points.

An example of the punctum according to Barthes



Semiology-Roland Barthes: Mythologies

Most of photographs produced with the aim of shock have no effect at all, because they are overconstructed the horror that is proposed belongs "to the intentional language of horror". The photographer is intentionally choosing which aspects of what s/he sees should go in the photo; the photo is not taken in a moment of shock for the photographer, but in a moment of intellectualism aimed at analyzing what elements of his surrounds would, put together, maximize the shock value for his/her audience. Because of the almost literary quality of these photographs, Barthes states that "we are linked to these images only by a technical interest".

 This interpretations seems especially valid concerning ads which try to avoid stigmatization and transfer their message in highly stylized, metaphorical design. Neither do they stimulate disgust, nor are they able to stimulate affective responses. Furthermore they are highly intellectual and over constructed. They are missing "the punctum", they are just "studium".

Visual analysis: over-construction





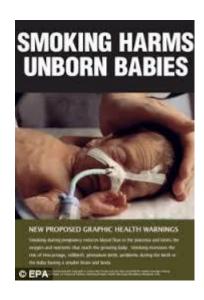
The depth dimension

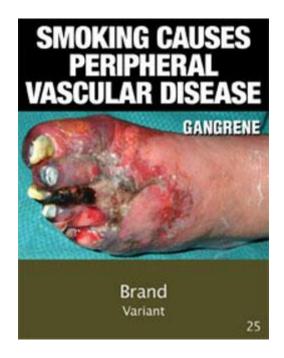
- Barthes reflects on psychological issues. But semiology is no psychological discipline. To understand the affective quality and impact of cultural artefacts we have to refer to theoretical constructs concerning emotion and affect: cognitive theories, but even more "classical" psychoanalytic considerations: body related anxieties, castration anxiety, adolescent body fears, hypochondria but also narcissism and masochism.
- Newer concepts focus on the importance of early stages of development, not only on pregenital but pre-verbal "semiotic" level, for the set of emotions and affect in later life.

Julia Kristeva and abjection

 According to Kristeva the confrontation with the corpse, with open wounds, with infection, etc. evokes remembrances to the pre-verbal, semiotic, phase and to primal repression, that included the abjection of the corporality of the early mother-child relationship. The individual may react with disgust, vomiting, etc. Since abjection is a reaction on the traumatic experience of being actually confronted with the sort of materiality that traumatically shows you your own death, it is deeply related to PHOBIA and FEAR, which is why Kristeva talks about HORROR. There is also a link to melancholia.

Abject esthetics







The failure of shock in the context of abject-theory.

Abjection is an ambivalent position. The item that incites disgust is also somewhat attractive. This insight backs an esthetic of horror and is vital for the success of horror movies. It has to be kept in mind concerning the attitude of young people toward scare tactics. According to the evaluation of the anti-tobacco ads they ask for even stronger pictures. But do they so because the want stronger prevention – or because they like horror esthetics? There is a strong generational discrepancy concerning the assessment of scary fotographs. They are accepted or even liked by the young ones and they are detested by the elderly generation. In that sense they might even account for a special type of boomerang effect among certain young ones.









"Post-modern ironic style"

Probably scare techniques have their place in the visual discourse on drugs in a controlled and selective way.: f. .i. The "Drogerie-Project" of the SiT (Suchthilfe in Thüringen g GmbH), that had been adressed at the dance scene



Voller Buser





Conclusion 1

 There is no way to predict and/or to regulate an emotional/affective response. Like a drug a cultural artefact links in to a given emotional state.

Conclusion 2: ethical consideration

The foremost problem of the EU tobacco policy is its ethical dimension.

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- In a democratic and liberal system policy should rely on information and on reason; to work with affects and emotions is a methodology that is risky, not well researched and at least controversial.

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- Since the scary pictures stimulate fear and disgust by showing pictures of the diseased, suffering, human body and of surgical interventions and since the damages shown are not really specific, there is the danger that fear and disgust become attached much more to the horrifying mutation of parts of the human body than to tobacco smoking.

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- Tabou? Are there no limits for the exploitation of human suffering for propaganda?

 Furthermore generating intense anxiety can cause some people to ignore or discount the campaign messages. Like beyond a certain level stimulation leads to paralyses, fear and panic have their paradoxical expressions in indifference and apathy. The hidden fears impact on psychic health as well as on social and political attitudes and behaviors.

Abject humour

 Within the discourse on drugs a deliberate use of scare approaches should remain the realm of lobbyists and of private/moral entrepeneurs. An ironic, humorous touch is able to soften the probably dramatic impact of scary messages on psychic and social conflict areas as well as on identities. Thats how satirical, politically incorrect publications find their place in the discourse on drugs. But such an approach/style cannot /should not be taken up by official policies.

CHOKE ON IT HUSTLER VS. THE CIGARETTE INDUSTRY



or the past nine years HUSTLER has been as committed to nting out the dangers igarette smoking as have to proclaiming joys of sex. Not e October 1975 has aid cigarette ad apred in this magazine. do we ever intend to one again. To uncore our determina-, we have published nerous public-serand parody adverments that have cked, sickened, gen-

ed controversy and-above all-hammered home the indisputevidence that cigarette smoking sucks.

you don't believe us, check out some of the latest grim statistics. re the end of the decade it's estimated that:

The cigarette industry will spend more than \$1 billion annually romote its lethal products.

The U.S. government will subsidize tobacco farmers at a cost to sayers of nearly \$15 million.

Smoking-related illnesses will account for around \$38 billion in

direct health-care expenses, lost wages and decreased productivity.

Lung cancer will surpass breast cancer as the major killer of American women.

And by the end of this year 340,000 of the 53 million Americans who light up will die from a smoking-related disease.

HUSTLER was-and still is-the only publication to risk retaliation from the powerful multibillion-dollar tobacco in-

dustry by steadfastly continuing to run antismoking materials. We're proud to report that the American Cancer Society, the American Medical Association and various civic groups throughout the nation have made countless requests for copies of our deadly serious parodies. Of course, with more than 200 cigarette brands spreading their messages of death, the editorial stance of a single magazine can get lost in the smoke. We'd like to think, though, that if these ads prevent even one case of lung cancer or emphysema, we've accomplished a great deal.

December 1976

Is there a winner?

Industry protection

The tobacco industry as well as the opioid producing industry had to suffer under fraud claims. Trouble for the tobacco industry started 1999, when fraud claims were brought against tobacco companies regarding the dangers of smoking. Such arguments cannot be brought forward anymore. The tobacco industry informs about the dangers on any single package. The blame rests on the user.

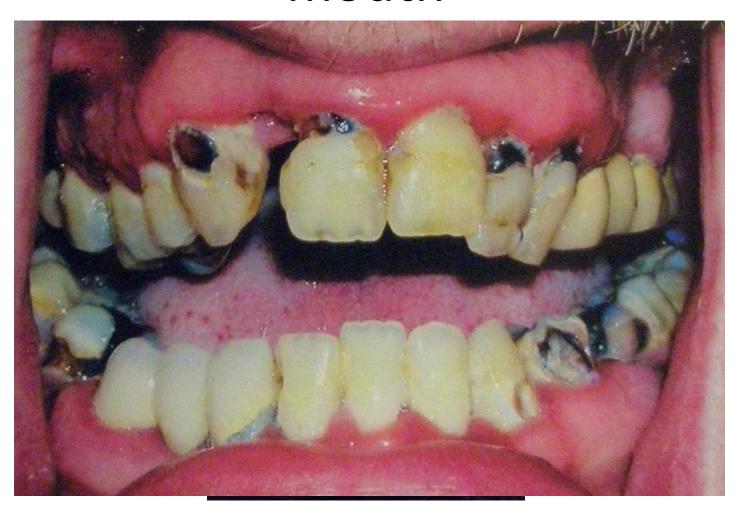
Free and self-responsible



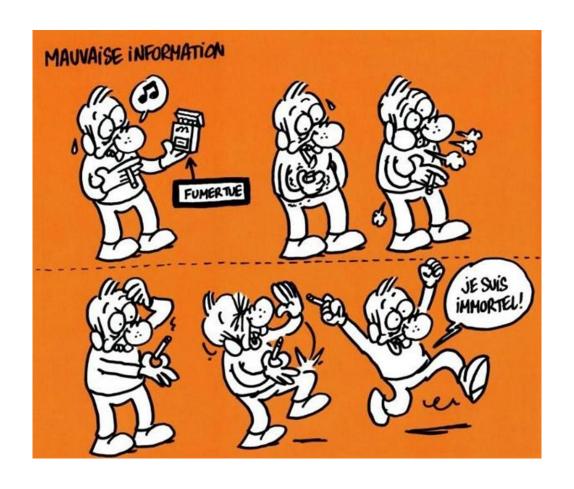
The ideological aspect of tobacco prevention

 A final word on the impact of the ideology of tobacco control on the general field of social drug use. The policy attitudes and its strong moral component, as well as the design of campaigning signify that notwithstanding the discussions about de-stigmatisation and normalization of social drug use and the tendencies for liberalisation and even legalisation of certain substances, on top level drug politics and drug policies remain oriented towards prohibition. Scare tactics are generating denormalisation, stigma and lay a fundament for a prohibitive attitude. What's possible for tobacco control can easily transferred onto other drugs: its easy to come from meth mouth to Marlboro mouth – and back again.

From Marlboro mouth to meth mouth



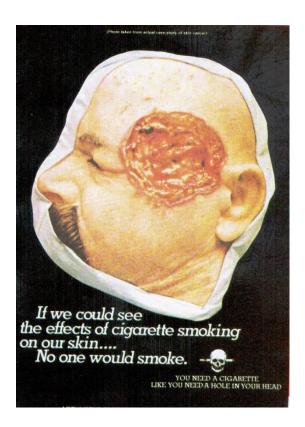
Many thanks for your attention

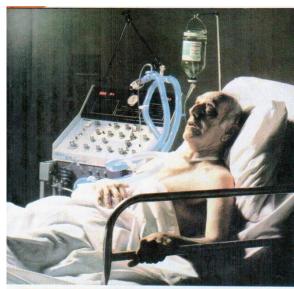


Abjecting laughter

Abjecting laughter-The role of humour: Social satire

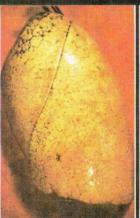
 The Hustler story: As early as in the late 70ies and early 80ies editor Larry Flynt took on the tobacco lobby with an anti-smoking campaign, that showed ironically entfremdet scary pictures.





PICTURE YOURSELF LIKE THIS. Last Year 300,000 Smokers Did. Cigarettes will kill you. You hear it all the time. But unfortunately it's not that ism ple A person suffering from a smoking-related illness lives long after the disease is diagnosed. This man has emphysema an incurable disease linked directly to smoking cigarettes. For 18 months a machine







ACCORDING TO THE AMERICAN LUNG ASSOCIATION, IF YOU SMOKE OUR CHANCES OF DYING FROM LUNG CANCER ARE 700 TIMES THOSE N-SMOKERS. IF YOU SMOKE, THIS COULD BE YOUR LUNG. THINK ABOU THE NEXT TIME YOU LIGHT A CIGARETTE...IF THERE IS A NEXT TIME.

If you want to quit smoking, contact the National Clearinghouse For Smoking and Health, 1600 Clifton Rd. NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30333.

A PUBLIC SERVICE ADVERTISEMENT FROM HUSTLER MAGAZINE







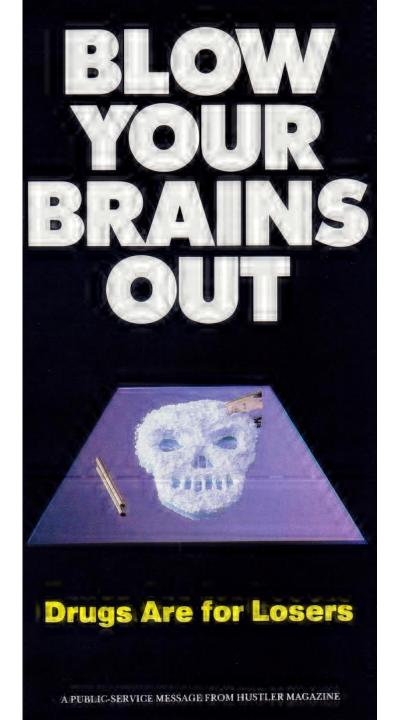
GASOLINE AND ALCOHOL DON'T MIX



That one last drink you take "for the road" may very well be the last you ever take. More than half of all fa-tal vehicle accidents in a typical year involve drivers who had been drinking. In 1978, for example, more than 25,000 Americans died because of drunken driving. When you drink and drive, you're a potential killer. You also could be signing your own death warrant. So next time you order one for the road—think about it.

IF YOU DRINK, DON'T DRIVE.

A PUBLIC-SERVICE ADVERTISEMENT FROM HUSTLER MAGAZINE



ALL OF THESE KILLERS ARE DEAD OR IN PRISON EXCEPT ONE.



Adolf Hitler



Albert Fish



Charles Whitman



Albert "The Boston Strangler" DeSalvo



Richard Speck



Charles Manson



Sirhan Sirha



David "Son of Sam" Berkowitz





Regular & Low Tar

A PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT FROM HUSTLER MAGAZINE

WHAT DO THESE FAMOUS PEOPLE HAVE IN COMMON?



· Humphrey Bogart



Nat"King"Cole



Walt Disney



Robert Taylor



Betty Grable





Edward R. Marrow



Buster Keaton



Robert Ryan

They all died of lung cancer.

A PUBLIC SERVICE ADVERTISEMENT FROM HUSTLER MAGAZINE

WASTED LIVES TRAGIC EPITAPHS





Lenny Bruce (1925-1966)



Judy Garland (1922-1969)









James Honeyman-Scott (1957-1982) Anissa "Buffy" Jones (1958-1976)

Coording Barbiturals









Keith Moon (1946-1978)





Drugs Are for Losers

A PUBLIC-SERVICE MESSAGE FROM HUSTLER MAGAZINE

Charlie Hebdo



LA C.CIBARETTE DONNERAIT LE CANCER! LE E-CANGER!

CHARB.













Humour and realism may work as well as hard-hitting messages.

Changing attitudes, knowledge and behaviour.
 A review of successful initiatives

by Martine Stead, Ross Gordon, et. al. May 2009



The culture of fear and deterrence

 Do preventive attitudes with that movement tune in to the "crucial contemporary moment of horror, meaninglessness, abjection, anticontemplation" (Julia Kristeva).

Cultural ambivalence



Franz Kafka

 'We photograph things in order to drive them out of our minds.



















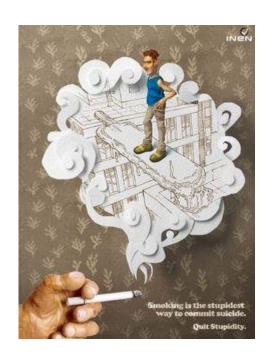


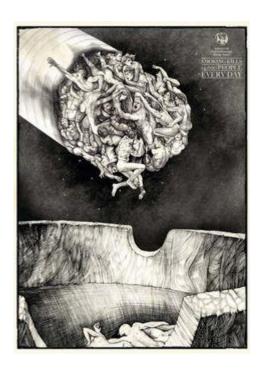


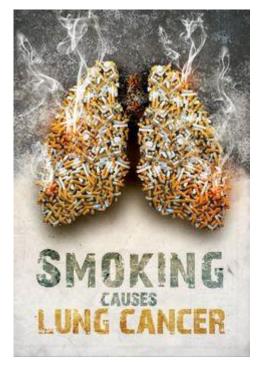












What is Meth Mouth?

LACK OF SALIVA

Saliva is needed to neutralize harsh acids and reduce bacteria in the mouth. Meth fries up the salivary glands, letting the acids and bacteria build up and rot teeth and gums.





Rauchen verursacht tödlichen Lungenkrebs







Rauchen macht sehr schnell abhängig: Fangen Sie gar nicht erst an!







Wer das Rauchen aufgibt, verringert das Risiko tödlicher Herzund Lungenerkrankungen







Rauchen kann zu einem langsamen und schmerzhaften Tod führen







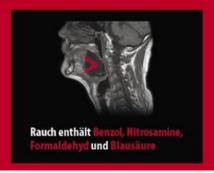
Rauchen kann zu Durchblutungsstörungen führen und verursacht Impotenz







Rauch enthält Benzol, Nitrosamine, Formaldehyd und Blausäure







Rauchen in der Schwangerschaft schadet Ihrem Kind







Schützen Sie Kinder: Lassen Sie sie nicht Ihren Tabakrauch einatmen







Ihr Arzt oder Apotheker kann Ihnen dabei helfen, das Rauchen aufzugeben

Sie können es schaffen, wir können helfen

dabel helfen, das Rauchen aufzugeben

Rauchen ist eine ernste Nikotin-Abhängigkeit; haben Sie keine Angst, um Hilfe zu bitten

Ihr Arzt oder Apotheker kann Ihnen dabel helfen, das Rauchen aufzugeben



Ihr Arzt oder Apotheker kann Ihnen dabei helfen, das Rauchen aufzugeben

Hier finden Sie Hilfe, wenn Sie das Rauchen aufgeben möchten

0803 00 00 00 Wählen Sie die Freiheit, wir helfen Ihnen

Hier finden Sie Hilfe, wenn Sie das Rauchen aufgeben möchter



