

Selling Life to Abortion-Seekers:

A Content Analysis of Passive and Active Persuasion in Crisis Pregnancy Center Marketing

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Abstract

For supporters of the pro-life cause, crisis pregnancy centers (or CPC's) have become the "darlings of the movement," according to the New York Times (Belluck, 2013), offering women with unplanned pregnancies free advice, information, classes, childcare, and needed supplies. For abortion advocates, such establishments are intended to seduce vulnerable abortion-seekers into a situation where they will be counseled out of an abortion and possibly even proselytized. Yet for as much controversy as exists in the news media, medical community, and legal realm about CPC's, there is an unsettling lack of understanding of how—and why—CPC's market themselves the way they do.

Their challenge is unique; they must "sell" non-abortive services to women who are oftentimes insecure, pressured, and abortion-minded. If one grants the right of such centers to exist, one must also grant their right to advertise. Do they market with active or passive persuasion, and does it accomplish the goal?

To answer such questions, this study focuses on VirtueMedia, a notable pro-life marketing non-profit with connections to Care Net—the closest crisis pregnancy care equivalent of Planned Parenthood on the pro-life side. Using Petty and Cacioppo's elaboration-likelihood model, or ELM, this study uses both proprietary and traditional means of content analysis to explore the themes and persuasive routes exhibited in two contrasting VirtueMedia television commercial campaigns. The study found that of the two campaigns analyzed, both relied heavily on peripheral cues and passive forms of persuasion, but not to the extent typically assumed. Overt central cues played a prominent role in one of the two campaigns. Also, women's-issues framing of the description of CPC services—as a peripheral cue—differed vastly in both form and function, sometimes taking a form that abortion advocates could consider "deceptive," and

other times existing alongside explicitly pro-life messages. The study, in fact, found that as inferred audience elaboration levels increased, the women's-issues message framing actually inverted pro-choice terms to draw attention to the tragedy of the post-abortive experience, showing a rhetorical strategy that is fluid depending upon the involvement of the audience—something again more consistent with brand positioning than deception. In sum, this ELM-based content analysis demonstrated that language typically indicative of pro-choice messages is employed by VirtueMedia as a brand positioning strategy rather than to intentionally obfuscate VirtueMedia's political views.

Chapter 1: Introduction

With the 40th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* having recently passed, the abortion debate in the United States is increasingly leaving the political realm and sparking more organic movements on both sides. In the pro-life camp, focus is shifting from legislative efforts to pregnancy assistance. Crisis pregnancy centers (CPC's), also known as pregnancy resource centers (PRC's), have arisen as the poster children of the pro-life movement. CPC's offer services such as peer counseling, pregnancy testing, ultrasounds, and spiritual support to pregnant women in what might be considered an understated effort to point women towards parenting or adoption rather than abortion. CPC's educate women on their options, explaining the risks of abortion and encouraging women to make slow, reasoned decisions about their pregnancy. Some CPC's offer medical services and are thus legally considered medical clinics; others do not (Committee on Government Reform—Minority Staff Special Investigations Division, 2006). Many are supported and run by evangelical groups or churches, using the counseling services as a means of evangelism. As a result, CPC's generally rely on donation and volunteer support, with more limited staffing resources. Yet, reaching vulnerable populations in ways that no political activist could, it is estimated that these darlings of the movement have given help to over 2.3 million women (Shields, 2013). Targeting their communication strategy at abortion-minded women, these CPC's have attracted wide attention in health communication, the news media, and rhetorical studies.

Several writers and researchers have addressed CPC advertisement strategies. Yet these organizations have garnered heavy criticism from the news media in recent years for alleged deceptive advertising tactics in their attempts to draw in abortion-minded women. Health professionals have decried their information on abortion as inaccurate (Rosen, 2012), while

others have actually called their advertisement messages deceptive (Mertus, 1990). Individual CPC's have been targeted for study, and prochoice research has found them to disseminate "misinformation" to clients (Bryant & Levi, 2012). Legal scholars have questioned the legality of advertisement messages which do not disclose that these "fake abortion clinics" do not offer abortive services (Faria, 2012; Williams, 2010). Media reports have followed suit, bringing the controversial advertisement messages into the public eye ("Why won't they say?"). CPC advertisements have emerged as a highly subjective, controversial, criticized, yet little-understood phenomenon.

Approaches to the issue of CPC advertising, which is in itself a relatively small field of study within the larger scholarly side of the abortion debate, fall into a few predictable categories. In the first (and by far the largest) group of literature, health communication professionals and legal writers, typically predisposed in favor of abortion rights, question the ethicality of delayed disclosure tactics. In a second, considerably smaller group, rhetorical analysts have studied the role of visual rhetoric, fetal imagery, and other peripheral cues in pro-life advertising (Hopkins, Zeedyk, & Raitt, 2005; Lauritzen, 2008; Price, 2011), but not in CPC advertising in particular. In the third group, journalists (both editorial and investigative) have released scathing exposés on CPC advertisement strategies, contributing substantially to public opinion. Unifying these three groups of literature is a common lack of attention paid to the content of the advertisements themselves as legitimate persuasive devices, worthy of analysis from a theoretical basis, and one of the more unique features on the rhetorical landscape of the abortion debate. A second deficiency in the current literature is the absence of pro-life adherents in health communication.

The absence of detailed analysis of CPC marketing messages is regrettable in light of the amount of criticism they have garnered from health communication professionals. The scholarly health community, characterized by a strong prochoice bias, will benefit from this study's rhetorical analysis of several CPC ads. Pro-life marketers themselves will also benefit from the study, which will shed light upon the effectiveness of various central and peripheral cues in persuading abortion-minded women to engage a CPC organization.

The purpose of this qualitative study will be to conduct a rhetorical analysis of several CPC advertisements using the elaboration likelihood model (ELM) framework, exploring the central and peripheral routes employed in the persuasion of abortion-minded women. Ultimately, this will help establish how CPC marketers craft their messages—whether communicating all their central points using direct factual statements, indicating a straightforward approach, or embedding them only in the peripheral route, indicating what could be seeds of deception. The study addresses three research questions:

1. First (RQ1), do VirtueMedia's CPC ads reflect a more passive (i.e. peripheral) approach to persuasion, or active (i.e. central)?
2. Second (RQ2), how does VirtueMedia use women's-issues message framing as a peripheral cue in relation to its advertising goals?
3. Finally (RQ3), is women's issues related framing an effective cue, as inferred by studying the relevance of peripheral cues to central cues?

The artifacts will be analyzed for what arguments are or are not presented in each route. It is the researcher's hope that the outcome of the study will determine the rhetorical impact of full disclosure of services via the central route, explaining the effectiveness of each advertisement without this variable.

Having established the goal of the research, the next chapter will discuss in greater detail the current literature relating to the study on a variety of levels: CPC-related, advertising rhetorical analyses, and ELM-based qualitative studies. This literature will inform the study as we seek to address an issue currently overlooked by communication scholarship.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The growing prominence of CPC's has not gone unnoticed in news media. As recently as January 2013, *The New York Times* reported on the impact of these "darlings of the pro-life movement" (Belluck, 2013). However, not all coverage of the trend has been positive; indeed, far from it. A 2011 *Times* editorial called for stricter legal treatment of the CPC movement which would force individual centers to disclose the fact that they do not offer abortion or contraceptive services, preventing them from being confused with abortion clinics ("Why won't they say?")—a practice which this study will also note for its resemblance to brand positioning strategies adopted across a variety of industries. Yet as far back as the 1980s news media have CPC's have been scrutinized as the dishonest, evangelical cousins of abortion clinics (Wong, 1987).

Critical interest in CPC tactics also extends into fields beyond news media. Professionals in the field of reproductive health have accused CPC's of disseminating inaccurate information about abortion procedures (Rosen, 2012). Some have gone so far as to classify their behavior as deceptive business practice (Mertus, 1990). A recent staff report for the U.S. House of Representatives denounced CPC's as providing "false and misleading information" (Committee on Government Reform—Minority Staff Special Investigations Division, 2006). Meanwhile, the public policy circuit remains abuzz as to whether CPC's should be required to disclose their lack of abortion services and other biases. Multiple locales have enacted legislation to such an effect (Baltimore, Maryland being one example), leading to legal confrontation (Faria, 2012). Faria's legal analysis qualitatively explained the relation between CPC advertising and local ordinances regulating the disclosure of CPC service limitations. Faria argued that local legislators and prosecutors should not focus on citing discrimination in these advertisements, but on deception. Faria described CPC advertisements in detail, laying the framework necessary for an analysis of

ad strategies. Faria's perspective represented the broader perception of CPC marketing as intentionally misleading and provides a good platform from which to begin to analyze their ethicality. Other approaches have dwelt more on the communication strategies of CPC's, accusing them of false advertising to abortion-minded women (Williams, 2010).

CPC Advertisements under the Critical Eye

The swarm of discussion across a variety of disciplines points to CPC's as a mainstay of American pro-life activism. The literature also reveals a trend: a growing focus on CPC advertisement and marketing strategies. Treatment of the topic with regard to public policy and ethics are common (even rhetoric, to a limited degree); objective analysis of their content and effectiveness, however, is not. This reveals two considerable shortcomings in the literature: (1) a pervasive abortionist presupposition, and (2) a lack of objective analysis within the communication discipline.

First, the prochoice slant is overwhelming in the majority of literature on CPC advertisements. Rosen (2012) even contended that the pro-life-based CPC's themselves post an actual threat to public health as a result of their alleged misinformation. The general sentiment in regard to CPC marketing strategies was succinctly conveyed by Mertus (1990, abstract):

The establishment of fake abortion clinics poses a great threat to women's ability to make free and informed procreative decisions. Such clinics intentionally deceive pregnant women into believing that they provide a full range of women's health services when, in reality, they provide only a pregnancy test, accompanied by intense anti-abortion propaganda.

Mertus is not alone. Secondary data analyses conducted by prochoice researchers have identified what is termed "misinformation" coming from CPC's through web communication

(Bryant & Levi, 2012). Asserting the lack of a connection between abortion and breast cancer, psychological issues, and fertility issues, Bryant and Levi conclude that such CPC communication are unethical in their intentional effort to stigmatize abortion.

Exceptions to this bias in the literature are uncommon, yet not nonexistent. Jaspers (2009) analyzed the marketing strategies of CPC's specifically but, in contrast with much of current scholarly opinion, concluded that they are within the realm of ethical. Seeing CPC ads as a "legitimate solution to the crisis of terminology in the abortion debate," Jaspers notes the distinctive features of the CPC message that are nevertheless framed to appeal to abortion-minded women (abstract). Jaspers also conceded that CPC's may engage in delayed disclosure of their lack of abortion services and intentionally mimic abortion advertisements.

A related sub-issue of CPC ads involves pro-life messaging with fetal imagery, which is undoubtedly a common tactic for pro-life communicators. Abortionist researchers are often quick to dismiss such rhetorical tactics as emotional at best and deceptive at worst, but Hopkins, Zeedyk, and Raitt (2005) offer a more balanced approach. Their qualitative analysis noted the significance of fetal visuals to both sides of the debate. In their conclusion, the authors argued for the validity of such visual rhetoric as emotional discourse. Their approach is similar to that of Lauritzen (2008), who addresses fetal imagery in both the contemporary abortion and stem-cell debates. The author argued in this scholarly article that bioethicists must legitimize the role of visual rhetoric in the abortion and stem cell debate. Rather than dismiss relevant imagery as a form of manipulation, he suggested a more meaningful approach be taken to analyze these types of messages. Both of these treatments of the role of fetal imagery are certain to play a part in any recommendations for future effective CPC advertising.

Finally, Kelly (2012) evaluated the significance of the CPC movement's emphasis on female gender identity and women's welfare in general, which particularly manifests itself in advertisement and outreach efforts. Kelly's study is useful in evaluating the use of women's-issues-sounding framing elements in pro-life advertisements, but also represents an uncommon exception to the overall deficiency of discussion of women's-issues framing cues throughout CPC-related research. (The term "women's-issues framing," as henceforth used, will be defined as any feminist-based discussion of abortion or reproductive issues in a manner that [1] is concerned mainly with the female-exclusive experiences of motherhood, childbirth, pregnancy, and the like; [2] omits direct moral claims or religious messages; [3] accepts [at least in part] the rhetoric of choice as set forward by abortion advocates, addressing pregnant women's options primarily in regard to the mother's wellbeing rather than of the unborn child; and/or [4] uses terminology usually associated with the pro-choice movement, in such a way as to position the marketing of CPC services alongside abortive services, directly or indirectly obfuscating the ideological views of the CPC.)

In general, however, the scholarly approach to CPC advertisement communication is far less fair. And the need for objective CPC ad treatment within the communication field is ever increasing; even as early as 1997, *Christianity Today* felt a simple CPC billboard campaign newsworthy (Holmes), while few writers outside the pro-life evangelical movement at the time had taken notice of CPC's. Holmes' article highlights the significance of communication techniques in the campaign and the goals of message senders.

Elaboration-Likelihood as Model for Advertisement Analysis

Interestingly, though large bodies of scholarly discussion pertain to CPC advertisement methods, the same sources rarely analyze and interact directly with the content of those

advertisement messages—much less to answer the core question of their effectiveness. By contrast, advertisement analysis is common with other subject matters within the communication discipline. Using elaboration-likelihood models (ELM) in conjunction with content analysis of more subjective claims in advertising—claims that rely on the framing of the message to successfully persuade audiences—carries deeper implications for defining what exactly can constitute a peripheral cue within Petty and Cacioppo's framework (c.f. Petty, R.E., Kasmer, J., Haugtvedt, C. & Cacioppo, J., 1987), and if heavy reliance on peripheral cues actually results in capricious consumer behavior (i.e. an affect heuristic) versus actually impacting long-term attitudes. Moreover, the broader context of advertisement analysis literature reveals ELM to be a robust working model to study factors contributing to effective persuasion.

One study in particular, conducted by Meungguk, Turner, and Pastore (2008), used ELM to evaluate a series of public service advertisements (PSAs) to attract volunteers to the Special Olympics. This study was set apart in that the researchers incorporated respondents' empathetic tendency as a new variable. Meungguk, et al., studied empathy levels alongside strong argumentation (a central route of persuasion) and the presence of a celebrity spokesperson (a peripheral route) to measure ad effectiveness. The results conveyed that both empathetic and non-empathetic groups were motivated similarly, demonstrating that central routes were more effective. The outcome of this study could have considerable application to the study of CPC advertisements, not only in that it provides a good model for studying advertisement effectiveness with ELM, but also in that it addresses empathy, a personality trait relevant to the core CPC demographic (abortion-minded, pregnant women).

Another study which likewise considered the role of a psychological attitude in persuasive message property was conducted by Foregger (2005). This study explored the role of

anxiety and its role in persuasion—specifically, its relation to the number of systematic thoughts about positive feeling messages. Using ELM, the author found little to no correlation between the two factors. The findings of this study may have further relevance for evaluating the effectiveness of advertisements basing appeals off the anxieties of abortion-minded women. Based on these results, we might expect poor performance from comparable CPC ads.

Navarro-Bailón, M. A. (2012) also utilized ELM in her exploration of branding consistency and advertisement performance for *Journal of Marketing Communications*. In this study, Navarro-Bailón compared the relative effectiveness of consistently branded messages versus identical repeated messages, analyzing the results with both ELM and information integration theory. The researcher compared reactions from 198 individuals to two consistently branded communication tools, advertising and sponsorship, and concluded that cohesive branding is more effective than repetition. This study has particular ramifications for CPC's considered in the light of Price (2011), discussed below, which discovered that less integrated or non-integrated pro-life ad campaigns performed more poorly than integrated prochoice campaigns.

The performance of advertisements across alternate mediums is also a recurrent topic in ELM-related literature. For over a decade, researchers have considered the ramifications of Web-based communication to the ELM model, with mixed results. Chang-Hoan (1999) surveyed the applicability of ELM to Internet advertising by comparing central cues to peripheral cues such as size of a banner ad. Relevancy between the advertisement vehicle and the product category of the advertisement were also considered. The results found a modified approach to ELM particularly to be valuable to the online advertisement techniques. By contrast, Karson and Pradeep (2001) considered the application of ELM to Internet advertising as well, but their results revealed

substantial differences between internet as an advertising medium versus print or video advertisement, concerning both audience involvement and processing routes.

There is also broad basis for the use of ELM in studying particular elements of advertisements as variables within the framework of the whole message. Such message elements have included the presence of particular symbols, message repetition (addressed by Navarro-Bailón, 2012, and in further detail by Malaviya, 2007), explicit reference to competitors, or price reductions. Dotson and Hyatt (2000) conducted a quantitative study of the effect of the Christian cross in advertisements as a peripheral cue, using the ELM as a starting point. Their research studied high-involvement and low-involvement groups of both high and low religious dogmatism, and surprisingly found that even highly dogmatic low-involvement participants reacted less favorably to the use of the cross. This provides a good model for an ELM-based study. It is also relevant in that it parallels the CPC advertisement situation, wherein lobbyists argue CPC's should be legally required to include disclaimers in their ads warning that they do not provide abortion services. Foreseeably, especially with federal funding and establishment-clause related issues, these disclaimers someday may even include information about the CPC's' religious affiliations. If the CPC is evangelical, this study might also serve as a good launching point to study the incorporation of religious themes into secular advertisement.

In addition, ELM has been used to evaluate the persuasive function of variables including explicit reference to a competitor and price reductions. One study provided a model for using ELM to compare similar advertising strategies used by multiple parties, but also had implications for advertisers who make direct mention of their competitor(s) to audiences (Chow & Luk, 2006). Alternatively, Gotlieb and Swan (1990) used the theoretical framework to study the persuasive impact of price reductions in advertisement. This study used what is most likely a

quantitative approach to evaluate the role of price reductions in advertising messages according to the elaboration likelihood model. The authors note that ELM does not provide a means of empirically testing levels of persuasion, and all such studies must also consider levels of involvement.

ELM Applied to Health Communication

As we continue to explore literature involving ELM, we see considerable application to health communication. This recurring theme substantially overlaps with CPC marketing campaigns and the demographic targeting, mediums, and messages utilized by other health communicators. Pregnancy-related ads, women's and reproductive health issues, abortion issues, and similar topics are all within the scope of prior ELM analyses.

Ayres, Eden, and Hopf (1989) used ELM in their qualitative study of the so-called mythical functions of reproductive advertisements. The authors' prime focus was on evaluating the content of so-called prenatal and antinatal advertisements in magazines. They concluded that antinatal messaging was predominant, and that prenatal messages played into a reproductive myth not relevant to current female (or, we might contend, feminist) culture. This type of branding may shed light on what is most effective for CPC's, considered in tandem with Kelly's application of feminist cultural myth to the CPC movement (2012) discussed above. It may also be considered in connection with Bihn-Coss's 2008 study of the content of women's magazine advertisements. Her work also revealed the substantial feminist bias in such media, which both creates and reflects cultural notions of gender roles and sexual health. This article is useful in describing common framing in female-targeted print marketing campaigns.

Chingching's 2011 study on the posturing of central messages is another very direct application of ELM to health marketing. This study found that health-related advertisement

messages were more effective when combined with self-referencing techniques such as second-person pronouns and rhetorical questions. A study of this detail not only supports the applicability to the ELM framework to CPC ad content analysis but has specific, far-reaching implications for actual ad copy.

Beyond style, ELM is also useful for isolating relevant content to produce the desired outcomes. Alcalay and Scrimshaw (1993) conducted a mixed methods study to determine effective communication methods to market prenatal care to low-income Mexican women. The study of this alternative demographic is useful in revealing cultural beliefs about prenatal care and the influence of such on an ELM of associated advertisements. Test advertisements addressed informational, attitudinal, and behavioral needs of the target population, representing the central and peripheral routes of the ELM. The study found that advertisements concerning “health services use, the mother’s weight gain, nutrition and anemia, and symptoms of high-risk complications during pregnancy” were most relevant to the target group in Tijuana (Alcalay & Scrimshaw, 1993, abstract). A poster, calendar, brochure, and two radio songs were among the advertisement mediums considered. Though it is tempting to discard this Alcalay and Scrimshaw’s study because of its narrow control group demographic, the rise of the Hispanic population in the U.S. must also be noted as a relevant factor.

In a dissertation, Hsieh (2009) conducted a study of individualized versus non-individualized pre-natal care information using an ELM. A pretest design (presumably quantitative) was used to measure change in the perceptions of the female participants. Hsieh found that individualized information increased event familiarity but did not necessarily reduce uncertainty, while non-individualized information did neither. Because the ELM is so relevant to advertising, this study may be applicable in that crisis pregnancy center (CPC) ads framed to

target abortion-minded women are, in a sense, “individualized.” Because such individualized information can be shown to increase event familiarity in pregnant women, it may follow that individualized targeted advertising may also be effective in drawing abortion-minded women to CPC’s.

In considering how ELM might apply to CPC marketing, one must also firmly establish the goals of any advertising campaign. For CPC’s, their ultimate goal is to get abortion-minded women in the door, but do their ads serve the broader purpose of changing attitudes or simply raising awareness—even if viewers never darken the door of a center? Campion’s 1994 ELM analysis of a mass media anti-smoking campaign sheds light here. The author noted significant attitude changes among viewers and increased use of a prescribed telephone hotline, although behavioral changes were substantially lower or even nonexistent. CPC’s must determine measurable goals for its ad campaigns before ELM can truly evaluate their effectiveness.

In like manner to Campion (1994), an ELM-based evaluation of a more recent set of televised smoking prevention messages was conducted by Flynn, Worden, Bunn, Connolly, and Dorwaldt (2011). Their qualitative study used middle school students to systematically evaluate the ads, testing for both high-involvement and low-involvement response to messages with and without direct, factual arguments. Interestingly, Flynn, et al. did not find a correlation between involvement level and persuasion route preferred in this case; they did, however, find that lower academic achieving students noted difficulty processing such factual data in the ads. Applying these findings to the topic at hand, CPC marketers might find that they should specify subgroups within the target group—i.e., more vs. less educated abortion-minded women. Further study should address if peripheral messages are more effective than central messages for CPC ads targeted at less educated expectant mothers. Regardless, Flynn et al.’s route of inquiry and

corresponding theory also mirrors the topic of CPC advertisement research in that both involve potential at-risk groups—women with unwanted pregnancies and middle school students prone to smoking.

Using ELM to evaluate attitudes regarding abortion-related topics is not without precedent. Price (2011) found the model to be particularly useful in measuring the effectiveness of abortion policy ads. Her qualitative study considered the use of visual elements in 2006 advertisements concerning abortion policy in South Dakota. Price believed that the use of consistent peripheral messages for the pro-choice side—dark colors representing the plight of oppressed women, a consistent theme of “no exceptions—contributed to the defeat of the total abortion ban bill. By contrast, the pro-life ads used inconsistent imagery and themes, and employed mostly central appeals.

Beyond the realm of advertising, Alvarez and Brehm (1995) conducted a highly quantitative study using ESLM as a framework within which to evaluate respondents’ answers to questionnaires about abortion policy. The researchers expected that policy oriented survey questions would yield centrally-processed answers if a basic core belief was involved. The abortion issue was studied to reveal how conflicting core beliefs would function in yielding either a centrally-processed or peripherally-processed answer. Similarly, a study of CPC marketing strategies would likely find a large quantity of persuasive messages using both processing routes. CPC marketers may pursue a means of harnessing the cognitive dissonance formed from the conflicting beliefs into a pro-life centrally-processed action step.

Also in contrast with the majority of works discussed so far, Helme, Noar, Allard, Zimmerman, Palmgreen, and McClanahan (2010) studied secondary reactions to reproductive health-related campaigns—interpersonal conversations. This mixed methods study addresses the

role of interpersonal communication attitudes in safe sex public service announcements (PSAs) and their application to mass media. Though not explicitly ELM-based, the conference papers in which the study is delivered discuss peripheral cues in skit-based advertisements such as actor quality and conversational realism. The data presented in this article is highly applicable to crafting television advertisements in such a way as to convincingly appeal to abortion-minded women.

As we move forward towards establishing ELM as a driving force in advertisement analysis, we are lastly drawn to consider what instruments might be employed, if necessary, to measure persuasive effects on an audience. Heppner, Humphrey, Hillenbrand Gunn, and DeBord (1995) developed a highly applicable ELM questionnaire to this ends. Likert-style instrument to help participants evaluate their perceptions of a message using ELM routes of persuasion. The questionnaire considers participants' time to process central messages, motivation to evaluate content, and similar concerns. High scores indicate greater central processing, while lower scores where peripheral cues might be more valued by an advertiser.

Other Related Literature

One part of establishing ELM as a framework for advertisement analysis is verifying that it accurately describes and predicts a variety of phenomena. While the theory is widely supported in communication scholarship, it is not without drawbacks (including, for example, its shortcomings in describing Internet ad effectiveness, discussed briefly above). We see one drawback in Te'eni-Harari, Lampert, and Lehman-Wilzig's work in 2007. Their qualitative, interview-based study was originally meant to study the accuracy of ELM in describing the mental processing of advertisement messages among youth up to a maximum of age 15. The results actually contradicted ELM in finding that both high-involvement and low-involvement

youth use neither central nor peripheral processing routes. Though we postulate that ELM will accurately describe the persuasion outcomes of CPC ads, the results of this contradicting study could be of special importance to CPC marketers wishing to target a younger teenage demographic. As in the case of Internet ad persuasion, it may be that ELM's dual-route explanation is too simplistic for some of the more nuanced types of advertisement prevalent today.

Also—applying many of these findings to CPC marketing—how might such data be understood and applied by CPC marketers wishing to increase their effectiveness? Mackert (2012) seeks to establish a system of advertisement account planning which involves the consumer, via qualitative formative research, in all phases of campaign development. Specifically, Mackert seeks to apply this to health communication, thereby providing us with solid inferences on how qualitative consumer data can inform health-related marketing strategies. Mackert increases the odds of effectiveness by keeping the consumer as the focus of the system.

Even stepping outside the framework of ELM, we still find a number of advertisement analyses with observable connections to CPC marketing. For example, in a non-experimental analysis, Fischer (2002) studied the effectiveness of a multi-year long media and educational campaign for pre-teens to combat unwanted pregnancy in metropolitan Atlanta. Fischer's published findings included population data on those who requested materials, feedback from teachers, youth opinion, and preliminary birth rate data. Fischer's study is of particular interest, as it dealt with a longer-term campaign (five years) simultaneously launched on the media, educational, and community organizational fronts. There may be considerable overlap in the demographics discussed by Fischer; thus, we may draw several conclusions in comparing these communication techniques with those of the CPC ads and their similar audiences. We may also

explicate strategic options for future CPC/pro-life campaigns resembling the scale of the 1997 pregnancy prevention campaign analyzed by Fischer.

We may also draw applications from non-ELM analyses of health advertisements geared towards pregnant women. Lindsey, Silk, Von Friederichs-Fitzwater, Hamner, Prue, and Boster (2009) fits this category. Their qualitative study for *Journal of Health Communication* discussed female college students' reactions to daily B multivitamin folic acid advertisements, a pregnancy-related issue. Lindsey, et al., indicated that participants generally responded favorably to concepts in each group, providing insight into individual concepts to increase their overall appeal and effectiveness. This approach may offer substantial insight as to what is effective in reaching this demographic—women who are pregnant or able to become pregnant—with the message of CPC's.

Finally, if CPC's marketers are to overcome the stigma of false advertising accusations and gain legitimacy within health communication, how can their advertisements be framed within what the prochoice medical establishment considers to be "ethical" communication? Dyer (1997) may help us answer this question through his work, which discussed the ethicality and other related factors of reproductive advertisement messages in general. Dyer notes that the paradigm of bioethical choice "breaks down when the individual is not autonomous or when the individual does not control the resources necessary for his or her well-being" (146), a crucial factor in determining the value of CPC awareness in a free market. In studying these messages, we may gain a better understanding of the framing of abortion services in advertisements, showing how CPC's must posture themselves similarly to communicate to the same audience (while ultimately delivering a vastly different message).

Conclusion

In spite of the plethora of vigorous advertisement analyses and similar works within health communication, the CPC advertisement issue has essentially been overlooked from all but a critical legal standpoint. Simultaneously, existing literature repeatedly vindicates ELM as a formidable component of content analyses geared to measuring effectiveness. The communication field would benefit from an objective CPC campaign content analysis employing ELM. This review of the literature will inform the methodology—a qualitative rhetorical content analysis—as a suitable route of inquiry for this study is determined.

Chapter 3: Methodology

As the literature has presented the need to analyze CPC advertisement efforts from an objective standpoint, using ELM as a theoretical basis, this chapter will outline the methodology to be employed by the researcher. The worldview of the researcher, proposed route of inquiry, and any pertinent biases must all be addressed in any comprehensive methodology chapter.

By way of summary, the proposed study would operate from a qualitative design, utilize a rhetorical analysis research design, employ content analysis route of inquiry to evaluate the television commercials of notable CPC ad campaigns with ELM, and discuss the findings based on current knowledge of the public atmosphere of the pro-life movement. The researcher will utilize a proprietary ELM-based content analysis instrument containing criteria related to involvement, quantity and quality of peripheral and central cues, and gauged relevance of the peripheral cues to the central cues.

The Qualitative Research Design

As the researcher seeks to trace back the effectiveness of CPC advertisements, qualitative research offers the researcher the best suited approach to understand a subjective phenomenon in human communication. Abortion- or CPC-related advertisement statistics are not difficult to find; what the current research lacks, however, is a means of answering *how* and *why* CPC marketing methods are effective in persuading large numbers of abortion-minded women to seek help outside an abortion facility. It is best-suited for “exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2009, p. 4). Its roots are in cultural anthropology, allowing the researcher to explore social phenomena by “contrasting, comparing, replicating, cataloguing and classifying the object of study” (Creswell, 2009, p. 194). For the researcher’s purposes, using a qualitative design will allow the researcher to study the

content of CPC advertisements at a deeper level than simply measuring word frequency, length, and the like. Advertising theories often involve tacit knowledge and generalize statements about human intuition, which cannot be excluded in the study (Creswell, 2009). The researcher's purpose is to evaluate the themes, arguments, and peripheral cues employed to create an overall effective ad. Only a qualitative approach will open exploration of all of these elements.

Content Analysis

This study will use the content analysis research strategy. This will allow the researcher to analyze the content of the artifacts on multiple levels and within varying contexts, fitting with the multi-faceted nature of ELM (persuasive routes, audience involvement, and extrapolating findings to study advertisement effectiveness).

Typically, the ELM is not considered a tool for qualitative analysis, but a organizing principle for participant-based research. Assuming the premise of the theory to be correct—that attitudes matter in regard to decisions—the goal of the analysis is to answer whether or not Care Net's ad campaign successfully positions women's-issues framing to peripherally account for lower involvement levels of the target audience and thus elicit the action of contacting the CPC line. Specifically, this can shine light on whether active or passive persuasion is more effective in the difficult task of advertising non-abortive services (counseling for parenthood or adoption) to abortion-minded women. Another ad campaign for the online CPC referral services of PregnancyLine.com produced by VirtueMedia will also be analyzed for comparative purposes. (Incidentally, accessing the website featured in the first campaign will give viewers access to the videos from the second campaign.) Succinctly, the research questions (RQ) in view are as follows:

RQ1: Do VirtueMedia's CPC ads reflect a more passive (i.e. peripheral) approach to persuasion, or active (i.e. central)?

RQ2: How does VirtueMedia use women's-issues message framing as a peripheral cue in relation to its advertising goals?

RQ3: Is women's-issues framing an effective cue? (That is, is women's-issues framing, as used, relevant enough to the central cue(s) of the campaigns to foreseeably increase audience receptivity towards CPC services?)

To use the theory for content analysis, the theory must be reapplied to develop a list of evaluative criteria. Based on the conceptual ELM diagram set forth by Petty, R.E., Kasmer, J., Haugtvedt, C. & Cacioppo, J. (1987), each artifact will be measured against the below evaluative criteria, which represent a working adaptation of the ELM to content analysis:

1. Inference as to advertisers' assumption of involvement on the part of the intended target audience (i.e. high, medium, low. This is based on whether the ad is primarily central or peripherally oriented; if mostly peripheral, inferred target audience involvement is low; if mostly central, inferred target audience involvement is high; if balanced, inferred target audience involvement is moderate or medium)

2. Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) (quantity here referring to categories of cues, since one cannot objectively determine discrete "cues")

3. Quantity, content of factual claim(s)

4. Relevance of peripheral cue(s)s to factual claim(s)

In regard to the ELM-based content analysis criteria, note that the fourth criterion, *relevance*, measures the relative cohesion of the ad's peripheral appeals to the objectives of the

message. This will provide some basis by which the researcher may actually postulate whether or not, and to what degree, the ad effectively utilizes the processing routes of the audience.

The Researcher's Role

Because of the subjective nature of the analysis portion of this study, the researcher's experience in the realm of marketing will help eliminate ambiguities in the subject matter. The researcher has served with American Bible Society's Marketing Department, Charisma Media, and in a freelance capacity in copywriting, design, and Internet marketing; thus, the research is able to address the issue of CPC advertising in a fashion deeper than the typical political rhetoric. The researcher's knowledge of the growing CPC movement allows the researcher to shed light on aspects of the issue ignored by other research, free from pro-choice bias.

Elements of the Study

Artifacts to be analyzed. This study will evaluate several television spots available for viewing on the web as part of a campaign produced by VirtueMedia, a "Christian values-based not-for-profit" pro-life media agency, to advertise a crisis pregnancy center hotline and related CPC aggregator site (VirtueMedia, n.d.). On their site, VirtueMedia purports a variety of achievements, notably:

Historically, where VirtueMedia's sanctity of life television campaigns have aired consistently (i.e. markets like Charlotte, Dayton, and Phoenix) state reports for abortion rates in those areas showed a decrease between 10% and 20%, whereas in parts of the states where the VirtueMedia™ ads didn't air, abortion rates often increased. (VirtueMedia, n.d.)

VirtueMedia maintains pro-life content sites PregnancyLine.com, HealingAfter.com, and BlackDignity.com, and works in tandem with multiple pro-life organizations, including Right to

Life groups, to fund and distribute pro-life ads. Three basic campaigns will be considered, two of which having multiple variants to appeal to different racial demographics or life circumstances. Campaign 1's variants are all 30 seconds in length, while Campaign 2 varies between 30 and 60 seconds depending on the spot.

The selection of these videos is not arbitrary; VirtueMedia is on the forefront of CPC and pro-life advertising. The company uses a distinct crowd-funding strategy to encourage supporters to participate in purchasing advertising time in local venues. VirtueMedia has been working directly with what is arguable the nation's most noted CPC umbrella organization, Care Net, since 2004 (Care Net, 2004). For intents of the broader application of this study, Care Net is the closest equivalent to Planned Parenthood in terms of CPC's, though far inferior in funding and scope. In a 2012 newsletter, Care Net describes one campaign for which they contracted VirtueMedia, one of the first of its kind, as follows:

...Care Net ran its first television commercials for four weeks from May 11-June 7 on both Cablevision and Time Warner. Commercials in English and Spanish were broadcast on MTV, MTV2, BET, VH1, and MUN2. The ads were produced by Virtue Media and had our phone number and website on them. You can view them on ISupportCareNet.org. We also ran a radio ad on KISS FM 96.1 for 3 weeks and hope to do some soon on K104. During the broadcast time, we saw an increase in calls from abortion-minded women and at least one baby that we know of was saved...[.] (Care Net, 2012)

As briefly described above, in the course of content analysis, the research will attempt to make inferences concerning advertisers' selection of central or peripheral routes as they evidently account for factors including (1) CPC marketers' desire to avoid controversy, (2) the

desire to appeal to abortion-minded women with a service that is contradictory to presumed audience desires, (3) audience engagement (high- versus low-involvement), and, significantly, (4) the variable significance of women's-issues message framing serving as a peripheral cue. (Women's-issues framing, as henceforth used in this study, will be defined as any discussion of abortion or reproductive issues in a manner that [1] is concerned mainly with the female-exclusive experiences of motherhood, childbirth, pregnancy, and the like; [2] omits direct moral claims or religious messages; [3] accepts [at least in part] the rhetoric of choice as set forward by abortion advocates, addressing pregnant women's options primarily in regard to the mother's wellbeing rather than of the unborn child; and/or [4] uses terminology usually associated with the pro-choice movement, in such a way as to position the marketing of CPC services alongside abortive services, directly or indirectly obfuscating the ideological views of the CPC.)

Ethical considerations and data analysis strategies. Foreseeable ethical consideration with the content analysis are minimal. All subjects depicted in the advertisements have by default given consent for the release of their likenesses.

This study will utilize content analysis as a research design. CPC advertisement messages will be deconstructed using ELM classifications—central routes and peripheral routes—to assess the salience of their messages to the target audience, abortion-minded women. The content analysis would attempt to discern whether the central CPC message (aimed at bringing abortion-minded women into contact with a CPC either in person, via telephone, or online as they seek alternatives to abortion) is communicated primarily centrally or peripherally. Contextual factors such as avoidance of political controversy, appeal to feminist terminology, and audience level of engagement will necessarily influence the analysis. A discussion section will accompany the findings to further infer the recurrent themes in each ad campaign, implications for CPC

marketers, and suggestions for further research. It will also allow commentary as to the nature of each campaign.

Verification

Recording the findings. Because of the qualitative nature of the study, massive extrapolations and implications for larger populations are not crucial; internal validity, however, is key to the soundness of the research. This study employed the following strategies to insure such validity:

1. Committee process—the study was filtered through a committee chair and two corresponding readers within the department.
2. Peer examination—peers involved in psychological research were employed to screen data and provide feedback.

The strongest guarantor of internal validity was the researcher and thesis committee's personal acquaintance with communication theory in advertising and media, which others in the field should easily recognize and find agreeable.

Reporting the Findings. The finalized study will be outlined somewhat of a quantitative form. Parts of the content analysis which rely on visual inferences are complemented with visual figures, so the reader may judge the analysis set forth by the researcher and personally verify the salience of the ELM model to the subject.

Conclusion

It is evident through a survey of the current literature that the subject of CPC advertisement persuasive rhetoric has been overlooked by communication scholarship. The current literature does, however, provide a means of interpreting CPC advertisement artifacts using an ELM-based rhetorical analysis. To consider the persuasive effects of CPC

advertisements, a rich qualitative study will help reveal why and how pro-life marketers are able to appeal to abortion-minded women. ELM as a theoretical basis is useful to organize data collected from the artifacts themselves, which established the basis for this rhetorical analysis. The findings of such a study carry significant implications for pro-life advertising agencies and fill a deficiency in the current literature.

Chapter 4: Results

ELM-Based Content Analysis

As noted prior, based on the conceptual ELM diagram set forth by Petty, et al. (1987), each commercial will be analyzed against the below evaluative criteria:

1. Inference as to advertisers' assumption of involvement on the part of the intended target audience (i.e. high, medium, low—based on whether the ad is primarily central or peripherally oriented)—henceforth *inferred level of target involvement*

2. Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) (quantity here referring to categories of cues, since one cannot objectively determine discrete “cues”)

3. Quantity, content of factual claim(s)

4. Relevance of peripheral cue(s)s to factual claim(s)

After artifacts from both campaigns (henceforth denoted as Campaigns 1 and 2, based on chronology) have been subjected to the ELM-based content analysis, keyword/phrase frequency analysis will also be used to further illustrate each campaign's recurring themes. The commercials will be addressed in the order in which they appear on the VirtueMedia website.

Campaign 1: *PregnancyLine – Gabby*. This 30-second ad is one of four published to abortion-minded women who have recently discovered their pregnancy. The spokesperson of the ad is an attractive, modestly dressed woman, probably in her twenties, who appears to be of Hispanic or mixed racial descent (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). This is significant in that each ad variant emphasizes spokespersons of different races, clearly meant to run simultaneously to appeal to multiple audiences. (The function of race as a peripheral cue will be explored later in relation to subsequent artifacts.) As the spokeswoman begins, the background shows a deep purple circle-patterned (known as bokeh) background decorated by the occasional

gold ribbon-like motion graphics, for an obviously feminine look. The choice of the purple color is reminiscent of African American-centered magazine *Essence* and the use of purple in urban or African-cultural contexts, perhaps a subtle indicator of target audience (Kiltz, 2013; Dupsie's, 2013), as U.S. abortions are highest among African American and Hispanic and women below the poverty line (Guttmacher Institute, 2011). Various desaturated shots of dejected, pregnant teenage or twenty-something women appear and disappear from the background, while the narration revolves around typical themes of shock ("If your pregnancy test comes back positive, it can be a total shock") and inconvenience ("You may be wondering how you can afford to be a mom right now, especially with your school or work schedule"). The accompanying music begins by giving off a dejected, urban feel, using a drum track and synthesized passing tones. At approximately 15 seconds into the video, the background track resolves to a major chord arpeggiation, inspiring a positive sensation as the spokeswoman finally tells viewers, "Here's the good news: there is help." The spokesperson describes the assistance: "There's a nearby women's center that can help you completely confidentially and give you free advice," while the words "confidential" and "free" appear onscreen for emphasis (as, which will be noted, is a recurring motif in the copy of each ad) (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013). The screen displays the web and phone information of the crisis pregnancy service, and fades to black on a hopeful note.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). The audience, abortion-minded women or women with unplanned pregnancies, is likely to be highly attuned to such ad content because of their circumstances. However, the content of the narration indicates a different expectation of receptivity. Viewers may lack the technical knowledge of abortion-related rhetoric to accurately identify what is meant by a "women's center." The copy is careful to avoid

specifics of the nature of the advice (being persuasive against abortion or in favor of parenting or adoption), whether the center is a medical clinic or offers any medical service, or whether the “free advice” is offered by licensed counselors. In this ad, the researcher would rate the advertisers’ assumed level of viewer involvement as low, reflecting the amount of elaboration VirtueMedia may hope takes place.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. This ad campaign features only one true central cue, and that is that women intimidated by pregnancy may receive confidential, free advice from a women’s center. The references to such services as “confidential” and “free”—recurring motifs in Campaign 1—could constitute two more central claims, but to count the total of central claims as three would portray, inaccurately, that the ad is more central than peripheral. The brand positioning of the message (via its ambiguity) is its strength, but its relation to women’s-issues language will be addressed as more of a peripheral cue, since it appears to be intended to subvert the regular processing routes of the target audience.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4)*. The use of three prominent peripheral cues (or, rather, categories of peripheral cues)—visual elements, music, and appropriate actors—all align well with the message but are not crucial. What does seem to be crucial is the vagueness of the only factual claim—the offer of services from a nearby women’s center—which in itself constitutes a peripheral approach to attitude change, seizing on women’s-issues terminology (“women’s center” versus “crisis pregnancy center,” “pregnancy resource center,” etc.) which are normally utilized by prochoice voices (Ferree, 2003). While the former peripheral cues are relatively insignificant, this primary peripheral cue is crucial to the ad’s ability to transcend political dialogue and evoke central processing by abortion-minded women; therefore, relevance here is high. In this study,

“women’s-issues message framing” and similar phrases will be defined as any discussion of abortion or reproductive issues in a manner that (1) is concerned mainly with the female-exclusive experiences of motherhood, childbirth, pregnancy, and the like; (2) omits direct moral claims or religious messages; (3) accepts (at least in part) the rhetoric of choice as set forward by abortion advocates, addressing pregnant women’s options primarily in regard to the mother’s wellbeing rather than of the unborn child; and/or (4) uses terminology usually associated with the pro-choice movement, in such a way as to position the marketing of CPC services alongside abortive services, directly or indirectly obfuscating the ideological views of the CPC.

Campaign 1: *PregnancyLine – LeAnn*. This ad, another 30 second clip as part of the same campaign as the “Gabby” ad, is all but identical with a few exceptions. First, the spokeswoman is a middle class blonde female, likely reflecting that the ad was to be aired to appeal to a Caucasian audience. And while the ad’s copy is virtually identical, this time the keyword “pressured” is used to describe pregnant women, evoking a variety of emotions present in difficult family dynamics. Though the use of the word makes sense in context, the marketers should note that only a minority of women cite pressure from friends or family as their reason for abortion, though presumably this number increases when accounting for those unwilling to disclose their interpersonal issues in the survey (Biggs, Gould, & Foster, 2013). Otherwise the strong, feminine color tones in the background, soundtrack, and basic structure are all the same.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). For reasons already addressed at length in the prior section regarding a commercial within the same campaign, again appears to the researcher that the ad creators have assumed a relatively low level of involvement (in the context of the subject matter) on the part of the target audience. As will be explained here as well, a major indicator of this is the ad’s heavy reliance upon peripheral cues.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. As in the case of the “Gabby” ad, the “LeAnn” ad really only possesses one central claim—that free help and advice services are available for young women who may be intimidated by the prospect of their pregnancy. The claim itself is factually accurate; it is the less obvious elements of the ad that are meant to motivate young women to action. And once more, the “confidential” and “free” elements figure prominently.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4)*. Here, as before, one may note two categories of peripheral cue: audiovisual design elements, and women’s-issues framing of the ad copy. And once more, while the design elements are helpful, they are not essential to the central message in (low relevance) in comparison to the terminology of the narration (high relevance).

Yet we must devote additional attention to the spokeswoman’s ethnicity here, and in the other spokesperson variants of the ad, since it seems that audiences with stronger ethnic identities are less accepting of spokespersons of some other ethnicities than those with weaker ethnic identities (Arpan, 2002). One can infer from Arpan’s path analysis of spokesperson acceptability by ethnicity that racial ambiguity is to be favored (increasing the chance of perceived similarity to the audience member’s own racial identity), so the use of the very clearly Aryan “LeAnn” here may be less effective than that of the more ambiguous “Gabby” from ad variant 1 (Arpan, 2002). Still, the choice to include a Caucasian spokesperson variant ad is useful in that some media have observed that the image of a fearful, white, middle-class female as the typical abortion seeker has perpetuated despite contrary statistical data (Marcotte, 2013). The race of the spokesperson is an important feature of the ad but bears a low degree of relevance to the central cue.

Campaign 1: *PregnancyLine – Bri*. This ad follows in the same format as the prior two, only featuring the African American spokeswoman “Bri,” who is of comparable age and social class to narrators “LeAnn” and “Gabby.” The target audience is clearly African American women who are abortion-minded, as a similar ad campaign elsewhere on the site also features racially-selected spokespersons but names each ad by race (“CPC Black,” “CPC White,” etc.) rather than by spokeswoman name (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). The same cinematographic formula from the prior ads is also recycled; the ad begins with a talking head shot, moves to a distance shot, and returns to a talking head shot for the introduction of the crisis pregnancy services, followed by two more upper torso shots as the clip is rounded out. In contrast with the prior two ads, however, the “Bri” variant uses a bit more direct form of address. While “Gabby” and “LeAnn” introduce the ad with subjective, emotionally-oriented statements (“...it can be a total shock...” “...you may be wondering...” “...can be a real surprise...” “...maybe you’re not ready to be a mom...” “...feeling kind of scared...”), “Bri” is blunt from the very first word of the copy (“Okay. You just discovered you’re pregnant. Now what?”) and continues through to the central claim (“It’s going to be okay. There is help....”) (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). Otherwise the ad is essentially identical to the others in design elements, sound, and content.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). The slightly amplified bluntness of the ad copy can be interpreted in two ways; either it could be taken to assume a lower level of involvement (using the straightforwardness of the spokesperson to gain attention) or a higher level of involvement (favoring direct address so that claims can be thoughtfully evaluated). However, due to use of peripheral cues such as women’s-issues framing and racially-selected

spokeswomen, one would hesitate to assume a lower level of involvement. Thus, the researcher will retain the medium-to-high level of involvement assumed for the other ads in this campaign.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. As with the other ads, there is only one central claim—that help is available through PregnancyLine—followed by two lesser claims informing viewers that the services are confidential and free. Once again, it is the manner in which this claim is framed that determines its relevance to the target audience.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4)*. One cannot underemphasize the intentionality with which VirtueMedia treats African American audiences. One of their sites, BlackDignity.org, is devoted entirely to informing viewers as to the disproportionately high number of abortions among African Americans, reflected in outside statistics (Guttmacher Institute, 2011). Thus, one must not underestimate the legitimacy of peripheral measures to reach African American viewers. Given that others have established the relevance of visual elements such as those in Campaign 1 to African American and urban social identities (Kiltz, 2013; Dupsie's, 2013), the researcher assesses the audiovisual elements as having a higher relevance (medium versus low) to the central claim insofar as the “Bri” ad is targeted at African American women. And as in the case of “Gabby,” the ethnicity of the spokeswoman should be assessed as more relevant to the ad’s message than it was in “LeAnn” because of the statistical skew towards minorities in abortion demographic data (Guttmacher Institute, 2011). The directness of the ad copy arrests viewers’ attention, and once again the central claims rely heavily on the women’s-issues framing, so one may conclude that the “Bri” variant most effectively uses its peripheral cues in conjunction with the ad’s message.

Campaign 1: *PregnancyLine – Mix*. This ad is simply a conglomerate of the prior campaigns, using all three spokeswomen and thus including all three racial demographics. The

footage montages “LeAnn’s” introduction footage, “Bri’s” description of the fears and doubts associated with unplanned pregnancy, “Gabby’s” resolution with the central claim, and ends with “LeAnn” and “Gabby” trading the closing lines.

1. *Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1)*. Based on factors already established in the prior analyses—in large part due to heavy reliance on peripheral elements—the researcher again infers a lower level of involvement on the part of targeted viewers.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. As with the other ads in this campaign, the only real central claim here is that free, confidential services are available to women who are pregnant. Little elaboration takes place on exactly what these “free” and “confidential” services involve, other than what has already been addressed here. Direct mention of any pro-life elements in counseling or the lack of abortive services are both noticeably absent, as with all of Campaign 1.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4)*. This ad does not depart from the prior ads’ format in regard to this criterion. However, the relative effectiveness of the peripheral use of race in this advertisement should be downgraded to “low,” because (1) each spokeswoman is featured less often in the ad, and (2) the ad does not highlight any one racial group but gives all three spokeswomen what is, essentially, equal prominence. The difficulty here is noted by the advertising establishment in general; Getty Images’ blog “Curve” indicates that while brands must communicate to their audience as one unit, a balance must be struck: “To get it right, brands need to find imagery which both appeals to the general market and is still resonant with different segments that are represented” (Getty Images, 2014). Whether or not the inclusion of all three spokeswomen in this ad struck the sufficient balance is beyond the scope of even the most subjective content analysis. Nevertheless,

because each of the three audience segment are represented in the races of the spokeswomen, the researcher cannot assert that any one racial demographic is more targeted than the others.

Campaign 1: General content analysis. Figure 3 (see Appendix B) demonstrates a consistent message throughout the copy of each ad; keyword frequency analysis yielded “help” (or “helping”; used an average of 2.25 times per ad), “pregnant” (or “pregnancy”; used an average of 2.25 times per ad), and “now” (average of 2 times per ad) as the top three terms. Other top words were related to confidentiality and affordability as well as a variety of negative emotions surrounding unplanned pregnancy (“scared,” “alone,” “confused,” “pressured,” etc.).

Of the keywords shown onscreen (see Figure 4, Appendix B), unsurprisingly, “pregnant”/“PregnancyLine” was most frequent (average of 2.25 appearances per ad), followed by “woman” or “women” (average of 2 appearances per ad), “confidential,” and “free” (both used once per ad). These illustrate a cohesive theme throughout Campaign 1; noninvasive, risk-free advice services to frightened women. Potentially divisive words such as abortion, child, or even choice do not appear either visually or in the narration of any of the ads.

Campaign 1: Summary. The ELM-based criteria used in the content analysis of Campaign 1 yielded, as could be expected, similar results with each artifact. As shown in Figure 1 (see Appendix A), the peripheral cues with highest relation to the central claim of the ad remained the use of women’s-issues terms, while audiovisual elements and spokesperson ethnicity held less significance (for a definition of “women’s-issues terms,” see the parenthetical note on p. 37, within the methodology chapter). Certain audiovisual elements were deemed more relevant to the African American audience segment and thus granted higher relevance, but their function is still peripheral. Figure 1 documents in grid form each of the criteria highlighted by

the content analysis across each ad variant. Implications of the findings will be discussed in the discussion chapter.

With the analysis of the first campaign (Campaign 1) complete, the researcher will shift to analyzing the content and rhetorical aim of a second campaign (Campaign 2). The “Been There” campaign, available under the same portion of VirtueMedia’s website as the prior collection of ads, asks actual post-abortive women to describe their physical and psychological recovery following the procedure.

Campaign 2: *Been There – Brenda* :30. Campaign 2 is markedly different from the prior campaign, and is dated about 9 months later on the company’s online video account (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). In this thirty second spot, “Brenda,” a early-middle-aged Caucasian woman, details the aftermath of her abortion. Set in a chalkboard-decorated room plastered in emotional phrases describing the abortion experience (“felt empty,” “confused,” “leaves a hole in your soul,” “stays with you forever”), the video features a real-life post-abortive woman in a documentary-style montage.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). For reasons that will be explored in the proceeding analysis, Campaign 2 seems to assume a generally medium level of involvement than the prior advertisements—higher, in fact, relative to Campaign 1. One reason the researcher has favored the “medium” designation (versus “high”) is that by using such emotionally compelling content, VirtueMedia necessarily incurs the risk of inducing an affect heuristic—the effects of which upon long-term attitude change are fleeting. Simultaneously, because the highly emotive messages of Campaign 2 are situated within fact-oriented, real-life testimony, viewers also have an anchor point for developing new beliefs regarding abortion. Further justification of the medium involvement inference will be outlined below.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. Because this ad does not contain a direct sell, distinguishing what is “central” within the ad is subjective; indeed, virtually all of the content is the spokesperson’s individual experience. However, “Brenda” does make one generalized statement that can be classified as central: “Contrary to how abortion is marketed, it is not a quick fix. It is not a solution to a seemingly hopeless problem. It leaves you regretful. I wouldn’t suggest it to anyone ever” (Virtuemedi, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). That her claim is a central, rather than peripheral, cue is evident in the lack of subjective first-person terms and the generalizability to abortion-minded women in the audience.

The central claim demonstrates VirtueMedia’s expectation of medium-involvement viewers in a few ways. There is no call to action in the strict sense; the closest is the display of the text “pregnancyline.com” as the interviewee concludes, “I wouldn’t suggest it [abortion] to anyone ever” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). While viewers are directed to the site, it would seem that marketers are more concerned with producing an attitude change than driving web traffic. The subjective nature of the documentary style, explored below, indicates advertisers’ expectation that the target audience must *sympathize* with the subject rather than be expected to immediately relating to scripted copy.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4)*. Audiovisually, the ads in Campaign 2 are more current than their predecessors. Green-screened backgrounds and highly digitized soundtracks have been replaced with a full studio set and a texturing of cello and lightly arpeggiated piano. Lighting overlays on title screens, a wider variety of camera angles and B roll on the subject (compared to one or two angles on the narrators in Campaign 1 and one or two B rolls interspersed throughout that campaign), and the use of a higher resolution than the prior campaign indicate a more concerted effort to reach a

digital generation. The composition of the visual shots is more in keeping with current trends, which greatly utilize depth of field (c.f. Murie, 2011 as anecdotal evidence). Thus, in Figure 2 (seen in Appendix B), four distinct audiovisual cues have been distinguished: (1) higher quality, emotional music, (2) higher resolution video, (3) the inclusion of a real set (and the interviewee's interaction with that set, adding descriptive emotional keywords to the chalkboards), and (4) higher cinematographic variety. The use of more popular visual effects and composition

Ethnicity does not seem to be a crucial component of Campaign 2. Although the campaign shows significant ethnic variety in spokeswomen, the content directly emphasizes the individuals' actual experiences and only indirectly emphasizes those of the audience segment they are taken to represent. "Brenda" is Caucasian and appears to be in her thirties or early forties, traits which feed into the image of middle class white women being the primary abortion consumer propagated in the seventies and eighties (Marcotte, 2013). But again, as with "LeAnn," the relative significance of this cue—especially given that abortion numbers statistically skew towards African Americans and Hispanics—is low.

Women's-issues framing is present in this commercial but is not utilized in the same way as in Campaign 1. The copy focuses on abortion's detriments to *Brenda herself*, noting that "abortion was the only option" she was given, she felt "empty" and "alone," and she felt as though "a part of my soul was just ripped out" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013). Although VirtueMedia's moral opposition to abortion could be inferred from browsing their other web materials, this ad only presents the angle of harm to the mother. The logic of this peripheral cue to the central message against abortion is highly relevant, as it presents the female perspective only, adhering to a key component of pro-choice rhetoric common in messages targeted at abortion-minded women.

The documentary style marks a noteworthy shift in approach from the rather cut-and-dry PregnancyLine.com campaign of Campaign 1. Though it would not be expedient here to document all the psychological touchpoints of the documentary film style, a few basic advantages can be noted. First, in Campaign 1, audiences were left having to consciously put themselves in the shoes of the emotional descriptions offered by the spokeswomen. In Campaign 2, viewers are immediately immersed into the personal, subjective experience of the post-abortive women telling their stories—which leads directly into subjective concluding plea “I wouldn’t suggest it to anyone ever” with accompanying PregnancyLine.com text (versus the rather commercial “Call today” or “Get help” calls to action from Campaign 1). Second, presenting an interview in which the subject shares her own testimony rather than using a third party narrator greatly increases the ease with which audience viewers can sympathize with her, presenting an effective model for reaching low-involvement viewers. There are other factors as well, such as the sense of realism portrayed by a clearly clipped and spliced monologue—cuing the viewer that the sound bites are authentic rather than read from a script. For these reasons and potentially others, the use of documentary style can constitute another strategic peripheral cue with high relevance to the central claim.

Campaign 2: *Been There – Donna* :30. This ad follows the same formula as the “Brenda” variant, featuring middle-aged, African American, post-abortive woman named “Donna.” Though the format and content of this ad are essentially identical to the prior installment, “Donna” shows far more emotion than “Brenda” and offers a much more direct critique of the pro-choice movement.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). One might infer, were the full, unaltered interview actually scripted, that the advertisers for this ad have presumed an even lower

level of involvement than is presumed in the rest of Campaign 2, seizing on various cues to emotionally heighten the message. Compare, for instance, the closing statement in the “Brenda” ad “I wouldn’t recommend it to anyone ever” versus the far more compelling statement made by “Donna”: “I just know this whole thing about a woman’s right to choose—it’s not freedom, it’s a prison. I never should have done it” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). But because each ad depicts an actual interview, such an inference is technically invalid. For this ad, then, the researcher will uphold the same medium inferable level of target audience involvement as in the first commercial, for the identical reasons listed in the analysis of “Brenda :30”—i.e. a more equal balance of central and peripheral orientation.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. Once more, “central” informational claims in the “Donna” ad are shielded behind the layer of subjectivity afforded by the woman’s own personal experience. Nevertheless, the straightforward message of the ad is abundantly clear, which post-production editing wisely placed on the tail end of “Donna’s” emotional testimony: “I just know this whole thing about a woman’s right to choose—it’s not freedom, it’s a prison...” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). In Figure 2, this has been counted as one fact claim, or central cue.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relation to central cue(s)*. The audiovisual elements of this ad are identical to the prior ad in terms of content, quantity, and relevance. Thus, the same four cues are recognized in this ad relative to the prior campaign: (1) higher quality, emotional music, (2) higher resolution video, (3) the inclusion of a real set (and the interviewee’s interaction with that set, adding descriptive emotional keywords to the chalkboards), and (4) higher cinematographic variety.

In regard to ethnicity, while all four iterations of Campaign 1 relied heavily on the race of the spokeswoman in appealing to various audience segments, Campaign 2 is restricted to those spokeswomen who have had actual negative experiences with abortion. Therefore one cannot infer substantial relevance between the spokeswomen's ethnicities in Campaign 2 and audience segmentation. The relevance criterion of ethnicity has been assigned the value of "low" in Figure 2.

In addition to its use of women's-issues message framing, the "Donna" ad is also geared more towards a potentially urban audience segment, detailed in the next section (as "Donna" directly repudiates the concept of "choice" as presented by abortion proponents, eliminating any ambiguity). Thus the interviewee's bluntness exhibits high relevance with the frank, centrally oriented call to action ("Don't do what I did").

Documentary style is consistent throughout all of Campaign 2. Because of the ease with which the format allows viewers insight into the interviewee's personal experience and the layer of protection due to its subjectivity, the level of relevance is again identified as high.

Campaign 2: *Been There - Donna :60*. "Donna :60" is essentially the same as its antecedent only stretched to 60 seconds rather than 30. Thus not much additional time will be spent in analysis of this ad, other than to note that the copy edits out less of the original interview and provides greater context into the woman's situation.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). The 60-second "Donna" ad, like the others of Campaign 2, is virtually identical to its 30-second counterpart and possesses all the traits discussed in the prior two analyses; thus, the researcher will maintain the general inference of medium involvement on the part of the target audience. Such factors outlined earlier include a

balance of central and peripheral cues in the content, reflecting strong emotional appeal rooted in factual testimony.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2)*. In addition to the subject's assertion that women's freedom of choice is a "prison," "Donna" also relates in the minute-long spot that she is "mad at the people who told me that the most important thing was an education" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013). The indirect claim, thus, is that education is not more important than one's decision for or against having an abortion. But because the claim is couched indirectly, it cannot necessarily be considered an appeal to the central processing route. Only one central claim can be identified in this ad; that the rhetoric of choice is ensnaring to women, expressed in the woman's statement: "Don't do what I did. I know it's hard to raise a child on your own, I know it's hard because the man is not there or whatever, but I just know that this whole thing about choice—a woman's right to choose—is not freedom. In the end, it's not freedom; it's a prison" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013).

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4)*. This ad contains the same audiovisual, ethnicity-related, and documentary stylistic peripheral cues associated with the other ads. However, the framing of the message extends beyond the recurrent feminist cues—i.e. descriptions of a innately female experiences such as pregnancy and motherhood, avoidance of moral or legal arguments for or against abortion, and presumption of free choice in the matter—and also incorporates issues of socioeconomic status, familial issues, and culture. Note the key phrases (emphasis added): "In my *community*, they didn't *preach*... I know it's hard because *the man is not there*... I'm mad at the people who told me that the most important thing was an *education*" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013). These terms relate specifically to documented, pervasive attitudes common among lower income, urban, and

minority communities (c.f. Barnes, S. L., 2005; Cohen, et al., 2007), thus their inclusion in the final edit of the commercial is significant. Simultaneously, “Donna” does not frame her testimony within feminism, specifically repudiating the foundation of the pro-choice argument. With high relevance to the central cues of the ad, this commercial constitutes an effective departure from the women’s-issues approach taken by almost all other VirtueMedia ads.

Campaign 2: *Been There – Kristi* :30. This 30-second campaign installment follows the same format of the others, and features “Kristi,” an African American woman appearing to be in her thirties or forties.

1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1). For the 30 second “Kristi” ad, one may infer a medium level of involvement because of the ad content’s equal reliance upon both widely varied peripheral and distinct central cues, addressed under the third criteria below. It should be noted, however, that “Kristi” stands out from the other commercials in Campaign 2 because it possesses a much stronger, direct central cue—also addressed below.

2. Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2). “Kristi,” somewhat matter-of-factly, makes several factual claims which are subjective in that they relate to her experience, but applicable to others in similar situations. These include claims such as, “Planned Parenthood did not give me any options at all,” “I killed my son,” and, “It’s not about my body, it’s about a baby” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). Finally, the interviewee also concluded by noting that there are “plenty of places out there that will help you, all you have to do is ask” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). Unlike other VirtueMedia ads, “Kristi’s” testimony focuses primarily on the injustice of abortion in regard to the child more so than the suffering of the mother (though both elements are present). Three truly distinct centrally-oriented claims are

discernable; the personhood of the unborn child, the inadequacy of Planned Parenthood, and the final note of the availability of CPC services.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4).* This ad contains the same audiovisual, ethnicity-related, and documentary stylistic peripheral cues associated with the other ads. It continues in the style of Campaign 2, audiovisually bearing moderate relevance to the ad's central message; key video elements (addressed in the analysis of "Brenda :30") align with the younger-skewed age range of the target audience, while such cues are not in themselves vital to the ad's message. Low relevance is seen in the realm of ethnicity because, although "Kristi's" ethnicity reflects a key audience segment, (1) it would be apparent to viewers that the spokeswomen have been selected foremost by the nature of their testimony and only secondarily for ethnicity, and (2) "Kristi's" monologue lacks the noticeable ethnic or socioeconomic community identifiers found in the "Donna" ad. Documentary style bears high relevance to the central message, not because of the visual composition to which it leads, but because of its ability to orient the ad's message in a more relatable first-person frame. The women's-issues message framing of the ad (which, to reiterate, is defined generally for purposes of this analysis as focusing on female experiences, avoiding moral arguments for or against abortion, and accepting women's ability to choose), however, manifests far more passively, evidenced in the orientation of the ad towards the woman's testimony rather than third-person narration yet containing none of the ambiguities of other VirtueMedia ads. "Kristi" states in no uncertain terms, "I killed my son," and directly accuses Planned Parenthood of lacking options other than abortion (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013). Thus, message framing—one of the more crucial elements of VirtueMedia's peripheral rhetoric—bears only moderate relevance to

the central cues, and leads us to infer that this ad is better suited towards moderately involved viewers.

Campaign 2: *Been There – Kristi :60*. *1. Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1).* For the 60-second “Kristi” ad, like its shorter counterpart, the researcher infers a higher suitability towards audiences moderately likely to elaborate, for reasons outlined under the third criterion. Once more, this is due to the generally equal level of prominence given to both central and peripheral elements throughout the ad.

2. Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2). Both variants of the “Kristi” ad contain several factual claims. Although the ad copy is longer in this version, once more, three distinct factual claims are discernable; the personhood of the unborn child, the inadequacy of Planned Parenthood, and the final note of the availability of CPC services. The long version gives a bit more insight into why “Kristi’s” testimony is oriented more directly; she was “happy” and “excited” when she learned she was pregnant, while pressure from her “disappointed” parents ultimately led her to abort—her actions, at the root, prompted by the fact that she “didn’t really understand what abortion was” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). Thus the testimony presented in this ad also appeals to women under pressure who do not quite understand what abortion is, and are more motivated to utilize central processing.

3. Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4). The same observations made in regard to audiovisual, ethnicity-related, and documentary style peripheral cues apply to this ad as well, in regard to quantity, quality, and relevance. And, in light of the observations made in the analysis of “Kristi :30,” the passive use of message framing cues in “Kristi :60” bears medium relevance to the central messages in that the content

does not hinge upon the women's-issues tone because of "Kristi's" direct admonition of abortion as "kill[ing]" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013).

Campaign 2: *Been There – Mix :30.* 1. *Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1).*

This ad, distinguished from the others in that it features a montage of various interviews, is otherwise identical to the other commercials in Campaign 2. It appears to be geared towards an audience with a moderate level of involvement due to its (1) decreased reliance upon message framing relative to the earlier campaign, and (2) little to no effort being made to avoid direct admonition of the practice of abortion.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2).* The 30-second "Mix" ad is light on copy, spacing out the interviewees' comments to accommodate transitions from one woman to the next. One interviewee, "Christine," states in regard to the post-abortive experience, "You feel ashamed" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013). Other claims are framed in the first person voice, including statements such as, "After the abortion I felt no sense of relief," "I felt empty, like a part of my soul was just ripped out. I didn't care if I lived or died," and, "I compared it [the abortion experience] very much to rape." With this artifact, the ELM-derived categories of "central" and "peripheral" are inadequate to categorize first-person (subjective) claims from second-person (non-subjective) persuasive statements. The researcher identifies one central claim in this ad, because (1) the ad copy contains only one non-subjective (i.e. second person) claim, and (2) all other subjective claims in the ad revolve around the same emotional themes or factual basis.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4).* Once more, the researcher observes that audiovisual elements, cues of spokeswoman ethnicity, and use of documentary format bear the same levels of relevance across the board as in

the prior analysis. The “Mix” ad features video and sound elements to which the target age bracket would relate, yet these elements themselves are not relevant to the message conveyed. As addressed in earlier analyses, the use of spokeswomen with varied ethnicities rather than selecting a single ethnicity reduces this cue’s relevance for audiences with strong ethnic identities (c.f. Arpan, 2002). Thirdly, the documentary style is crucial because it frames the message within the spokeswomen’s personal testimony, which must be taken for its own merits regardless of one’s political positions. Fourthly, message framing here, again, is crucial to building receptivity; this ad’s testimonials highlight not the moral questionability of abortion but the severe trauma caused to the spokeswomen. “Patti” compares the experience to rape, while Brenda alludes to suicidal tendencies (“I didn’t care if I lived or died”) (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). The peripheral cue of message framing thus possesses high relevance.

Campaign 2: *Been There – Mix :60.* 1. *Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1).*

This second montage variant again, one may infer, is geared towards an audience with a medium level of involvement, given, once more, the lower utility of message framing in the context of persuasion and the lack of effort to avoid explicitly condemning abortion.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2).* Three centrally-oriented fact claims, not including more subjective (first-person) claims, are notable. This ad combines (1) the assertion of “Brenda” that, “contrary to how abortion is marketed, no matter how many people try to sell you on it, it is not a quick fix. It leaves you empty. It leaves you alone, regretful,” (2) “Vanessa’s” claim that the “long-term effects of having an abortion is (*sic*) a grief that can never be satisfied or taken away. It’s a sadness that lingers with you,” and (3) “Donna’s” note that “a woman’s right to choose—is not freedom. In the end, it’s not freedom, it’s a prison” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013). One should not infer that the content of this ad is vastly

different from the others because it possesses three identifiable central cues rather than the typical one; due to the ambiguities of ELM's categories of "central" and "peripheral," subjective first-person claims have been grouped into the overall central message rather than counted as additional fact claims.

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4).* Once more, the researcher observes that audiovisual elements, cues of spokeswoman ethnicity, and use of documentary format serve the same functions as in the 30-second "Mix" variant. Message framing bears only medium relevance here because the selected interview clips do not attempt to avoid direct condemnation of abortion.

Campaign 2: *Been There – Patti* :30. "Patti," a middle-aged Caucasian woman, details her experience alleging emotional neglect and mistreatment by Planned Parenthood at age 16 in this half-minute spot.

1. *Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1).* Based on the content of this ad, which generally gives equal prominence to central and persuasive cues, the researcher infers that VirtueMedia has intended this advertisement for an audience that is moderately likely to elaborate.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2).* Two identifiable central claims exist in this ad, excluding the majority of first-person subjective statements: the objective existence of compounding negative emotions stemming from the decision to abort, and the failure of Planned Parenthood to provide "Patti" with options. In the words of the spokeswoman, "[The effects of abortion are] a great price to pay for the rest of your life, it's a price of regret, and just severe grief. It compounds because of other choices you make as a result of the pain and the suffering that you're going through" (VirtueMedia, "Pregnancy help," 2013).

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4).* Once more, the researcher observes that the peripheral cues at hand—audiovisual elements, cues of spokeswoman ethnicity, and use of documentary format—bear the same amount of relevance to the central message as described in the prior analyses. To elaborate, this ad features trending video and sound elements to which the target audience may easily relate, yet the ad’s message is fully capable of standing apart from such cues. Ethnicity is not a particularly weighty peripheral cue in this case, given that viewers may easily discern that “Patti” was selected chiefly because of the nature of her testimony and only secondarily—if even at all—for her ethnicity. Thirdly, documentary format is again integral in how it frames the message within a personal testimony rather than outside assertions. However, women’s-issues message framing plays a smaller role in “Patti” than in other Campaign 2 ads due to the woman’s named criticism of Planned Parenthood. The approximated relevance of each peripheral category has been charted in Figure 2 (see Appendix A).

Campaign 2: *Been There – Patti* :60. 1. *Inferred level of target involvement (criterion 1).* Based on the content of this ad, which generally gives equal prominence to central and persuasive cues, the researcher infers that VirtueMedia would target this advertisement (as well as its 30-second iteration) to viewers who are moderately likely to elaborate.

2. *Quantity and content of factual claim(s) (criterion 2).* As in the prior ad, two central claims are identifiable: one relating to Planned Parenthood’s inadequacy, and the other relating to the danger of compounding negative post-abortive emotions. In this variant, “Patti” gives more detail concerning the experience with Planned Parenthood: “...because I was underage, I didn’t have any choices. They didn’t care about how I felt, and didn’t do anything to care for me or counsel me, or anything” (VirtueMedia, “Pregnancy help,” 2013).

3. *Quantity, nature of peripheral cue(s) and relevance to factual claim(s) (criteria 3 and 4).* The same types of audiovisual cues, elements related to spokeswoman ethnicity, and documentary are present in this ad as in the 30-second variant. Women's-issues message framing (which, as used in Campaign 1, could be seen as blurring the distinction between PregnancyLine.com and abortive services) plays a less significant role in this ad, because "Patti" specifically criticizes Planned Parenthood and compares the trauma of her abortion to rape. The ad could remove all women's-issues framing elements altogether and convey a similar message; thus, the researcher found women's-issues framing—as a peripheral cue—to be only moderately relevant.

Campaign 2: General content analysis. The keyword frequency analysis conducted on Campaign 2 (see Appendix B, Figure 3), excluding insignificant words but including word variants, yielded "feel" (or felt) as the most common words (with an average of 1.67 uses per ad), followed by monetary terms invocative of loss (paid/price/money; average of 1.34 uses per ad), and the "abortion" as the third most frequent keyword (1.23 uses per ad). Terms related to decision making (choice[s]/choose) came in fourth (average of 1 use per ad), and interestingly, terms of mortality (died/killed) came in fifth (with two-thirds of the ads employing such words). These words are markedly distinct from the tone and content of Campaign 1, a phenomenon which will be explored in greater depth in the discussion chapter.

A non-exhaustive listing of visually-represented keywords and phrases was also conducted on the commercials from Campaign 2 (limited in that dozens of keywords were written on a series of chalkboards in the background, appearing in various shots and in varying degrees of focus throughout each video). Some of the more commonly occurring words phrases included, "Felt pressured," "Leaves a hole in your soul," "Complicated," "Stays with you

forever,” “Became sterile”/“Couldn’t have another child,” “Guilt,” “Panicked,” “Broken,” and “You don’t want to end up like me” (see Figure 6, Appendix B). Limitations of the visual footage do not allow for an objective quantification of these phrases; however, the overarching themes—guilt, emotional consequences, and unforeseen consequences—are clear. This is in sharp contrast with both the tone and content of Campaign 1.

Campaign 2: Summary. Campaign 2, as illustrated in Figure 2, is geared towards a more involved audience than Campaign 1, offering more direct presentations of the spokeswomen’s negative experiences with abortion, and intentionally not attaining to the same level of brand positioning (via message framing) exhibited in Campaign 1. Campaign 2, which utilizes more central cues, is meant to produce attitude change even if the viewer does not act on the call to action and utilize the CPC services. The same cannot be said of Campaign 2; it presents no added value to affect attitude change, thus its impact hinges entirely upon whether viewers follow through by calling the phone number or visiting the site. But while the number of fact claims is higher, Campaign 2 also allots a greater quantity of peripheral cues, seizing on the subjectivity of the documentary style to persuade. Further implications will be addressed in the discussion chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Campaign 1 is an intentionally ambiguous appeal for women with unplanned pregnancies, regardless of political or religious leanings, to consult PregnancyLine.com in search of CPC services. The themes are driven at converting impressions into inquiries; in essence, services are low-risk and easily accessible, and pregnant women have nothing to lose. In a straightforward sense, and perhaps in the sense intended by the originators of ELM, Campaign 1 is factually oriented. However, considering the actual service being sold—counseling contrary to abortion—the message itself actually seems rather passive (hence the initial designation of women’s-issues message framing as a peripheral cue). Interestingly, upon accessing the site (PregnancyLine.com), viewers are greeted with the clearly pro-life “Been There – Mix :30” commercial—which itself, as noted in the prior chapter, is not so much aimed at converting impressions as it is in prompting general attitude shift. The rhetoric is quite intentional. The more passive or ambiguous Campaign 1 commercials funnel in abortion-minded women (particularly, those of low involvement), and then Campaign 2 prompts elaboration by centrally appealing to women to reject abortion—a message to which viewers are primed through the use of the testimonial format. Though unverified, this could perhaps represent VirtueMedia’s overall rhetorical strategy, using more widely dispersed ads with broader appeals (i.e. campaign 1) while other campaigns (i.e. campaign 2), accessed once viewers complete the call to action in the first campaign, reinforce pro-life views with increasing directness. This model of progression from passive to active persuasion would actually replicate routes employed by the hypothetical abortion-minded woman; as she initially might enter a CPC, either unaware or undeterred by its ideology, she will perhaps not respond well to direct appeals, but her willingness elaboration will

increase in direct proportion to her involvement and communication with counselors and clinicians.

Research Question 1

Thus, in regard to research question 1, “Do VirtueMedia’s CPC ads reflect a more passive (i.e. peripheral) approach to persuasion, or active (i.e. central)?” the research shows a definite passive orientation in Campaign 1 and a relatively more active orientation in Campaign 2; by contrast, the researcher expected to largely passive persuasion across both campaigns. Such an inference cannot be made simply by merely observing the numeric data; in instance, counting cues, a highly subjective method, in fact yields a central-to-peripheral cue ratio of 1:4.53 for Campaign 1 versus 1:5.5 for Campaign 2 (calculated from data in Figures 1 and 2; see Appendix A). The inconsistency is due to the higher number of peripheral cues counted in Campaign 2, many by virtue of its higher production quality. Further limitations of the ELM-based evaluative criteria will be discussed in the limitations section.

Insofar as Campaign 2 is not geared towards the direct promotion of CPC’s (but indeed towards awareness), in addition to the progression model, VirtueMedia’s commercials directly advertising CPC’s are in fact highly passive.

Research Question 2

How does VirtueMedia use women’s-issues message framing as a peripheral cue in relation to its advertising goals? To recap, the study took women’s-issues message framing to refer to discussion of abortion issues in a manner that is concerned mainly with the exclusively female experiences (motherhood, childbirth, pregnancy, etc.), omits direct moral claims or religious messages, accepts the ability of women to choose (acknowledging “options”), and/or uses terminology usually associated with the pro-choice movement. The content analysis reveals

that, within these two campaigns, VirtueMedia uses women's-issues message framing to draw in a wider pool of abortion-minded women, including those of relatively low involvement, but employs the cue in quite a different form in other contexts where viewers are more likely to elaborate, or where the intent of the ad is not aimed at immediate action. Across all of Campaign 1, the analysis revealed the framing of the message to be highly relevant to the central cues of the ads. A direct correlation exists between using language that passively resembles that which an abortion provider uses and increasing abortion-minded women's receptivity to CPC advertisement of services.

By contrast, Campaign 2 also employs women's-issues message undertones, focusing largely on the dangers of abortion towards the psychological health of the mother, but by no means in such a way as to be mistaken for those of an abortion provider. About one-third of the Campaign 2 ads used strong women's-issues message framing cues, while the other two-thirds of the samples employ such cues less strong-handedly. Although the function of women's-issues message framing varies from one VirtueMedia ad to another, its role is integral to each campaign.

Research Question 3

Is women's-issues framing, as defined above, effectively employed in these ads? (That is, is women's-issues framing, as used, relevant enough to the central cue(s) of the campaigns to foreseeably increase audience receptivity towards CPC services?) As noted above, women's-issues framing figures most prominently (and obfuscates VirtueMedia's ideological views the most) in Campaign 1, in which each ad meets each of the four criteria of women's-issues message framing set forth in the methodology chapter. While Campaign 2 possesses virtually none of the same ambiguities, it still caters its message to the target audience and employs

women's-issues framing for a different function. In fact, at times Campaign 2's commercials *intentionally reverse* the women's-issues framing of the abortion message—evidenced by the title screen “After my *choice*” (emphasis added) that appears midway through all but one of the ads (the 30-second “Mix” variant being the exception). The female interviewees also employ pro-life language relating to abortion (i.e. terms of mortality), and it is notable that none of the ads contained any kind of explanatory third person narration.

To fully answer RQ3, it must be stated that the conclusiveness of the research depends upon one's acceptance that peripheral cue relevance to central cues is an indicator of potential audience receptivity. If this condition is granted, the answer to RQ3 is yes; women's-issues framing, as employed by VirtueMedia, is relevant enough to the central cue) of its campaigns to foreseeably increase abortion-minded women's receptivity to CPC services. In precisely what way one may “foresee” this result is beyond the scope of content analysis; but both ads are clearly capable of producing good results, given VirtueMedia's own statistics to confirm the impact of their campaigns (c.f. VirtueMedia, 2012).

Themes

No content analysis would be complete without an inclusion of major themes throughout the artifacts surveyed. For ads geared towards viewers who are less likely to elaborate, the overarching theme is the availability of free, confidential services for women who may be experiencing uncertainty, insecurity, intimidation, or any other number of factors associated with unplanned pregnancy. The secondary theme, geared in Campaign 2 toward more involved viewers, is the regret and other negative psychological or physical consequences experienced by post-abortive women. These themes, and the degree to which the campaigns overlap in content, are reflected in the keyword and phrase analyses charted in Appendix B.

Implications

Implications for further CPC marketing campaigns. What implications does this study bear on future CPC marketing efforts? First, advertisers should note ambiguously positioning CPC's within the market of abortion clinics is not crucial in all cases. In campaigns where the goal is attitude change, marketers can seize on more direct pro-life messages such as those in VirtueMedia's "Been There" campaign; an ambiguous message to higher-involvement audiences would amount to a missed opportunity. Positioning CPC brands alongside abortion clinics via such ambiguity may be a strategy best reserved for lower-involvement audiences.

Second, CPC marketers should note that using women's-issues framing does not exclude condemning abortion. In evaluating goals for any given outreach effort, advertisers may find that an approach like that of Campaign 2—which seizes on and even reverses the language of choice all from a female standpoint, simultaneously promoting life—is more suitable. In such cases, other peripheral cues (documentary format, production quality, spokesperson selection) are just as important as framing, if not more so at times.

Implications for the broader CPC ethical controversy in media. What implications, if any, does the content analysis of CPC commercials say with respect to the ethicality of such ads? Many questions surround the ethicality of ambiguous CPC ads—the type which has caused media, medical, and legal professionals to accuse pro-life groups of outright deception, and which could potentially include Campaign 1 from a pro-choice perspective. A note can also be made relating to the ethicality of CPC advertising in general. No incorrect statements are made in Campaign 1; in fact, the ad never makes any claim—direct or otherwise—to be an abortion clinic or similar medical establishment. The closest approximation that can be made between the services as advertised in this sample and those of a Planned Parenthood clinic is that both offer

free, confidential services and can be described as “women’s centers” in a broad sense. This is fundamentally not deception but brand positioning.

Consider one argument from analogy: the logic which would accuse ads such as those in Campaign 1 of dishonesty should also maintain that a limited-menu fast food restaurant, in spite of its existence in the same genre of services as its competitors, must advertise overtly as having less variety than a higher-grossing competitor. Few would extend this logic beyond the reproductive care industry, but technically, there is nothing to ethically prevent a CPC from positioning itself as a viable alternative to an abortion clinic. The fact that abortion, adoption, and parenting are, in the broadest sense, equally legal across the U.S., and equally definable as “women’s services,” warrants care providers to position their services as likewise comparable.

And as a final consideration, ethical considerations fade away when one also considers the less ambiguous use of women’s-issues framing, demonstrated in Campaign 2. Employing true-to-life interviews is the strength of Campaign 2, and is capable of producing deeper sympathies than third party narrations (i.e., the more sterile sounding, Feeling scared? Call now! approach). The brutally honest testimonial format subverts the entire “deceptive CPC ads” controversy and offers to abortion-minded women a message that is arguably more effective anyway.

Implications for ELM and health communications. This study has also further demonstrated the relevance of ELM to health communication, regardless of methodology. Because so many personal and lifestyle factors play into consumer health decisions, addressing each of these factors in the more subtle peripheral elements of a campaign is vital. Pharmaceutical commercials, for instance, are legally bound to provide vast amounts of technical disclaimers; thus, many drug ads often rely strongly on other visual elements to involve the

viewer. In considering both (1) the fact that reproductive service centers (be they CPC's or abortion clinics) are rarely if ever legally obligated to provide comparable disclaimers, and (2) the taboo associated with overt media discussion or portrayal of reproductive functions, one may postulate that reproductive health ads would be *vastly* more passive and peripheral than other health ads in the first place. Confirming or denying this hypothesis with broad-scale analyses of a reproductive and non-reproductive health ad campaigns (and perhaps non-health ads as well, for comparison), testing for either peripheral or central dominant orientation, could lend—or detract—a great deal of credibility towards passive pro-life persuasion methods.

This study has also revealed several subsets of peripheral cues that have not been addressed in past literature on ELM, including not only passive message framing cues, but also use of documentary or interview format. Chingching (2011) found that health advertisement messages perform better when linked with self-referencing techniques (i.e. second-person pronouns and rhetorical questions); how might these findings apply to the use of the first-person monologues of something like VirtueMedia's "Been There" campaign? Would even the most aggressive pro-life statement be better received by an audience of abortion-minded women in the context of such peripheral cues? Though simple analysis cannot answer such questions, ELM still proves its salience beyond the basic peripheral categories of spokesperson appearance and audiovisual elements, which future research should consider exploring.

Implications for ELM and advertisement analysis. In this study, the basis of the research questions revolved around whether or not CPC's primarily use passive or active means of persuasion. ELM is a viable framework for organizing content analysis into these categories; however, its utility is truly only realized in participant-based research. The deficiencies of the model for content analysis will be outlined in the limitations section below, but several

implications can be addressed initially. ELM-based content analysis could have further application in confirming or denying accusations of deceptive advertising of CPC's. In this study, it revealed that women's-issues message cues serve a function *beyond* the obfuscation effect admittedly prominent in Campaign 1. But more broadly, such analyses, if applied to much larger bodies of artifacts, could actually produce helpful *quantitative* data on whether pro-life ads are in general more heavily passive or active. This data would be vital in addressing media, legal, and medical concerns regarding the way in which CPC ads are most often postured.

Other implications for ELM-based research include the need for further work towards content analysis criteria. This includes not only broadening the criteria beyond identifying peripheral or central cues, but also working towards discrete subsets of each type of cue. More of these needs are discussed in the limitations section. But until a more standardized, tested set of analysis criteria emerges with sufficient scholarly backing, researchers will not be able to utilize ELM for its useful framework even outside participant-based studies.

Limitations

The methods employed by this study were limited in a few ways. First, ELM is helpful as a conceptual framework, but falls remarkably short when pressed as a tool for content analysis. The proprietary analysis criteria used in this study achieved its overall intent, but had no way to objectively distinguish between discrete peripheral cues. Any quantifiable data in regard to peripheral elements is subjective to the researcher; other observers may draw different demarcations between cues and arrive at completely different numbers. In the case of audiovisuals, where does one "cue" begin and another end? Do the keywords written on chalkboards featured in the background of Campaign 2's commercials constitute a continuous

cue, or multiple successive messages? Beyond the basics such as use of color or ethnicity of a spokesperson, ELM does not provide a satisfactory definition of peripheral cues.

Another limitation is that ELM does not distinguish between objective cues utilizing the central processing route (i.e., you will feel ashamed if you receive an abortion) versus subjective cues *also* utilizing the central route (i.e. *I* felt ashamed after my abortion), nor instruct as to whether or not the latter should be considered central at all. This study has only been able to note that peripheral and central elements are both at play in such instances (for example, the interview-based commercials in Campaign 2), in that strong central claims made about reproductive services are less obvious when couched within personal testimony. Beyond this, however, ELM's limitation in this area poses extreme difficulty in evaluating content to determine whether or not an ad is primarily peripheral or primarily central.

ELM is also weak as a theoretical basis of analyzing ad campaigns on such complex issues as abortion because "involvement" is poorly defined and not necessarily the key component to whether peripheral or central routes would be more effective. To argue from analogy, within ELM, an active vehicle shopper would be considered highly involved and thus likely to use central processing of automobile ads; however, the shopper's involvement may be high in regard to information on low budget pre-owned vehicles and, almost necessarily, extremely low in regard to advertisements for current model year vehicles. Though such an individual's overall involvement towards automotive advertising may be high, he or she may require highly peripheral routes—relating to the look, feel, and social status of a new automobile—to consider newer vehicles. In the case of CPC advertising, a similar example would be assuming that an abortion-minded woman is "highly involved" because she is diligently searching out her options; but in this case, a fully central approach (using direct

appeals, possibly including moral or religious arguments) may deter her if she is only involved in searching out information for potential abortion procedures and has already ruled out adoption and parenting. ELM alone cannot provide a basis for which to establish focal regions of advertising particular goods or services in which involvement levels may fluctuate greatly.

This study is also limited in its inability to objectively measure ad effectiveness. “Relevance” has been the key criterion in this regard, but exceptions always exist; for example, while marketers often presume to match the ethnicity of the spokesperson to that of the audience, studies reveal another factor—strength of racial identity—as a variable which can produce mixed results (Arpan, 2002). Whether a peripheral cue is strongly related to the accompanying central messages may in fact say very little about the effectiveness of the ad overall; one need only think of the countless humor-based Geico campaigns that have been produced. Only participant-based research can actually determine advertisement effectiveness; rhetorical analyses can only shed light on what approaches have been used and may or may not be able to produce the desired results.

Recommendations for Future Research

In spite of the limitations associated with using ELM for content analysis, the theoretical basis has served remarkably well in categorizing the rhetoric of active versus passive persuasion. Future communication, sociology, or psychology researchers would benefit highly from a tested, refined version of the content analysis criteria used here.

Future research would also benefit from building a more concrete means of extrapolating content analysis (specifically analyses using ELM) into inferences of effectiveness. Though data from content analysis can never be wholesale extrapolated into actual effectiveness, in the

context of ELM and passive versus active persuasion, more research is needed to see which persuasion methods perform best within different contexts.

CPC marketers should focus on audience analysis which can estimate viewers' involvement levels. Although this study has inferred what VirtueMedia may have assumed about the involvement levels of their target audience based on whether the campaigns' content was more peripheral or central, a variety of factors exist which could shift abortion-minded women's actual involvement. For example, it is unknown, based on the current scholarly knowledge, whether the presence of certain political or religious convictions would make abortion-women more or less involved. It is also unknown if certain demographic segments of the target audience—based on ethnicity, age, or socioeconomic status—are more or less involved than others. Such knowledge would be crucial for CPC advertisers in establishing a rhetorical model, choosing whether to focus on active or passive persuasion.

Future research should also attempt to contrast CPC, pro-life, and reproductive health marketing communication in general with marketing communication in other elements of the medical field. Because so many factors weigh into the making of personal health decisions, health marketing approaches differ vastly in passiveness or activeness, in addition for factors relating to the nature of the goods or services themselves. As discussed earlier in the limitations section, this means that each sub-industry of the medical field could be expected to conform to trends of varying degrees of passivity of activity in advertising. Larger-scale studies could correlate this data and compare CPC advertising to other forms of health advertising, addressing whether the pro-life rhetorical approaches used are different from those accepted by the traditional medical community in other applications.

For example, pharmaceutical commercials, for instance, are legally bound to provide vast amounts of technical disclaimers; thus, many drug ads often rely strongly on other visual elements to involve the viewer. In considering both (1) the fact that reproductive service centers (be they CPC's or abortion clinics) are rarely if ever legally obligated to provide comparable disclaimers, and (2) the taboo associated with overt media discussion or portrayal of reproductive functions, one may postulate that reproductive health ads would be *vastly* more passive and peripheral than other health ads in the first place. Confirming or denying this hypothesis with broad-scale analyses of a reproductive and non-reproductive health ad campaigns (and perhaps non-health ads as well, for comparison), testing for either peripheral or central dominant orientation, could lend—or detract—a great deal of credibility towards passive pro-life persuasion methods.

Another area in which future research is needed is that of the additional peripheral cues identified in this study. Some of those discussed—most notably the documentary/interview format and the framing of the message—have not been explored in the existing body of literature to the extent of some others (use of color being one obvious example), yet the fact that similar cues fit into an ELM framework is already demonstrated in works such as Chingching (2011). The ELM model itself may need modification in order to accommodate such cues, and admittedly, no list of peripheral cues could be exhaustive since the subject is subjective by nature. But as advertising media continue in their trend of convergence and distinct media become less defined, the need will continue for broadened, yet more concrete distinctions between categories of peripheral cues.

Finally, in spite of the contribution the researcher hopes to make with this study, there still lack a considerable gap in the literature regarding CPC marketing. This gap is both

methodological and ideological, as the only task more difficult than finding scholarly research on CPC ad *content* itself is finding such research without pro-choice bias.

Conclusion

Passive persuasion is crucial to brand positioning for CPC's, yet in spite of how the related headlines read, this strategy entails far more than simply choosing not to disclose the lack of abortion services. CPC's in fact employ a wide variety of persuasive routes, making unlikely the claims that their advertisements are simply about confusing viewers as to whether or not they offer abortion services. Pro-life agencies such as VirtueMedia indeed face a unique challenge in marketing non-abortive services to abortion-minded women—one that could not be accomplished through mere obfuscation. By contrast, any ambiguity of CPC advertising measures seems to be a product of brand positioning, effectively framing the message within feminism. The relevance of the each campaign's peripheral elements to its central message, considered in light of the purported statistics on these and other ad efforts' pro-life impact, show that such strategies are effective. When elaboration is low, positioning the brand of a CPC as competition to abortion clinics is able to produce conversions; but when elaboration is high, other unambiguous forms of persuasion such as personal testimony can produce real attitude change.

Appendix A: Content Analyses per ELM-Based Criteria

Fig. 1 – Persuasive Routes by Ad (Campaign 1)					
		Central cues/fact claims	Peripheral categories		
			Audiovisual elements	Ethnicity	Message framing
<i>PregnancyLine – Gabby</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Low</i>			
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues		<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>
<i>PregnancyLine – LeAnn</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Low</i>			
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues		<i>Low</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
<i>PregnancyLine – Bri</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Low</i>			
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues		<i>Medium</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>
<i>PregnancyLine Mix</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Low</i>			
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues		<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>

Fig. 2 – Persuasive Routes by Ad (Campaign 2)

		Central cues/fact claims	Peripheral categories			
			Audio-visual elements	Ethnicity	Message framing	Documentary style
<i>Been There – Brenda :30</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Donna :30</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Donna :60</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
<i>Been There – Donna :60</i>	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Kristi :30</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Kristi :60</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	

Fig. 2 cont'd – Persuasive Routes by Ad (Campaign 2)						
<i>Been There – Mix :30</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Mix :30</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Patti :30</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>Been There – Patti :60</i>	Inferable target involvement	<i>Medium</i>				
	Distinct elements/cues identified	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>
	Relevance to central cues	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>High</i>	

Appendix B: Keyword Frequency per Campaign

Fig. 3 – Keyword Frequency in Narration (Campaign 1)

Word (including variations)	Total	Avg. per ad
<i>Help</i>	10	2.5
<i>Pregnant/pregnancy</i>	9	2.25
<i>Now</i>	8	2
<i>Afford/cost/free</i>	5	1.25
<i>Feel/feeling</i>	5	1.25
<i>Confidential/confidentially</i>	4	1
<i>Women’s</i>	4	1
<i>Scared</i>	3	.75
<i>Unplanned</i>	3	.75
<i>Advice</i>	2	.5
<i>Alone</i>	2	.5
<i>Confused</i>	2	.5
<i>Mom</i>	2	.5
<i>Surprise</i>	2	.5
<i>Pressured</i>	1	.25
<i>Shock</i>	1	.25

Fig. 4 – Keyword Frequency in Visuals (Campaign 1)

Word (including variations)	Total	Avg. per ad
<i>Pregnant/PregnancyLine</i>	9	2.25
<i>Woman/women</i>	8	2
<i>Free</i>	4	1

<i>Confidential</i>	4	1
<i>Scared</i>	3	.75
<i>Not planned</i>	2	.5
<i>Help</i>	2	.5
<i>Surprised</i>	2	.5
<i>Ready</i>	2	.5
<i>Confused</i>	2	.5
<i>Pressured</i>	1	.25
<i>Shock</i>	1	.25
<i>Hope</i>	1	.25
<i>Options</i>	1	.25
<i>Alone</i>	1	.25

Fig. 5 – Keyword Frequency in Narration (Campaign 2)

Word (including variations)	Total	Avg. per ad
<i>Feel/felt</i>	15	1.667
<i>Paid/price/money</i>	12	1.334
<i>Abortion</i>	11	1.223
<i>Choice/choices/choose</i>	9	1
<i>Died/killed</i>	6	.667
<i>Parents/parenthood</i>	6	.667
<i>Regret/regretful</i>	6	.667
<i>Child</i>	5	.556
<i>Freedom</i>	5	.556

<i>Pain/suffering</i>	5	.556
<i>Baby/son</i>	4	.445
<i>Care</i>	4	.445
<i>Empty</i>	4	.445
<i>Grief</i>	3	.334
<i>Option/options</i>	4	.445
<i>Pregnant</i>	4	.445
<i>Rape</i>	4	.445
<i>Woman's</i>	4	.445
<i>Pain</i>	2	.223
<i>Shame</i>	2	.223
<i>Traumatic</i>	2	.223
<i>Family</i>	1	.112
<i>Pressured</i>	1	.112
<i>Sadness</i>	1	.112

Fig. 6 – Keywords/Phrases Represented Visually, Non-Exhaustive (Campaign 2)	
1. <i>A dark feeling</i>	2. <i>Always stays with [you]</i>
3. <i>Became sterile</i>	4. <i>Broken</i>
5. <i>Can't undo it</i>	6. <i>Caught up with me</i>
7. <i>Complicated</i>	8. <i>Confused</i>
9. <i>Couldn't have another child</i>	10. <i>Felt pressured</i>
11. <i>Guilt</i>	12. <i>Hemmoraged (sic)</i>
13. <i>Leaves a hole in your soul</i>	14. <i>Memories haunt me</i>

15. <i>Mistake</i>	16. <i>Pain</i>
17. <i>Panicked</i>	18. <i>Part of me is missing</i>
19. <i>Regret</i>	20. <i>Shame</i>
21. <i>Stays with you forever</i>	22. <i>Tried to forget</i>
23. <i>Tried to pretend it never happened</i>	24. <i>You don't want to end up like me</i>

Appendix C: Audio Transcriptions of Advertisements

Campaign 1

PregnancyLine – Gabby

GABBY: If your pregnancy test comes back positive, it can be a total shock. You may be wondering how you can afford to be a mom right now, especially with your school or work schedule. Here's the good news: there is help. There's a nearby women's center that can help you completely confidentially and give you free advice. If you think you're pregnant, help is here. Call now or go online today.

VirtueMediaAds. (2012, July 20). *PregnancyLine Gabby*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YyIbplqxZaA>

PregnancyLine – LeAnn

LEANN: When you find out you're pregnant, it can be a real surprise. Maybe you aren't ready to be a mom, so you're feeling kind of scared or pressured. If you're facing an unplanned pregnancy, you don't have to feel alone. There is hope. Call or go online today to find a nearby women's center that can help you completely confidentially and without cost. If you think you're pregnant, there is help. Call now or go online today.

VirtueMediaAds. (2012, July 22). *PregnancyLine: LeAnn*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ndsC0nwIqiI>

PregnancyLine – Bri

BRI: Okay. You just discovered you're pregnant. Now what? After all, you weren't planning on this. So now you're feeling kind of confused, scared, and just

don't know what to do, or who to turn to. It's gonna be okay. There is help. If you're facing an unplanned pregnancy, there's a nearby women's center that can help you figure out your options. Oh, and it's totally confidential, and won't cost you anything. Call now, or go online today.

VirtueMediaAds. (2011, February 2). *PregnancyLine: Bri*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f7_kHDVZkj0

PregnancyLine – Mix

LEANN: When you find out you're pregnant, it can be a real surprise.

BRI: After all, you weren't planning on this. So now you're feeling kind of confused, scared, and just don't know what to do, or who to turn to.

GABBY: Here's the good news: there is help.

LEANN: If you're facing an unplanned pregnancy, you don't have to feel alone.

GABBY: There's a nearby women's center that can help you completely, confidentially, and can give you free advice.

LEANN: If you think you're pregnant, there is help. Call now, or go online today.

VirtueMediaAds. (2012, July 20). *PregnancyLine – mix*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XrlDcxZG5ms>

Campaign 2

Been There – Brenda :30

BRENDA: My world changed very quickly after I found out I was pregnant. I was really scared and confused. Abortion was the only option that I was given. I felt empty, I felt alone, I felt like a part of my soul was just ripped out. Contrary to how abortion is marketed, it is not a quick fix. It is not a solution to a

seemingly hopeless problem. It leaves you regretful I wouldn't suggest it to anyone, ever.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 11). *Been there: Brenda 30*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMD-j-6MOBw>

Been There – Donna :30

DONNA: In my community, they didn't preach having a child was a good thing. But in retrospect I was a part of the problem, and I did it without thinking. I'm mad at myself. I'm trying to have a child but now I can't. I just know this whole thing about a woman's right to choose—it's not freedom, it's a prison. I never should have done it.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 11). *Been there: Donna 30*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UnXNGN2GRmI>

Been There – Donna :60

DONNA: In my community, they didn't preach having a child was a good thing. So I was panicked. A friend made the appointment for me. But in retrospect, I should have never done it. I was a part of the problem, and I did it without thinking. I'm mad at myself, I'm mad at the people who told me that the most important thing was an education. I'm trying to have a child now, but I can't. I can't. It's all I can think about all day. Don't do what I did. I know it's hard to raise a child on your own, I know it's hard because the man is not there or whatever, but I just know that this whole thing about choice—a woman's right to choose—is not freedom. In the end, it's not freedom; it's a prison. At nineteen years old I didn't know that.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 11). *Been there: Donna 60*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0BfRjb-yTXw>

Been There – Kristi :30

KRISTI: My parents were disappointed and I didn't know where to turn. Planned Parenthood did not give me any options at all. I paid the money, and I became a number. I kept saying to myself, what have I done? I wake up everyday knowing that I killed my son. It's not about my body, it's about a baby. There's plenty of places out there that will help you, all you have to do is ask.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 11). *Been there: Kristi 30*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kD7TUJDGSQ>

Been There – Kristi :60

KRISTI: When I first found out that I was pregnant, I was very happy and excited. I was actually really surprised; my parents were disappointed. It just broke my heart and I didn't know where to turn. Planned Parenthood did not give me any options at all. They had me get undressed, I paid the money, and I became a number. I felt empty. I kept saying to myself, what have I done? I wake up everyday knowing that I killed my son, knowing that that's a mistake that I have to live with every day. I didn't really understand what abortion was. It's not about my body, it's about a baby. If I had known, I never would have gone through with it. There are other options out there. There's plenty of places out there that will help you, all you have to do is ask.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 12). *Been there: Kristi 60*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2qplAv_jqUA

Been There – Mix :30

VANESSA: After the abortion I felt no sense of relief.

BRENDA: I felt empty, like a part of my soul was just ripped out. I didn't care if I lived or died.

PATTI: I had experienced a rape at a very young age, and I compared it very much to rape.

CHRISTINE: You feel ashamed.

KRISTI: I kept saying to myself, what have I done?

DONNA: Don't do what I did.

VirtueMediaAds. (2014, March 25). *Been there mix :30*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G080I2-0Hrg>

Been There – Mix :60

BRENDA: My world changed really quickly after I found out I was pregnant.

VANESSA: I felt very pressured to have an abortion by everyone around me.

KRISTI: I paid the money, and I became a number.

BRENDA: Contrary to how abortion is marketed, no matter how many people try to sell you on it, it is not a quick fix. It leaves you empty. It leaves you alone, regretful.

VANESSA: The long-term effects of having an abortion is a grief that can never be satisfied or taken away. It's a sadness that lingers with you.

PATTI: And that's a great price to pay for the rest of your life. A price of regret, and shame, and unforgiveness.

DONNA: I just know this whole thing about a woman's right to choose—a woman's right to choose—is not freedom. In the end, it's not freedom, it's a prison. Don't do what I did.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 12). *Been there mix :60*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bYsQj0zFzSk>

Been There – Patti :30

I was brought into Planned Parenthood for an abortion. Unfortunately, because I was underage, I didn't have any choices. They didn't care about how I felt. I really felt like a part of me died that day. Very traumatic. And that's a great price to pay for the rest of your life, it's a price of regret, and just severe grief. It compounds because of other choices you make as a result of the pain and the suffering that you're going through. I would make decisions differently if I could go back.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 12). *Been there: Patti 30*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_phbCwCCNk

Been There – Patti :60

PATTI: When I was sixteen, I was brought into Planned Parenthood for an abortion. I was really upset; I had really wanted to consider adoption. Unfortunately, because I was underage, I didn't have any choices. They didn't care about how I felt, and didn't do anything to care for me or counsel me, or anything. I really felt like I died. I really felt like a part of me died that day. I had experienced a rape at a very young age, and I compared it very much to rape. Very traumatic. And that's a great price to pay for the rest of your life, it's a price

of regret, and shame, and unforgiveness, and just severe grief. And it compounds because of other choices you make as a result of the pain and the suffering that you're going through. I would make decisions differently if I could go back. You don't want to end up like me.

VirtueMediaAds. (2013, November 12). *Patti 30*. Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpaEyVWXqpY>

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