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**Shock Advertising – How does the acceptance of shock advertising by the consumer influence the advertiser’s designs?**

**Abstract**
Advertising has developed past being simply the publicising, promotion and selling of products and services. It has saturated the market, public places and media. Shock advertising that startles and offends its audience has become a popular tool in advertising, especially since the 1980s. As it has developed over the years, it has hit the consumer and cut through the clutter of advertising to gain attention. However, research indicates shock advertising campaigns push the boundaries of what is morally acceptable further than other advertisements do.

This paper will look at the idea of two different kinds of shock advertising, social advertising and profit-based advertising. The Montana Meth Project will serve as an example for social advertising and Benetton will be used as the profit-oriented fashion brand. The research is driven by the question: “how were the advertisers influenced in their designs by the acceptance of shock advertising by the consumer, depending on whether it is a profit-based or not-for-profit campaign?” The acceptance of shock advertising by the consumer can be different depending on the goal of profit or not-for-profit. This research question will be investigated through interviews with three advertising professionals.

**Keywords**
Shock advertising, social advertising, Montana Meth Project, Benetton, boundaries, consumer perception
Introduction
Advertising has been around since there have been goods and services to sell. Today, in the twenty-first century, advertising has developed into a major industry with a gross product of USD 412 (in millions) in 2009 (Blech, Blech, Kerr, and Powell 2009). It is a social and commercial industry trying to provoke or appeal, arousing emotions within the consumer. Shock advertising is created to startle, offend and question the values of cultures and society. It exploits taboo zones, the prohibitions or restrictions imposed by social custom (Moore 2004), in order to sell products and raise awareness of different topics. Shock advertising has developed since it first appeared in the late 1960s, and became very popular in the 1980s. It has pushed ethical and moral boundaries to new extremes. As its audience has started to get used to offensive images, it has sought to push further and further. Shock advertising challenges taboos to achieve reactions of astonishment and disgust. Often, at the time of release, these controversial images are burned into one’s consciousness, with the result that the advertisements have increased the thrust and the threat of their messages in order to reach a jaded, distrustful and desensitised audience.

For this article I have identified two very distinct areas that make high use of shock advertising, using the shock or threat appeal as the main advertising strategy. One is fashion advertising and the other is social advertising. Threat appeals, which are used in shock advertising, are advertisements that rely on intimidation by showing, for example, consequences of your actions (Moore 2004). The literature research for my PhD project showed that there was a higher acceptance by the consumer of not-for-profit shock advertisements intended for social benefit than there is for those intended to increase profit.

In this paper I will answer the research question, how does the acceptance of shock advertising by the consumer influence the advertiser’s designs? Two examples of advertising campaigns are used as case studies to compare and contrast the two types of shock advertisements and consumer and public responses to them. Interviews were conducted with professionals from the advertising industry about their perceptions of the issue of acceptance or rejection of shock advertising by the consumer and how these affect their conception of the advertising designs.

Benetton, the first example, is a profit-oriented fashion brand. Benetton is a highly researched company, therefore the exploration within this paper will be minimal; however, it is a
company that has had a great influence on shock advertising and triggered many discussions within the advertising industry. Secondly, the Montana Meth Project is an example of a not-for-profit organisation advertising successfully in several states of the US against meth use. The organisation has used very hard-hitting graphic imagery for their advertising campaign.

In the following sections I will present background information to the commonly held definitions of shock advertising and describe how the Montana Meth and Benetton advertising campaigns operated and were received. To support this study, I will provide information from interviews with: Paul Fishlock, the Creative Director of Campaign Palace Sydney; Christian Fischer, Managing Director of Biedermann and Brandstift, Frankfurt; and Amy Messinger, Senior Vice President at McCann Erickson Los Angeles, to show how the advertising industry views the issues raised. These people were selected for their extensive knowledge in the field of advertising. Findings will then be summarised and the research question answered.

**Advertising and shock advertising**

Advertising is traditionally defined as a ‘paid form of non-personal communication about an organisation, product, service or idea by an identified sponsor’ (Blech, Blech, Kerr, and Powel 2009). William Bernbach, from the global agency DDB, describes advertising to be fundamentally persuasion, not a science but an art (Casimir 2010).

In general terms, advertising can be described as being a paid, mediated, complex form of communication from an identified source, designed to attract attention and persuade the receiver to take action now or in the future (Blech, Blech, Kerr, and Powel 2009; Calvin Klein: A Case Study 2008; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy 2003). In a highly competitive global market, it has become particularly important for a brand to be presented in a striking way. The desired result is that the consumer will remember the message and possibly change their buying behaviour, because the advertising has impacted on their thoughts, feelings and actions. Additionally, advertising builds the company’s image and locks it into the mind of the consumer. Through repetition and dissemination of information about an organisation, service or product, advertising reinforces the messages that create images of what a company aspires to become in the public eye (O'Shaughnessy and

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1 Not abbreviated, this is the company’s full name.
The demand for advertising originates from the consumer request for accurate information on goods and services (Boddewyn 1992; Calvin Klein: A Case Study 2008). Advertisers wish to communicate with an audience who are the prospective consumers of the wares they advertise. Advertising helps persuade customers to select one product rather than another (Anderson 2005; Bovee et al. 1995). When the target audience decides to purchase a product, they are in effect deciding to buy the advertising information that has been supplied by a company to promote that product. The cost of the product is factored to include the advertising used to promote the firm’s product. Some highly creative advertising can be seen as having an identity in its own right, apart from the actual product being portrayed, as described by Kenyon (Calvin Klein: A Case Study 2008; Kenyon, Parsons, and Wood 2008).

The whole point of advertising has always been to attract attention; shock advertising does this in a more extreme way (Communications, 1997; Dzamic, November 2006).

If advertising were a sport, its extreme version would be ‘shockvertising’, advertisements designed to cause controversy, whether by showing kids having their foreheads tattooed with a company logo or using death row inmates to sell sweaters, to mention just a few of well-known examples. (Dzamic, November 2006, para1).

Research shows that shock advertising is designed to break through the advertising “clutter”, to capture and create attention, as well as to attract an audience to a certain brand, but in a more extreme way than conventional advertising. Shock advertising aims to raise awareness to a certain public service, issue or cause (Benetton - A disgrace to us all! 2006; Dahl, Frankenberger, & Manchanda, September 2003). A shock advertising appeal is generally regarded as one that deliberately, rather than inadvertently, startles and offends its audience (Gustafson and Yessel 1994). The offence is achieved by the process of norm violation, disregard for tradition, a play on stereotypes, encompassing transgressions of law or custom, breaches of moral and social codes or other issues that outrage the moral or physical senses. Norm violation is a part of the shock appeal, and is assumed to underlie its ability to break through the advertising clutter and capture the attention of a target audience which listens and acts in response to the message. These tactics may offend and frighten people by using scare
tactics and elements of fear to sell a product (Dahl et al., September 2003). Shock advertising is selective about the values and attitudes to be fostered, encouraged and promoted, whilst ignoring others. This selectiveness supports the notion that advertising only reflects the surrounding culture. Morals and ethics change over time in society and are hard to monitor. In advertising it is especially important to develop, accept and adjust to the trends in society, otherwise their messages will not be able to reach their target market and sell the products. The function of advertisements is to sell a product or opinion; it is a way to reach the public. The problem is, to what extent advertising should adjust to these trends and in doing so, cross the borders of ethics offending society, cultures and sub-cultures (Communications, 1997)?

Shock advertising, according to Dzamic, excludes rather than includes people, speaking to smaller slices of the population, not to the masses (Dzamic, November 2006; Garden, 2006). Shock advertising is often controversial, disturbing and explicit and many examples carry bold and provocative messages that challenge the public’s conventional understanding of the social order. “What does not strike the consumers’ attention fails in the industry” (Hielscher, April 2008, para 2).

**United Colours of Benetton**

The Italian clothing manufacturer, United Colours of Benetton, was one of the most controversial fashion brands of the 1980s and 1990s and still remains in the consumers’ memories today (Wenzel and Lippert 2008). Benetton was established in 1955 and started off by selling sweaters, then grew into one of the world’s largest fashion brands.

In 1984 Benetton hired the photographer Olivero Toscani to design a new advertising campaign. At the time it was unknown what kind of repercussions there would be for Benetton (Wenzel and Lippert 2008; Ganesa 2002).

Toscani shattered every conventional idea held within the industry regarding the role of advertising. His aim was to produce international campaigns of global concern for global consumers, as the company had over 7,000 stores worldwide. By using shock value and the reality of photographs, Toscani and Benetton wanted to grab the viewers’ attention and make their brand name memorable. The company tried to communicate to the world about political issues, poverty, racism, death, pollution and other social topics. “The purpose of advertising is not to sell more. It’s to do with institutional publicity, whose aim is to communicate the
company’s values [...]”, Luciano Benetton, Founder Chairman asserted (cited in Ganesa 2002). Olivero Toscani’s mission was not to sell pullovers, but to promote an image… Benetton’s advertising draws public attention to universal themes like radical integration, the protection of environment and much more (Wenzel and Lippert 2008).

Benetton’s advertisements were a kind of preaching that was initially accepted by the trades, press and consumers; however, there was increasing resistance and opposition to their shock tactics. Magazines refused to print Benetton ads, and among the public, active resistance formed against the use of taboo topics and imagery in a commercial context (Wenzel and Lippert 2008).

The last advertising campaign Toscani designed for Benetton in 2000 crossed the boundaries of unconventional advertising, even for Benetton. The Death Row campaign, (see Figure Two), was considered to have gone too far, and caused a lot of controversy regarding the exploitation of the victims by Benetton. Toscani left the company after this campaign; however, Benetton claimed they would still maintain their socially responsible advertising image by working on non-controversial issues like racial discrimination, poverty, child labour and other causes (Ganesa 2002; Wenzel and Lippert 2008; Hudspith 2003).
According to Schwalme (Schwalme 18.8.2010), Benetton laid the stepping stones for other companies to follow. Benetton set the trend for raising social issues, when a company wanted to add a certain social and positive relevance to their advertising and promotion.

**Montana Meth Project**

The Montana Meth project is part of a social advertising campaign in the United States of America. It is comparable to People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), which does controversial advertising for animal rights campaigns, trying to end fur and leather use and meat and dairy consumption.

Montana Meth’s mission is to create a large-scale prevention program to reduce methamphetamine (also called meth or ice) use in Montana and in several other US states as well. The project is a research-based marketing campaign that realistically and graphically communicates the risks of meth to young people. In the US meth is easily available and affordable, and it is perceived by many as a drug with little to no risk, so the goal of the social advertising campaign is to arm the youth with facts so they can make better decisions (Ingram 14.7.2010; Montana Meth Project About Us 2009).
The Montana Meth Project has become a large scale prevention campaign spanning TV, radio, billboards, newspapers and the internet. This includes 71,000 TV ads, 64,000 radio ads, 140,000 print impressions and 2,100 billboards. The project has received several advertising awards, including Gold Effie Awards and The Cannes Lions Award.

The project was started in 2005 and cited by the White House as a model prevention program for the nation in October 2006. As a consequence of this campaign, teen meth use declined by 63%, adult meth use by 72% and there was a 62% decrease in meth related crime. There has also been a dramatic shift in perception of risks associated with meth use, such as more parent-child communication and greater social disapproval, which have contributed to the decline in meth use and associated crime. The Montana Meth Project was run in eight states in 2009 and there were plans to expand it further (Montana Meth Project About Us 2009).

According to the Montana Supreme Court Chief Justice, Mike McGrath (Montana Meth Project About Us 2009):
The Montana Meth Project is very simply changing the nature of crime control in Montana. As of 2005, the Montana criminal justice system was overwhelmed by consequences of meth. If we are able to continue to make the kind of progress we have seen in the past two years, methamphetamine will have changed from a crisis to a manageable problem.

Despite this response from McGrath, there are still some who claim that the Montana Meth Project is not as successful in its prevention. Kate Benson (Benson 2008) suggests the campaign exaggerates the risks of meth use as well as their claim of a fourfold increase in those who strongly approve of regular ice use. In Erec Hurn’s opinion, ‘they look at those ads and do not see themselves or their friends because the first few times they use ice they simply feel euphoria’ (cited in Benson 2008). There are cases where advertisements can get too graphic, and distance people from the messages they are trying to deliver. On the other hand, Paul Fishlock, the creative director of The Campaign Palace Sydney (an advertising firm) still thinks that shock tactics work. He states, ‘there are cases where you can get too graphic and distance people from the message you are trying to deliver, but shock tactics do have their place and we have seen that most effectively in our anti-tobacco ads’ (Benson 2008).

**Complaints against ads**

To understand shock advertising, one needs to gain an overview of the consumer’s perception. This can be done by looking at the statistics showing complaints consumers have lodged against advertisements which consumers regard to be in bad taste or untruthful. These
statistics point out clear tendencies of the consumers and their acceptance towards shock advertising.

When looking at the lists of advertisements most complained about in the UK, USA and Australia in 2010, it is striking to note that the most complained-about advertising campaigns were those of profit-orientated companies.

This includes several complained-about advertisements that have been in the top ten lists of the most complained about advertisements or most controversial advertisements. In 2010 there were 45 complaints against Calvin Klein’s advertisements, which were upheld, as the portrayal of nudity and sexuality were against the code of ethics, in Australia. In the UK, 1070 complaints about the Volkswagen campaign — “Sometimes the only one you have to beat is yourself” — were partly upheld; as were the 525 complaints against the AMI “Want longer lasting sex” campaign. In contrast, only two not-for-profit oriented advertising campaigns were listed.

The complaints by the consumers against these not-for-profit campaigns were only 242 against a Department of Health campaign in the UK, and 105 against VicRoads viral campaign, which uses explicitly social networks, in Australia. Australia has an approximate population of 21 million, and only 105 complaints were registered against a not-for-profit campaign; these complaints were dismissed by the Advertising Standards Bureau (Addington 2010; Mumbrella 2010; Lee 2011).

These numbers show that there are fewer complaints against not-for-profit campaigns and that the complaints in both cases were dismissed, the cases were not investigated.

Does this indicate a certain level of acceptance and success towards this type of social advertising campaign?

The advertising industry interviews

For this paper I have selected three professional advertisers to support my argument that consumers accept shock tactics in social advertising better than they do in profit-orientated advertising. Their statements will show the advertisers’ perspectives on the matter, as well as indicating how this affects their conception of the ads. These interviews were conducted at

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2 See end of article for professional biographies of these interviewees.
their company locations during 2010. These were semi-structured interviews to allow the interviewee to expand on his or her own experiences and knowledge.

The advertising industry point of view
As previously described, shock advertising is used in two major areas, in fashion advertising and social advertising. The previous section has established that there is a difference in perception by the consumer of the different types of advertisements, in terms of whether they accept shock advertising or whether they feel offended by it.

Paul Fishlock of the Campaign Palace says that shock advertising, in reference to social marketing, is less about shock tactics than it is about truth tactics, as The Campaign Palace work very hard not to overdramatise these diseases in social advertising and often actually pull back from presenting them at their absolute worst (P. Fishlock, personal communication, 2.11.2010).

Benetton is a classic example for selling jeans and addressing social topics while stirring up controversy. In Fishlock’s opinion this was partly because

There was some real merit in its message; however, you are showing a dead body and what you are selling [is] jumpers? [In the case of Campaign Palace,] you are showing a dead body and you are trying to stop people continuing a habit that can kill them. That is a whole different strategy. In order to gain attention you do want to push the boundaries and that is sometimes in conflict with ethical responsibility and personal opinions on how far boundaries can be pushed (P. Fishlock, personal communication, 2.11.2010).

Amy Messinger of McCann Erickson explained:

shock advertising fits some brands and does not fit others. When it is appropriate for a brand, then the boundaries can be pushed regardless if it is a for profit or not-for-profit campaign. Consumers will allow a fashion brand to push the limits in a way they will not allow a laundry detergent brand.
Consumers expect PETA to push the boundaries in a way that they will not expect from United Way (A. Messinger, personal communication, 19.10.2010).

This suggests that depending on the brand, a certain level of shock or pushing the boundaries is expected by the consumer and the consumer will tolerate this if it is in line with the brand.

In the opinion of Christian Fischer, of Biedermann and Brandstift, there is a difference between the acceptance of shock advertising such as the Benetton campaign, and that of the Montana Meth Project. Montana Meth and other organisations are trying to stop consumption of drugs or alcohol, they are ‘unselling’ a product. This ‘unselling’ a product is for social benefit and therefore the advertisement can push the boundaries in a completely different way (C. Fischer, personal communication, 27.5.2010).

The use of ‘unsellable’ products such as racism, unethical behaviour and other topics Benetton used may have worked for a time, however, obviously did not in the long run. It is unlikely someone would do it today, as the risks of causing offence and arousing controversy, thereby failing to achieve the desired result, are too high. Organisations such as the Montana Meth Project are sitting on a different level, especially with the consumer. Thus they have more liberty to push the boundaries (C. Fischer, personal communication, 27.5.2010).

When we consider these comments from advertising professionals, further questions are raised.

Fishlock argues that social advertising is not believable when it is overdramatised, meaning the consumer will not stop a habit because he or she considers that the consequences predicted in the advertising campaign will not occur. Generally the consumers do not want to identify themselves with advertising, especially in images such as the Montana Meth Project uses. The addicts do not want to know they will have rotten teeth or will be violent towards their mother as a consequence of meth use. However, in social advertising and as the Montana Meth Project shows, telling the truth is essential, and the truth is not necessarily nice. Is this a reason why social advertising campaigns are more accepted in society? Current campaigns have the purpose of show the truth and the assumption is that people will identify
themselves and change their behaviour. The premise is that such advertising is a benefit to society.

Fischer supports the notion that social advertising projects such as the Montana Meth Project, which is of benefit to the community, gain much higher acceptance with the public. He makes it very clear, though, that one level of advertising has profit as a goal, whereas the other’s purpose is to benefit society. From this, one can argue that the cause of reducing meth use in Montana justifies the means of using shocking, offensive and provocative imagery.

Benetton, in comparison, in addition to their profit motive has had the same mission behind their advertising campaigns, to raise awareness of socially critical topics and help change behaviour, as researchers agree. However, the perception and acceptance by the consumer was completely different, as these advertising campaigns were perceived to be profit-driven. Communities reacted accordingly by boycotting the brand. One can question, as a consumer, whether Benetton was exploiting the people represented in the advertising for their own financial profit? This may be the main reason why Toscani’s last Death Row campaign did not succeed. He did not directly exploit the death row candidates; however, the moral and ethical responsibility towards their victims was not considered. The victims of the death row candidates have gone through great ordeals. It is important to note that the victims have been considered carefully, however, not the aspect Toscani was trying to communicate, that it has occurred that people on death row were innocent. It was rather argued, Toscani failed to respect and honour ethical responsibility. Advertisers have the right to refuse to advertise certain things or in a particular way, according to their ethical or moral responsibility. Toscani was not concerned about this, he primarily wanted to raise awareness for death row candidates and sell jumpers on the way. Communities saw that he had gone too far by also exploiting the suffering of victims [and the candidates themselves].

While agreeing with Fischer and Fishlock, Messinger opens up a completely different type of question regarding the acceptance of shock advertising by the consumer. Do advertisers make use of threat appeals or tactics in social advertising because they consider this fulfils the expectations of the consumer? Messinger argues that the consumer’s expectations have changed towards brands and the different types of advertising. This suggests that consumers have become desensitised towards this type of confronting imagery, which is the reason they expect campaigns like the Montana Meth Project to be as realistic and provocative as they
are. The justification for using shock tactics is that the consumer anticipates this, presuming that the perception of what is acceptable has changed; therefore those boundaries are pushed even further to live up to the expectation. Does it follow that the consumer expects the boundaries of what is socially acceptable to be pushed further by not-for-profit organisations than by profit-orientated campaigns?

This question has already been answered by Fishlock and Fischer, as they argue exactly that point. They argue that social advertising is allowed to push the boundaries further than other types of advertising, because it has positive repercussions within society. Additionally, they argue, advertising is designed to grab the consumer’s attention, and if a campaign fails to do so, it is not successful. As it has become more difficult to cut through the clutter of the hundreds of ads that everybody is bombarded with daily, new ways of reaching the consumer need to be found. According to Messinger, it is fine for a company to use shock advertising and push the boundaries, especially not-for-profit campaigns, as these are expected to do so by the consumer.

**Conclusion**

This research paper has established that from an advertiser’s point of view, there are two levels of acceptance by the consumer, whether they are subconscious or not. The target audience of an advertising campaign has different perceptions and acceptance of confronting and shocking images, depending on whether they are used for profit or social benefit in the advertising campaigns. Fishlock, Messinger and Fischer agree to an extent that shock advertising is better accepted in society when it is for a not-for-profit organisation, a good cause or perceived to help society evolve.

This paper has established that social advertising campaigns are better tolerated and accepted if they push the boundaries of ethics and sensitivities than are profit-oriented campaigns. The professionals interviewed agree that there is a higher level of acceptance by the consumer for social advertising campaigns. To illustrate this divide in the purpose of the campaigns, and in their reception, comparisons have been made between Benetton and the Montana Meth Project. The existence and extent of the change of perception of shock advertising and its acceptance by the consumer has not been investigated. However, there is a general perception in the industry that consumer norms have been changing over the decades and that a certain
amount of desensitisation has occurred. Fishlock argues that tactics used in the domain of not-for-profit or social advertising are not so much to shock as to inform of the dangers, and are not about exaggerating the risks, but showing the truth, as the Montana Meth Project does. Boundaries can be pushed provided that is done in a sensible way to benefit society. In Fischer’s and Fishlock’s points of view, this is the reason why these campaigns are more likely to be accepted by the consumer. Benetton is a proven example of shock advertising that has pushed the boundaries past what is ethically acceptable. This is particularly so because the first association the advertisers had with Benetton was through their questionable advertising campaigns. The goal to make profit through socially questionable advertising is the reason why brands using shock advertising are not so well accepted by some consumers.

Regarding the research question: how does the acceptance of shock advertising by the consumer influence the advertiser’s designs, one needs to recognise that this research is purely from an advertiser’s point of view. They look at advertising from two different sides; they design them as an advertiser, however, at the same time they can be the consumer, depending on the target audience of the advertising. This expands their depth of knowledge and influences their campaign designs.

The designers of shock advertising or advertisements in general need to be very careful when creating an advertising campaign. Shock advertising campaigns, especially when designed for a profit-orientated company, need to suit the brand to be successful. According to the professionals, the consumer has started to develop an expectation that advertising will be offensive and provocative on different levels, as Messinger argues. Additionally, the consumer’s acceptance of shock advertising for social benefit influences the shock advertising concepts of the designers. The designers can push topics further than they were able to before; however, as Fishlock said, one needs to be careful not to over-exaggerate, otherwise one loses credibility with the consumer. Nonetheless, the industry’s position is that the consumer is not only more likely to accept shock advertising in a social context but also expects provocative and offensive imagery to support the benefit to society.
Professional biographies

Paul Fishlock

Paul Fishlock, has been working as a copywriter and creative director in advertising agencies for over 30 years. Currently he is the creative director of The Campaign Palace in Sydney. He was the creative director of some recent advertisements for the NSW Cancer Institute and Quit Victoria. For the past 15 years he has become involved in tobacco advertising through a series of campaigns at national and state level. He has designed several campaigns for the government, in particular, health and social marketing campaigns (Fishlock 2.11.2010). The Campaign Palace was established over 35 years ago with the aim of transforming their clients thinking through marketing. Clients include Bonds, Target, Panasonic, RSPCA, Cancer Institute and several other brands. The Agency has won several awards, including one gold and four other Effies in 2010 (*The Campaign Palace* 2010).

Christian Fischer

Christian Fischer is managing director and creative director of his own advertising company Biedermann and Brandstift – Creative Services, based in Germany. Biedermann and Brandstift is an advertising agency specialising in fashion and lifestyle. Fischer has been working in the industry for over 10 years with clients such as Hugo Boss, Tommy Hilfiger, Gerry Weber, Timberland and several others. The company was founded in 2001 with 20 employees, located in Frankfurt, Germany. Biedermann and Brandstift is not a large multinational network agency. Their mission is to “get the best results and get it without fuss”. The company successfully designs for all media outlets, winning the grand award and the gold world medal at the New York Festival (*Biedermann und Brandstift* 2010; Fischer 27.5.2010).

Amy Messinger

Amy Messinger is the senior vice president and director of strategic planning at McCann Erickson in Los Angeles. She has been working in the advertising industry for 15 years and works on projects including brand architecture, brand positioning recommendations, creative briefs, as well as consumer insight thought-pieces. McCann Ericson has grown to one of the world’s largest advertising agency networks. It belongs to the McCann World Group, which has been established as eight different companies to deliver skills essential to their client’s
growth. McCann Ericson is part of these eight companies as well as Future Brand, Momentum, exp, and others. Clients of McCann Ericson are large companies such as MasterCard and Xbox (Messinger 19.10.2010; McCann Worldgroup 2009).

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