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ESTRATEGIAS PERSUASIVAS Y EMOCIONALES EN LAS CAMPAÑAS AUDIOVISUALES DE LA DGT EN EL PERIODO 2011-2019

*Persuasive and emotional strategies in the DGT's audiovisual campaigns in the
period 2011-2019*

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Resumen

La publicidad institucional de la Dirección General de Tráfico ha cobrado cada vez más fuerza en los últimos años. La tarea histórica de la entidad de disminuir la siniestralidad vial y por consiguiente la mortalidad en accidentes de tráfico constituye un gran reto en la actualidad. Este trabajo se plantea con el fin de extraer una serie de resultados y conclusiones cuantitativas y cualitativas atendiendo a las características y dimensiones del discurso audiovisual que la DGT ha mantenido en sus campañas en el periodo 2011-2019. La acotación temporal responde al periodo de vigencia del segundo Plan Estratégico de Seguridad Vial (2011-2020) que sienta las bases de la actuación de la

DGT y supone la hoja de ruta en su misión de disminuir la siniestralidad vial. Específicamente se trata de averiguar cuáles son los factores emocionales y persuasivos que encierran estas campañas y cómo se manifiestan, cuáles son los soportes y mensajes utilizados y qué impacto o alcance tienen en el público espectador. Los resultados muestran que en el discurso audiovisual de la DGT a lo largo de la recopilación de las 74 piezas audiovisuales del periodo 2011-2019 predomina una línea negativa que apuesta por campañas de alto impacto emocional a través de mecanismos de persuasión efectivos.

Palabras clave: Publicidad institucional, emociones, persuasión, spot, audiovisual, DGT.

Abstract

The institutional advertising of the Dirección General de Tráfico has gained more and more strength in recent years. The entity's historical task of reducing road accidents and, consequently, mortality in traffic accidents is a great challenge at present. This work is proposed with the aim of extracting a series of quantitative and qualitative results and conclusions based on the characteristics and dimensions of the audiovisual discourse that the DGT has maintained in its campaigns in the period 2011-2019. The time frame corresponds to the period of validity of the second Plan Estratégico de Seguridad Vial (2011-2020), which lays the foundations for the DGT's actions and is the roadmap for its mission to reduce road accidents. Specifically, the aim is to find out what are the emotional and persuasive factors involved in these campaigns and how they are manifested, what are the supports and messages used and what impact or scope they have on the viewing public. The results show that in the audiovisual discourse of the DGT throughout the compilation of the 74 audiovisual pieces of the period 2011-2019 there is a predominance of a negative line that bets on campaigns with a high emotional impact through effective persuasive mechanisms.

Keywords: Institutional advertising, emotions, persuasion, spot, audiovisual, DGT.

1. INTRODUCTION

"That we all get home safe and sound every night" (DGT, 2018). With this phrase, the Directorate General of Traffic sums up its mission and its commitment to society. In its 50 years of operation, the DGT's institutional advertising has taken on enormous social importance in its fight to reduce road accidents and, consequently, deaths on Spanish roads. The enormous volume of campaigns that the DGT has been carrying out since 1960 focuses on various lines of communication through different perspectives and media. Over the years, the DGT has been tightening up its advertising messages. The emotional and persuasive dimension has gained enormous strength, always with the aim of teaching and raising awareness among citizens.

The Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020) has laid the foundations for the organisation's communication work, establishing guidelines for positive coexistence in

terms of road use. This paper will analyse the institutional advertising carried out by the Directorate General of Traffic between 2011 and 2019. The time frame corresponds to the period of validity of the second Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020), which lays the foundations for the DGT's actions and is the roadmap for its mission to reduce road accidents. To carry out the research, a compilation will be made of all the pieces in audiovisual format that the Directorate General of Traffic has launched between 2011 and 2019, inclusive. This time frame responds to the need to carry out an analysis in a current or relatively close time in order to make the approach more interesting.

The aim of this study is therefore to extract a series of quantitative and qualitative results and conclusions based on the characteristics and dimensions of the audiovisual discourse that the DGT maintains in its campaigns between 2011 and 2019. Specifically, the aim is to find out what are the emotional and persuasive factors contained in these campaigns and how they are manifested, what are the supports and messages used and what impact or scope they have on the viewing public.

The starting hypotheses used in this research are two:

- H1. The audiovisual campaigns corresponding to the Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020) have undergone a radical change in terms of the emotional and persuasive elements they contain, both from the point of view of the image and in their narrative approach.
- H2. The campaigns contain strong social values such as the importance of life, family and social bonds, prudence or responsibility for the lives of others, among others. All these values function as social learning and appeal to the primary emotions of the individual.

1.1. Frame of reference

Advertising can be understood as a mechanism for the production of signs, images and messages that acquire meaning in the semiotic relations they form. But its machinery does not work in the same way and is not created for the same purposes: this is where the difference lies.

Each of the researchers in the field have proposed their own definitions of the term over time. The concept of advertising has undergone multiple interpretations and has not always been understood in the same way. For example, Cortés González (2008) states:

Advertising is any form of communication carried out by a natural or legal person, public or private, in the exercise of a commercial, industrial, artisanal or professional activity, with the aim of directly or indirectly promoting the contracting of movable or immovable goods, services, rights and obligations (Law 34/1988 General Law on Advertising cited in Cortés González, 2008, p. 228).

This definition shows a different vision of advertising, which from today's perspective is partial and does not respond to the complexity of the term. Benavides (1997) states that advertising discourse is one of the best examples of how social discourses develop and are projected in the lives of subjects, groups and institutions. And this is the impact that advertising messages have on the individual through the text and the image they carry. Advertising discourse is at work in society after the act of visualisation, and is capable of creating different sensory responses in the receiver, such as sensations or memories. Therefore, advertising discourse is closely linked to ethics and social responsibility when creating advertising messages, moreover, the dimension of advertising can be understood as a social fact because of its undoubted ability to provoke certain effects on people.

1.1.1. Institutional advertising. Theoretical approach and typology

Institutional advertising should be understood as a phenomenon differentiated from commercial advertising, as they do not share the same characteristics or purposes. According to Benavides (1997), institutional advertising is an educational and socialising element in today's society. Public administrations make use of it to implant in society the values that it should exercise and share.

A priori, this type of campaign is ethically accepted by society as it attempts to correct global social problems. Thus, in institutional advertising, communication campaigns of various kinds are developed specifically by governments and public institutions, as well as by companies or organisations that depend on them. Institutional advertising thus becomes a fundamental mechanism in the relationship that public bodies maintain with citizens and, by extension, with the various social groups existing in the public sphere. The resulting advertising message - which is not a simple circulation of paid messages - contributes to the construction of the symbolic and cultural reality of society.

In this sense, Cortés González goes beyond the concept of advertising "as that communication process to disseminate goods or services and to promote the economic transactions that consumers must carry out to obtain them" (Cortés González, 2008, p. 223). The author focuses on messages that indicate the concerns, interests and objectives of society. In short, this type of advertising messages tries to find ways to solve social problems, always hand in hand with specific policies that support these advertising techniques.

According to Pineda Cachero and Rey (2009), "the perspective of institutional advertising as a promoter of general interests should not lead to a functionalist or excessively beatific theoretical perception of state communication". For the authors, the propagandistic and manipulative impulse coexists in institutional communication. In contrast to previous perceptions, institutional publicity is not only an educational effort aimed at improving citizens' social relations, but can also be an opportunity for the individuals and classes that control the state to try to dominate the thinking and behaviour of the citizenry. Following this approach, institutional advertising is proposed as a communication practice from society as a whole and not for society as a whole. This

vision would not only distance this form of advertising from propaganda, but would also open up state communication to processes of social change from the grassroots of the population. Beyond the multiple visions, there is no doubt that institutional advertising is sufficiently important to consolidate itself as a central phenomenon in contemporary societies and to be studied independently of commercial and conventional advertising. This instrument has very different objectives from commercial advertising, although they share the same spaces and times and possibly a similar discursive structure.

1.1.2. Social advertising as an aspect of institutional advertising

There is a great thematic variety of institutional advertising, although some authors such as García López (2001) refer to it as social advertising. Other authors such as Alvarado López (2010) study social advertising as an essential instrument when it comes to transmitting certain contents at the service of society. The author begins with this quote, which opens her extensive analysis of social advertising:

Howard Gossage, the most far-sighted of all advertising rebels claimed that advertising is too valuable an instrument to be wasted on commercial products and that it is only justified when used for social purposes (David Ogilvy cited in Alvarado López, 2010, p. 75).

Following this line, social advertising is "that whose advertising objectives are social, and serve an entity whose ultimate purpose or *raison d'être* is also social, and, therefore, free of other political or commercial interests" (Alvarado López, 2010, p. 78). Social campaigns respond to the need to massively and persuasively communicate a certain message to an a priori established audience, referred to by the author as "the target of the message".

Social issues have a much greater presence in society, but they do not always find their place in pure social advertising that is faithful to its principles. More and more of the themes and language of social advertising are being transferred to advertising for corporate and commercial purposes, thus crossing the ideological line that defines it. In this way, a confusing panorama is produced, in the face of which the author sees the need to distinguish "beneath the surface of the messages, the specific objectives of these, the aims of the issuing entity and the social causes to which they respond" (Feliu Albaladejo, 2009).

With regard to this blurred boundary, Moragas (2005) also makes a statement. The enormous economic importance that institutional campaigns have acquired focuses attention on the control and destination of these investments, beyond the ideological and cultural debate regarding their contents. In order to review its mission in society and the functions of the public information service, the content and transparency of its campaigns must be monitored. It is necessary to define the priorities of public intervention in the face of the new information needs of modern society.

1.1.3. Persuasion in advertising

According to Segura García (2017), advertising is made up of two types of argumentative strategies: the informative dimension and the persuasive dimension based on the appeal to sensitivity and emotions to achieve a change in behaviour. These two fundamental dimensions fulfil the three objectives observed by Classical Rhetoric: *docere* (information), *delectare* (entertainment) and *movere* (final persuasion) (Segura García, 2017, p. 69). The process of persuasion is based on the last two, which is why advertising focuses its intention on *movere*, since it has been proven that emotions and motivation are forces that have a direct impact on human behaviour (López Vázquez, 2007). The persuasive message uses different resources to achieve its objectives. (López Eire cited in Segura García, 2010, p.65) points out that, through an effective rhetorical message, values and attitudes are created, which in turn are integrated into the sphere of collective social values. In this sense, advertising draws on rhetoric in order to construct an appropriate, concise and aesthetic language. The final objective is to transmit clear and powerful messages. However, Rhetoric should not be confused with the concept of Advertising. Although they coincide in essence, there are notable differences between the advertising discourse and the classic rhetorical discourse, which is based on the aims, multiple language, unilateral character and an orientation towards the mass receiver, consumer of products or susceptible to a change of attitude. The means and structure of the message also differ between advertising and rhetoric. The former makes use of the most advanced technologies, including images or movement. These elements were not contemplated by traditional Rhetoric, which is a qualitative change from the classical model. In short, the essence of advertising depends on the intentions of the advertiser or publicist and that its ultimate aim is not deception, but the ethical meaning of its existence.

1.1.4. Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020)

The United Nations designated the decade 2011-2020 as the "Decade of Action for Road Safety" (DGT, n.d.). This decade challenges all subscribing countries to reduce the number of global fatalities by 50% by 2020. Initially called Jefatura Central de Tráfico, the now called Dirección General de Tráfico was founded in 1959 with the aim of responding to social needs in the field of transport. The entity is working to achieve this challenge through the second Strategic Road Safety Plan 2011-2020, which, in addition to many other actions, is committed to a very powerful communication mechanism. In each of its annual accident rate reports, the DGT reports its progress in achieving these goals. "Informing and involving society in its responsibility to improve road safety" (Dirección General de Tráfico, 2011, p. 147). This is the premise of the entity in its Strategic Road Safety Plan covering the time period 2011-2020. The Plan was approved on 25 February 2011 by the Council of Ministers, following approval by the High Council for Road Safety at its plenary session on 23 November 2010.

Among many other areas of action in the second Strategic Plan - improvement of infrastructures, renewal of the vehicle fleet - the road safety policy is committed to continue acting on the "modification of user behaviour mainly through its communication

campaigns. (Dirección General de Tráfico, 2011, p.5). The aim is for road users to develop responsible behaviour on a voluntary basis, and to this end, the DGT is committed to improving communication. This plan focuses its communication on a series of key thematic axes: alcohol, drugs, speed, distractions and safety systems (. It also establishes the different profiles of recipients for whom the advertising message is carefully and appropriately adapted. In terms of age, the plan covers all spectrums, giving visibility to children, young people, adults and the elderly. In terms of user types, the plan targets drivers, cyclists and motorcyclists as the main targets. Pedestrians and other road users are also included in the different action strategies.

1.1.5. Emotions and persuasion in DGT campaigns: a general approach

The studies that have been carried out on the audiovisual discourse of the DGT are contained in few and fairly recent research studies. Works of interest are: "Uso y Eficacia del Miedo como Factor Persuasivo en las Campañas Institucionales de la Dirección General de Tráfico" (2014) by Crisbel Vieira Gracia; "Eficacia de la publicidad emocional y racional: análisis de las campañas de la Dirección General de Tráfico" (2015- 2016) by Ylenia Gómez García; "Música y emociones en las Campañas Institucionales: el caso de la DGT española" (2011) by Estrella Martínez Rodrigo and Rosario Segura García. The emotional mechanisms increasingly used by the world of advertising are currently a topic of interest in social science research, especially with regard to the effects that these practices can have on the receiver. Different researchers on the subject, such as Segura García (2017) and Vieira Gracia (2014) agree on the importance of exploring the emotional dimension that the DGT has developed in many of its institutional campaigns. In its determination to achieve the greatest effects on the viewer and reduce the level of accidents on Spanish roads, the DGT opts for this type of advertising, always seeking a change in the public's mentality and consequently a change in behaviour. The first steps that a campaign of these characteristics must fulfil are: to be credible and show a reality with which the spectator can identify, to use mechanisms of conviction by appealing to the primary emotions of human beings and arguments, to provoke reflection so that the message lasts over time and has an effect on behaviour, and to ensure that the receiver of the message transmits it in turn to third parties.

As opposed to rational messages, the entity's emotional discourse is based on impulse and fascination to achieve in the receiver a direct association of pleasant or unpleasant ideas. One of these unpleasant ideas that the DGT recurrently uses in its campaigns is death. Beyond the persuasive charge that can be found in emotional messages, their effectiveness is based on the analytical and cognitive criteria of the person receiving the message.

2. METHODOLOGY

In order to have an overview of the audiovisual campaigns that the Directorate General of Traffic has launched between 2011 and 2019, an exhaustive search has been carried out in order to compile all the audiovisual pieces. The quantitative classification

corresponds to the general annual period. Within each year, all campaigns are included, but the exact launch dates could not be clarified exactly.

Using tables organised in chronological order, a quantitative and qualitative analysis will be made of all the pieces that have been carefully selected from different sources. This first analysis will focus on quantitative aspects such as number and duration, and qualitative aspects in terms of themes and general characteristics, which will be developed in the corresponding section. The main source for the compilation of the individual pieces is the Official Media Library of the Directorate General of Traffic. In the compilation process, chronological criteria have been taken into account in the first place -classifying the different pieces according to their corresponding year-. Selection criteria have also been applied (separating the audiovisual pieces from the radio spots), which are stored on the same website. In order to verify all the pieces collected, in addition to the screening process of the General Traffic Media Library, other sources such as the YouTube page of the Directorate General of Traffic and the YouTube page of the Ministry of the Interior have been collated in order to obtain the complete number of audiovisual pieces and complete information for subsequent analysis.

At the end of the process of selecting and locating the campaigns, a classification table was drawn up which included the total number of audiovisual pieces produced and launched by the General Directorate of Traffic. This analysis shows a succession of audiovisual pieces as independent units of analysis, although some of them share common characteristics, phrases or thematic features. Therefore, when speaking of an audiovisual campaign, none of the cases refers to a set of audiovisual pieces, but rather each one is the object of individual analysis. For the compilation of the pieces, the channels of dissemination have not been taken into account either, and although most of the pieces have been broadcast on public television, others have seen the light of day through different platforms outside television, such as, for example, the YouTube page of the Ministry of the Interior and other platforms and social networks.

The classification shown below, as well as the order in which the pieces are presented, responds to our own criteria for analysing and processing the information, inspired by other specific research by Vieira Gracia (2014), Gómez García (2014-2015) and Segura García (2017). From these authors, recurring analysis criteria have been extracted in all of them. The quantitative and qualitative analysis is based on: audiovisual piece, representativeness (positive or negative line), thematic line, duration, level of persuasion (explicit intention to persuade the viewer) and presence of explicit/implicit violent images.

3. RESULTS

The first result is that over the nine years analysed a total of 74 audiovisual pieces were launched (Table 1), the results of which are shown in graphs 1, 2, 3 and 4. Thus, the number of audiovisual pieces launched per year varies considerably. While in 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 the number of launches remained similar, ranging between 9 and 12 pieces, the number of spots launched in 2015 and 2016 dropped considerably to 4

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and 3 pieces. It was in 2017 when there was an upturn in the number of launches, reaching 11 again. The approximate annual average resulting from this compilation is 8 campaigns per year. In 2018 there is a decrease to 5 pieces, which contrasts with the 10 pieces in 2019.

The duration of the audiovisual pieces analysed varies according to the subject matter and the characteristics they present. The duration of the products ranges between 11 seconds as minimum duration and 4:41 minutes as maximum duration (occasionally), in no case exceeding this limit. In general, most of the ads are one minute or less in length. Shorter spots are generally more dramatic, while more informative and instructional pieces are longer, not exceeding five minutes. Within this general conclusion there are exceptions.

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Table 1. *DGT audiovisual pieces from the period 2011-2019 analysed*

Year	Audiovisual pieces
2011	<p>Gracias Disfruta del camino, pero hazlo de forma segura No importa cómo te desplaces, lo que queremos es que llegues No importa a qué hora vas o vienes, lo que queremos es que llegues No importa de dónde vienes ni adónde vas, lo que queremos es que llegues No importa si vas a trabajar o a descansar, lo que queremos es que llegues Algún día los accidentes serán cosas del pasado Los tiempos cambian, peor el mensaje permanece. Si bebes no conduzcas ¿Cómo usar el limitador de velocidad? Me apunto a la conducción inteligente Me apunto a moverme en bici Señales reflectantes V-23</p>
2012	<p>A tu lado vamos todos El club de los 15 Los motoristas pueden disfrutar de la moto y seguir disfrutando de su vida De casa al trabajo y del trabajo a casa I De casa al trabajo y del trabajo a casa II El coche oficina por Leo Harlem No sin mi GPS por Leo Harlem El peatón electrónico por Leo Harlem Si sabes cómo acaba por qué empezar</p>
2013	<p>No puedes vivir sin él. Ley de Newton I No puedes vivir sin él. Ley de Newton II No conduzcas bajo sus efectos El verano está lleno de vida y de vidas, respétalas Lo mejor de este verano hubiese sido poder contarlo. Viajar es vivir Excursionistas y peatones. No pongas tu vida en peligro Si vas en moto siempre con casco Disfruta del verano con bici, pero siempre con casco El futuro viaja en bici Da el paso, anda En Navidad más que nunca queremos estar a tu lado</p>
2014	<p>El síndrome del carril izquierdo, problema cerebral No esperes que nadie adivine tus movimientos, usa los intermitentes Tu trabajo más urgente es seguir vivo Consejos para evitar accidentes de furgonetas y camiones Manejar cosas que pueden matar exige toda tu concentración Gracias por hacer tu parte, gracias por llegar Saca tus drogas de la circulación A veces la convivencia es cuestión de vida o muerte Te dejo mi moto, una acción de conductor a conductor</p>
2015	<p>Muévete con conciencia El porro más caro del mundo La canción más cara del mundo Las gafas de sol más caras del mundo</p>
2016	<p>¿Sabes lo que es un 2%? El trayecto de tu vida. De Ana a doctora Ana Sánchez El trayecto de tu vida. De Carlos a Carlos, papá de Isabel</p>
2017	<p>Historias al volante, La noticia Historias al volante. El encuentro</p>

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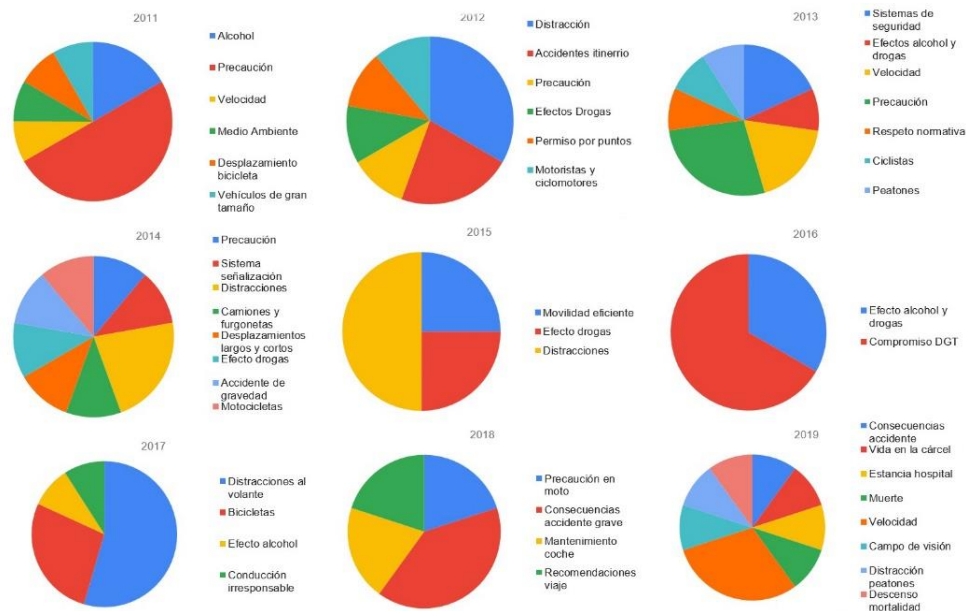
	<p>Music. Tú sabes hacerlo, al volante pasa del móvil Magia, Si miras la carretera de vez en cuando solo ves la carretera de vez en cuando Un aspecto clave, la seguridad Testimonios que pueden salvar: Anna Testimonios que pueden salvar: Mar Testimonios que pueden salvar: Jordi 58 Almas Ciclistas Al volante no uses el móvil 360º Tú Eliges</p>
2 018	<p>El hombre de cristal Distracciones: vivo Distracciones: muerto Reenámorate de tu coche Creencias absurdas</p>
2 019	<p>Cómo llegar El hospital La cárcel El cementerio Gracias Velocidad en convencionales 14 metros de nada son una gran diferencia A 90 km/h, como en Europa El efecto túnel Aplastante</p>

Source: *Own elaboration*

The 74 audiovisual pieces compiled present different characteristics and themes that respond to the basic criterion of institutional advertising: to transmit a series of social, human and coexistence values to society, as well as to influence or modify its behaviour. These social, human and coexistence values call for responsibility and social awareness of a global problem that is very present in 21st century society, such as road accidents and all their consequences at both a personal and social level. The campaigns analysed respond faithfully to the two fundamental lines of action encompassed in the second Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020) in its broad communication section: informing and raising awareness among the public as road users and involving civil society in the positive and effective development of initiatives that help coexistence.

According to the thematic classification (Graph 1), the objectives of the Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020) are met. The main thematic lines included in the plan are covered: alcohol, drugs, speed, distractions and safety systems. The most frequently repeated themes are alcohol, drugs and distractions at the wheel. This informative treatment responds to the most serious causes of accidents, so it is understandable that these three issues appear more frequently in their audiovisual campaigns. There is a general tendency to show the effects of these three factors directly, either by showing explicit images of the accidents and the victims or by ending the actions on a black or white background, implicitly suggesting the production of the accident, which has been accentuated in recent years.

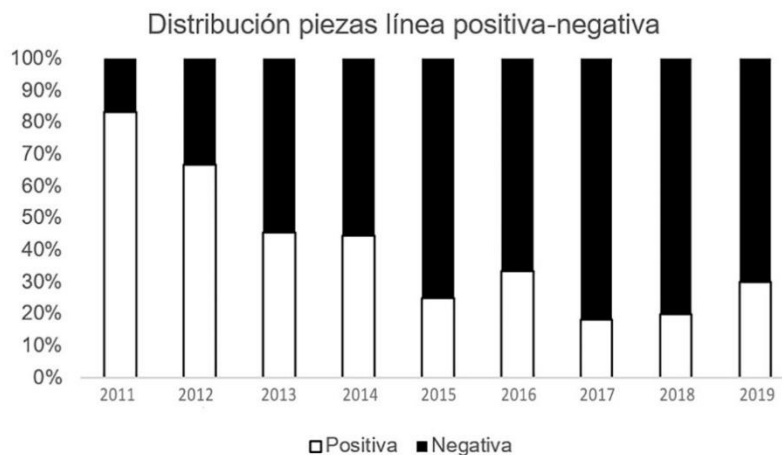
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Graph 1. Thematic lines of the different DGT audiovisual pieces in the period 2011-2019

Source: Own elaboration

While it is true that they all contain certain values according to their objectives, two distinct modalities or characters can be distinguished. On the one hand, there are the campaigns of a positive nature, which allude to responsible driving thanks to which accidents and suffering are avoided and the enjoyment, the arrival at the destination and the benefits of responsible driving are shown (Graph 2). This line predominates in 2011, 2012 and 2013. On the other hand, there are campaigns of a negative nature, showing the direct or indirect effects of irresponsible driving by drivers or third parties. This line is the predominant one and most of the pieces contain high drama, with explicit or implicit images and high emotional impact. This character is accentuated in the years 2015, 2017-2019.



Graph 2. *Distribution positive or negative line DGT audio-visual pieces in the period 2011-2019*

Source: *Own elaboration*

Generally speaking, negative campaigns are more abundant than positive ones. While in 2011 and 2012 the positive outlook predominated, it was from 2013 onwards that a radical change in the DGT's discourse was detected, opting for greater realism and drama. In the following points, the different nuances of these will be highlighted. Most of the negative audiovisual pieces have a high emotional impact, while in general the positive campaigns tend to have a slight or non-existent emotional impact.

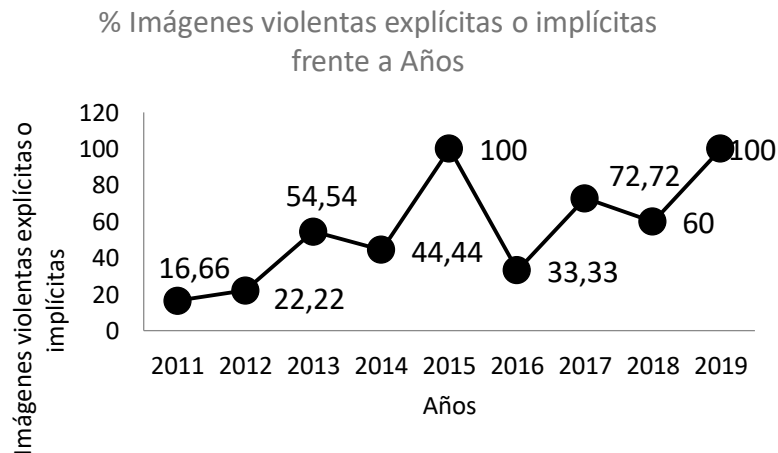
The Directorate General of Traffic covers all the recipient profiles included in the Strategic Road Safety Plan (2011-2020), focusing on users of cars, motorbikes and mopeds, bicycles and pedestrians. This broad spectrum of target groups means that coverage is balanced, responsible and effective, although the greatest weight of the campaigns is focused on car and motorbike drivers. There is a balanced treatment in terms of gender, giving visibility to both male and female drivers in most of the campaigns, although in recent years there has been a greater presence of male drivers in the campaigns. In terms of age spectrums, minors are also visible, generally as victims of adult recklessness.

In terms of emotional impact, there has been an evolution of the rational line, predominant in 2011, which over the years has adopted a more emotional perspective. Thus, there is an accentuation of campaigns that gradually become more dramatic, both from a narrative and visual point of view. For example, while in 2011, campaigns of a rational and informative nature predominate, as time progresses, in the years 2014-2019, campaigns of great emotional impact with explicit violent images predominate. This is the case of "Ley de Newton" (Newton's Law) (2014), "El porro más caro del mundo" (The most expensive joint in the world) (2015) or "Magia" (Magic) (2017).

Regarding emotional factors, feelings or sensations that can be detected in the advertisements, two different aspects are generally perceived depending on the positive or negative line of the campaign, mentioned above. Feelings of joy, happiness, optimism, illusion, fun, gratitude, commitment and responsibility are recurrent in positive campaigns. On the contrary, in the negative ads, primary human emotions and feelings such as fear, anguish, shock, surprise, vulnerability, regret, loneliness, sadness, pain, loss and emptiness, among others, predominate. It is remarkable how the treatment of negative campaigns has become increasingly harsh in recent years: they almost always end in death. Viewers undoubtedly come to empathise with the suffering of the victims.

Audiovisual pieces with a high emotional impact contain more explicit violent images than implicit ones (graph 3). In order to create the greatest emotional impact, elements such as blood, destruction, aggressive attitudes on the part of the characters, lifeless bodies, etc. appear. In the case of the 2013 or 2015 campaigns, images of bodies and other elements with violent connotations are shown in detail and explicitly.

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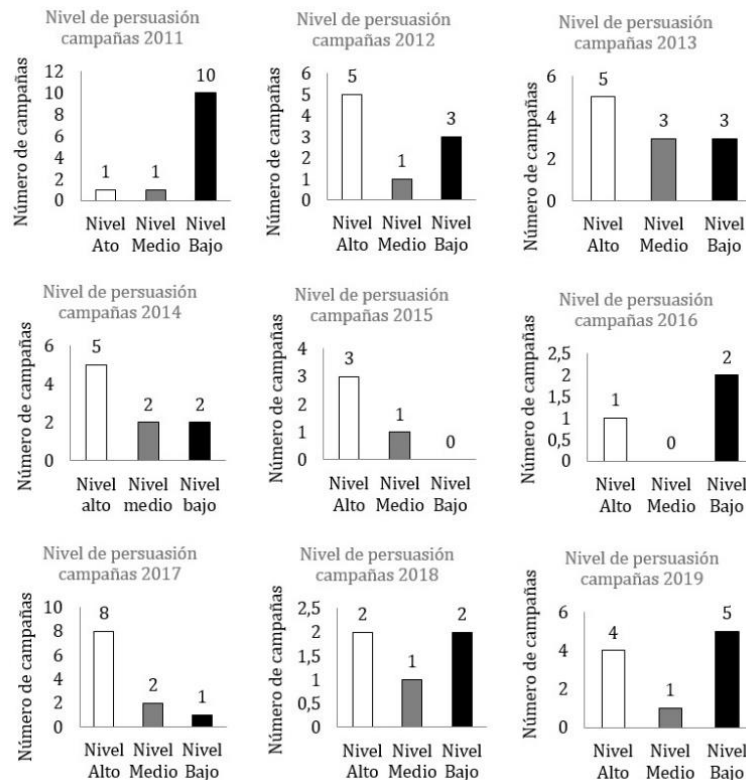
Graph 3. *Percentage of implicit or explicit images in the different DGT audiovisual pieces in the period 2011-2019.*

Source: *Own elaboration*

In terms of the use of the image, two types of filters are distinguished depending on whether the campaign is positive or negative. In the case of positive campaigns, a brighter filter is used. Pleasant and harmonious images are used, such as sunlight, nature, clear paths, people together, etc. This type of campaign contains pleasant images such as meetings with loved ones, arriving at the destination, enjoying the festivities, etc. In contrast, negative campaigns tend to have a darker and more muted image filter. They tend to feature fewer characters and generally show explicitly how their lives are cut short by their bad decisions or those of others. In this type of campaign, images of wrecked vehicles, bodies lying on the road, violent impacts shown implicitly or explicitly, injuries, blood, etc. predominate.

In terms of the persuasive power of the spots (Graph 4), a parallel can be observed with the level of drama they contain. Generally, the pieces with the greatest emotional impact, explicit images of accidents and personal injury, contain a high level of persuasion. The receiver is clearly and explicitly urged not to commit recklessness by showing the direct consequences that can be generated. Most of the negative pieces end with direct sentences of an imperative nature, functioning almost like an order.

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Graph 4. Levels of persuasion of the different DGT audiovisual pieces in the period 2011-2019.

Source: Own elaboration

In the most dramatic campaigns, a clear cause-effect mechanism is detected. The characters suffer the consequences of their own imprudence or the imprudence of third parties. In this sense, the General Directorate of Traffic has always been very direct in its messages, showing reality without filters. Hence the harsh nature of many of its audiovisual campaigns. Clear examples are the campaigns "Tú eliges" (You choose) of 2017 or "Sacá tus drogas de la circulación" (Get your drugs out of circulation) of 2014.

The driver's chastisement and responsibility factor prevails in most of the negative campaigns. The stories are based on offences of all kinds - driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs, speeding, distractions... - and the actions depicted end in tragedy, almost always explicitly reflected. The stories reflect bad decisions that have no solution once they have been taken. A clear example of this approach are the campaigns "Si sabes cómo acaba ¿por qué empezar?" (If you know how it ends, why start?) (2012) or "Tú eliges" (You choose) from 2017.

There has been an intensification of the negative line of audiovisual campaigns in recent years. The character of the negative audiovisual campaigns shows a notable hardening in 2015 and 2017 respectively, both visually and narratively. From 2013

onwards, with the launch of the summer campaign "Viajar es vivir" (Travelling is living), the DGT returned to the so-called "hard line", showing explicit and detailed images of lifeless bodies, blood and open wounds, elements that have a great emotional impact. The awareness-raising mechanism in this type of campaign lies in provoking a high emotional impact and shock in the viewer, focusing on the dramatic or tragic aspects of a traffic accident. Thus, most of these campaigns appeal to primary emotions such as fear, surprise, suffering, pain, loss or emptiness. These types of effects are detected both in the characters involved in the story and also at an abstract level, seeking empathy and sensitisation of the spectator. The close emotional ties between the characters are important in understanding the impact of the campaigns on the viewer. They are the parents-children, partners, friendships and colleagues. All these roles suffer in-directly from the consequences of accidents. Parents (especially the figure of the mother) play a fundamental role in showing the suffering caused by the loss of a loved one. Friends are more linked to irresponsible behaviour and the need to make decisions that often have no way back.

The sound resources intensify the effect of the emotional impact on the spectator, and can reach a great prominence in the dramatic moments. There is a redundancy of sounds, cries, screams, sound impacts, sirens, sounds of braking and honking horns. They all add to the intensity and drama. The silences work in a special way, always alluding to death in a violent way and to lives cut short. The creative and complex perspective of the stories is DGT's strength. Many of the campaigns carry metaphorical or symbolic meanings, which are different ways of approaching reality. The voice of deceased characters who have been victims of accidents is used extensively, and in some way they are given the possibility of raising awareness through their tragic endings, either through narration or image. This is the case of the protagonist of the 2013 campaign " Viajar es vivir" (Travelling is living).

4. DISCUSSION

In the DGT's audiovisual discourse throughout the compilation of the 74 audiovisual pieces from the 2011-2019 period, a negative line predominates, which is committed to campaigns with a high emotional impact. Despite the aggressive facet of its campaigns, the DGT's intention is to raise awareness and approach the viewer with realistic and unfiltered messages, to show reality as it is. The audiovisual campaigns launched between 2011 and 2019 respond faithfully to the communication plan established by the Road Safety Strategic Plan in force, in terms of thematic axes, recipients of the message and scope of action.

The effectiveness of the persuasion mechanisms used by the organisation in its campaigns is verified. The focus is on respect for the law and the rules for positive coexistence and the need to ensure compliance with them. Explicit persuasion is frequent through clear and direct messages that function as orders (use of explicit and implicit images in circumstances of serious traffic accidents, which generally end in death). Likewise, the use of a wide range of human emotions in both their negative and positive dimensions is also evident: in campaigns with a positive perspective, the emotions of joy, love, optimism, hope and well-being predominate. In the negative campaigns, suffering, fear, loss, emptiness, guilt and aggression are redundant.

5. CONCLUSIONS

With regard to the main hypotheses that were put forward at the beginning, it is necessary to consider whether or not they are fulfilled:

Hypothesis 1 (H1) is fulfilled as it has been possible to verify a change in character from 2013 onwards. A clear transformation of the discourse towards a much stronger and more abundant negative line can be observed.

Hypothesis 2 (H2) is fulfilled since the Strategic Road Safety Plan is committed to the transmission of values and social learning. Both positive and negative campaigns include learning, which is almost always explicitly shown at the end in a concise sentence. The campaigns show a reward for good behaviour - family reunions, holidays, family parties - and tragic consequences for bad behaviour - death, loss, guilt.

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