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Health Activism *Is the New Black*: The Communication by Non-Governmental Organizations about COVID-19

Abstract

This article focuses on understanding how non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in their role as health activists, have built their communication on COVID-19. A triple analysis is used, qualitative-thematic, rhetorical, and semiotic, applied to a *corpus* of advertisements (n=68). The findings show that, thematically, NGOs propose an agenda that includes prevention, awareness (e.g., COVID 19's impact, aid, violence, disinformation, (ir)responsibility), donation, and praise for altruism. Rhetorically, *ethos* is built through the emphasis on the credibility of NGOs, the elite figures and the authenticity and factualism of human faces. Capitalizing on the innate emotional nature of humans, *pathos* is entangled in a plurality of positive (e.g., love, pride, hope) and negative emotions (e.g., worry). A variety of *logos*-based rhetorical strategies are employed, particularly those grounded in evidence, such as the use of statistical data, factual references, and pedagogical descriptions intended to clarify and support the argument. Additionally, the text incorporates a range of persuasive and emotional tactics, including stylistic features, phatic elements (e.g., questions designed to initiate contact with the audience), motivational language, and associations with noble causes. Techniques such as personalization and humanization are used to foster authenticity and public identification, alongside the portrayal of victims to evoke empathy. Furthermore, the symbolic use of icons and plastic signifiers, including colour schemes, enhances the communicative and emotional appeal of the message. The article offers professional, social, and scientific contributions.

Keywords: non-governmental organizations (NGOs); health activism; COVID-19; health communication; strategic communication

1. Introduction

Communication is vital for the existence and functioning of organizations (Palamarchuk & Polishchuk, 2023). It facilitates cooperation, building relationships, adapting to global changes, allowing to solve problems that transcend national borders, such as COVID-19. As Meywe (2020) emphasizes, the crisis response depends on what the organization does and what the organization says, in other words, it depends on communication.

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In recent decades, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become one of the basic pillars of public wellbeing (Navajas-Romero et al., 2020), have had a major impact on global society (Lewis, 2005), have become actors capable of considerably affecting public opinion (Giorgi, 2019), and influencing the awareness about international social causes, including health causes, in a global society (Schwarz & Fritsch, 2014, p. 161). Since NGOs are not motivated by a desire for profit, they are seen by the public as being more trustworthy than other organizations (Hoepner et al., 2021). Additionally, NGOs are the most rapidly growing type of organization in the world (Fergusson, 2018) and this growth has coincided with a perceived increase in the influence NGOs can and do exert over governments (Giorgi, 2019).

NGOs tend to be studied in their role as activists, not in the strategic communication of activists (Fröhlich & Jungblut, 2017, p. 87; Schwarz & Fritsch, 2014, p. 161). For this literature review, a Boolean search was carried out in March 2024 on the EBSCOhost database, “the leading provider of research database” (<https://www.ebsco.com/>), using the following keywords: “health activism” AND “NGO or non-governmental organization” AND “strategic communication”. The search generated no useful results, which shows the pioneering nature of this thematic proposal.

This research gap is surprising, as the results of the study conducted by Schwarz and Fritsch (2014) reveal that international NGOs tend to value their communications function and should be considered strategically mature. The authors observe that 60% of the NGOs that participated in the survey are categorized in the cluster of “excellent international public relations” (Schwarz & Fritsch, 2014, p. 177). NGOs have traditionally relied on strategic communication as a cost-effective way to reach different audiences and achieve certain objectives. This serves as a fundamental tool for NGOs, enabling them to gain access to the media, shape public discourse, and influence public opinion, while also positioning them as key players in issue management (Fröhlich & Jungblut, 2017). Healthcare activism has a long and rich history of social change, spanning diverse themes, from mapping diseases with epidemic potential to sociopolitical issues such as organizing for women’s rights (Gade, 2023). The literature reveals that there is limited research regarding health activism and what constitutes health activism (Mundie & Donelle, 2022).

In the context of COVID-19, health communication has a pivotal prominence in health and wellbeing, including disease prevention, health promotion and quality of life (e.g., Scardigno et al., 2023). Given that communication and health campaigns are aimed at mass adherence to specific actions, especially during a health emergency, various tactics and communication channels are used to inform, educate, and warn. Therefore, persuasive messages must be disseminated competently (Scardigno et al., 2023). The types of cues and levels of message construction related to practiced communication – which may constitute good practices – are of significant interest for understanding and improving persuasive processes (e.g., Scardigno et al., 2023) linked to health communication in the times of a pandemic.

In theoretical terms, this article draws on health communication studies, rhetorical theory, message strategy theory, and semiotic studies. Combining strategical health communication, health activism, advertising campaigns creativity and the communication challenges of organizations during a global pandemic crisis, the aim of this article is to understand the strategic and activist communication of NGOs about COVID-19.

2. The contribution of communication for health activism and NGOs in a pandemic crisis

A pandemic can turn NGO communication into activism. The breadth of COVID-19 and its peculiar characteristics distinguished it from other crises. This led NGOs to work hard on several fronts to protect the most vulnerable people against the effects of the epidemic and to maintain the performance of their organizations (Vameghi et al., 2022). NGOs are mostly defined by their cooperative or humanitarian aims rather than commercial purposes, intending to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development (World Bank, 1995). These organizations can be characterized as a subdomain of the broader non-profit sector, engaging concretely in the international plan (e.g., Edwards & Hulme, 1996). From this perspective, NGOs are often idealized as organizations committed to “doing good” (Saharan et al., 2021, p. 1), not returning profits generated to their owners or directors, institutionally separate from government, and voluntary (Fergusson, 2018).

Although activism is on the rise at global level (Tench & Yeomans, 2009, p. 131), health activism is not particularly common in either popular or academic discourse (Zoller, 2005). The term *activism* or *health activism* often goes undefined in the literature (Zoller, 2005, p. 343), is not consistently defined or is used interchangeably with advocacy (Mundie & Donelee, 2022). As a form of health communication, health activism (Zoller, 2005, p. 342) involves a challenge to the existing order and the power relations that are seen as negatively influencing certain aspects of health or hindering health promotion. To this end, health activism can employ direct action, as well as the creation and dissemination of messages aimed at raising awareness, educating, and mobilizing the public (e.g., Dorfman et al., 2005; Laverack, 2013; Talhouk et al., 2018; Zoller, 2005; Zoller, 2017). The concept involves attempts to change the status quo, including targets such as social norms, embedded practices, policies or the dominance of certain social groups (Zoller, 2005, p. 344). Health activists can be classified in terms of the issue within the area of health they are concerned with (Zoller, 2005, p. 347). Considering the performance of NGOs in light of COVID-19, health activism can be classified as: (1) *illness and disability activism*, which focuses on bringing attention to particular diseases (in this case, COVID-19), developing research and treatment, and altering public perceptions and norms regarding illness and disability; or (2) *public health and disease prevention activism*, which concentrates on removing the causes of disease and barriers to good health (Zoller, 2005, p. 349).

In situations of epidemics and pandemics, health activism can play a vital role in mobilizing resources, promoting preventive measures, and defending more effective response strategies, so the messages to be disseminated must be aligned with the identity of the activist organization and must aim to fulfill or act in line with the objectives of the message among the audiences to be reached. This means that communication must be used strategically, that is, for concrete purposes. *Strategic communication*, “the current reason for being” (Horwath, 2005, p. 1), is defined as the purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfil its mission (Hallahan et al. 2005, pp. 3-4). Specifically, it is about informational, persuasive, discursive and relational communication when used in a context of the achievement of an organization’s mission (Hallahan et al. 2005, p. 17).

Communication processes regarding health activism can include interpretation of illness causation, choice and articulation of solutions, development of public appeals, implementa-

tion of methods and tactics, forms of organizing (Zoller, 2005, pp. 351-352). As types of response to the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, international NGOs resorted to symbolic statements, sharing third party knowledge, material support, running educational and awareness raising projects, issuing guidelines and producing knowledge (Ulybina et al., 2023).

In a pandemic or health crisis the uncertainty, strong feelings of urgency (Musolino et al., 2020, pp. 17-24), the higher vulnerability of some people and communities (HEG Expert Group, 2011, p. 26), and an overload of health needs on human and material resources (Thompson et al., 2006) are difficulties. Additionally, there is increased tension between individual freedom and collective protection (HEG Expert Group, 2011, p. 26). In this scenario, activists rely on symbolic legitimation (e.g., Ulybina et al., 2023) and on persuasive appeals to connect with the public to change attitudes and encourage action (Zoller, 2005, p. 354). An organization can use the opportunity to make itself visible in the public discourse centered pandemic by resorting to symbolic legitimation (Ulybina et al., 2023), which is based on the importance of language and symbols so that individuals can create a meaningful world about something linked to health. Awareness raising, behavioral change, and health promotion campaigns rely on symbolic communication, as societies attribute meaning to language and symbols to reinforce the acceptance of certain practices.

Comparing the NGO advertisement in South Africa and China, Liu et al. (2017) observe that both tend to use an emotional approach and there is a pattern to NGO advertisements, engendering gloom and sadness (pp. 22, 24). The authors point out that there are other ways of appealing to the publics, such as bringing them optimistic scenes that can evoke them with love and hope. The public tends to be more receptive to positive promotional campaigns (Liu et al., 2017, p. 24).

Since “most people are emotional” (Papp-Váry, 2015, p. 22), it can be said that an emotional approach can trigger passion in the public, which will create a longstanding effect. The author suggests adopting the South African advertising strategy and the guidelines used, such as being straightforward and using visual effects (p. 22). Focusing on the emotional dimension of the message, Nabi (2014) refers to fear, guilt, and humor as the emotional appeals that have received the most attention (p. 115). In another logic, O’Keefe (2014) notes that decisions to adopt specific message strategies for use in persuasive health interventions should be evidence based, just as evidence-based medicine informs health screening and treatment decisions.

Persuasive messages frequently use a basic expectancy-value mechanism to influence beliefs regarding the subjective likelihood of various outcomes occurring. The operational formula for preventing risky behavior is susceptibility multiplied by severity, using a loss frame to motivate the public with a high likelihood of suffering painful effects (Atkin & Rice, 2013, p. 9). Atkin and Rice (2013) explain that incentive appeals often build on existing values of the target public, so the message tends to reinforce their predispositions (p. 9). Murray-Johnson and Witte (2003) clarify that campaign strategists attempt to make the messages salient to the public (p. 475). The authors refer to stimuli and call to action as message content variables. A call to action helps move someone from wanting to make a healthy change to actually making it happen (Belim, 2022, p. 15). Health message designers create the cognition leading to motivation by choosing those message features, such as vividness, repetition, and placement in the mass media, that communicate “this is important to your health” (Murray-Johnson & Witte, 2003, p. 475). Repetition can also heighten the motivation to attend to a message (p. 476). Motivational variables, such as fear, threats, perceived severity, perceived susceptibility are essential to how a message is processed and whether action is taken (p. 477).

Specifically on the prevention of the risk of cardiovascular disease, Bellicha and McGrath (1990) emphasize that a multiplicity of tactics has been developed and tested to encourage adequate action. Messages have stressed the benefits of adopting healthy habits, such as protecting loved ones, safeguarding one's health, and being around to enjoy the rewards of life. The reverse tactic has also been used. Focus group testing has indicated that the emphasis of negative effects in a message of mild fear is believable, motivational and attention-getting (Arkin, 1987). Sharf and Vanderford (2003) also argue that, when personal stories of suffering are constructed, the individual dealing with serious and/or chronic illness understands a situation that may at first seem to not have a discernible explanation (p. 29). Atkin and Rice (2013, p. 9) systematize the qualities or appeals that influential messages should possess, identifying five key elements: 1. credibility, conveyed through the trustworthiness and competence of the source and the use of convincing evidence; 2. engagement, achieved through the presentation of style and ideas in a stimulating and stylistically appealing manner; 3. personal relevance, ensured by selecting content and style that the audience perceives as applicable to their own situation and needs; 4. clarity, attained by presenting the content in a simple, explicit, and detailed manner, making it easily understandable to the audience; and 5. motivational appeal, referring to the rewards recipients may obtain by adhering to the recommended health behaviors. Also, persuasive appeals may take the form of awareness messages, pleas for social responsibility or appeals to fear, sympathy, morality, respect, or social justice (Zoller, 2005, p. 355), ad framing (positive or negative outcomes), statistical information, emotions (*pathos*), altruistic versus egoistic appeals, efficiency ratings, or inclusion of goal attainment information (Wymer & Gross, 2021).

Based on the notion of health activism as both direct action and creation and dissemination of messages aimed at raising awareness, educating, and mobilizing the public (e.g., Dorfman et al., 2005; Laverack, 2013; Talhouk et al., 2018; Zoller, 2005; Zoller, 2017), and on Hallahan et al. (2005)'s understanding of strategic communication as informational, persuasive, discursive and relational communication (p. 17), three research questions can be formulated based on the aims of strategic communication: informational, persuasive, and relational/symbolic discourse:

Q1. What thematic associations are established in NGOs advertisements related to COVID-19 between January 11 and April 15, 2020?

Q2. What is the persuasive impact of the advertising messages created by NGOs about COVID-19 between January 11 and April 15, 2020?

Q3. What is the symbolic potential of the advertising messages disseminated by NGOs about COVID-19 between January 11 and April 15, 2020?

3. Method

3.1. Aims

To explore the message in its entirety (substance-issues; form-rhetoric; symbolism-deeper meanings), and assess its potential, specific objectives in line with the research questions are formulated:

1) to understand the thematic associations established in NGOs advertisements with the issue of COVID-19 between January 11 and April 15, 2020;

2) to investigate the persuasive potential of the advertisement messages used by NGOs about COVID-19 between January 11 and April 15, 2020; and

3) to explore the symbolic potential of the advertisement messages disseminated by NGOs about COVID-19 between January 11 and April 15, 2020. Respectively, the thematic agenda and the persuasive and symbolic capacity were analyzed.

3.2. Corpus

The *corpus* was selected based on the following: abundance of data; variety of language; understanding of the target audience; reflection of culture and society's values; and ease of access and analysis. The *corpus*, comprising 68 NGO ads, was the result of a search using the words "coronavirus" and "COVID-19" on two websites, which aggregate content from: a) ads – *Ads of the World*, described as "the largest creative advertising base in the world" (adsoftheworldnyc, 2024), using the tag "public interest"; and b) campaigns – *Campaigns of the World*, referred to as "the number one news source for advertisers and creative professionals" (COTW, 2024), where no specific tag was applied. The word advertisement is used in the sense of non-profit advertising. The analysis period was three months, between January 11, 2020, the day on which the first death caused by COVID-19 occurred in China, and April 15, 2020, as it marked the peak or near-peak of the first wave of infections and deaths in many countries, including the United States and several European nations (Johns Hopkins University, 2020; WHO, 2020). It was a critical turning point when public health communication intensified, governmental restrictions were reinforced, and non-governmental organizations began increasing their outreach to address growing public concerns and social vulnerabilities (UNESCO, 2020; Kickbusch et al., 2020). The timeframe was selected due to the significant impact of the virus infiltrating most countries during March 2020, also known as the *first wave of the pandemic*.

Given that academics and practitioners use a wide range of terminology to designate non-state actors, such as "NGOs", "civil society organizations", "interest groups", "non-profit organizations" or "third sector organizations" (Schoenefeld, 2021), which are entities involved in social causes, committed to the common good and thus the public interest, to the *corpus* of this study includes entities classified by Ads of the Word with the category "public interest industry". In addition to this inclusion criterion, the focus on COVID-19 was considered. No promoter nationality or medium type filters were applied. This option allows to compose a transnational, multimedia and multi-thematic *corpus* related to COVID-19. All advertisements returned according to the search criteria within the analyzed time-period were included in the *corpus*, constituting a "complete enumeration".

3.3. Qualitative techniques

The method used is qualitative, including qualitative content analysis – QCA (to fulfil the first aim), rhetorical analysis (for the second aim) and semiotic analysis (for the third).

3.3.1. Qualitative content analysis

The QCA was employed to seek out the underlying issues in the materials being analyzed (Bryman, 2012, p. 557). To operate the technique, the procedures suggested by Altheide (2004) were adopted (Table 1).

Table 1. Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) Procedures

Step	Procedure
1	Generate a research question (<i>What are the thematic associations made by NGOs with the issue of COVID-19?</i>)
2	Become familiar with the context within which the <i>corpus</i> was/is generated
3	Become familiar with a small number of materials (ads present on the websites referred to)
4	Generate some categories (e.g., issue) that guide the collection of data

Note. Adapted from *Qualitative Media Analysis* by D. L. Altheide, 2004, Sage Publications. © 2004 by SAGE.

3.3.2. Rhetorical analysis

Rhetorical analysis concentrates on how the message is analyzed as an artistically structured instrument for communication and persuasion instead of what the message enunciates, involving breaking the text down into parts. Through this procedure, we can understand how the different parts operate, providing insights to reconstruct the overall persuasive strategies used. In the analysis conducted, the three “proofs of persuasion” – *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* – enunciated by Aristotle (century IV BC/2005) are considered (Table 2).

Table 2. Categories for Rhetorical Analysis

<i>Ethos</i> : those that reside in the moral character of the issuer, leaving the impression that he/she is worthy of faith	<i>Pathos</i> : those derived from the emotion that the speech arouses in the public	<i>Logos</i> : those that focus on what the discourse demonstrates
• <i>Credibility</i>, by exposing the trustworthiness and competence of the source and convincing evidence (Atkin & Rice, 2013, p. 9) • The perceived credibility of the source (Berlo et al., 1969) • <i>Trust</i> based on two attributes: <i>competence</i> (keeping promises) and <i>ethical behavior</i> (adopting the right behavior and commitment to improving society) (Edelman, 2020) • <i>Authority</i> representing the sender's level of expertise (Shaffi & Rowley, 2017) • Use of <i>real faces</i> in the iconic plan – <i>authenticity</i> • <i>Elite figures</i>	• <i>Love and hope</i>: bringing optimistic scenes to the public (Liu et al., 2017) • <i>Susceptibility multiplied by severity</i> – loss frame (Atkin & Rice, 2013, p. 9). • <i>Stimuli and cues to action</i> (Murray-Johnson & Witte, 2003, p. 475) • <i>Motivational variables</i>: fear, threats, perceived severity, perceived susceptibility (Murray-Johnson & Witte, 2003, p. 477) • <i>Fear, guilt, and humor</i> (Nabi, 2014, p. 115) • <i>Negative messages</i> (e.g., Arkin, 1987; Monahan, 1995, p. 86) • <i>Positive messages</i> (Monahan, 1995, p. 86) • <i>Awareness messages, pleas for social responsibility or appeals to fear, sympathy, morality, respect or social justice</i> (Zoller, 2005, p. 355) • <i>Shock appeals</i> (Wymer & Gross, 2021) <i>Emergent categories from the corpus:</i> • Empathy • Feeling of power/empowerment, of control • Feelings of impotence and vulnerability • Impetus for reflection and introspection • Pity • Pride • Sense of responsibility • Sense of emergency • Strangeness	• <i>Worry</i> • <i>Evidence-based medicine</i> (O'Keefe, 2014) • <i>Data / evidence and examples</i> (Ting, 2018, p. 238) • <i>Repetition</i> (Murray-Johnson & Witte, 2003, p. 476) • <i>Humanization and personalization</i> (Shaffi & Vanderford, 2003) • <i>Stylistic devices</i> can make the sender's thoughts concrete (Corbett, 2004, p. 143) • <i>Victims' portrayal</i>: children and their expressions, victims' facial expressions and poverty porn (Wymer & Gross, 2021) • <i>Narratives or stories</i> (Bruner, 1990; Scardigno et al., 2023)

Note. Based on rhetorical theory and sources from Atkin and Rice (2013), Murray-Johnson and Witte (2003), and additional *corpus*-based categories.

3.3.3. *Semiotic analysis*

Semiotic analysis is based on the study of deeper meanings of messages and of the signifying process through signs. A sign is defined as anything that carries information that can be received in different ways by each recipient, depending on his/her cultural repertoire (Poulios & Senter, 2016). The analysis conducted focuses on the two dimensions of the message (the verbal, and the visual); and on icons, denotation, and connotation; and plastic signifiers (Joly, 2008). Denotation is what can be described as simply being “there” (Bate, 2020). Connotation is the immediate cultural meanings derived from the content analyzed (Bate, 2020). Icons are figurative, recognized by what they show, while plastic signifiers (e.g., color, composition, framing, lighting, plan, shape, texture) are not just the simple matter of the expression of iconic signs, they are integral because they fully signify (Joly, 2008).

The codebooks prepared for the three analyzes follow a deductive logic, taking advantage of insights from the literature, which is combined with an inductive logic to accommodate the specificities of the *corpus*. To define the category scheme, we adopted some methodological precautions, such as: mutually exclusive categories and clear instructions to categorize.

4. Findings

4.1. Thematic associations with the issue of COVID-19

4.1.1. *Prevention*

Some NGOs focus on the advice to stay home (e.g., Ad Council). In certain ads, various relationships are drawn, such as: a) in the Ad Council’s ads, a relationship is established between staying home and saving lives (Ad 1); b) in the ads from the World Health Organization (WHOa, b – Ads 4-11), spreading out, staying two meters away from everyone and staying home are presented as influential factors to save lives and “not to be part of these numbers”; c) in the Saatchi & Saatchi ad (Ads 12-14), staying at home and stopping the spread helps save medical staff from taking a hit and stop non-domestic violence perpetrated by wearing a mask during work hours; d) in the ads from the United Nations (UN), keeping the distance “stops chaos” and helps control COVID-19 (Ads 15-17); e) the World Human Fund appeals to people to stay home for “your loved ones” and not put the elderly at risk (Ads 18-19). The WHOc and the UN make an association between washing hands frequently and stopping the spread of the virus (Ad 20).

4.1.2. *Awareness*

Within awareness campaigns, several topics were covered.

COVID 19’s impact

One awareness raising initiative is the Trans Lifeline campaign, which addresses the crisis of isolation of trans and nonbinary individuals, with an impact on their mental health (Ads 21-25). The campaign, based on the postulation that no one should be isolated because of his/her identity, is a call to this social minority to share their stories of being seen and seeing others, using the #WeSeeUs hashtag.

Aid

Senim-Meirim encourages distancing from other humans but not from pets, highlighting the issue of adopting pets (Ads 26-28). Another campaign focused on awareness is the one by Hogar de Cristo which aims to deliver support to the economically disadvantaged, who do not have the option of staying home (Ads 29-34). The UN also has a campaign that addresses homelessness, encouraging greater public empathy and engagement, particularly during times of crisis (Ads 35-37). Within the scope of the awareness theme, there is a focus on the financial education of students. Given that students face personal financial stress, exacerbated by COVID-19, DoSomething.Org and HSBC encourage participation in the online *Would You Rather* questions to receive a personal finance guide and become part of the most financially literate generation (Ad 38).

Violence

APAV foregrounds the effects of isolation, the possible dark side of being isolated, stating that anyone in this condition can also be a victim (Ads 39-41). Among these effects, APAV refers to the increase in various risks, such as the risk of being a cybercrime victim, the risk of crimes like embezzlement and robbery at home and in places with less vigilance, and the risk of suffering physical, mental or sexual abuse. The Anais Association also warns of the consequences of social distancing in terms of domestic violence (Ads 42-44). Social distancing means both being protected from coronavirus and, negatively, more time in which the aggressor is at home with his/her victims, increasing the number of domestic violence cases. Another three ads from the Anais Association, with thematic consistency, appeal to the isolation of violence, by not allowing domestic violence to increase during social distancing and reporting any abuse to the emergency services (Ads 45-47). The Women's Aid Federation also addresses the issue of domestic violence, recalling that, for thousands of women and children right now, home is anything but safe (Ad 48).

Disinformation

The fact of fake news spreading faster than the virus is the issue of the ad from the Spread The Truth Project (Ad 49). This umbrella issue can include the UN campaign focused on the contagious nature of disinformation, recommending that "if it doesn't have a source, don't share it" (Ads 50-52).

(Ir)Responsibility

Picturing a dystopian context, the WHO prepared a campaign on dark tales that focus on people, stressing that there are millions who did not stay at home and caused the virus to spread (Ads 53-55). Another campaign conducted by the WHO puts the responsibility on each person, appealing to mask wearing and saying that "it's your turn" (Ad 56).

4.1.3. Donation

The Marie Curie ad emphasizes the imperative that not everything can be put on hold, appealing to donations (Ad 57). With the same aim, Freedom from Torture focuses on the difficulties or impossibility of living on £5 a day, which is the reality of asylum seekers who are struggling to get by during the crisis (Ad 58). The International Medical Corps launched a campaign appealing for donations as a way of thanking health professionals all around the world – the heroes who have marks on their faces, symbolizing their frontline efforts – for their sacrifice (Ads 59-63). Alima and World Vision address the problems of developing coun-

tries that need donations to solve or mitigate problems. Alima focuses on the needs of African health systems, particularly respiratory equipment, which is necessary to save lives (Ad 64). World Vision refers to those who will be unable to apply “the barrier gestures” because their water is “too contaminated, too scarce, or too far” (Ad 65-67).

4.1.4. *Praise for altruism*

In contrast, the UN constructed a positive film medium campaign, praising the altruism and the WE, explaining that the world is still a WE, no matter how far apart people are (Ad 68).

4.2. Persuasive potential of the NGO messages about COVID-19

4.2.1. *Ethos*

All entities/promoters, such as the WHO, the UN and the Ad Council, enjoy credibility and reliability. The 2020 Edelman confidence barometer highlights that, nowadays, people’s trust is based on two attributes: competence (keeping promises) and ethical behavior (adopting the right behavior and commitment to improving society). Among the results of the referred barometer, NGOs are the leaders in ethical behavior (Edelman, 2020).

The presence of “elite figures” can enhance the credibility of communication. In this sense, the presence of Marcus Scribner, the American actor, adds value to the campaign by Do-Something.Org, and the reference to the Queen of Malaysia and the Mayor of London favors the UN’s campaign.

The use of the faces of real medical staff in a 15-hour long fight with COVID-19 lends authenticity to the campaign by Saatchi & Saatchi. The same technique is used by the International Medical Corps. The images of real homeless people also contribute to the credibility of Hogar de Cristo’s message. In the UN’s ad, the same technique is used, referring to the number of years the homeless person portrayed has lived on the streets. In the Marie Curie video, the testimonial of Lynn, who has terminal cancer and does not know how many weeks she has left, also makes the campaign more authentic and credible.

4.2.2. *Pathos*

Various emotions and reactions can be stimulated by the NGOs campaigns under analysis. A sense of responsibility can be awakened by various ads, such as the ones that appeal to social distancing (Ads 1-3) and not spreading fake news and disinformation (Ads 49-52). A sense of emergency is also employed (“Marie Curie nurses are needed now more than ever” – Ad 57; “is needed to save lives” – Ad 64). Empathy and pity are emotions presented in some campaigns, such as the ones related to domestic violence, sick people (e.g., Lynn, who has terminal cancer and does not know how many weeks she has left), victims (“survivors of torture in the UK might not have a choice” – Ad 58, poor people in Chile – Ads 29-34) and things that cannot be put on hold (Ad 57).

Among positive emotions, love is a feeling that is intended to be transmitted to homeless people (Ads 35-37), the elderly (Ads 18-19), and pets (Ads 26-28). At the same time, humor (Ad 38) can encourage fun experiences. Pride is the prevalent emotion present in the UN’s video (Ad 68). Cues to action are dominant in the campaigns’ content (e.g., “Be the good news the world need”). Among negative emotions, there is worry (“the coronavirus has arrived in Africa”, “It could be 3 times more deadly here”, “cases are increasing”, “critical

need”, “we don’t have enough” – Ad 64; “we won’t stay home”, “we won’t keep 1 meter apart”, “we won’t wash our hands” – Ads 65- 67); fear due to danger (Ads 15-17). Strangeness (and even fear) can be awoken through Ads 53-55 due to the presence of classical heroines (Alice, Little Red Riding Hood, Rapunzel) on a hospital bed. “Once upon a time”, a stock phrase to introduce fairy tales and folk tales, can have an unhappy ending if people do not stay at home, showing that even heroes can be infected.

The impetus for reflection and introspection is present in the ad by Freedom from Torture (“Could you live on £5 a day during a pandemic?” – Ad 58). The feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability are exploited by Alima (“the virus can attack everyone” – Ad 64). But, conversely, a feeling of power, of control, is also implied: “everyone can attack the virus” (Ad 64).

4.2.3. Logos

Evidence and factual or statistical data lend strength to the message, such as “there are millions of victims worldwide” (Ad 39); “72% of students”, “more money paying off credit cards... than books for school!” (Ad 38); “thousands of women and children” (Ad 48); “based on true stories” (Ads 29-34); “the coronavirus has arrived in Africa”, “It could be 3 times more deadly here”, “lack of critical equipment and of health workers” (Ad 64); “coronavirus puts our elderly at risk of becoming extinct” (Ads 18-19); the description of true stories, “150 Tunisians”, “donate their 400 wedding meals”, “the Mayor of London books 300 hotel rooms” (Ad 68); “since the age of 15 [11] [8]” (Ads 35-37); “844 million people” (Ads 65-67).

The antithesis is present in both instances, the iconic and the linguistic. The antithesis is linguistically present in Ad 57 (“theatre on hold, holidays on hold, weddings on hold, marathons on hold, festivals on hold, parties on hold, school trips on hold, sports on hold *vs.* not everything is on hold”), Ad 48 (“domestic abusers are no longer walking among us” *vs.* “they’re locked inside with their families”), Ad 64 (“the virus can attack everyone” *vs.* “everyone can attack the virus”), Ads 18-19 (“elderly” *vs.* “young lady”, “young man”) and Ads 65-67 (“we won’t stay home”/“we won’t keep one meter apart”/“we won’t wash our hands” *vs.* “barrier gestures”). In the iconic plan, the use of different colors: cyan symbolizes healthy people *vs.* red, which indicates infection with COVID-19 (Ad 44); in other instances, cyan represents relationships without domestic violence *vs.* red, the opposite (Ads 43-44) and the perpetrator (Ad 44); in other cases red represents the increased number of patients infected with COVID-19 and the higher number of domestic violence episodes *vs.* cyan, representing control of these problems. The repetition of words (“on hold” – Ad 57; “too” – Ads 65-67) and of icons (e.g., modelled on the morphology of the virus that looks a corona, a crown – Ads 45-47) is also in use.

Other stylistic resources used are analogy, comparison, or metaphor. The morphology of the virus is used, the club-shaped viral spike peplomers that resemble a crown surrounding the virus when observed under an electron microscope, in a visual metaphor: a) to configure various cases of domestic violence caused by social distancing and family lockdowns, as well as conjugal relations (Ads 45-47); b) to demonstrate the contagiousness of disinformation and the idea that, like viruses, information can be contagious (Ads 50-52).

Ads 50-52 also explore the similarity to a word cloud. In Ads 15-17, an analogy is constructed between two elements that can be dangerous or mortal if they come into contact and the social contact that can cause COVID-19 to spread exponentially. The configuration of a television game show, with a presenter and a contestant, is a double analogy: to the typical television shows of the genre (e.g., “Who wants to be a millionaire”) and the online “Would

You Rather” questions (Ad 38). Ad 20 verbally exhorts people to “use it” and the images used consist of bars of soap positioned to represent the appearance and shape of a brain. The implicit proposal is to use the brain, rationality, and then the soap to wash your hands and avoid the virus. Also, ad 59 uses the expression “war heroes”, comparing COVID-19 to a war, to a military conflict.

Humanization and personalization also prevail (e.g., Lynn, a terminal cancer patient and whose health condition cannot be put on hold – Ad 57; the faces of health professionals/medical staff – Ads 12-13; Marcus Scribner – Ad 38; Ads 21-25; “Yashilda, 36 years old, son, 6 years old, husband” – Ad 58; Ads 29-34, 59, 64, 18-19, 35-37, 65-67, Ad 68 through the description of personal stories, such as the Queen of Malaysia, the Mayor of London). Puns and dysphemism are used and, in a certain way, metaphors, in Ads 12-14, with the expression of “non-domestic violence”. It alludes to the effects of leaving home: “medical staff takes a hit.”

Some signifiers and plastic signifiers are used, with a phatic function, such as squeaky colors, yellow underlines, the use of the question mark (e.g., “How much are your face masks worth on the black market?” – Ad 49; “Could you live on £5 a day during a pandemic?”, “If you had a spare fiver, what would you do with it?” – Ad 58; “where do you think you’re going, young lady?” – Ad 18) and exclamation mark (“over my dead body will you go out, young man!” – Ad 19), the creation of fake news to attract attention and then showing the truth (the “fake” fake news).

4.3. Symbolic potential of the NGO messages about COVID-19

The WHO uses flags in its advertisements. The use of various flags (Ads 4-8), occupying most of the space of the ad symbolically shows that the virus does not have one nationality, but several, affecting different people. In another ad, certain parts of the flags have various sizes, diverging from the original version, illustrating different indicators: critical and active cases, total recovered, new deaths, total deaths, new cases, total cases (Ads 9-11).

Chromatically, the use of a white (Ads 42-44, 49) or black (Ads 57, 42-44, 48, 64, 68) background serves to emphasize and maintain attention on the linguistic message. The blueprint of a house is evocative of the domestic area (Ad 42), where the family members are confined. Each member of the family is symbolized by a cyan circle. When they start to come into conflict, the color changes and turns red. Red, in this context, signifies an alert and the danger of relationships where domestic violence is increasing. The red in Ad 43 represents infected people and the relationships where domestic violence predominates. The graph in Ad 44 indicates the progress of the number of cases of infected people, which can be significantly higher than the capacity of the healthcare system (this problem is shown in red). By implementing social distancing, the problem is mitigated (the graph turns blue and then cyan). Red is also used in the graph to illustrate the increasing number of cases of domestic violence, motivated by the family lockdowns imposed by social distancing.

Dark and dehumanized scenarios (devoid of people), with only urban *furniture* (buildings, alleys) (Ads 39-41), signify the opacity of not knowing what is happening behind closed doors. In this context, APAV asks people not to be silent and to report domestic violence. Exploring the same scenario (urban, empty, depopulated), Ad 48 symbolically associates images and sounds with the lockdown. This lockdown represents the absence of safety for women and children that “are locked inside” with their aggressors. In Ads 35-37, the darkness suggests the loneliness of homeless people.

The ads by the UN (Ads 15-17) express classic danger situations, using the proximity of elements: a balloon and a cactus, a foot and a piece of Lego, a hairdryer and a bath filled with water. While many global brands have recently changed their *logos* by separating logo elements to promote social distancing, Senim-Meirim has rearranged the *logos* of these brands, encouraging people to adopt pets from animal shelters, in other words, inciting to get closer to animals and not to people – “keep distance with humans, not pets” (Ads 26-28).

Among positive symbols, the shapes of a heart between the human and animal hands (Ad 28) and the appeal “give your heart” (Ads 35-37) symbolize the love that can be extended. The heart “signifies love as the center of illumination and happiness” (Cirlot, 2003). According to the Egyptian system of hieroglyphs, hands signify manifestation, action, donating and husbandry (Cirlot, 2013). Holding hands can symbolize friendship, closeness and complicity. In turn, the UN explores the positivity of the word “WE”, with its connotations of community and altruism (Ad 68).

The three-in-a-row game, or tic-tac-toe, is the main symbolic focus of Ad 56. The reference to the game represents the bifurcation of the choices: using a mask or being infected by the virus. The use of classical heroines (Alice, Little Red Riding Hood, Rapunzel) on a hospital bed can suggest that even supernatural, idolized and supposedly untouchable characters can be infected (Ads 53-55). In Ads 59-63, the reference to heroes is also present, with the intention to thank the health professionals and to make donations. Every heroic feature finds its analogy among the virtues necessary “to vanquish chaos and overcome the temptations offered by the forces of darkness” (Cirlot, 2002, pp. 147-148).

5. Discussion and conclusion

Trying to fill the gap identified by Schwarz and Fritsch (2014, p. 161), we study the role of NGOs as strategic communication activists. For creating public awareness and emphasizing particular issues to penetrate public agendas, all organizations should have a thematic agenda. of the main issues promoted by NGOs, are prevention, to avoid infection by COVID-19; awareness, intending to alert about other associated problems, like the lockdown; donation, to help causes and NGOs; and praise for good causes and actions. These are aligned with the role of the NGOs that have become influential actors in raising awareness of international social causes, including health causes, in a global society (e.g., Schwarz & Fritsch, 2014, p. 161) and “have a unique opportunity to provide meaningful input in improving and saving lives” (Rimal & Lapinski, 2009, p. 247). The topic of donations is also not surprising given that donations play a crucial role in the survival and success of NGOs, as they are often the primary source of funding for these organizations (Paço et al., 2014).

ONGs, perceived as more trustworthy than other organizations (Hoepner et al., 2021), contribute to helping people stay informed and guided them towards making decisions to protect their health and the health of others. They also provide instructions that must be followed when the health risks are high and ambiguous (Reynolds, 2006, p. 5).

The ads analyzed accomplish the guidelines identified by Atkin and Rice (2013) and Papp-Váry (2015, p. 22): they are, generally, simple, straightforward, motivational, and display visual effects. Given the globalization of COVID-19, NGOs have focused on universally understandable guidance, eliminating eventual cultural barriers. The results reveal that rhetorical tactics are used. Such tactics include statistical and factual evidence (*logos*), irrefutable

and, convincing information, as O'Keefe (2014) stressed, and emotional stimulation (*pathos*), by exploiting the assumption that humans are emotional creatures. The practice of diverse tactics can serve as a guideline for message senders, encompassing: cues to action; phatic and appealing functions (use of a question in order to establish contact with the public); stylistic resources (poetic function); credibility-building tactics for communicators; motivational content; pedagogical descriptions; evocation of good causes; personalization and humanization; victims' portrayal (Wymer & Gross, 2021) to evoke compassion; and the symbolic approach of icons and plastic signifiers, especially colors. For rhetorical purposes, the ads analyzed tend to adopt the health communication orientations mentioned by some authors (e.g., Meyer, 2020; Reynolds & Quinn, 2008, p. 13S; Walton & Daisuke, 2020), such as an open, transparent and empathetic style of communication, traces of credibility, empathy, caring, competence, expertise, honesty, dedication, and commitment.

Ads' *ethos* is built through the credibility of NGOs and the elite figures. Since Hovland and Weiss (1951), several authors have noted the importance of the source's credibility and authority. For example, Sbaffi and Rowley (2017) conclude that the most widely discussed positive aspects of the content featured in the literature is the authority of the author, representing the level of expertise of the writers, followed by the credibility or trustworthiness of the information. The source credibility theory explains how the perceived credibility of the source of information influences the communication's persuasiveness (Berlo et al., 1969). Also, the reference to prominent figures explores the "personal influence", that we have known since Plato, which is persuasive (Katz, 2006, p. xxiv). Additionally, research show that institutional trust (an evaluation of an entity as competent in accomplishing what it is expected to do) is related to positive emotions. For example, studying the role of emotional response during an H1N1 influenza pandemic on a college campus, Kim and Niederdeppe (2013) discovered that the more students felt positive emotions (including "interested, alert or curious"), the more they trusted the college health center. This finding reveals that positive emotion was a significant mediator between crisis responsibility and relational trust.

Ads' *pathos* is entangled in a plurality of positive and negative emotions, with the literature not being consensual on which direction is most effective. This emotional plurality is based on assumption that an emotional approach can create a longstanding effect (Papp-Váry, 2015, p. 22) and that the arguments linked to *pathos* can provoke powerful social action (Green, 2004, p. 659).

Discussing the potential of directional value of messages (positive and negative), Monahan (1995) argues that positive messages, such as the ones that allude to love, pride, empathy, sympathy, foster good feelings and the use of less elaborate or more heuristic strategies do not activate feelings of self-protection, but rather engender feelings of ease or comfort (Monahan, 1995, p. 86). On the other hand, negative messages, such the ones that generate fear, or guilt, foster the use of more elaborate, detail-oriented and analytical processing strategies (p. 86) and result in more careful processing because negative affect informs the audience that the current situation is problematic (p. 86). Humor is used with caution in the analyzed ads, given that the health issue in focus (COVID-19) is serious and literature recommends moderation in dealing with serious health problems. Abo et al. (2017), for example, found that humorous portrayals of health conditions can reduce perceived seriousness and support for related health policies. Calls to action and motivational content are expressively present and can help transform intention into practice (e.g., Belim, 2022; Murray-Johnson & Witte, 2003). Among negative emotions, fear-appeal messages try to persuade recipients in-

to healthy behavior by outlining the negative consequences that may emerge if recommendations are not followed (Jansen, 2017).

In terms of *logos*, the use of repetition is beneficial in health contexts, considering the effects this tactic can generate. When stimuli are learned by repetition, they are better remembered and retained longer (e.g., Ebbinghaus, 1964; Zhan et al., 2018). The use of metaphors in health communication calls for a more mindful and competent use of figurative speech (Michl & Wohlmann, 2019, p. 1). Metaphors are powerful tools that enable alternative ways of thinking about complex issues in healthcare (p. 1) and they can also be used in productive ways, serving as a means of inquiry into the other and into the self (p. 8).

Evidence and factual and statistical data offer tangibility, clarity, authority, and reliability to the content communicated. Personalization and humanization show that stories are real and create greater identification between receiver and communicator (Sharf & Vanderford, 2003). Stories are a way of making sense of an uncertain or chaotic set of circumstances (Bruner, 1990). Narration helps shape human experiences, connect them with others, foster communities, and shape personal identity (Fisher, 1987).

In a semiotic logic, symbolical signifiers and symbolic legitimation (Ulybina et al., 2023) can create a meaningful world about something linked to health and produce impact, allowing a message to be conveyed attractively and accessibly to the sender. As the decoding of symbols tends to be easy and universal (e.g., flags, circles, colors, real faces, classic danger situations, the heart shape, hands, heroines, the three-in-a-row game), they facilitate the process of understanding the message. This fulfils the precepts of health literacy, which requires the presence of the dimensions of access, understanding and use of the instructions received (Belim & Nunes, 2023). Using symbolism also helps readers visualize complex concepts and follow pivotal issues, adding emotional weight to the message and fostering an effective approach to sensitive issues.

The analysis of advertisements and informative-persuasive-symbolical actions shows that, in the pandemic context of COVID-19, NGOs –acting as health activists – sought to influence, raise awareness, and reinforce social norms and health-related practices. Their commitment aligned with their mission, or “reason for being” (Horwath, 2005, p. 1), centered on the principle of “doing good”. This commitment reflects the principle that “information and knowledge are power” and the strategic use of persuasive and symbolic resources to strengthen communication.

The presence of health activism, along with the sub-typologies identified by Zoller (2005, p. 349), is evident. This includes *illness and disability activism*, as ad campaigns focus on bringing attention to a particular disease (in this case, COVID-19), and influencing public perceptions and norms. Additionally, *public health and disease prevention activism* is reflected in efforts to eliminate the causes of disease and barriers to good health.

Linking the research results to the concept of health activism, NGOs employed a range of persuasive strategies rooted in *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* to convey their explanations of COVID-19 causation and prevention. Leveraging their established credibility and authority, NGOs, like the WHO and the UN, effectively used *ethos* to reinforce trustworthiness. These organizations relied on reputable figures, such as medical professionals and well-known public figures, to enhance the credibility of their messages. *Pathos* was another key tactic, with campaigns designed to evoke empathy, urgency, or fear. Ads emphasized the immediate threat of the virus to individuals’ loved ones, healthcare workers, and vulnerable populations, thereby promoting a sense of collective responsibility. Additionally, *logos* was employed by pre-

senting factual data and statistics about the virus's impact, including infection rates and health disparities, which underscored the severity of the pandemic. These combined strategies aimed to create an emotionally and logically compelling narrative that highlighted the importance of adherence to public health guidelines.

NGOs also promoted health solutions by creating messages that emphasized prevention and behavioral modification to curb COVID-19 transmission. Campaigns were developed to encourage adherence to preventive measures like social distancing, mask-wearing, and frequent handwashing. For example, the WHO and the UN launched ads emphasizing physical distancing as a critical factor in "saving lives" and preventing further infections. Messaging was further enhanced by symbolic representations, such as the use of national flags to show COVID-19's universal impact and visual metaphors illustrating the virus's spread. The focus on staying home, wearing masks, and practicing good hygiene was tied to specific outcomes, including the protection of healthcare systems and the preservation of lives. Additionally, certain campaigns addressed social determinants by encouraging donations to support those financially impacted by the pandemic, such as marginalized groups and healthcare workers. Through these varied approaches, NGOs highlighted actionable solutions and fostered a sense of communal duty.

The findings may suggest that NGOs can actively shape health policies by influencing public perceptions, behaviors and social norms. Through widespread and emotionally resonant campaigns, NGOs worked to promote specific health behaviors and support social policies aligned with pandemic management, such as supporting vulnerable populations and advocating for adherence to public health guidelines. By framing the pandemic as a collective responsibility and emphasizing ethical behavior, NGOs aimed to shift public attitudes toward solidarity and compliance. Additionally, the persistent use of evocative imagery, appeals to empathy, and association with credible figures contributed to a more profound cultural shift. These campaigns not only informed the public but also sought to build a foundation for policy measures that prioritize communal health and social support structures. Consequently, by fostering behavioral change at the individual and societal levels, NGOs play an instrumental role in guiding both immediate and long-term health policies during crises.

Future research can explore the relational perspective of strategic communication, including the receiver, and the influence of the Health Belief Model (HBM) variables on intention, including cues to action and perceived threats. This study, based on a transnational, multimedia and multi-thematic *corpus*, offers several contributions: a) professional and operational, by providing knowledge about the strategic communication and advertising message of NGOs as health activists in the context of a pandemic and about communication practices in this context that can serve as a reference in other health situations; b) social, by promoting transparency about health communication practices and thus the population's commitment to healthy practices; and c) scientific, by filling a research gap and contributing to the message strategy theory, for example.

Acknowledgements/ Funding

The article was funded under Project UIDB/00713/2020.

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Appendix

Table. Corpus description

NGO	Country	Link	Ad number
Ad Council	USA	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/integrated/ad_council_stayhome_save_lives	Ad 1, Ad 2, Ad 3
WHOa	Canada	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/world_health_organization_spread_out_save_lives	Ad 4, Ad 5, Ad 6, Ad 7, Ad 8
WHOb	Portugal	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/wunderman_thompson_world_health_organization_covid19_flags	Ad 9, Ad 10, Ad 11
Saatchi & Saatchi	Croatia	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/saatchi_saatchi_stop_nondomestic_violence	Ad 12, Ad 13, Ad 14
United Nations	Peru	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/united_nations_keep_your_distance	Ad 15, Ad 16, Ad 17
World Human Fund	Russian Federation	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/creative_gang_dont_risk_their_lives	Ad 18, Ad 19
WHOc and United Nations	Armenia	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/integrated/world_health_organization_united_nations_talenthouse_use_it	Ad 20
Trans Lifeline	USA	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/trans_lifeline_weseeus	Ad 21, Ad 22, Ad 23, Ad 24, Ad 25
Senim-Meirim	Kazakhstan	https://campaignsoftheworld.com/print/senim-meirim-adopt-pets/	Ad 26, Ad 27, Ad 28
Hogar de Cristo	Chile	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/hogar_de_cristo_based_on_true_stories?className=collection-lb&contentid=386144&inline=true#collection-lb-content	Ads 29-31, Ads 32-34
United Nations	Peru	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/united_nations_i_stay_home	Ad 35, Ad 36, Ad 37
DoSomething.OrgHSBC	USA	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/content/dosomethingorg_hsbc_would_you_rather_with_marcus_scribner	Ad 38 (film)
APAV	Portugal	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/apav_victims_of_isolation	Ad 39, Ad 40, Ad 41
Anais Association	Romania	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/content/anais_association_isolateviolence	Ad 42 (film), Ad 43 (film), Ad 44 (film)
Anais Association	Romania	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/anais_association_isolateviolence	Ad 45, Ad 46, Ad 47
Women's Aid Federation	UK	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/womens_aid_federation_the_lockdown?className=collection-lb&contentid=386196&inline=true#collection-lb-content	Ad 48 (film)
Spread the Truth Project	Germany	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/spread_the_truth_project_fake_news_spread_the_truth	Ad 49 (film)
United Nations	Argentina	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/united_nations_disinformation_is_contagious?className=collection-lb&contentid=386175&inline=true#collection-lb-content	Ad 50, Ad 51, Ad 52
World Health Organization	Turkey	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/world_health_organization_covid19_tales?className=collection-lb&contentid=386211&inline=true#collection-lb-content	Ad 53 (film), Ad 54 (film), Ad 55 (film)
WHOd	India	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/outdoor/who_covid19	Ad 56
Marie Curie	UK	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/marie_curie_on_hold	Ad 57 (film)
Freedom from Torture	UK	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/freedom_from_torture_do_what_we_can_for_vulnerable_communities?className=collection-lb&contentid=386187&inline=true#collection-lb-content	Ad 58 (film)
International Medical Corps	UK	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/international_medical_corps_covid19_war_marks	Ad 59, Ad 60, Ad 61, Ad 62, Ad 63
Alima	France	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/alima_oxygen_for_africa	Ad 64 (film)
World Vision	France	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/world_vision_we_wont_stay_home	Ad 65, Ad 66, Ad 67
United Nations	USA	https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/united_nations_we	Ad 68 (film)