Cultural influence on the relative occurrence of evidence types

1 Introduction

Persuasive texts, such as advertisements or public information brochures, are written to convince the readers to behave in a certain manner, like buying a DVD-player or stop smoking. These texts are generally characterised by pragmatic argumentation, by which an action is recommended on the basis of its favourable consequences. In order to enhance the persuasive power of these texts, writers can support their claims with different types of evidence, like statistical information or anecdotes. The text writers' preference for certain types of evidence might be influenced by their cultural background. A cross-cultural corpus study consisting of Dutch and French persuasive brochures will be presented. We will first outline our theoretical framework by discussing the role of pragmatic argumentation (section two) and evidence types (section three) in persuasive communication.

2 Pragmatic Argumentation in Persuasive Communication

One of the most used argumentation schemes in persuasive communication is pragmatic argumentation. Pragmatic argumentation is commonly regarded as a subcategory of causal argumentation (see, e.g., Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969; Garssen, 1997). The simplest form of pragmatic argumentation looks like (1):

(1) action A leads to consequence B
B is (not) desirable
thus: action A is (not) desirable

Pragmatic argumentation permits the evaluation of an act or an event in terms of its favorable or unfavorable consequences (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, 266). There is thus a transfer of a given quality from the consequence to the cause (1969, 268). Traveling by train, for example, is a good thing, because it allows avoiding traffic-jams. Pragmatic argumentation, as we have seen, is 'if the consequences are desirable, then the cause is desirable' too. A warrant can be supported by a backing; the relationship between the warrant and its backing is similar to that between the claim and the data. The scheme of pragmatic argumentation applied to the model of Toulmin (1958), in which both the warrant (probability) and the data (desirability) can be supported, is given in Figure 1.

3 Evidence types in persuasive communication

The concept of evidence is best understood by reference to a model of argumentation that has been developed by Toulmin (1958). This influential model is based on the process of argumentation, which can be divided into three stages. The first stage is the expression of a claim. In the second stage, the defender has to come up with data or evidence to support this claim. In the third stage, finally, the defender has to show that 'the step [from the data] to the original claim or conclusion is an appropriate and legitimate one' (Toulmin, 1958, 98). This step is called the warrant, which means 'if data, then claim'. Argumentation schemes are characterised by their warrant. The warrant of pragmatic argumentation, as we have seen, is 'if the consequences are desirable, then the cause is desirable' too. A warrant can be supported by a backing; the relationship between the warrant and its backing is similar to that between the claim and the data. The scheme of pragmatic argumentation applied to the model of Toulmin (1958), in which both the warrant (probability) and the data (desirability) can be supported, is given in Figure 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>data</th>
<th>consequence B is desirable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>action A is desirable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the desirability and the probability can be supported by what is generally called evidence. There seems to be an agreement in the field of argumentation and persuasion effects research about the meaning of evidence, and the different types of evidence. We define evidence as data – fact or opinion – that is used as an argument to increase adherence of a claim. Evidence types in argumentation studies are usually divided into examples (anecdotal evidence), statistics (statistical evidence), and testimony (source evidence). Experimental studies on the persuasiveness of evidence types have also concentrated on these evidence types, and more recently (Hoeken, 2001) on causal evidence. The distinction between these four categories is further supported by the fact that they are connected to the most general argumentation schemes (see Garssen, 1997), and that there is a strong relation between this volume).
argument types. In short, evidence is data, whereas an argument type is data, warrant and claim. One type of evidence does not necessarily bring about one type of argumentation scheme. The type of argument depends on the claim, as we will show in the light of the following example (2) of anecdotal evidence.

(2) Last Tuesday, when he drove home, Frank called his sister. He could not avoid the oncoming car and got a heavy accident.

This piece of evidence can be used to support the general claim that using a cell phone while driving is dangerous; the argument type is that of generalisation from one case to all cases. The same evidence can be employed to add support to a specific claim that John, who often uses his phone in the car, runs the risk of an accident. The argument type then is comparison, in which a certain case is compared to a similar another case.

To conclude, by putting evidence in an argumentative framework, the relevance of argumentation schemes has to be taken into account, which – in turn – leads to an adaptation of the definitions of evidence types. Table 1 shows the new classification of evidence types that we will discuss in detail below.

### Table 1 Classification of types of evidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidence Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statistical evidence</td>
<td>Quantitative numerical information about a number of cases. Examples of statistical evidence are '150 000 Dutch citizens are depressed', '24% of the people in this sample are depressed', or 'The risk on an accident doubles with 0.5 gr. of alcohol' (in the latter case, the number of cases on which this relationship is based, is not specified).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anecdotal evidence</td>
<td>Is qualitative numerical information about a number of cases. Examples of anecdotal evidence are 'I have a patient who has successfully benefited from this treatment since a few months', 'I have sold 152 copies of this book', or 'The story of an old couple that has successfully benefited from this treatment'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal evidence</td>
<td>With regard to prediction: 'If you take this medicine, you will get better'. With regard to explanation: 'The desirability of this consequence is not supported, because it does not use their results, because 1) their focus was not on quantitative results (4.4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source evidence</td>
<td>Can be used alone or in combination with one of the other five types.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarise, there are three main groups of evidence: 1) source evidence alone, 2) source evidence + one of the five other evidence types, and 3) one of the five other evidence types alone.

### 4 Relative occurrence of evidence types in the Netherlands and France

Some studies have focused on the relative persuasiveness of evidence types (see, e.g., Hoeken, 2001), but no attention has been paid to the relative occurrence of evidence types in real life persuasive communication. This relative occurrence of evidence types might nevertheless be an indication for the intuition of writers of persuasive texts about what types of evidence are more convincing than others. Moreover, studies on evidence types have implicitly supposed that the relative persuasiveness of evidence types was independent of the cultural background of the subjects who judged these evidence types. There are indications, however, that the relative persuasiveness and occurrence of evidence types are influenced by culture. Expert evidence, as a type of source evidence, could be used more frequently in cultures that are characterised by a high power distance between, for example, laymen and experts. Power distance is one of the five dimensions that describe cultural differences (Hofstede, 1980). It is defined as the degree to which less powerful people expect and accept an unequal distribution of power. Claims of experts might therefore be more easily accepted in cultures with a high power distance, because of respect for these experts.

By means of a cross-cultural corpus study, we have investigated the relative occurrence of evidence types, and especially the cultural influence on this relative occurrence. The study will be discussed in the sections below, starting with the research questions (4.1), the material (4.2), the procedure (4.3), and ending with the results (4.4).

#### 4.1 Research questions

As we have just said, the use of the different types of evidence in real life persuasive communication might give an indication of which evidence types text writers believe to be the most persuasive. The first research question is thus: what is the relative occurrence of the types of evidence in persuasive communication? We do not have specific expectations about this relative occurrence. Schellens and De Jong (2000) were interested in what types of argument are used in persuasive information brochures. We cannot use their results, because 1) their focus was not on quantita-
tive information about the occurrence of argument types, 2) they
c onsidered all the argument types (and not just those in support
of pragmatic argumentation), and 3) an argument type is not the
same as an evidence type, as we have explained in section 3.

The second research question is formulated as: is there a cultural
influence on the relative occurrence of evidence types in persuasive
communication? Culture seems to play a role in pragmatic argu-
mentation, which is about reasoning (the probability that A leads
to B), and about values (the desirability of B). In fact, cultures dif-
er in their reasoning processes (see for a review, Nisbett, Peng,
Choi, and Norenzayan, 2001), and in their preferences for certain
values (Hofstede, 1980). There is at least one type of evidence that
we expect to occur more frequently in one culture than in
another, namely expert evidence (the expert as a type of source
evidence). As we have just explained, the occurrence of expert
evidence might be related to the degree of power distance. In gen-
eral, France has a high power distance, whereas Holland is char-
acterised by a relatively low power distance (Hofstede, 1980). We
therefore hypothesise that the relative occurrence of expert evi-
dence in persuasive communication is higher in France than in
the Netherlands.

4.2 Material

In order to test a cultural influence on the relative occurrence of
evidence types in persuasive communication, we have set up a
cross-cultural corpus study with Dutch and French persuasive
public information brochures. Advertisements were not taken
 into account, because of their lack of explicit verbal argumenta-
tion in comparison with brochures. The selected brochures had
to meet the following conditions: freely available for all citizens,
and a persuasive character. We will specify these two points below.

During the period October 2001 – May 2002 we have collected
Dutch and French public brochures. In both countries we have
searched for brochures with direct personal interest for the reader
(e.g. health), and fundraising brochures with a more public inter-
 est. The percentage of fundraising brochures in the final Dutch
and French corpus is comparable: 46.7% for the former,
and 40.0% for the latter.

In Holland, it was quite easy to find these brochures, because
they are available in all the public libraries and town halls. We
have found 124 Dutch brochures in the public libraries and town
halls of Amsterdam, Den Bosch, Nijmegen, and Veldhoven. In
France, public information brochures are mainly distributed by
the instances that publish them; there are only a few institutions
that offer a range of different brochures. By far the most impor-
tant is the French Committee for Health Education (le CFES, le
Comité français d’éducation pour la santé) that belongs to the
French Ministry of Health. We have contacted several institutions,
but only the CFES and the Local Hygiene and Health Service (le
service communal hygiène et santé) in Rennes have sent a number
of brochures. We then contacted 45 French fundraising institu-
tions on the basis of an online database (www.yeba.org/annuaire),
and an Internet company that groups the most important French
fundraising institutions (www.aidez.org). In total we have col-
lected 79 French brochures.

The collected brochures were not all persuasive. The distinction
between informative and persuasive proved to be quite problem-
atic. From a theoretical point of view, the difference of scope is
clear. The aim of informative brochures is to provide information
to the reader in order to help him form an opinion or make a
decision; the goal of persuasive public information is to change
the reader’s attitude or behaviour in a direction proposed by the
text writer (Koelen & Martijn, 1994). From an empirical point of
view, the distinction is often harder to make: 1) persuasive
brochures are often presented in an informative way (as we found
out in a small pre-test with 15 Dutch brochures; see also Schel-
lens & De Jong, 2000), 2) brochures may have multiple objec-
tives, like informing and persuading (De Jong & Schellens,
2000), 3) and Dutch governmental public information is often a
combination of information and persuasion (Koelen & Martijn,
1994). We have found a way out of this problem by using prag-
matic argumentation as the basic structure of a persuasive in-
formation brochure. That is, if a brochure presents some kind of
behaviour with its (un)favourable consequences, we consider it
as a persuasive public information brochure, how informative the
style may seem.

The assumption that pragmatic argumentation is common in
persuasive public information brochures has proven to be very
adequate. In the first stage, the initial group of collected
brochures has been divided into informative (N = 101) and per-
suasive (N = 102) on the basis of their content and topic. In the
next stage, some brochures were deleted from the persuasive
group: they were still informative (e.g., explanation of a law), they
belonged to a uniform series, or they contained too much con-
crete tips (an accent on different actions, and not on their con-
sequences). Only three of the remaining 53 brochures that we
expected to be persuasive did not provide consequences or
(dis)advantages of the favoured behaviour (3,66%). We can there-
fore conclude that the use of pragmatic argumentation as a
means of distinction between informative and persuasive pub-
lic information brochures is successful. A handful of brochures
even literally refer to the scheme of pragmatic argumentation:

(9) ‘Considering these disadvantages it is understandable that
people who do not smoke themselves, do not want to be
exposed to passive smoking either’ (Rookverlast? U kunt er
wat aan doen)

This selection process is presented in detail in table 2 below.
Finally 30 of the 40 available Dutch brochures – published
between February 1998 and 2002 – and 20 French brochures –
published between 2000 and 2002 – have been analysed (see
appendix for the titles of the brochures).

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>country</th>
<th>informative</th>
<th>persuasive</th>
<th>series</th>
<th>inf. tips</th>
<th>no tips</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>rest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Procedure

The 50 persuasive information brochures have been analysed
with a top-down approach, that is, with a previously determined
perspective, in this case, pragmatic argumentation. The proce-
dure consists of three stages: 1) determining the intended behav-
 iour, 2) searching for the (un)favourable consequences or the
advantages and disadvantages, 3) seeking evidence in support of
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advantages and disadvantages, 3) seeking evidence in support of
the probability of the behaviour leads to the consequences. We
have deliberately noted down consequences and (dis)advantages
in the second stage. As we have seen in section 2, pragmatic argu-
mentation is a subcategory of causal argumentation in a sense
that an action (cause) will lead to a favoured consequence. In per-
suasive texts, however, consequences are sometimes presented as
advantages (attributes of an object). Example (4) is straightfor-
ward: buying the 307 SW will lead to a favourable consequence.

(4) buy the Peugeot 307 SW – consequence: you can take with
you lots of luggage

(5) buy the Peugeot 307 SW – advantage: lots of luggage space

Example (5) is semantically identical, but there is one difference.
The action does not lead to the car having lots of luggage space. There is no favourable consequence, but a favourable attribute of the object. Although this is still argumentation on the basis of advantages, we see that there is no direct causal component. The reader has to infer from (5) that he will be able to take with him lots of luggage (4). What is the consequence for the concept of evidence? When arguments in the brochures are presented like (5), evidence can support the claim that an object has a certain characteristic, but not that an action leads to a consequence.

Only verbal arguments were taken into account in the analysis, and not visual arguments, such as an image of a person. Questions whether that person can be linked to certain statements in the evidence or the claim or not, are then hard to answer.

After an agreement between three persons about the exact procedure, the 50 brochures (that contained in total 127 pieces of evidence) have been analysed by one person on two occasions (the second analysis has only produced four modifications). Then 14 doubtful cases have been discussed by the three persons, which has led to only three changes. All cases of support of the consequences’ probability have been counted; the total number of cases of evidence in a brochure varied from zero to ten (M = 2.54, sd = 2.43). The relative occurrence of an evidence type was counted by dividing the total number of occurrences of that type in all brochures by the overall number of evidence instantiations.

4.4 Results

The corpus study has been conducted to indicate the relative occurrence of evidence types in persuasive brochures, and to determine whether this occurrence is culture-dependent. In the discussion about the results below, we will – unless necessary – concentrate on the four traditional types of evidence: statistical, anecdotal, causal, and expert evidence.

| Table 3 Relative occurrence of evidence types in the Dutch and French brochures. |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| evidence type   | Dutch  | French |
| anecdotal       | 27.27% | 32.79  |
| statistical     | 16.67  | 42.62  |
| causal          | 43.94  | 14.75  |
| expert          | 9.09   | 21.31  |

*Percentages may exceed 100%, because cases that combine expert evidence with another type of evidence are counted in both categories; it is also possible that percentages do not sum up to 100%, because instantiations of source evidence in which the source is not an expert are counted in the total, but are not presented in this table.

The first research question was about the relative occurrence of the types of evidence in persuasive public information brochures. When the Dutch and French brochures are taken together, the four types of evidence are not equally present (\(\chi^2 = 30.00, df = 3, p < .001\)). More specifically, statistical, anecdotal, and causal evidence are all three more frequent than expert evidence (all \(\chi^2\) above 4.45, and \(p < .05\)). In the Dutch brochures, the four types of evidence are not equally present (\(\chi^2 = 28.16, df = 3, p < .001\)). Causal evidence is the most frequent type of evidence; anecdotal evidence is more frequently used than expert evidence, whereas statistical evidence is midway between anecdotal and expert evidence. In the French corpus, the distribution of the types of evidence is unequal too (\(\chi^2 = 17.21, df = 3, p < .001\)); statistical and anecdotal are the most used types of evidence, and expert evidence and causal evidence the least used.

The influence of culture on the relative occurrence of these evidence types comes up in the second research question. As can be seen by comparing the second and third column in table 3, the relative occurrence of the four types of evidence is different in the Netherlands than in France, and thus culture-dependent (\(\chi^2 = 30.00, df = 3, p < .001\)). We will now specify this cultural difference by discussing the relative occurrence of the four types of evidence. In the first place, our hypothesis was that expert evidence is more frequently used in France than in the Netherlands because of a difference in power distance. This is confirmed, not only quantitatively (\(\chi^2 = 5.00, df = 1, p < .05\)), but qualitatively as well: 11 of the 13 French cases of expert evidence were experts designated by name, whereas only 2 of the 6 Dutch experts were indicated by name; see example (6). An example of expert evidence with anonymous experts is given in (7):

(6) ‘According to the Academy of Health Sciences, cigarette smoke is ‘the most important source of domestic air pollution’...’ (Le tabagisme passif)

(7) ‘Studies demonstrate it: those who eat lots of fruit and vegetables, have a lower risk to get cancer...’ (Geef kanker minder kans, eet volop groente en fruit)

Although expert evidence is more frequent in the French brochures than in the Dutch, there is no difference in the occurrence of source evidence, whether without or in combination with other types of evidence (\(\chi^2 = 71, df = 1, p < .80\)). The use of sources (ordinary people, experts, etc.) is thus equal in both corpora, but experts are more employed in the French corpus.

Statistical evidence, in the second place, is more frequent in the French brochures (\(\chi^2 = 11.58, df = 1, p < .001\); not only statistical evidence without source evidence (\(\chi^2 = 6.85, df = 1, p < .01\)), but statistical evidence in combination with source evidence as well (\(\chi^2 = 4.74, df = 1, p < .05\)). In the third place, causal evidence occurs more in Dutch brochures than in French brochures (\(\chi^2 = 14.26, df = 1, p < .001\)). In the fourth place, anecdotal evidence is as frequent in the Dutch as in the French corpus (\(\chi^2 = 51, df = 1, p < .50\)). There is nevertheless a remarkable difference in anecdotal evidence with or without source evidence. An anecdote in combination with source evidence is more used in the Dutch corpus (\(\chi^2 = 5.03, df = 1, p < .05\)), and anecdotes without a source are far more employed in the French brochures (\(\chi^2 = 12.66, df = 1, p < .001\)). An example of the former is (8) and an example of the latter is (9):

(8) ‘Nelly (55) is a volunteer. “It started about 10 years ago. I moved to a flat, and terribly missed my garden...”’ (Handen uit de mouwen voor de natuur)

The difference between these examples lies in the perspective: in (8) a person gives the anecdotal information himself, and in (9) the information is presented by the text writer.

5 Conclusion and discussion

The persuasiveness of texts, in which an action is recommended (or advised against) on the basis of its positive (or negative) consequences, can be increased by providing evidence that the action does really lead to the consequences and that the consequences are indeed (un)desirable. The occurrence of evidence types in everyday communication might be an indication for the intuition of text writers about which types of evidence are more convincing. The claim that the relative occurrence of evidence types is influenced by culture, is supported by a corpus study, which consisted of 30 Dutch and 20 French persuasive public information brochures. Expert evidence was more frequent in the corpus of France, a country that scores high on power distance compared to the Netherlands. Besides this difference, there are also differ-
ences in the relative occurrence of evidence types that we cannot explain on the basis of values (Hofstede, 1980): statistical evidence, and anecdotal evidence without source evidence were more frequent in the French corpus; causal evidence, and anecdotal evidence in combination with source evidence occurred more in the Dutch brochures.

Although this corpus research seems to indicate that the relative occurrence of evidence types is culture-dependent, three methodological remarks have to be made. In the first place, when counting the use of different types of evidence, we assume that text writers are able to make a choice in favour of a certain type of evidence, whether consciously or not. This means that, in the ideal situation, all possible evidence types are appropriate. One may question, however, whether all types of evidence are always equally available and appropriate. Taking into account a large number of brochures can partly solve this problem. The number of brochures that have been involved in this corpus study is not extremely high, but we have explained the reasons for that in section 4.2 (see also table 2). Not only the number of brochures, but the total number of cases of evidence as well is a solution to the problem mentioned above. The number of evidence instantiations for the probability that actions will lead to certain consequences is 127, a considerable number to draw conclusions upon. This leads to a second remark, namely about the way the relative occurrence of evidence types is counted. In addition to the procedure we have selected—considering all cases of evidence that occurred in the number of cases of evidence are reduced by neglecting the number of cases for one type of evidence in a brochure. Essential to support the desirability of the consequence of an action can be expected in brochures with an idealistic and / or collective interest. In these brochures, the desirability of the consequences is not directly speaking for itself for the reader. Public information brochures that are written with a public interest might thus want to support the desirability of the consequence of the proposed action. This corpus study does in fact confirm this: evidence to support the desirability of the consequences is more frequent in brochures with a public interest than in brochures with a direct personal interest (t = 5.15, df = 1, p < .05). As both types of brochures differ in the occurrence of support for the desirability of consequences, they may also differ in the relative frequency with which evidence types are used to support the probability that an action leads to (un)favourable consequences. The distinction between brochures with a public or a personal interest might thus lead to a better insight into the relative occurrence of evidence types in persuasive communication, and into the cultural influence on this relative occurrence.

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schema's in pragma-dialectisch pers­spec­tief. Een theoretisch en empirisch onderzoek. Amsterdam: IFOTT.


Nisbett, R.E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and without another type of evidence. Statistical information given by an expert in a brochure is thus counted as statistical evidence, and as expert evidence at the same time.

4 In none of the brochures causal evidence by explanation occurred. This is understandable, because in order to support the probability that an action will lead to certain consequences, one has to provide causes why these consequences will occur (causal evidence by pre­diction).

5 Anecdotal evidence with regard to analogy did not occur in the cor­pus, probably because of the gen­eral claims that are usually employed in public information ("People that drink have a higher risk to get involved in a car acci­dent"). leading to anecdotal evi­dence with regard to representa­tiveness. A specific claim ("William, who drinks, has a higher risk to get involved in a car accident") would bring about an analogy.

6 This distinction seems to be important for the persuasiveness of evidence types, since Gibson


7 We have also carried out the same analysis with the conservative procedure, in which 7 of the 16 (2-tests lead to another result.

APPENDIX

Dutch brochures

Amsterdam heeft wat met Managua (s.d.)

De ervaring van je leven (s.d.)

De o is weer in de maand: tijd voor de griepprik! (July 2001)

Fietsersbond voor fietsers die meer willen (s.d.)

Geef een kind als Joli een betere toekomst! (s.d.)

Geef kanker minder kans eet volop groente en fruit (autumn 2000)

Geef om dit kind (s.d.)

Handen uit de mouwen voor de natuur (2001)

Heerlijk smullen! (s.d.)

Het kindje links is de moeder (s.d.)

Het leven is hart ... zorg er goed voor (s.d.)

Hou de spanning erin ... (s.d.)

Ik zoek een huis waar ik voor donker binnen moet zijn (February 1998)

In Nederland bent u vrij om lid te worden van Amnesty International (December 2000)

Klein chemisch afval bij u thuis (December 2000)

Max Havelaar meer dan lekker (October 1998)

Mist, halveer je snelheid, verdubbel je afstand (s.d.)

Nederlanden naar Srebrenica (February 2001)

Omdat u als klant in geldzaken lang niet vanzelf koning(in) bent (s.d.)

Over gewicht (June 1999)

Pas bij nul houden we op met tellen (s.d.)

Reuma? Kom maar op! (s.d.)

Rookoverlast? U kunt er wat aan doen (s.d.)

'Sport'vissen is niet zo sportief ... (s.d.)

Tabak (December 1998)

Teken van geweld (2002)

Veilig internetten (October 2001)

Wat doet drank met u? (September 2000)

Zuivere koffie (s.d.)

French brochures

Accro à la musique, pas à la drogue! (s.d.)

Alcool, savoir plus risquer moins (February 2001)

Amnesty, comment ça marche? (s.d.)

Avec vous le défi de la solidarité (October 2001)

Baleines et dauphins en liberté avec SOS Grand Bleu (s.d.)

Écoute cancer (January 2002)

Et vous, avec l'alcool, vous en êtes où? (s.d.)

Femmes et tabac (s.d.)

Guide pratique pour faire le point sur votre consommation d'alcool (s.d.)

Hépatite C et usage de drogues (August 2001)

La faim c'est quotidien (s.d.)

Le dépistage, dès qu'il y a un doute ... (June 2001)

Le tabagisme passif (s.d.)

Legs et donations en faveur du CCFD (s.d.)

Les premières fois (s.d.)

Œuvrer ensemble à l'éducation des orphelins de la Police (2002)

On ne peut pas dire qu'on ne peut rien faire (s.d.)

Protection rapprochée roller (s.d.)

Quand je serai grande, j'inventerai un vaccin contre la vitesse (2000)

Si chacun fait un peu, c'est la vie qui gagne (s.d.)