

# Chapter 1

## DOMAINS OF PERSUASION

### *An Introduction*

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**P**ersuasion's powerful forces are constantly remaking us into persons who are irrevocably changed—sometimes imperceptibly, often dramatically (Figure 1.1). Persuasion processes are at the heart of social movements and social upheavals. The ability of these processes to reconfigure



**Figure 1.1** The human psyche is constantly being reconfigured in response to the variety of messages disseminated by various forces. These forces are the foundation for influence and persuasion.

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millions of minds and hearts has enabled masters of persuasion and influence to become the opinion leaders of the world—for ill or for good. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a master of persuasion for good, initially faced a wall of opposition. To appreciate the magnitude of her opposition, take a minute to ponder the flavor of editorial reaction in New York City in 1852 to theatrical renditions of Stowe's (1852) then newly published best-seller (Figure 1.2).

### It's Just a Play

Editorial response to a theatrical rendition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in New York City (*New York Herald*, September 3, 1852):

"The institution of Southern slavery is recognized and protected by the federal constitution, upon which this Union was established and which holds it together. But for the compromises on the slavery question, we should have no constitution and no Union—and would, perhaps, have been at this day, in the condition of the South American republics, divided into several military despotisms, constantly warring with each other.

"The Fugitive Slave Law only carries out one of the plain provisions of our constitution. When a Southern slave escapes to us, we are honor bound to return him to his master. And yet, here in this city—which owes its wealth, population, power, and prosperity to the Union and the constitution, and this same institution of slavery, to a greater degree than any other city in the Union—here we have nightly represented, at a popular theater, the most exaggerated enormities of Southern slavery, playing directly into the hands of the abolitionists and abolition kidnapers of slaves and doing their work for them.

"What will our Southern friends think of all our professions of respect for their delicate social institution of slavery when they find that even our amusements are overdrawn caricatures exhibiting our hatred against it and against them? Is this consistent with good faith, or honor, or the everyday obligation of hospitality? No, it is not. It is a sad blunder; for when our stage shall become the deliberate agent in the cause of abolitionism, with the sanction of the public and their approbation, the peace and harmony of the Union will soon be ended." (quoted in Birdoff, 1947, p. 428)

**Figure 1.2** The most important event in the United States during the 19th century was the Civil War and the consequent emancipation of slaves. Persuasive presentations, including theater based on Stowe's (1852) *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (i.e., suffering of slaves), successfully undermined pro-slavery sentiment.

The most important event of the 20th century, in terms of lives lost and lives changed, was the rise of the Nazis and World War II. Mastery of rhetoric and its effective delivery enabled

a fast-talking failed house painter, Adolf Hitler, and his propagandists to convert the relatively cultured, well-educated German people into agents and cooperators in an unprecedented genocide. *The Holocaust is sufficient justification for requiring understanding of the psychology of persuasion from everyone.* Such understanding may be the only sure defense against another holocaust.

The two Russian revolutions of 1917 and 1991 depended on persuasion from leaders and corresponding interpersonal influence at the grassroots level. Lenin sought to promote psychological involvement in Marxist ideology, and Gorbachev had to undo that same Marxist–Leninist commitment 70 years later. During those 70 years, the Stalin reign of terror derived part of its strength from manipulation of the media and the consequent stifling of dissenting views. Soviet citizens were forbidden to read Western newspapers and magazines and to see Western films, and they were punished for informal unsupervised contact with foreigners.

Mass media persuasion and social influence are powerful engines of historical change. Understanding how these forces operate can help us to understand the major events that shape our lives. We are not doomed to repeat the blunders of history if we can expose agents of terror and repression while they are still seeking recognition in an arena of public opinion or at the ballot box. The heat of counterargument and the glare of public denunciation can be deployed in a timely fashion. This book aims to lay bare the persuasive processes that underlie belief formation and belief change so that an informed citizenry can better resist the demagogues of today and tomorrow. At the same time, the everyday modes of social influence are examined for their subtlety and power.

## THE DOMAINS OF PERSUASION AND INFLUENCE, THE AUTHORITIES, AND THEIR THEORIES

Let us approach the psychology of persuasion by considering the immediate circumstances of our own lives. We will enter a variety of familiar domains, and for each domain, we indicate persuasion experts who have mastered that domain. Fortunately, these experts also serve as authors of the ensuing chapters of this book.

### **The Wording of Questions to Tap People’s Attitudes Matters More Than You Realize: Measuring the Unmeasurable**

The key targets of persuasion are our attitudes and opinions. These include attitudes toward political candidates, social policies, organizations, persons, consumer products—you name it, we have attitudes toward it. Those who seek to persuade us seek to create or to change our attitudes in a particular direction.

But how do we know when they have succeeded? How do we know what people’s true attitudes or opinions are? Chapter 2 deals with the building blocks of the study of persuasion: the definition and measurement of attitudes. Leandre Fabrigar, Jon Krosnick, and Bonnie MacDougall describe how we study the structure of beliefs before and after persuasion has occurred, and they explain the complexities of opinion polling. You will learn that measuring

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opinions can often be tricky and that how you ask a question can have a dramatic impact on the responses you will receive.

For example, you might think that people know how they feel about different political issues such as the economy and foreign affairs. Therefore, if you ask your roommate, “Which of the following do you consider to be the most important problem facing the United States today: unemployment, inflation, the threat of war, the government budget deficit, or crime?” you think that you would get the same answer if you listed the response alternatives in the reverse order (i.e., crime, the government budget deficit, the threat of war, inflation, or unemployment). But you won’t. Try it!

### ***Leandre R. Fabrigar***

Fabrigar’s primary research interests include the role of attitude structure in attitude–behavior consistency and persuasion, the role of persuasion processes in group decision making, and applications of attitude theory to understanding political, health, and consumer behavior. His other research interests include the influence of questionnaire design features (e.g., question order, question format) on the measurement of psychological constructs and methodological issues in the application of statistical methods. Fabrigar is Associate Professor of Psychology at Queen’s University, Canada.

### ***Jon A. Krosnick***

Krosnick’s research has examined a variety of factors affecting the reliability of survey results, including the effects of question format and the impact of the order of response choices on answers to survey questions. His books include *Introduction to Survey Research and Data Analysis* and *Thinking About Politics: Comparisons of Experts and Novices*. Krosnick is Professor of Communication at Stanford University.

### ***Bonnie L. MacDougall***

MacDougall’s primary research interests include the origins of attitude strength-related beliefs, the role of affect and cognition in resistance to persuasion, and the cognitive processes underlying stereotype change. MacDougall is a doctoral candidate in social psychology at Queen’s University, Canada.

## **Do We Do as We Say We Believe? When and How Attitudes Guide Behavior**

The Nazi movement that led to World War II succeeded in part because the masses who strew roses in the streets for Hitler in 1934 were willing to fling themselves into the trenches against the alleged “enemies of the Third Reich” 6 years later. Beliefs guided behavior.

So students who believe that cheating is wrong would not cheat on an exam, right? People who believe that energy conservation is important do not use as much energy as those who do not consider energy conservation to be important, right? People who do not like their jobs tend to show poor attendance at work, right? It makes so much sense, it is hardly worth mentioning that people behave consistently with their attitudes, right?

You will be surprised to learn that, according to Russell Fazio and David Roskos-Ewoldsen in Chapter 3, none of these statements is necessarily correct. People often behave in ways that contradict their attitudes. On reading the chapter, you will learn when and under what circumstances attitudes influence behavior. With this knowledge in hand, you will be able to distinguish whether people will behave consistently or inconsistently with their expressed attitudes. Sometimes changing a person's mind is *not* sufficient to change his or her behavior.

### ***Russell H. Fazio***

Fazio has published extensively on a number of central issues regarding attitudes. He has been concerned with the multiple processes by which attitudes both follow from past behavior and guide subsequent behavior. He has developed a model of attitudes as object-evaluation associations in memory and has shown that the strength of these associations determines the likelihood that the attitudes will be activated automatically from memory on exposure to the attitude objects as well as the extent to which the attitude influences the processing of information regarding the objects and behavior toward the objects. He served as editor of the *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* from 1999 to 2003. Fazio is Harold E. Burt Professor of Psychology at The Ohio State University.

### ***David Roskos-Ewoldsen***

Roskos-Ewoldsen has published on the impact of persuasive messages on attitudes and behavior. His current research is exploring the influence of accessible attitudes and norms on how adolescents understand and react to anti-smoking and anti-drinking messages. In addition, his research has focused on the psychological processes involved in the comprehension of media messages and the consequences of the processes for people's understanding of their social reality. He is coeditor (with Jennings Bryant) of the journal *Media Psychology*. Roskos-Ewoldsen is Reese Phifer Professor of Communication Studies and Professor of Psychology at the University of Alabama.

## **A Funny Thing Happened After You Bought the Forum: How Our Actions Affect Our Attitudes**

Have you ever had to make a difficult choice between two things that were equally desirable? For example, do you remember looking for a new apartment? You probably looked at several alternatives and, after "weeding out" the undesirables, had to decide between two equally nice places: Apartment A and Apartment B. After making a lengthy detailed list of all the pros and cons of each apartment (e.g., location, cost, utilities), you finally made a painful choice and signed a lease to rent Apartment A. Then a funny thing began to happen. Initially, you considered the decision to be a toss-up between the two apartments, but once you signed the lease, it all began to look crystal clear: Apartment A was much nicer than Apartment B. After all, Apartment B was not *that* much closer to where you work than was Apartment A, the neighborhood by Apartment B was probably not as nice, and even though Apartment B cost less in monthly rent, the utilities were probably exorbitant. Thank goodness you did not make a foolish mistake and actually choose Apartment B! What could you have been thinking before you made your choice?

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Actually, the more appropriate question might be, what were you thinking *after* you made your decision?

As Joel Cooper, Robert Mirabile, and Steven Scher explain in Chapter 4, our actions and decisions have a way of changing our attitudes. You will discover how some reevaluation processes illustrated here can explain everything from fraternity “Hell Weeks” (why people sometimes come to love the most those who have treated them the worst) to dramatic religious conversions.

### **Joel Cooper**

Cooper has published extensively in the area of cognitive dissonance. He has pursued the importance of decision freedom, personal responsibility, and aversive consequences in dissonance arousal. More recently he has explored the concept of vicarious dissonance—that is, dissonance experienced from the inconsistent behavior of others. His revisions of dissonance theory include the New Look Model (with Russell Fazio) and the Self-Standards Model (with Jeff Stone). His books include *Understanding Social Psychology* (with S. Worchel, G. R. Goethals, and J. T. Olson) and *Gender and Computers: Understanding the Digital Divide* (with K. Weaver). He is also coeditor (with M. A. Hogg) of *The Sage Handbook of Social Psychology* and is coeditor (with J. M. Darley) of *Attribution and Social Interaction: The Legacy of Edward E. Jones*. Cooper is Professor of Psychology at Princeton University.

### **Robert Mirabile**

Mirabile’s research interests include the study of social influence on attitudes, persuasion, and behavior. His dissertation research at Princeton University examined the relationship between social identity and persuasion and, in particular, conditions in which out-group sources are more persuasive than in-group sources. Mirabile is a research consultant.

### **Steven J. Scher**

Scher’s past research has looked at cognitive dissonance theory, procrastination, apologies, and distributive justice. His current interests include the origin of the cannibalism taboo, social disgust, and the theoretical methodology in evolutionary psychology. He is coeditor (with F. Rauscher) of *Evolutionary Psychology: Alternative Approaches*. Scher is Associate Professor of Psychology at Eastern Illinois University.

## **Don’t Get Lost in the Clutter: Using Persuasion Theory to Your Advantage**

On a typical day, you may be exposed to hundreds of persuasive appeals. On television, in magazines and newspapers, on the radio, in your mailbox, on billboards, on bench signs, on bumper stickers, on bulletin boards—there is no escape from the efforts of people trying to influence you.

Chapter 5 focuses on the dizzying array of persuasive messages with which we are confronted each day and describes how we mentally navigate through the clutter. Clearly, you do not have the time and energy to pay attention to, and think carefully about, each of those

messages. You are constantly making choices about whether to read the newspaper editorial or turn the page, whether to watch and listen to the loud commercial or hit the “mute” button on the remote, whether to listen to the president’s speech on the car radio or concentrate on your driving (we hope you will choose the latter!).

In Chapter 5, Richard Petty, John Cacioppo, Alan Strathman, and Joseph Priester present a general theory that predicts when individuals are likely to evaluate a message carefully, when they are not, and how persuasion works in each of these scenarios. It also provides you with specific criteria for gauging the efficacy of your own persuasive efforts.

### **Richard E. Petty**

Petty has been a major contributor to the literature on persuasion with a special focus on how the processes of persuasion differ when people are motivated and able to think carefully about a message versus when they are not. He is the author or editor of eight books, including *Cognitive Responses to Persuasion* (with T. M. Ostrom and T. C. Brock), *Attitudes and Persuasion: Classic and Contemporary Approaches* (with J. T. Cacioppo), and *Attitude Strength: Antecedents and Consequences* (with J. A. Krosnick). Petty is Distinguished University Professor of Psychology at The Ohio State University.

### **John T. Cacioppo**

Cacioppo has been a major contributor to the literature on attitudes with a special focus on the physiological and brain mechanisms involved in evaluative processes. He is the author or editor of 10 books, including *Social Psychophysiology: A Sourcebook* (with R. E. Petty), *Handbook of Psychophysiology* (with L. G. Tassinary and G. G. Berntson), and *Essays in Social Neuroscience* (with G. G. Berntson). Cacioppo is Tiffany and Margaret Blake Distinguished Service Professor of Psychology at the University of Chicago.

### **Alan J. Strathman**

Strathman has contributed numerous articles to the literature in social psychology with a special focus on investigating individual differences in time perspective. Strathman is Adjunct Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Missouri–Columbia, where he is Director of Graduate and Undergraduate Studies for the Department of Psychology.

### **Joseph R. Priester**

Priester has contributed numerous articles to the literature on attitudes with a special focus on attitudinal ambivalence as well as on persuasion in consumer contexts. He has written various chapters and a book, *The Social Psychology of Consumer Behavior* (with R. P. Bagozzi and Z. Gurham-Camli). Priester is Assistant Professor of Marketing at the University of California, Los Angeles.

## **More Than “Just” a Story: How Narratives Can Change Attitudes**

One night, you are flipping through the channels on television when your attention is drawn in by a drama about a young woman struggling against liver failure. She is waiting for

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a transplant, but the story has a sad ending—she dies without ever making it to the top of the list for organs. Even though you know the story was only fictional, it tugs at your heartstrings and you are left with the image in your mind of the woman's family gathered together at her graveside. The following week, when you are renewing your driver's license, you sign up to be an organ donor.

Stories—ranging from television sitcoms, to magazine articles, to famous novels—pervade our social lives. The emotional involvement they create and the mental images that stick in our heads make these narratives powerful persuasive tools. Unlike many other types of persuasive messages, stories can persuade without even trying to do so, and they do not even have to be true! People gain medical knowledge from watching the TV drama *ER*, take life lessons from science fiction, and develop scripts for their own romantic lives from reading romance novels. (Have you ever drawn on wisdom from a favorite novel or tried to figure out what to do by asking how your favorite character might have handled the situation? We thought so!)

In Chapter 6, Melanie Green and Timothy Brock describe a theory of narrative persuasion. They illustrate how being drawn into a story, or “transported into a narrative world,” translates to real-world belief change. The chapter identifies key elements of narrative persuasion and describes why some stories work and others do not.

**Melanie C. Green**

Green's research has focused on the mechanisms of narrative persuasion as well as the ways in which technology affects social interactions. She has published articles and chapters on these topics, and she is coeditor (with J. J. Strange and T. C. Brock) of *Narrative Impact: Social and Cognitive Foundations*. Green is Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania.

**Timothy C. Brock**

Brock has published articles and book chapters on a wide variety of topics in the psychology of persuasion, including effects of salesperson–consumer similarity on purchasing behavior, the role of cognitive responses in determining acceptance of persuasive messages, the processing of unintelligible persuasive messages, and the effect of cognitive tuning on attitude change persistence. His nine books include *Order of Presentation in Persuasion* (with C. I. Hovland et al.), *Psychological Foundations of Attitudes* (with A. G. Greenwald and T. M. Ostrom), *Cognitive Responses in Persuasion* (with R. E. Petty and T. M. Ostrom), *Interdisciplinary Research and Doctoral Training* (with L. Comitas, B. Sigurd, and B. Sundborg), *Attention, Attitude, and Affect in Response to Advertising* (with E. Clark and D. Stewart), and *Narrative Impact: Social and Cognitive Foundations* (with M. C. Green and J. J. Strange). Brock is Professor of Psychology at The Ohio State University.

**One of Those Days When Everything  
Went Wrong: The Perils of Social Influence**

Imagine that you have just arrived at an unfamiliar airport, have retrieved your luggage, and are now seeking a taxi. A well-dressed young man offers to guide you to the shortest taxi line and walks along with you reciting directions. He quickly adds that he is not an



airport employee but rather a representative of an association for homeless people and would appreciate a small donation. Although his guidance is turning out to be accurate, you do not feel sympathetic at the moment; in fact, you are annoyed at the intrusion.

Yet you have an almost out-of-body experience as you look down on yourself, reaching into your pocket and handing your “guide” a dollar. What just happened here? How is this possible? You continue with your luggage and notice the taxi line across a busy street. You are waiting for the crossing light to indicate “walk” when a shabbily dressed man crosses the street without waiting for the walk signal. You sneer at the man with contempt at his disobedience of the law. A few seconds later, a businessman carrying a briefcase and wearing a three-piece suit chooses to cross against the light, and you—almost mindlessly—follow him. It is not until you hear the screeching brakes of an oncoming car that you realize you never would have followed the first man, but were willing to follow the second man, to your possible early grave. The impact of social influence hit you twice before you even left the airport. You did things that you really did not want to do.

Safely at home and having regained your nerve, you decide to go to a department store with the intention of buying an advertised product at an exceptionally low price. When you get to the store, you learn that there was a misprint in the ad and that the product you wanted is no longer on sale. Yet you buy it anyway at the regular price. It is only when you get home that you realize you could have bought the same product at a local discount store—on your way home—for less than you ended up paying for it.

In Chapter 7, Robert Cialdini and Brad Sagarin discuss the ways in which compliance-gaining professionals (i.e., people who make their livelihoods separating the rest of us from our money) manage to influence us so effectively. You will learn how these people exploit our usual, nearly mindless reliance on simple behavioral “rules of thumb”—that is, rules that you should “return gifts with gifts,” “obey authority,” “be consistent,” and the like. During this process, you might even learn how to resist these common influence attempts and become empowered with a new strengthened ability to say, “No, thank you.”

### **Robert B. Cialdini**

Cialdini is the recipient of the Distinguished Scientific Achievement Award of the Society for Consumer Psychology. He has also received the Donald T. Campbell Award for Distinguished Contributions to Social Psychology. His book, *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion* (the result of a 3-year program of study into the reasons why people comply with requests in everyday settings), has appeared in numerous editions and 12 languages. Cialdini is Regents Professor of Psychology at Arizona State University.

### **Brad J. Sagarin**

Sagarin’s research in the areas of social influence and resistance to persuasion has focused on identifying factors that make consumers vulnerable to persuasive techniques and on developing methods to reduce this vulnerability. He also studies jealousy, deception, and infidelity, primarily from an evolutionary psychological perspective. Sagarin is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Northern Illinois University.

## If You Can't Save the World, at Least Try to Change It

It is easy to believe comments such as “One person can't make a difference,” “I'm just a little fish in a big pond,” and “No one even notices me.” We all feel that way sometimes. In fact, in group situations, we often assume that it is easy for people with a minority opinion to be swept away by the tide of the majority view. We are often overwhelmed by the apparent power of those in the majority and by the forces of group psychology—the desire to get along and to avoid “making waves.”

In Chapter 8, you will learn from Charlan Nemeth and Jack Goncalo how one person can make a tremendous difference. You will learn when a minority of people can sway the majority. You will understand why majorities can be so influential and what a minority of individuals can do to be effective.

Once you understand the factors underlying group dynamics, you will be in a better position to act as a minority powerhouse, a gadfly who can use the majority's superior weight as leverage against itself. You *can* change the world.

### *Charlan Jeanne Nemeth*

Nemeth's research interests have been focused on small group decision making with an emphasis on the ways in which group decisions can be made “better”—of higher quality and of greater creativity. A good deal of her work has emphasized the role of minority viewpoints and dissent. Her applications to jury decision making and to organizational innovation are required reading in law schools and business schools in North America and Europe. Nemeth is Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Berkeley, and recipient of the United Kingdom Leverhulme Fellowship.

### *Jack A. Goncalo*

Goncalo's research examines biases in groups' attribution processes and how such biases may influence groups' performance over time. Goncalo is Assistant Professor of Organizational Behavior in the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University.

## Proof That, at Age 23, You Were the World's Greatest Lover: The Dilemmas of Health Persuasion

Here is a persuasive message you might want to try out on every pubescent 14-year-old. Suppose that you started having sex when you were 15 years old and had one new partner each year until you were 23. No big deal. Suppose that your partner at age 15 and your new partners at ages 16, 17, 18, and so on had followed the same pattern. Now suppose, as the AIDS epidemic makes clear, that when you have sex with one person, you also inevitably come into contact with the biochemical residues of all of that person's previous sex partners. At age 15, your number of actual and phantom partners was merely 1 plus 0 for a total of 1. At age 16, your number of actual and phantom partners was 2 plus 1 for a cumulative total of 3. At age 17, the corresponding numbers were 3 actual partners and 4 phantom partners for a cumulative total of 7; your partner at age 17 joined you with 3 phantoms of his or her own,

and you must add the single phantom partner associated with the previous year's partner. Still no big deal? You might want to get out a pencil and calculator because at ages 18, 19, 20, and onward, up you went into the wild blue yonder. The result: At the still tender age of 23, with only 9 actual sex partners, your bloodstream was serving as fairgrounds for the entertainment and nourishment of hungry viruses and bacterial fellow travelers from no less than 502 phantom partners!

Some of the greatest threats to public health in our society come from diseases that are linked to our lifestyles and behaviors. How does one convince people to adopt lifestyle behaviors that prevent or aid in the control of AIDS, lung cancer, and/or cardiovascular disease?

In Chapter 9, Howard Leventhal, Linda Cameron, Elaine Leventhal, and Gozde Ozakinci tackle the frustrating issues surrounding health persuasion and teach us how to help our friends, children, parents, and lovers to live healthier lives.

### **Howard Leventhal**

Leventhal and his students have published studies on the attitudinal and behavioral effects of threat messages to promote healthy behaviors (e.g., inoculations to prevent tetanus) and avoid risky behaviors (e.g., smoking), studies on the effects of messages for reducing distress and enhancing coping during stressful medical procedures (e.g., childbirth), and studies on the cognitive and emotional processes involved in the interpretation of symptoms that underlie seeking medical care and adhering or not adhering to procedures for the treatment and prevention of chronic illness. In addition to more than 250 publications in psychological and medical journals, books, and handbooks, summaries of this work have appeared in three volumes, the most recent of which is *Self-Regulation of Health and Illness Behaviors* (coedited with L. Cameron). Leventhal is Board of Governors Professor of Health Psychology at the Institute of Health and the Department of Psychology at Rutgers University and is also a member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences.

### **Linda Cameron**

Cameron is a health psychologist whose research focuses on self-regulation processes involved in response to health threats. Her research examines how cognitions and emotions influence the processing of health information and how these influences affect decisions to engage in health-protective behaviors. She is coeditor (with H. Leventhal) of *Self-Regulation of Health and Illness Behaviors*. Cameron is a Senior Lecturer in Psychology at the University of Auckland in New Zealand.

### **Elaine A. Leventhal**

Leventhal is a researcher and author who has published more than 100 journal articles and book chapters in health psychology. Her research interests include defining risks for frailty in the ambulatory elderly, exploring the role of immune competency in health and chronic illness, and studying health and illness behaviors that affect health care utilization. Leventhal is Professor of Medicine and Head of Geriatric Medicine in the Robert Wood Johnson School of Medicine at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey.

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**Gozde Ozakinci**

Ozakinci's research interests include the role of affect in health and illness behavior, psychological reactions to predictive genetic testing, effects of self-appraisals and self-management strategies on health outcomes, and fear messages. Ozakinci is a doctoral candidate at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

**Framing the Issues: Political Persuasion and the Mass Media**

During the early days of the race for the 2004 Democratic party presidential nomination, Howard Dean of Vermont was considered the front-runner. He had a swell of grassroots support and an enthusiastic Internet following, and he was getting plenty of attention from the national media. Everything looked rosy.

But then, after a disappointing finish in the Iowa caucuses, Dean entered his headquarters to give a rousing speech to his loyal supporters. In trying to raise their morale, he gave an impassioned description of how they would keep fighting, with his voice growing hoarser until he ended with a (rather undignified) squawk. For the campaigners in the room, Dean's pep rally seemed entirely appropriate. But to the national television audience, it came across as something completely different. The "Dean Scream," as it came to be called, was widely mocked in the press and was taken as evidence of an unstable temper. It was the beginning of the end of the Dean candidacy.

It is impossible to overestimate the power of the media in contemporary politics and public opinion. Television, newspapers, and the Internet provide the bulk of the political information available to citizens. In Chapter 10, Shanto Iyengar and Jennifer McGrady describe the rise of media influence on politics, the way in which the media shape what problems are considered important, and the implications of new information technology for public opinion. You will learn how the media operate and how to become an informed consumer of political information.

**Shanto Iyengar**

Iyengar has authored or coauthored several books, including *Do the Media Govern? Reporters, Politicians, and the American People* (with R. Reeves), *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate* (with S. Ansolabehere), *Explorations in Political Psychology* (with W. J. McGuire), *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*, and *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion* (with D. Kinder). Iyengar is Professor of Communication and holds the Chandler Chair in Communication at Stanford University.

**Jennifer McGrady**

McGrady's research examines the effects of new communication technologies on the democratic process. McGrady is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Communication at Stanford University and is a research assistant in the department's Political Communication Laboratory and Center for Deliberative Democracy.

## A Problem From Hell

At the beginning of this chapter, we cited Hitler as a master of persuasion—for ill. Could another Hitler arise? Would not the Hitler example suffice so that people could never again be led to hate another entire people, never again to calculate the murder of everyone in a particular category, never again to carry out genocide?

Never again?

Former President Jimmy Carter declared that out of the memory of the Holocaust, “We must forge an unshakable oath with all civilized people that never again will the world stand silent, never again will the world fail to act in time to prevent this terrible crime of genocide” (President’s Commission on the Holocaust, 1979, p. 1773).

Never again?

The Pulitzer Prize for nonfiction was recently awarded for *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, written by an author (Power, 2002) who was born a quarter century after Hitler’s death and who was 9 years old when Carter declared, “Never again.” The chapter titles and subtitles in *A Problem From Hell* are grimly informative about the “genocide again” question. They include “Cambodia” (Skulls, Bones, From Behind a Blindfold), “Iraq” (Kurdish Hiroshima), “Bosnia” (Ethnic Cleansing), “Rwanda” (Crimes Against Humanity), “Srebrenica” (“They’re All Going Down!”), and “Kosovo” (Perversity and Futility).

“Never again,” all too sadly, has become “over and over again.”

In Chapter 11, David Amodio and Patricia Devine expertly discuss changing human prejudice and failing to change human prejudice.

### **David M. Amodio**

Amodio’s research examines how automatic racial biases become activated in people’s thoughts and emotions and how these biases may be regulated. His research is noted for addressing social psychological questions from a social cognitive neuroscience perspective, and much of his work focuses on the neural mechanisms that underlie the regulation of social behavior. Amodio is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of California, Los Angeles.

### **Patricia G. Devine**

Devine is internationally recognized as an expert in the areas of stereotyping, prejudice, and intergroup relations, and she has published numerous articles and book chapters addressing these topics. Her contributions to the study of prejudice and intergroup relations have been recognized in her receipt of the American Psychological Association Award for Early Career Contribution and the Society of Psychological Study of Social Issues Allport Intergroup Interrelations Prize. Devine currently serves as Editor of the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: Attitudes and Social Cognition* and is Professor of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

## Looking Under the Hood of an Ubiquitous Industry: Advertising

There are many senses in which advertising makes the world interesting and worthwhile. Advertising largely supports news and entertainment media, and it also teaches about new

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products and services. There are also many senses in which advertising makes the world perilous or even deadly. Its promotion of smoking tobacco is but one obvious example. Is not this quarter-trillion-dollar-a-year industry truly *the* master of persuasion, for good *and* for ill? Although advertising can seem all-powerful, many recipients of advertising do not yield. Many advertising campaigns expire without results, and all advertising eventually succumbs to “wear-out.” How can the psychology of advertising be understood so that advertising success and advertising failure become not only understandable but also predictable? To provide a set of interesting answers to this important question in Chapter 12, Frank Kardes proposes a new model that combines a classification of advertising appeals with a taxonomy of individuals’ self-regulation.

**Frank R. Kardes**

Kardes has published articles and book chapters on a wide variety of topics in consumer psychology, including consumer judgment and inference, persuasion and advertising, the pioneering brand advantage, and omission neglect (i.e., insensitivity to missing information in judgment based on limited evidence). His books include *Consumer Behavior and Managerial Decision Making* and *Advances in Consumer Research* (Volume 22 with M. Sujan). He is a former coeditor of the *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, a former associate editor of the *Journal of Consumer Research*, and a past president of the Society for Consumer Psychology. Kardes is Professor of Marketing at the University of Cincinnati.

**EPILOGUE AND INVITATION**

Persuasion processes are fundamental to democratic and free market societies. Persuasion processes are the mechanism through which individuals make critical decisions about their governments, their marketplaces, their communities, and their lifestyles. By providing insights into the psychology of persuasion, our goal is to sharpen your understanding of its workings and strengthen your appreciation of its role in our society.

We invited our experts to write about their lines of inquiry in the spirit of exciting promotion of ideas and interesting timely illustrations of these ideas. Rather than furnish comprehensive documentation of pertinent studies or theoretical intricacies, we invited our contributors to provide a view of the “big picture” that will be engaging and accessible to the nonpsychologist. If you wish to “read more about it,” each chapter also provides an extensive references list of the authors’ primary sources for research and theory in that specific area.

Scientific terms are used sparingly in this volume, and you will probably be familiar with most of them. However, you might occasionally find it instructive to refer to the Glossary in the back of the book. It furnishes clear and complete definitions of words and phrases that are part of the language of persuasion research.

So let us move out into the arenas of contemporary life and observe persuasion in action. In so doing, we will be guided by our authorities, the experts whose scientific contributions make and shape the moving front of knowledge of the psychology of persuasion.

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