THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS

Then and Now

Michelle R. Nelson

ABSTRACT: It has been 50 years since Vance Packard wrote about psychoanalytical techniques employed by the advertising industry in *The Hidden Persuaders.* This book, published in the post–World War II consumer boom, exposed a mass audience to motivational research at a time when advertisers used new techniques and a new medium. Yet *The Hidden Persuaders* was highly criticized and became a scapegoat for purportedly promoting subliminal techniques. Nonetheless, the book helped shape public opinion, advertising regulation, and advertising research and practice. This paper provides a historical approach to Packard's contribution and ideas in the context of recent theoretical insights into psychological processing and new persuasion practices.

> In Perloff's day, the idea of "hidden persuaders" was indeed a matter of bluff and, to some extent, hysteria. But no longer. If researchers had a responsibility in 1964 to serve the consumer, how much more of a responsibility is there today, when methods to thwart or bypass the consumer's defenses against influence are becoming ever more powerful, and yet he remains as ignorant of these influences and as overconfident of his control as in the past? (Bargh 2002, p. 283)

The year 2007 marked the fiftieth anniversary of *The Hidden Persuaders,* when Vance Packard alerted the public to the psychoanalytical techniques used by the advertising industry. The book, which remained on top of the U.S. bestseller list for a year, was translated into 12 languages, and sold three million copies by 1975 (Horowitz 1994). Its premise was that advertising agencies were using depth interviews to identify hidden consumer motivations, which were then used to entice consumers to buy goods.

Despite its popularity among middle-class audiences (Mayer 1958), the book received widespread academic and advertising industry criticism, in part for its sensationalist, unsubstantiated writing (Horowitz 1994). Furthermore, critics and reporters often wrongly assumed that Packard was writing mainly about subliminal advertising (e.g., Bargh 2002; Barnes 1996). Packard never mentioned the word subliminal, however, and devoted very little space to discussions of "subthreshold" effects. Instead, his views largely aligned with the notion that individuals do not always have access to their conscious thoughts and can be persuaded by *supraliminal* messages without their knowledge. Although such sentiments are not derived from a psychoanalytic approach, they have recently been recognized within psychology (e.g., Bargh and Ferguson 2000; Greenwald and Banaji 1995), neuroscience (e.g., McClure et al. 2004), and advertising and consumer research (e.g., Chartrand 2005; Shapiro 1999). In fact, since the 1980s, social cognition research has recognized the "substantial role played by nonconscious processes (and the minimal role played by deliberate, effortful processes) in psychological and behavioral phenomena" (Bargh 2002, p. 281).

Such nonconscious influences are perhaps exacerbated by new forms of persuasion today, which are designed to thwart consumers' ability to zip or zap past branded messages and circumvent their conscious defenses (Kaikati and Kaikati 2004). These tactics, such as guerrilla marketing (also called buzz, undercover, stealth, or word-of-mouth marketing), product or brand placements, and video news releases, occur when consumers are exposed to masked commercial messages that are not legally defined as *commercial* messages (Balasubramanian 1994). Because the persuasion source is not identified and the brand is embedded within content or conversation, consumers may not realize that they are being persuaded by these supraliminal persuasion attempts.

Therefore, in light of theoretical advances related to conscious and nonconscious processing and the rise of masked commercial messages over the past 50 years, it seems appropriate to revisit Packard's 1957 assertions about hidden persuaders. Furthermore, as we recognize the fiftieth anniversary of the book that is still considered one of the most influential books for advertising scholarship (Beard 2002) and was cited as one

Michelle R. Nelson (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign) is an associate professor, Department of Advertising, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign.

The author thanks James Baughman and the three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this manuscript.

Journal of Advertising, vol. 37, no. 1 (Spring 2008), pp. 113–126.

ISSN 0091-3367 / 2008 $9.50 + 0.00.
DOI 10.2753/JOA0091-3367370109

of the most important events in American advertising (1704 to 1999; *Advertising Age*), this paper considers the impact of *The Hidden Persuaders* on advertising and society.

PACKARD AND *THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS*

Then: The Man and the Book

Vance Packard (May 22, 1914–December 12, 1996) was born in rural Pennsylvania. He identified himself as a "farm boy" throughout his life, although he moved to State College when he was 10 and became a successful writer living in the affluent suburbs (Horowitz 1994). His identity to others—as a reporter, cultural critic, or a popular sociologist—drew from his education and professional life. Packard earned his B.A. at Pennsylvania State University in 1936 and his master's degree in journalism at Columbia University in 1937. He was influenced by his Penn State mentor Willard Waller, a professor of the Chicago school of sociology, which used an interdisciplinary approach and drew inspiration from urban journalism and Progressive reform. Waller and Packard wrote articles together debunking accepted views of undergraduate life. Both men considered themselves to be keen observers and critics of everyday life, but as unconventional moralists rather than radical reformers.

In his professional life, Packard was a reporter for The Associated Press and for *American* and *Collier's* magazines, working in the mass media from 1937 to 1956 (Horowitz 1994). When Packard lost his job at the *American Magazine* in 1956—partially due to the downturn of magazine advertising at the advent of television—he decided to write freelance to escape editors' constraints. *The Hidden Persuaders* was published less than a year later.

Although not his first or last book, *The Hidden Persuaders* was the most successful. The material for the book on the psychological techniques of advertising was actually commissioned by *Reader's Digest* in 1954. It is interesting to note that after the article was written, *Reader's Digest* began accepting ads—and the article never actually ran (Horowitz 1994). Packard noted the connection between his critique on the advertising industry and the financial contribution of advertisements to the magazine. In 1955, Packard shared the rejected article with a friend who was editor at the David McKay Company. The friend encouraged him to expand the article into a book. After collecting the research, Packard wrote *The Hidden Persuaders* within two months. Because of his background, Packard had access to the media industry, knew how to interview people, and was able to write prose for the general public very quickly. The book achieved instant success.

The general public appeared ambivalent about advertising and consumer culture during that time period (i.e., the 1950s and 1960s; Zanot 1981). The post–World War II era reflected a time of affluence and an abundance of goods. Because of this gluttony of goods, the entire concept of marketing was undergoing a "reappraisal" (Stern 2004) and a "paradigm shift" (Wilkie and Moore 2003) to stimulate consumer demand. Packard observed this trend when "corporate leaders had shifted 'from being maker-minded to market-minded'" (Horowitz 1994, p. 106) and wrote about it. He was not the only one. *The Hidden Persuaders* has been lumped with other popular culture works (e.g., fiction: *The Hucksters, The Lonely Crowd, The Organization Man*) and academic critiques (e.g., *The Affluent Society*) of advertising and consumer culture written during this era. The moral tone and ambivalence toward consumer culture reflected in these books resonated with the public. This was the first sustained assault on advertising since the 1930s. In particular, people were fascinated and fearful of the power of advertising as they found themselves targets of new advertising techniques in a wider variety of media. Television rapidly introduced moving-picture emotional advertising and used commercial forms developed in radio, such as the sponsorship of entire programs. Whereas only 9% of American households owned a television in 1950, almost 80% of households owned a television by the time *The Hidden Persuaders* was published (Sterling and Haight 1978). Packard's readers could *see* and hear the persuaders in their own living rooms.

Hidden? Persuaders: Subliminal Versus Supraliminal

The book's cover promised a "revealing, often shocking, explanation of new techniques of research and methods of persuasion." It gave "facts that show how today's advertising men are using our hidden urges and frustrations to sell everything from gasoline to politicians." Emphasis is on how hidden urges are being uncovered with new research techniques. Yet *The Hidden Persuaders* is often misinterpreted. Reports of the book refer primarily to advertisers' insertions of subliminal images into visuals (e.g., Futrelle 1996). Writers mistakenly cite Packard's brief reference to a New Jersey theater flashing advertisements (for popcorn) as his evidence of the existence of widespread usage of subliminal techniques. Subliminal techniques, "embedding material in print, audio or video messages so faintly that they are not consciously perceived" (Rogers and Smith 1993, p. 10), have been debunked among most advertising professionals and researchers (Pratkanis and Greenwald 1988). Nevertheless, subliminal advertising remains a controversial topic. Heated debates in 2004 and 2005 on the AdForum listserv (comprised of academics and advertising professionals) with respect to a new book on the topic, *The Secret Sales Pitch,* demonstrated that strong opinions still exist.

In actuality, Packard did not use the word subliminal (nor the word popcorn) in *The Hidden Persuaders,* and devoted very little attention to the process of embedding hidden messages. Three paragraphs on pages 35–36 out of 229 total pages discuss

"subthreshold effects," where advertisers seek to "insinuate sales messages to people past their conscious guard" (Packard 1957, p. 35). Packard did not endorse such techniques, nor did he suggest advertisers were widely using them. He merely quoted a newspaper article published in the *London Sunday Times* in 1956. As Packard's quoted source, a leading psychologist in motivational research at that time, George Horsley Smith (author of *Motivation Research in Advertising and Marketing,* 1954), expressed skepticism about the study. Packard also questioned the *Times* about its use of an anonymous source. The source cited the study of a cinema in New Jersey that flashed ice cream ads in split seconds (supposedly below conscious awareness), which resulted in a boost in sales of ice cream.

Rather than focusing on techniques for the creation of embedded messages in advertisements, the book mostly concentrated on research, especially the work of motivational researchers such as Ernest Dichter, president of the Institute for Motivational Research, and Louis Cheskin of the Color Research Institute of America. These men brought psychoanalytical techniques to the study of underlying consumer motives. Dichter in particular was considered the "Father of Motivational Research" (Stern 2004) and one of the founding fathers of advertising research (Bartos 1977). Although Dichter eventually published his own books (e.g., 1960, 1964), it was Packard who successfully brought these ideas to a mass audience. Through conversations with these men and other advertising professionals and exemplar case studies, Packard exposed the use of depth interview techniques. The goal was to get consumers "musing absentmindedly about all the 'pleasures, joys, enthusiasms, agonies, nightmares, deceptions, apprehensions the product recalls to them'" (Smith quote, in Packard 1957, p. 31). With such insight, the creatives could produce more effective advertising.

The techniques were "brought alive" by Packard through the use of excessive exclamation points, vivid and humorous examples, and teasers on the cover that helped draw controversy (e.g., explanations of why men think of a mistress when they see a convertible in a show window). The advertisements that Packard described do not discuss subliminal images; there is absolutely no discussion of embedding hidden imagery into visuals. Rather, Packard discussed advertisements that are visually accessible to conscious minds; thus, they are considered supraliminal. What is nonconscious is how the ads may influence any particular consumer.

The Hidden Persuaders was regarded as highly controversial by the advertising industry (e.g., Robinson 1960). Yet members of the American Marketing Association (AMA) discussed the very same depth interview and motivational research techniques years before the book was published. Some members of the AMA focused on the "depth" part (looking below the surface to discover underlying motivations) and others relied on the interview part (as a methodological technique to elicit free responses) (*Committee Report* 1950). Subsequent articles in the *Journal of Marketing* mainly debated methodological issues regarding qualitative, depth interviews versus the experimental/statistical approach (e.g., Rothwell 1955) rather than any ethical implications (for an exception, see Wells 1956). Many of the people and case studies cited in *The Hidden Persuaders* are from authors or articles published during the 1950s in the *Journal of Marketing;* however, they are often not explicitly cited with footnotes or sources. For example, in chapter 13, Packard discussed how motivational researchers could help marketers overcome people's hidden resistance to certain types of products (in this case, instant coffee). He explained the use of projective techniques to identify hidden insights about purchasers. This discussion is a summary of Mason Haire's famous coffee list study, published in 1950 in the *Journal of Marketing* (Haire 1950). Perhaps if Packard had followed the conventions of academic writing, *The Hidden Persuaders* may have received more favorable, critical regard.

Influence of the Book on Audience, Industry, and Practice

In a speech to the American Advertising Association in 1958, Claude Robinson predicted that the influence of *The Hidden Persuaders* would be short-lived: "The 1,000,000 Guinea Pigs, the Consumer's Movements, The Hucksters, the Pitchman, and now The Hidden Persuaders soar into the firmament like a Fourth of July rocket, have their moment of brilliance, then disappear" (Robinson 1960, pp. 302–303). Robinson intended to address the public relations problems of the ad industry, which resulted in part because of the success of Packard's book. But instead of disappearing quickly, Packard's book changed the way the public and advertising industry viewed advertising and the way that academics and practitioners conducted research and practice.

Yet Packard said that he was not trying to condemn the advertising industry. In the first chapter, he praised its contribution to economic growth and aesthetic practices. Instead, his exposé was penned in the hopes of contributing to "the process of public scrutiny" (1957, p. 7). He did not offer prescriptive advice, but adhered to the idea that public awareness of the inner workings of advertising practices would inoculate people against any unwanted persuasion. The notion that "we cannot be too seriously manipulated if we know what is going on" (Packard 1957, p. 228) was pointed out by Clyde Miller in *The Process of Persuasion* (1946), who claimed that once we recognized persuasion tactics, we could build up a "recognition reflex" against all of the persuasion influences in our lives. Even today, we believe that such media literacy education efforts may "impart some 'immunity' against deception" (Balasubramanian 1994, p. 41). These beliefs about how

and when we are persuaded are codified into the persuasion knowledge model, which examines the set of beliefs about persuasion practices among everyday people (Friestad and Wright 1994). Thus, our "persuasion knowledge" about how we are persuaded is related to our level of knowledge about persuasion tactics. Such knowledge is considered to be developmental and culturally based.

During the past 50 years, the public has learned about advertising in part through experience with the tactic, conversations with others, and through media and education efforts, such as Packard's book. Columnist George Will writes, "Even before Americans became armed with remote control wands with mute buttons, they became sophisticated at detecting and dissecting (with the help of books like Packard's) or, more often, ignoring the 'persuaders,' which are about as 'hidden' as the riot of neon in Times Square" (Will 1996, p. B3). It is interesting to note that Will credits Packard's book with consumer education, but misattributes the book title to the "hidden" nature of the creative.

In fact, the book is often credited (or discredited) with influencing public awareness of subliminal techniques. For example, one critique written in 1958 proclaimed, "Subliminal cues, for whatever they may be worth, are but the latest weapon in the arsenal of the psychological manipulator, the creature so vividly exposed in Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders.* The fact that this book, originally marketed by a relatively small publishing house, has attained such widespread prominence is itself convincing evidence that the public is concerned" (Haiman 1958; cf. Sandage 1960, p. 456). Results of a public opinion poll taken just a couple years after the book was published showed that public awareness of subliminal techniques by the advertising industry was 41% (Haber 1959); 24 years later, awareness had increased to 81% (Zanot, Pincus, and Lamp 1983). In 1993, more than half of the people surveyed still believed advertisers placed subliminal messages in ads and thought that the practice was effective (Rogers and Smith 1993). People were also likely to identify subliminal advertising with Vance Packard when asked that question directly.

In the latter two studies (Rogers and Smith 1993; Zanot, Pincus, and Lamp 1983), researchers report a strong positive correlation between higher education and familiarity with subliminal advertising. Advertising scholars attributed this finding to the fact that the educated learned about such techniques in college and concluded, "Apparently, the research and analysis showing the impracticality or impossibility of Packard's and Key's assertions are not nearly so widely publicized as the sensational originals" (Rogers and Smith 1993, p. 17). Key authored two popular books that primarily discussed subliminal techniques (1973, 1980), but he is often related directly to Packard. Thus, the impact of *The Hidden Persuaders* is often related to public awareness of subliminal advertising.

Nonetheless, the presumed influence of *The Hidden Persuaders* on the public led to anxieties within the advertising profession. Part of the increased self-consciousness contributed to the reframing of advertising practice and a proactive public relations stance. Rather than a manipulation technique, advertising offered consumer sovereignty (Sandage 1960). Advertising, in this institutional view, was thought to inform, educate, and persuade. The public did not need to be protected by the "paternalistic interference of intellectuals" (Brailsford 1998, p. 370) such as Packard. The Advertising Federation of America (AFA) launched an education arm to distribute materials about advertising to schools, colleges, and professors. Indeed, one of the first advertising/marketing professors, Steuart Henderson Britt at Northwestern University, was quoted in *Advertising Age,* "Let's quit being so damnably negative and apologetic about the important work we're doing. . . . let's fight back at the attacks made in Packardesque non-fiction books—most of it is truly fiction" (*Advertising Age* 1960, p. 103).

The trade journal *Printers' Ink* ran a series of articles that spoke directly to Packard's claims (e.g., "Has Packard Flipped?" October 3, 1961), and speeches from advertising professionals refuting critiques of advertising were published throughout the 1950s and early 1960s (Brailsford 1998; Robinson 1960). In a speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Advertising, Robinson lamented that thanks to *The Hidden Persuaders,* advertising was regarded as "sneaky, underhanded, and menacing" (Robinson 1960, p. 295).

In particular, the advertising industry was concerned about regulation. In 1959 and 1960, *Printers' Ink* reported that Congress had tabled more than 100 bills related to advertising during its term. The apprehension among advertising industry executives was that the new Congress and administration would have the time and energy to consider advertising legislation. In actuality, the government accepted self-regulation as a model for the advertising industry rather than a single regulatory body (Brailsford 1998), but it is thought that *The Hidden Persuaders* did help regulate subliminal advertising (Horowitz 1994). Furthermore, it is suggested that Packard was an influence in convincing President John F. Kennedy to create an office related to consumer affairs, which would help protect the individual. Indeed, Kennedy's presidential advisor, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "felt that Packard 'was one of those irreverent writers of the 1950s who helped shape the intellectual mood in which the Kennedy administration operated'" (Horowitz 1994, p. 150).

The book shaped academic and practitioner research and practice. Academic marketing research in the years from 1960 to 1980 was "steeped in science" rather than exploration of nonconscious influences or qualitative interview approaches (Wilkie and Moore 2003). Bargh suggests that "one reason why consumer research seemed to shy away from the study of motivational influences over the past 40 years is the legacy of

Vance Packard's 1957 book *The Hidden Persuaders*" (2002, p. 282). Thus, perhaps in reaction to the critiques of motivational research, the marketers focused on quantitative techniques and views of the rational, conscious consumer.

The advertising industry also tried to distance itself from hucksterism (Brailsford 1998), at least publicly. In private, most of the people who read *The Hidden Persuaders* were business people, and 12% of those were in the advertising industry, according to results of a survey inserted inside the book by its publishers (Robinson 1960). Most of the letters written to Packard were from advertising executives, including those who were using motivational research techniques. Horowitz observed, "ironically, Packard's book allowed advertising agencies to complain bitterly about what he wrote and then call on people like Dichter to help them take advantage of the authority that *Hidden Persuaders* gave them" (1994, p. 108). In a tribute article to Dichter, Barbara Stern (2004) shows the sustained influence of motivational research and depth techniques on advertising practice. Indeed, nearly 50 years later, motivational research has found renewed interest among Fortune 100 companies (Goodman and Rushkoff 2003).

Thus, the popular book was widely believed to have affected public opinion about advertising and its deceptive (subliminal) practices. The criticism forced the advertising industry to launch a public relations campaign, all the while using the techniques described in Packard's book. Finally, the government regulated subliminal advertising, but did not form a single regulatory agency to oversee advertising (Brailsford 1998).

THEN AND NOW: PERSUASION PROCESSES

Although a complete discussion of persuasion and the history of psychology is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to place Packard's claims within the context of the field. In describing how advertising persuades consumers, Packard (1957) deviated in some ways from the standard models of persuasion that came before and after his book. Most of the research in marketing (e.g., Miller 1950), mass media (e.g., Lasswell 1927), and advertising (e.g., Adams 1916) at that time applied a behaviorist (stimulus-response) psychological view. Behaviorists assumed that observable, external influences on behavior and the behavioral responses were the only issues of interest to understanding behavior because scientists could not access internal mental processes. The chief proponent of behaviorism, John B. Watson, claimed: "Psychology as the behaviorist views it is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior" (Watson 1913, p. 158). Watson later became vice president at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency. In tightly controlled experiments of rats, the stimulus-response mechanisms (e.g., pressing a bar for food) proved true (Bargh and Ferguson 2000). When applied to human behavior, theorists believed that information provided by mass media was like a stimulus, and the "response" affected all people the same way (e.g., Lippmann 1922).

These behaviorist beliefs were fueled by numerous real-world anecdotes and examples (e.g., hysteria after the broadcast of Orson Welles's *War of the Worlds* in 1938). In fact, in the 1950s, academics studying the science of advertising believed that human behavior could be empirically tested and controlled. "It is a fact that human behavior, following the laws of psychology, is often more predictable than the performance of machines that are governed by the laws of physics and chemistry" (Miller 1950, p. 580). Miller (1950) went on to explain that the key factors underlying behavior are drives (primary, learned), cues (stimulus), and rewards (satisfaction); these factors reflect a stimulus-response mechanism.

Behaviorists did not believe that introspection or discussions of consciousness would help us learn about human behavior. In fact, they did not consider any mediating internal processes (e.g., memory, motivation; Bargh and Ferguson 2000). Conversely, the motivational researchers ("hidden persuaders") such as Dichter believed that techniques from psychoanalytical interviews could uncover unconscious motives and untold emotional responses (Stern 2004). Although Packard wrote about motivational research, the comparison to behaviorism was frequent. Claude Robinson (1960) and Franklyn S. Haiman (1960) described the "Hidden Persuaders" as treating people like dogs. Haiman wrote: "The methods are similar to those of Pavlov's famous conditioned-reflex experiments with dogs. Ring a bell and the dog salivates. No thought processes intervene here. Non-critical reflex action—this is the goal of the hidden persuader" (1960, p. 457).

Indeed, from a philosophic viewpoint, what psychoanalytical (motivational) research and behaviorism shared was the suggestion of coercion. "Both of these forms assert that man is determined to act the way he does without resort to conscious control. They assert that advertising bypasses the conscious mind and causes consumers to change their tastes" (Kirkpatrick 1986, p. 45). Such fears were described vividly in discussions of *The Hidden Persuaders*. Theodore Levitt asked: "What are the effects of manipulation—whether it be blatant persuasion or subtle motivation like the hidden persuaders? Will we become a nation of robots with mechanical appetites?" (1960, p. 443).

In the early 1960s, however, psychology research was expanding its scope beyond behavior to examine internal mental processing, particularly conscious processing. This shift took place due to the failure of behaviorism to adequately explain human behavior (e.g., Skinner's 1957 book, *Verbal Behavior*) and due to technological advances such as computers, which allowed researchers new techniques for measuring mental responses (e.g., reaction time). This was the time

of the "cognitive revolution" launched with Ulric Neisser's 1967 book, *Cognitive Psychology.* To cognitive psychologists, internal processes—almost to the exclusion of external influences—were key to understanding behavior and cognition (Bargh and Ferguson 2000).

Indeed, the field of social cognition research (1965–1985) arose to gain understanding of the cognitive structures and processes that underlie our behaviors (McGuire 2003). Researchers in this era sought to understand the workings of the mind beyond the black-box computer metaphor used by their predecessors. For example, Craik and Lockhart's (1972) explanation of memory did not rely on structures of the brain, but on "levels of processing" beneath perception and comprehension. Their early work suggested that learning could occur incidentally as well as intentionally, such as when individuals were attending to other tasks and were unaware of memory tests. One of the most influential leaders and prolific scholars in social cognition is Robert S. Wyer, who profoundly altered understanding of psychological processing related to attention, perception, inference, and memory (see Bodenhousen and Lambert 2003). For example, his conception of the mind as a "storage bin," allowed for the varying accessibility and importance of information, through frequency or recency of exposure, for subsequent judgments and behavior (e.g., Wyer and Srull 1981).

Yet despite some insights into information accessibility, research in social cognition was mostly based on conscious information processing or theories of explicit attitudes (e.g., people's general predispositions to evaluate other people, objects, and issues favorably or unfavorably; Greenwald and Banaji 1995). Even in the late 1990s, the most prevalent and influential models of attitude change in social psychology, consumer research, and communication research were the Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM; Chaiken 1987) and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM; Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983). Both models are based on explicit processing—either more effortful or less effortful—and both are typically tested under tightly controlled experimental conditions where participants are instructed to attend to stimuli (Bargh 2002). The realizations that the real world is a messy, uncontrollable place consisting of multiple influences all competing for people's attention and individuals who have multiple, sometimes conflicting, goals caused researchers to explore new theories. Bargh and Chartrand (1999) review a series of experiments that show when dual process models such as the ELM or HSM are tested in natural environments, the role of conscious processes is lessened.

Contemporary psychologists combine the external influences of behaviorists with the internal processes of early cognitive psychologists. A growing body of empirical work supports the notion that there are multiple factors (external and internal) that lead to some sort of psychological effect (e.g., perception, emotion, judgment). While some of these are conscious, some are not accessible to the individual (Bargh and Ferguson 2000). For instance, some motivational states or goals can be activated or primed subliminally (i.e., they are not accessible to awareness) or supraliminally (i.e., the individual is aware of the prime, but not its potential influence; Bargh 2002). Either sort of priming may influence subsequent behavior (Bargh 2002), but the fear is that of the subliminal—because it is unconscious to the individual, and therefore strips him or her of freewill.

In reference to notions of coercion, however, Bargh (2002) points to Lewin's field theory (1951), which suggests that only goals that people already have can be accessed or primed. For example, in an experiment, participants were exposed to subliminal primes of "happy, neutral, or angry" faces, and were then asked to evaluate and drink a beverage. Only "thirsty" participants were influenced by subliminal primes (Berridge and Winkielman 2003). The thirsty people who viewed the happy face evaluated the beverage more favorably and drank significantly more than those who saw the neutral or angry face. There was no difference in evaluation or drinking among nonthirsty individuals exposed to subliminal primes. For subliminal effects to work, there must be a match between goals of the individual and the fulfillment of those needs by the product (Bargh 2002). The defense of advertisers, then, is that they are only accessing needs that are already within the consumer.

However, we may be still influenced by supraliminal primes (those external influences that we can see or hear), yet we may not realize their influence, or we think we can control the influence (Bargh 2002). Thus, Packard's cases mostly (but not entirely) presented supraliminal advertisements that were based on psychoanalytic research delving into the unconscious mind. He claimed that such techniques used by the ad industry were "designed to reach the unconscious or subconscious mind because preferences generally are deemed by factors of which the individual is not conscious" (1957, p. 5). In advertising research, recent experimental studies have shown that people may be influenced by persuasive messages without their memory or knowledge (e.g., Shapiro 1999), and external influences such as media context may determine advertising persuasion (e.g., Moorman, Neijens, and Smit 2002). Yet even though the contemporary methods may differ from the depth interviews of the 1950s, the conclusions reached are similar. Some persuaders just may be hidden (or unknown) to our conscious minds. Thus, a wider range of measures related to implicit and explicit memory should be used in advertising research (Duke and Carlson 1993).

In the context of current views of psychological processing and persuasion and the contemporary media environment, the next section revisits selected chapters from *The Hidden Persuaders.* What is remarkable is that many of the issues discussed by Packard remain timely 50 years later. Now there is empirical research to substantiate some of the sensational claims.

REVISITING SELECTED CHAPTERS IN *THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS*

Branding and Market Power: Self-Images for Everybody

In the 1950s, if the consumer was considered to be a rational being (Miller 1950), then the institutional view of the advertising industry was one of "market information" (Carey 1960). Advertising provided information so that rational buyers could make informed decisions and free choices in the marketplace. This view assumed two things: (1) advertising offered information that helped consumers understand differences among goods, and (2) consumers were rational. Yet advertising was becoming more emotional rather than purely informational, and although consumers were rational, there may be unconscious influences on their choices. One of the leading motivational researchers, Louis Cheskin, observed in *The Hidden Persuaders,* "Actually in the buying situation the consumer generally acts emotionally and compulsively, unconsciously reacting to the images and designs which in the subconscious are associated with the product" (quoted in Packard 1957, p. 5). Packard argued that brand meaning and advertising imagery could influence individuals' emotions and impulses without their awareness of how they are being influenced.

In chapter 5, "Self-Images for Everybody," Packard wrote about the power of the image to differentiate standard goods. The following quotation from a persuader reflects an alternative institutional view of advertising—that of market power: "Basically what you are trying to do is create an illogical situation. You want the customer to fall in love with your product and have a profound brand loyalty when actually content may be very similar to hundreds of competing brands" (Packard 1957, p. 39). A market power view suggests that advertising emerged as a way for producers to avoid price competition by "differentiating" products—to make consumers less price-sensitive and more brand loyal (Norris 1984). Certainly, branding has taken on a whole new meaning since Packard's time. In addition to communicating functional attributes such as quality, brands convey an emotion, an experience, and a lifestyle (Klein 2000). Today, observations of market power are observed with reference to Starbucks, a leading global brand: "Nobody buys a 40-cent cup of coffee for $4 unless they're buying a brand" (Levine 2004, p. E3).

As an earlier example, Packard remarked in *The Atlantic* about the lack of product differentiation among leading branded goods, "A few days ago I heard a gathering of advertising men being advised that in blindfold tests people can't even tell the difference between Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola!" (Packard 1957; cf. 1960, p. 266). Since that time, the Cola wars have caused each brand to spend billions of dollars on advertising. In 2005 alone, Coke spent $317 million and Pepsi spent $262 million on U.S. media buys (Schumann 2006). Such brand-building efforts have largely succeeded. From 2001 to 2006, Coke was named the number-one global brand according to *Business Week*'s annual rankings, compared with Pepsi at number 23. Coke's 2006 *brand* value alone was approximately $67 billion, whereas Pepsi's was almost $13 billion.

Perhaps the enormous amount of money spent on advertising by Coca-Cola and Pepsi is because these products are almost identical in chemical composition (McClure et al. 2004). Results of contemporary taste tests revealed basically the same results as described by Packard in 1957. In an experiment, consumers' stated brand preferences, behavioral taste test preferences, and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) brain scans for Coca-Cola and Pepsi were tested (McClure et al. 2004). No significant correlation between stated preference (i.e., "I prefer Coke") and behavioral preference on the taste test was found for Coke or Pepsi. Furthermore, the MRI scans revealed that when judgments were based on taste alone (no brand information), only the brain activity in the ventromedial prefrontal cortex—the "reward system"—predicted people's cola preferences. However, the brand information made a difference in how Coke drinkers responded. For those drinking Coke, the brain showed more activity and in more places in the brain (e.g., the hippocampus, the dorsolateral prefrontal cortext, and the midbrain, which are associated with emotion, affect, and working memory) when the respondents viewed a Coke logo while tasting Coke. It is interesting to note that the same results were not found with Pepsi. The presence of the Pepsi logo did not alter preferences or brain activities relative to the anonymous test. The neurological researchers suggest, "brand knowledge for Coke and Pepsi have truly different responses both in terms of affecting behavioral preference and in terms of modifying brain response" (McClure et al. 2004, p. 383). The researchers conclude, "there are visual images and marketing messages that have insinuated themselves into the nervous systems of humans that consume the drinks" (McClure et al. 2004, p. 380).

Whereas most advertising academics and professionals know that brands offer emotional meaning to products that are in reality very similar, this was perhaps the first physiological study to prove it. Neuromarketing research may just show other insights into how we process brand imagery ("Hidden Motives" 2004). It is important to note that these brand meanings may be operating subconsciously, which would be similar to the processes proposed by motivational researchers.

Market Research Techniques: The Trouble with People

In chapter 2, "The Trouble with People," Packard suggested that people do not know what they want and won't necessarily tell researchers the truth. Such sentiments reflect an inability to introspect or articulate motivational influences and a conscious decision to provide socially desirable ways of responding

(i.e., the tendency to give answers that make the interviewee or survey respondent look good; see Paulhus 2002). These exact views were expressed and then empirically examined by Mason Haire in his 1950 "shopping list study." Haire (1950) used projective techniques (a shopping list) to identify hidden insights about purchasers of instant coffee. Haire spoke to the issue of direct queries, "When we approach a consumer directly with questions about his reaction to a product we often get false and misleading answers to our question" (1950, p. 649). This was particularly true with respect to products that have snob appeal, where people are apt to give stereotypical, acceptable responses. Packard alluded to this tendency with the example that if researchers believed what people said, then the "most read" magazine at that time would be the high-brow *Atlantic Monthly* and not the best-selling tabloid publications. More contemporary research has empirically demonstrated that people typically overpredict or overreport their behaviors when the actions are socially desirable (e.g., Williams, Fitzsimons, and Block 2004).

Inaccessibility is the other issue. Haire stated: "Still other kinds of motives exist of which the respondent may not be explicitly conscious himself. The product may be seen by him as related to things or people or values in his life, or as having a certain role in the scheme of things, and yet he may be quite unable, in response to a direct question, to describe these aspects of the object" (1950, p. 650). So instead, under direct questioning, due to their desire to appear as rational beings, people conjure up reasons that make sense to them. Thus, the explicit rationale and implicit reasons are in conflict.

Packard presents several agency case studies to illustrate the explicit and implicit differences in consumer preferences. In one case, consumers were given identical detergent to try out, but the packages were yellow, blue, or a balanced yellow and blue design. After trying the detergent, those who tried the yellow package detergent told researchers that the product was too harsh and those who tried the detergent in the blue package said their clothes were too dirty. Unbeknownst to them, the consumers used perceptions of the package colors in their evaluations of the detergents. Similarly, contemporary psychoanalyst-turned-market researcher Clotaire Rapaille relayed how consumers use the word "quality" to describe their rationale for purchasing luxury goods under direct questioning (Goodman and Rushkoff 2003). Yet after these same consumers are questioned with psychoanalytic techniques, the actual reasons for purchasing luxury goods have nothing to do with functional quality. Rapaille concluded: "My experience is that most of the time, people have no idea why they're doing what they're doing. They have no idea. So they're going to try to make up something that makes sense" (Goodman and Rushkoff 2003).

Experimental research has shown how the act of direct questioning can bias consumers' responses (Schwarz et al. 1985; Shrum, Wyer, and O'Guinn 1998), and even change behaviors (e.g., Williams, Fitzsimons, and Block 2004). Sometimes referred to as the "mere measurement" effect, the question itself may "prime" respondents to think about the behavior in a new way. The prime is the question; it acts supraliminally, however, because respondents can see or hear the question, but they do not realize it may influence them to respond in a biased fashion. For example, in a study to measure self-reported television-viewing behavior, Schwarz et al. (1985) noted that the response scales offered for the questions served as informative cues, which provided a range of acceptable behaviors. Respondents answered differently about their own behaviors depending on the levels of television-viewing behavior presented at the low (i.e., up to one-half hour per day or up to two and one-half hours per day) and high ends of the scale. In a related study, Shrum, Wyer, and O'Guinn (1998) also show that when a respondent is primed with (or asked about his or her) television-viewing behavior, the effects of the viewing behavior on other estimates (social reality perceptions) are altered. In this case, making the respondents aware of a possible source of bias eliminated the effect of the prime, yet not in a conscious adjustment process.

In addition, asking a direct question about behavioral intentions can even influence actual future behavior. For example, when registered voters were asked if they intended to vote, they were significantly more likely to indicate that they were going to vote—and then did vote—more than a control group of unasked registered voters (see Williams, Fitzsimons, and Block 2004). Thus, the insights gained about direct questioning versus depth techniques in the 1950s related to honesty and conscious access are still quite relevant to market research and public opinion polls today.

Media Context Effects and Cognitive Capacity—Is It Our Inner Pesky Ear?

In chapter 14, "Coping with Our Inner Pesky Ear," Packard suggested that environmental influences impact audience perceptions of advertising. For example, Packard described how a television show created to sell Mogen David wine was achieving good ratings but not wine sales. After depth interviews of audience members, researchers concluded that the "excitement of the show induced a kind of 'emotional frenzy' in the audience" that tended to "freeze the audience" (1957, p. 132), resulting in memory loss for the wine and the ads. Packard summarized that a show can be "too exciting" for its own good (1957, p. 132). This anecdote relates to the "media context effects" literature, which assesses the influence of individual, subjective mental states and reactions to a medium while processing commercial messages (Moorman, Neijens, and Smit 2002). This body of literature has used experimental or survey methods to show that program-induced psychological responses can indeed influence

processing of commercials placed within the program. For measures of recall, most studies have shown similar results to those found for the Mogen David show described above, namely, the intensity of the response (in involvement, arousal) negatively affects memory due to attention or cognitive capacity deficits (e.g., Lord and Burnkrant 1993; Thorson and Reeves 1986). Because consumers attend to and process central information from the medium, they do not have the capacity to also attend to noncentral elements such as ads or brands—this is the phenomenon that Packard described.

The Psycho-Seduction of Children

In chapter 15, "The Psycho-Seduction of Children," Packard described the use of persuasion techniques to change children into "consumer trainees." One of the vivid examples he provided relates to the dangers of advertising to children in schools. An ad in *Printers Ink* is quoted: "Eager minds can be molded to want your products! In the grade schools throughout America are nearly 23,000,000 young girls and boys. . . . they are consumers today and will be buyers of tomorrow. Here is a vast market for your products" (Packard 1957, p. 136). Such attempts at reaching young consumers in educational settings are still commonplace today despite the criticism over commercials in Channel One television news (Klein 2000). Children are considered influencers and consumers. Although some empirical work has examined how children's chronological age relates to their understanding of advertising (e.g., Martin 1997), there is still a need for research on how children acquire and understand persuasion knowledge about advertising and other tactics (Wright, Friestad, and Boush 2005).

The chapter also devotes space to the discussion of "fads," with the Davy Crockett craze of 1955 as example. Packard related findings from a study in the trade journal *Tide* that used motivational experts to understand this phenomenon. To be successful, the report said, a fad must offer symbols, a carrying device, and a subconscious need. Today, such fads or trends still exist—the brands are the symbols, the carriers are the "cool kids," and the subconscious need is to be cool or belong to a social group ("Merchants of Cool" 2001). Downfalls of crazes in the 1950s, much like contemporary times, were due to overexploitation. For instance, Dichter observed that those children who adopt the fad first, but then see other (younger) children join in, decide they no longer wish to be connected to the fad. On a similar note, this sentiment describes the contemporary paradox of cool: Once the mainstream has copied the early adopters, the trend ceases to be cool, and the early adopters must find another avenue for cool. Dichter felt that with appropriate motivational research, "a fad . . . could be started, once the promoters had found, and geared their fad to, an unsatisfied need of youngsters" (quoted in Packard 1957, pp. 142–143).

Certainly, the creation of fads through buzz, stealth, or undercover marketing has received increased attention, even among mainstream marketers in recent years (e.g., Kaikati and Kaikati 2004). These under-the-radar techniques involve paid or volunteer "masked spokespersons" who are given brand information (i.e., "talking points") and/or products (Balasubramanian 1994). They are then asked to surreptitiously promote the product in such a way that appears spontaneous and unsolicited so that the targets "feel they just 'stumbled' upon the product or service themselves" (Kaikati and Kaikati 2004). These targets then become agents, in a sense, when they themselves begin to talk about the product (i.e., buzz) among their own peer networks. The talk about and use of new products can create a "craze," much like the Davy Crockett craze of the 1950s. The use of individuals to create their own fads was observed by a reporter in 2004, when he wrote, "the existence of tens of thousands of volunteer marketing 'agents' raises a surprising possibility—that we have already met the new hidden persuaders, and they are us" (Walker 2004, p. 71). Thus, the ability to start a fad or craze was articulated by Dichter and conveyed by Packard in the 1950s. Today, such techniques are thought to bypass persuasion defenses and reach new levels of sophistication.

Ethics and Societal Implications: The Question of Morality

The final chapter, "The Question of Morality," discusses implications of persuasion practices for society beyond selling consumer products and suggests a reexamination of advertising ethics. On the societal level, Packard asked, "What does it mean for the national morality to have so many powerfully influential people taking a manipulative attitude toward our society?" (1957, p. 219). In particular, Packard, like his contemporaries (e.g., Haiman 1960), was concerned when hidden persuaders were used in politics. Specifically, Packard warned that a threat to democracy could occur when public officers appealed to the irrational, emphasized image and personality, and treated public issues like items in a supermarket (Horowitz 1994). Similar contemporary critiques about the marketing of politics and the branding of issues have been made in recent years (Goodman and Rushkoff 2003; Newman 1999). In addition, neuroscience has entered into politics with the use of MRI technology to peer into partisan brains (Tierney 2004). Indeed, the question posed by Packard appears even more relevant today, as *Washington Post* columnist Robert L. Samuelson asked of the state of modern democracy, "Did the result reflect what voters wanted—or the cleverest marketing campaign?" (2004, p. A17).

To help circumvent consumer harm from hidden persuasion techniques, Packard suggested that the Advertising Research Foundation and the Public Relations Society of America

(PRSA) should draw "up-to-date codes that would safeguard the public against being manipulated in ways that might be irresponsible and socially dangerous" (1957, p. 223). Nearly 20 years after the publication of *The Hidden Persuaders,* two policymaking entities commented on subliminal techniques. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) "held that the use of subliminal perception is inconsistent with the obligations of a licensee and contrary to the public interest because, whether effective or not, such broadcasts are intended to be deceptive" (39 *Federal Register* 3714, January 29, 1974). That same year, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) issued a document saying that subliminal messages on highway billboards may be unfair and deceptive, and that they should not be used.

Although it is difficult to imagine regulatory codes against supraliminal advertising attempts, a few of the "new" hidden persuaders have received policy attention in recent years. For example, the PRSA has reviewed its ethics policies regarding the use of masked messages, such as video news releases, that is, video versions of press releases (Wood et al. forthcoming) and the Word of Mouth Marketing Association (WOMMA) is addressing ethical guidelines related to deception for buzz marketing tactics (Creamer 2005).

CAVEATS AND AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

Although it is suggested that *The Hidden Persuaders* profoundly impacted advertising and society, it is just one book, written during a time of cultural change and dissent. Several other notable books about advertising have also made their own contributions (e.g., *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion* [Schudson 1986]; *The Mirror Makers* [Fox 1984]). Many of these are considered to be the most influential books on advertising, and are still found on reading lists for Advertising and Society courses (Beard 2002). Furthermore, although some of the case studies and anecdotes ring true today, many others do not. For instance, Packard predicted a future out of the movie *Minority Report:* "Eventually—say by A.D. 2000—perhaps all this depth manipulation of the psychological variety will seem amusingly old-fashioned. By then perhaps the biophysicists will take over with 'biocontrol,' which is depth persuasion carried to its ultimate. Control through bioelectrical signals" (Packard 1957, p. 206).

In addition, Packard superficially categorized all market research into the category of motivational research (Mayer 1958) and exaggerated the power of depth techniques and advertising persuasion (Horowitz 1994). Although advertising is a powerful force, it does not always persuade. For instance, the Edsel Campaign, which was launched the same year that *The Hidden Persuaders* was published, attracted vast attention and curiosity, but failed to sell the automobile (Baughman 1997). It is interesting to note that the failure of that advertising campaign was used as evidence against the hidden persuaders when the campaign's creator said, "So much for the charge that advertising manipulates the public."

It is also believed that consumers can (and increasingly do) "skip, resist, and denounce" what they do not like (Dollard 1960). In 1968, 15% of those surveyed considered themselves to be "serious resistors" of advertising, compared with a 2004 study showing that 60% of the population considered themselves to be serious resistors (Smith, Clurman, and Wood 2005). Nevertheless, as alluded to in the opening quote by Bargh (2002), questions still exist about whether consumers are able to consciously refute advertising's influence. Over the past 50 years, the public has had ample opportunity to learn about advertising (Friestad and Wright 1994). Most people of cognitive ability in Western capitalistic cultures understand the persuasive intent of advertising, are quite adept at deciphering its meanings, and share a lot of the same basic beliefs about persuasion that consumer researchers and advertising practitioners hold (Friestad and Wright 1995). Thus, given our "persuasion knowledge" about advertising, we believe that we are able to counterargue and think critically about advertising claims. However, such assumptions may be called into question in light of the psychological research on unconscious influences. If the persuasion knowledge model is a conscious model of advertising knowledge, at what level is "persuasion knowledge" stored or accessed unconsciously? A growing number of consumer researchers are calling for research to study not only how to persuade, but how to help consumers defend against unwanted influences (e.g., Bargh 2002; Wright 2002).

Furthermore, as persuasion knowledge is built up and more and more consumers consciously resist advertisements, advertisers are finding new persuasion tactics. In essence, "the marketers keep finding new ways to deactivate our advertising early warning systems" (Safer 2003). These tactics today include new and old "hidden" persuaders discussed earlier, such as product integration (i.e., weaving the brand into the program content; Lowrey, Shrum, and McCarty 2005), stealth marketing, and video news releases. The goal for each of these persuasion messages is to appear as seamless, natural, and integrated into the nonpersuasion context as possible. Thus, there is potential, and perhaps intention, to deceive the consumer into processing the information as a nonpersuasion attempt. And, as Wright, Friestad, and Boush (2005) observe, these types of persuasive messages are never viewed with a "this is a persuasive message" label. Thus, future research might define new education practices for informing the public about these persuasion tactics and then gauge whether persuasion knowledge of these new "hidden persuaders" helps consumers consciously or unconsciously resist their messages.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND NEW HIDDEN PERSUADERS

This paper intended to pause and remember an influential book, and to comment on the state of advertising theory and practice. Anniversaries are a time to contemplate what has come before and think about what will happen in the future. As we recognize the fiftieth anniversary of *The Hidden Persuaders,* much has changed in advertising, yet much has remained the same.

First, the media and advertising environment has changed in the past 50 years. During the 1950s, consumers were introduced to the powerful medium of television—one that combined moving pictures and sound. The brand messages initially appeared as sponsors of the shows and later were featured in advertisements that evolved from one-minute to 30-second, and even 15-second, advertisements (Lowrey, Shrum, and McCarty 2005). Such changes have contributed to a greater number of ads and to the problem of advertising clutter. Consumers have not always been positive about advertisements (Zanot 1981), but were largely unable to avoid them in the past. Today, consumers are able to zip, zap, and TiVo past television advertisements. In response, advertisers are shifting their marketing communication budgets from traditional 30-second advertisements to old forms of sponsorship and new forms of persuasion. For example, Philips Electronics paid $2 million to be the sole sponsor of a single episode of *60 Minutes* (Steinberg 2005) and Coca-Cola has shifted money into product placement in games (Grover et al. 2004).

Second, the theoretical discipline that is predominately used to understand advertising persuasion is psychology. Psychology itself has undergone significant philosophical and methodological changes in the past 50 years (Bargh and Ferguson 2000). There is now growing acceptance of external influences on mental processing and recognition that we may not have conscious access to the reasons underlying our behaviors. The present essay only touches on such recent developments in psychology. A more complete review and discussion of recent developments in psychology, along with their application to advertising and consumer research, should be considered in future research. Furthermore, the use of sophisticated computer and MRI technology has allowed a new field—neuromarketing—to emerge, which may provide additional insight into cognitive processing. Such insights are now being taken seriously by consumer researchers, as evidenced by the 2006 Association for Consumer Research preconference session, "Exploring How Neuroscience Can Inform Consumer Research." Future research should continue to investigate how neuromarketing techniques are used.

Together, the developments in psychology and media practice shed new empirical light on some of Packard's claims. Perhaps the sensational views of hidden persuaders in the 1950s are in some ways not all that sensational today.

REFERENCES

Adams, Henry Foster (1916), *Advertising and Its Mental Laws,* New York: Macmillan.

Balasubramanian, Siva K. (1994), "Beyond Advertising and Publicity: Hybrid Messages and Public Policy Issues," *Journal of Advertising,* 23 (Winter), 29–46.

Bargh, John A. (2002), "Losing Consciousness: Automatic Influences on Consumer Judgment, Behavior, and Motivation," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 29 (2), 280–286.

———, and Tanya L. Chartrand (1999), "The Unbearable Automaticity of Being," *American Psychologist,* 54, 462–479.

———, and Melissa L. Ferguson (2000), "Beyond Behaviorism: On the Automaticity of Higher Mental Processes," *Psychological Bulletin,* 126 (6), 925–945.

Barnes, Bart (1996), "Popular Writer, Sociologist Vance Packard Dies at 82," *Washington Post* (December 13), G06.

Bartos, Rena (1977), "Founding Fathers of Advertising," *Journal of Advertising Research,* 17 (3), 3–8.

Baughman, James (1997), "The Frustrated Persuader: Fairfax M. Cone and the Edsel Advertising Campaign, 1957–59," in *The Other 50s: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons,* Joel Foreman, ed., Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 27–52.

Beard, Fred K. (2002), "Peer Evaluation and Readership of Influential Contributions to the Advertising Literature," *Journal of Advertising,* 31 (4), 65–75.

Berridge, Kent C., and Piottr Winkielman (2003), "What Is an Unconscious Emotion? (The Case for Unconscious 'Liking')," *Cognition and Emotion,* 17 (2), 181–211.

Bodenhousen, Galen V., and Alan J. Lambert (2003), *Foundations of Social Cognition: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert S. Wyer, Jr.,* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Brailsford, Ian (1998), "'Madison Avenue Puts on Its Best Hair Shirt': U.S. Advertising and Its Social Critics," *International Journal of Advertising,* 17 (3), 365–380.

Carey, James W. (1960), "Advertising: An Institutional Approach," in *The Role of Advertising in Society,* C. H. Sandage and Vernon Fryburger, eds., Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 3–17.

Chaiken, Shelly (1987), "The Heuristic Model of Persuasion," in *Social Influence: The Ontario Symposium,* vol. 5, Mark P. Zanna, James M. Olson, and C. P. Herman, eds., Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 3–39.

Chartrand, Tanya L. (2005), "The Role of Conscious Awareness in Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Psychology,* 15 (3), 203–210 (http://faculty.fuqua.duke.edu/~tlc10/bio/pdf_articles/Chartrand_(in_press)_The_role_of_conscious_awareness_in_consumer_behavior.pdf).

Committee Report on Depth Interviewing (1950), Sub-committee of the Marketing Research Techniques Committee, American Marketing Association (April), 721–724.

Craik, Fergus I. M., and Robert S. Lockhart (1972), "Levels of Processing: A Framework for Memory Research," *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior,* 11 (6), 671–684.

Creamer, Matthew (2005), "Is Buzz Marketing Illegal? Lawyers Warn of Advertising Law Disclosure Requirements," *Advertising Age.com* (October 4).

Dichter, Ernest (1960), *The Strategy of Desire,* New York: Doubleday.

—— (1964), *Handbook of Consumer Motivation: The Psychology of World Objects,* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Dollard, John (1960), "Fear of Advertising," in *The Role of Advertising in Society,* C. H. Sandage and Vernon Fryburger, eds., Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 307–317.

Duke, Charles R., and Les Carlson (1993), "A Conceptual Approach to Alternative Memory Measures for Advertising Effectiveness," *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising,* 15 (2), 1–14.

Fox, Stephen (1984), *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators,* Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Friestad, Marian, and Peter Wright (1994), "The Persuasion Knowledge Model: How People Cope with Persuasion Attempts," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 21 (June), 1–31.

———, and ——— (1995), "Persuasion Knowledge: Lay People's and Researchers' Beliefs About the Psychology of Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 22 (June), 62–74.

Futrelle, David (1996), "Media Circus: The Hidden Persuader," *Salon* (December 17), available at www.salon.com/media/media961217.html (accessed October 31, 2005).

Goodman, Barak, and Douglas Rushkoff (2003), "The Persuaders," PBS documentary (November 9).

Greenwald, Anthony G., and Mahzarin R. Banaji (1995), "Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-Esteem, and Stereotypes," *Psychological Review,* 102 (1), 4–27.

Grover, Ronald, Tom Lowry, Gerry Khermouch, Cliff Edwards, and Dean Foust (2004), "Can Mad Ave. Make Zap-Proof Ads?" *Business Week* (February 2), 36–37.

Haber, Ralph Norman (1959), "Public Attitudes Regarding Subliminal Advertising," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 23 (123), 291–293.

Haiman, Franklyn S. (1960), "Democratic Ethics and the Hidden Persuaders," reprinted from the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* (December 1958), 385–392.

Haire, Mason (1950), "Projective Techniques in Marketing Research," *Journal of Marketing,* 14 (April), 649–656.

"Hidden Motives" (2004), *Scientific American Frontiers,* PBS, hosted by Alan Alda, available at www.pbs.org/saf/1507/video/watchonline.htm (accessed January 8, 2008).

Horowitz, Daniel (1994), *Vance Packard and American Social Criticism,* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Kaikati, Andrew M., and Jack G. Kaikati (2004), "Stealth Marketing: How to Reach Consumers Surreptitiously," *California Management Review,* 46 (4), 6–22.

Key, Wilson Bryan (1973), *Subliminal Seduction: Ad Media's Manipulation of a Not So Innocent America,* New York: Prentice Hall.

——— (1980), *The Clam-Plate Orgy: And Other Subliminals the Media Use to Manipulate Your Behavior,* New York: Prentice Hall.

Kirkpatrick, Jerry L. (1986), "A Philosophical Defense of Advertising," *Journal of Advertising,* 15 (2), 42–48, 64.

Klein, Naomi (2000), *No Logo,* New York: Picador.

Lasswell, Harold D. (1927), "The Theory of Political Propaganda," *American Political Science Review,* 21 (3), 627–631.

Levine, Robert (2004), "Would You Like an Extra Shot of Music with That Macchiato?" *New York Times* (November 3), E3.

Levitt, Theodore (1960), "Are Advertising and Marketing Corrupting Society? It's Not Your Worry," in *The Role of Advertising in Society,* C. H. Sandage and Vernon Fryburger, eds., Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 442–450.

Lewin, Kurt (1951), *Field Theory in Social Science,* New York: Harper & Row.

Lippmann, Walter (1922), *Public Opinion,* New York: Harcourt Brace.

Lord, Kenneth R., and Robert E. Burnkrant (1993), "Attention Versus Distraction: The Interactive Effect of Program Involvement and Attentional Devices on Commercial Processing," *Journal of Advertising,* 22 (1), 47–60.

Lowrey, Tina M., L. J. Shrum, and John A. McCarty (2005), "The Future of Television Advertising," in *Marketing Communication: New Approaches, Technologies, and Styles,* Allan J. Kimmel, ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 113–132.

Martin, Mary C. (1997), "Children's Understanding of the Intent of Advertising: A Meta-Analysis," *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing,* 16 (Fall), 205–216.

Mayer, Martin (1958), *Madison Avenue U.S.A.,* New York: Harper & Brothers.

McClure, Samuel M., Jian Li, Damon Tomlin, Kim S. Cypert, Latane M. Montague, and P. Read Montague (2004), "Neural Correlates of Behavioral Preference for Culturally Familiar Drinks," *Neuron,* 44, 379–387.

McGuire, William J. (2003), "The Morphing of Attitude-Change into Social-Cognition Research," in *Foundations of Social Cognition: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert S. Wyer, Jr.,* Galen V. Bodenhausen and Alan J. Lambert, eds., Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 7–24.

"Merchants of Cool" (2001), *Frontline,* PBS, available at www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/cool/view/ (accessed January 8, 2008).

Miller, Clyde R. (1946), *The Process of Persuasion,* New York: Crown.

Miller, Neal E. (1950), "Social Science and the Art of Advertising," *Journal of Marketing,* 14 (4), 580–582.

Moorman, Marjolein, Peter C. Neijens, and Edith G. Smit (2002), "The Effects of Magazine-Induced Psychological Responses and Thematic Congruence on Memory and Attitude Toward the Ad in a Real-Life Setting," *Journal of Advertising,* 31 (4), 27–40.

Neisser, Ulric (1967), *Cognitive Psychology,* New York: Appleton-Century Croft.

Newman, Bruce I. (1999), *The Mass Marketing of Politics: Democracy in an Age of Manufactured Images,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Norris, Vincent (1984), "The Economic Effects of Advertising:

A Review of the Literature," *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising,* 7 (2), 39–134.

"Obituary; Vance Packard, Critic of Consumer Society, 82" (1996r 13), *Boston Herald* (December 13), 64.

Packard, Vance (1957), *The Hidden Persuaders,* New York: David McKay; Pocket Books, Cardinal edition, 1958.

——— (1960), "The Growing Power of Admen," in *The Role of Advertising in Society,* C. H. Sandage and Vernon Fryburger, eds., Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 266–274.

Paulhus, Delroy L. (2002), "Socially Desirable Responding: The Evolution of a Construct," in *The Role of Constructs in Psychological and Educational Measurement,* Henry I. Braun, Douglas N. Jackson, and David E. Wiley, eds., Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 49–69.

Petty, Richard E., John T. Cacioppo, and David Schumann (1983), "Central and Peripheral Routes to Advertising Effectiveness: The Moderating Role of Involvement," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 10 (September), 135–146.

Pratkanis, Anthony R., and Anthony G. Greenwald (1988), "Recent Perspectives on Unconscious Processing: Still No Marketing Applications," *Psychology and Marketing,* 5 (4), 339–355.

Robinson, Claude (1960), "Are the People Mad at the 'Hidden Persuaders'?" in *The Role of Advertising in Society,* C. H. Sandage and Vernon Fryburger, eds., Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 294–306; reprinted from the papers of the 1958 Annual Meeting of the American Association of Advertising.

Rogers, Martha, and Kirk H. Smith (1993), "Public Perceptions of Subliminal Advertising: Why Practitioners Shouldn't Ignore This Issue," *Journal of Advertising Research,* 33 (2), (March/April), 10–18.

Rothwell, N. D. (1955), "Motivational Research Revisited," *Journal of Marketing,* 20 (October), 150–154.

Safer, Morley (2003), "Undercover Marketing Uncovered," *60 Minutes* (October 26).

Samuelson, Robert J. (2004), "Marketing Revolution in Politics," *Washington Post* (August 3), p. A17.

Sandage, Charles H. (1960), "The Role of Advertising in Modern Society," in *The Role of Advertising in Society,* C. H. Sandage and Vernon Fryburger, eds., Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 257–265.

Schudson, Michael (1984), *Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion,* New York: Basic Books.

Schumann, Mark (2006), "Megabrands," *Advertising Age,* 77 (29; Special Issue), 1–5.

Schwarz, Norbert, Hans-J. Hippler, Brigitte Deutsch, and Fritz Stack (1985), "Response Categories: Effects on Behavioral Reports and Comparative Judgments," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 49 (Fall), 388–395.

Shapiro, Stewart (1999), "When an Ad's Influence Is Beyond Our Conscious Control: Perceptual and Conceptual Fluency Effects Caused by Incidental Ad Exposure," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 26 (June), 16–36.

Shrum, L. J., Robert S. Wyer, Jr., and Thomas C. O'Guinn (1998), "The Effects of Television Consumption on Social Perceptions: The Use of Priming Procedures to Investigate Psychological Processes," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 24 (4), 447–458.

Skinner, B. F. (1957), *Verbal Behavior,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Smith, George Horsley (1954), *Motivation Research in Advertising and Marketing,* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Smith, J. Walker, Ann Clurman, and Craig Wood (2005), *Coming to Concurrence: Addressable Attitudes and the New Model for Marketing Productivity,* Evanston, IL: Racom Communications.

Steinberg, Brian (2005), "Philips Electronics Arranges '60 Minutes' of Ads," *Wall Street Journal* (October 19), B4.

Sterling, Christopher H., and Timothy R. Haight (1978), *The Mass Media: Aspen Institute Guide to Communication Industry Trends,* New York: Praeger.

Stern, Barbara B. (2004), "The Importance of Being Ernest: Commemorating Dichter's Contribution to Advertising Research," *Journal of Advertising Research,* 44 (2), 165–169.

Thorson, Esther, and Byron Reeves (1986), "Effects of Over-Time Measures of Viewer Liking and Activity During Programs and Commercials on Memory for Commercials," in *Advances in Consumer Research,* vol. 13, R. Lutz, ed., Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 549–553.

Tierney, John (2004), "The 2004 Campaign: Advertising; Using M.R.I.'s to See Politics on the Brain," *New York Times* (April 20), A1.

Walker, Rob (2004), "The Hidden (in Plain Sight) Persuaders," *New York Times Magazine* (December 5).

Watson, John B. (1913), "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It," *Psychological Review,* 20, 158–177.

Wells, William D. (1956), "Is Motivation Research Really an Instrument of the Devil?" *Journal of Marketing* (October), 196–199.

Wilkie, William L., and Elizabeth S. Moore (2003), "Scholarly Research in Marketing: Exploring the '4 Eras' of Thought Development," *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing,* 22 (2), 116–146.

Will, George (1996), "Packard Thought Americans Were Clay in the Hands of Advertising's Hidden Persuaders," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (December 29), B3.

Williams, Patti, Gavan J. Fitzsimons, and Lauren G. Block (2004), "When Consumers Do Not Recognize 'Benign' Intention Questions as Persuasion Attempts," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 31 (December), 540–551.

Wood, Michelle L. M., Michelle R. Nelson, Julie B. Lane, and Lucy J. Atkinson (2008), "Social Utility Theory: Guiding Labeling of VNRs as Ethical and Effective Public Relations," *Journal of Public Relations Research,* 20 (2), forthcoming.

Wright, Peter (2002), "Marketplace Metacognition and Social Intelligence," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 28 (March), 677–682.

———, Marian Friestad, and David M. Boush (2005), "The Development of Marketplace Persuasion Knowledge in Children, Adolescents and Young Adults," *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing,* 24 (2), 222–233.

Wyer, Robert S., Jr., and Thomas K. Srull (1981), "Category Accessibility: Some Theoretical and Empirical Issues Concerning the Processing of Social Stimulus Information," in

Social Cognition: The Ontario Symposium, E. Tory Higgins, C. P. Herman, and Mark P. Zanna, eds., Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 161–198.

Zanot, Eric J. (1981), "Public Attitudes Toward Advertising," in *Advertising in a New Age: AAA Proceedings,* H. Keith Hunt, ed., Provo, UT: American Academy of Advertising.

———, David Pincus, and E. Joseph Lamp (1983), "Public Perceptions of Subliminal Advertising," *Journal of Advertising,* 12 (1), 39–45.