SIXTH EDITION

PROPAGANDA
& PERSUASION

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Brief Contents

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How to Analyze Propaganda

A 10-step plan of propaganda analysis is identification of ideology and purpose, identification of context, identification of the propagandist, investigation of the structure of the propaganda organization, identification of the target audience, understanding of media utilization techniques, analysis of special techniques to maximize effect, analysis of audience reaction, identification and analysis of counterpropaganda, and completion of an assessment and evaluation.

Analysis of propaganda is a complex undertaking that requires historical research, examination of propaganda messages and media, sensitivity to audience responses, and critical scrutiny of the entire propaganda process. One may be tempted to examine the short-term aspects of propaganda campaigns, but a true understanding of propaganda requires analysis of the long-term effects. Propaganda includes the reinforcement of cultural myths and stereotypes that are so deeply embedded in a culture that recognizing a message as propaganda is often difficult.

As we said in Chapter 1, *propaganda* is a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Its systematic nature requires longitudinal study of its progress. Because the essence of propaganda is its deliberateness of purpose, considerable investigation is required to find out what the purpose is.

We have designed a 10-step plan of analysis that incorporates the major elements of propaganda. On the one hand, this schema makes it difficult to study propaganda in progress because the outcome may not be known for a long time. On the other hand, to study propaganda in progress enables the analyst to observe media utilization and audience response directly in actual settings. Long-range effects may not be known for some time in a contemporary study. Chapter 7 contains four case studies of propaganda, one ("Women and War: Work, Housing, and Child Care") of which is from the past; the others are ongoing ("Smoking and Health: Corporate Propaganda Versus Public Safety," "Big Pharma: Marketing Disease and Drugs," and "Pundits for Hire: The Pentagon Propaganda Machine"). We believe that contemporary propaganda techniques differ from past techniques mainly in the use of new media. New technologies must be taken into account, for the forms of media and how they are used have always been significant in propaganda.

The 10 divisions for propaganda analysis are as follows:

1. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign

2. The context in which the propaganda occurs

3. Identification of the propagandist

4. The structure of the propaganda organization

5. The target audience

6. Media utilization techniques

7. Special techniques to maximize effect

8. Audience reaction to various techniques

9. Counterpropaganda, if present

10. Effects and evaluation

These 10 divisions take into account the following questions: To what ends, in the context of the times, does a propaganda agent, working through an organization, reach an audience through the media while using special symbols to get a desired reaction? Furthermore, if there is opposition to the propaganda, what form does it take? Finally, how successful is the propaganda in achieving its purpose?

The Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Campaign

The ideology of propaganda provides, according to Kecskemeti (1973), "the audience with a comprehensive conceptual framework for dealing

with social and political reality" (pp. 849–850). In locating the ideology, the analyst looks for a set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors, as well as for ways of perceiving and thinking that are agreed on to the point that they constitute a set of norms for a society that dictate what is desirable and what should be done. Martha Cooper (1989) described *ideology* as a coherent "world view that determines how arguments will be received and interpreted. The common sense of the world view provides the basis for determining what is good, bad, right, wrong, and so forth" (p. 162). Ideology accordingly contains concepts about what the society in which it exists is actually like. It states or denies, for example, that there are classes and that certain conditions are desirable or more desirable than others. An ideology is also a form of consent to a particular kind of social order and conformity to the rules within a specific set of social, economic, and political structures. It often assigns roles to gender, racial, religious, and social groups.

The propaganda analyst looks for ideology in both verbal and visual representations that may reflect preexisting struggles and past situations, current frames of reference to value systems, and future goals and objectives. Resonance of symbols of the past encourages people to apply previously agreed-on ideas to the current and future goals of the propagandist. M. Cooper (1989) cited the example of the ideology of the Old South plantation myth from Civil War days being invoked as white supremacy during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. White supremacists, such as skinheads, in the present day invoke the Nazi ideology of the Aryan myth.

The purpose of propaganda may be to influence people to adopt beliefs and attitudes that correspond to those of the propagandist or to engage in certain patterns of behavior—for example, to contribute money, join groups, or demonstrate for a cause. Propaganda also has as its purpose to maintain the legitimacy of the institution or organization it represents and thereby to ensure the legitimacy of its activities. *Integration* propaganda attempts to maintain the positions and interests represented by "officials" who sponsor and sanction the propaganda messages. *Agitation* propaganda seeks to arouse people to participate in or support a cause. It attempts to arouse people from apathy by giving them feasible actions to carry out. Kecskemeti (1973, p. 849) said that agitation consists of stimulating mass action by hammering home one salient feature of the situation that is threatening, iniquitous, or outrageous.

Mainly, the purpose of propaganda is to achieve acceptance of the propagandist's ideology by the people. Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels said that propaganda had no fundamental method, only purpose—the conquest of the masses.

The Context in Which the Propaganda Occurs

Successful propaganda relates to the prevailing mood of the times; therefore, it is essential to understand the climate of the times. The propaganda analyst needs to be aware of the events that have occurred and of the interpretation of the events that the propagandists have made. What are the expected states of the world social system (e.g., war, peace, human rights, economic crises)? What is the prevailing public mood? What specific issues are identifiable? How widely are the issues felt? What constraints exist that keep these issues from being resolved? Is there a struggle over power? What parties are involved, and what is at stake? It has been said that propaganda is like a packet of seeds dropped on fertile soil; to understand how the seeds can grow and spread, analysis of the soil—that is, the times and events—is necessary.

It is also important to know and understand the historical background. What has happened to lead up to this point in time? What deeply held beliefs and values have been important for a long time? What myths are related to the current propaganda? What is the source of these myths? A myth is not merely a fantasy or a lie but rather is a model for social action. For example, the mythology of American populism was based on a classic and good hero such as Abraham Lincoln, who rose from humble birth to self-made lawyer to the White House. This hero is a Christlike figure because he not only rose from humble beginnings but also was martyred. The *model for social action* is that a person can rise above difficult circumstances to become a leader who can make significant differences in people's lives. A *myth* is a story in which meaning is embodied in recurrent symbols and events, but it is also an idea to which people already subscribe; therefore, it is a predisposition to act. It can be used by a propagandist as a mythical representation of an audience's experiences, feelings, and thoughts. Western movies provided a myth not only about the Old West but also of American character. The idea of the yellow ribbons displayed to support the troops in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan may have come from John Ford's 1949 film *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon,* but the myth of the Western hero (John Wayne) fighting the villain was symbolized in the yellow ribbons as well.

Identification of the Propagandist

The source of propaganda is likely to be an institution or organization, with the propagandist as its leader or agent. Sometimes, there will be complete openness about the identity of the organization behind the propaganda; sometimes it is necessary to conceal the identity to achieve the goals set by

the institution. When identity is concealed, the task of the analyst is a demanding one. It is quite difficult to detect black propaganda until after all the facts are known. In black propaganda, not only is the distortion deliberate, but the identity of the source is usually inaccurate. The anonymity that is possible on the Internet makes identity very difficult if not impossible.

Some guidelines for determining the identity of the propagandist are found in the apparent ideology, purpose, and context of the propaganda message. The analyst can then ask, Who or what has the most to gain from this? Historical perspective is also very valuable in making such a determination. The analyst can also look at the broader picture, for generally propaganda that conceals its source has a larger purpose than is readily discernible.

When the propagandist is a person, it is easier to identify that person because propagandists usually have what Doob (1966) called "verbal compulsions" (p. 274). Look for the person who speaks, texts, tweets, and blogs frequently and with authority. It is possible, however, for the person to be an agent or "front" for the actual propagandist, concealing the true identity of the leader or institution.

The Structure of the Propaganda Organization

Successful propaganda campaigns tend to originate from a strong, centralized, decision-making authority that produces a consistent message throughout its structure. For this reason, leadership will be strong and centralized, with a hierarchy built into the organization. The apparent leader may not be the actual leader, but the apparent leader espouses the ideology of the actual leader. The analyst can investigate how the leader got the position and try to determine how the leader inspires loyalty and support. The leader will have a certain style that enables her or him to attract, maintain, and mold the members into organizational units. The leadership style may include the mythic elements of the ideology, a charismatic personality, and/or identification with the audience.

Structure also includes the articulation of specific goals and the means by which to achieve them. Furthermore, in relationship with goals, there may be specific objectives and means to achieve them. Goals are usually long range and broader than objectives, which are short range and more easily met. For example, a goal could be to stop the deforestation of old-growth forests, whereas an objective could be to enlist the support of key figures in the community and government.

The selection of media used to send the propaganda message is another structural consideration. The analyst needs to look into the means of selecting

the media. Often, where propaganda is distributed, the organization owns and controls its own media. Whoever owns the media exercises control over the communication of messages. Because no one owns the Internet, this point may be moot; however, the Internet is ripe with propaganda and is therefore an important form of media. When identity of the source can found, so can the structure of the organization.

The analyst then determines the makeup of the membership of the propaganda organization. There is a difference between being a follower and being a member of an organization. Hitler (1939) wrote in *Mein Kampf,*

> The task of propaganda is to attract followers; the task of party organization is to win members. A follower of a movement is one who declares himself in agreement with its aims; a member is one who fights for it. (pp. 474–475)

The analyst might then ask, How is entry into membership gained? [Terrorist organizations, for example, have message boards on the Internet where the recruiter and the volunteer can meet. After a series of confidence tests, the volunteer is accepted into the organization (Ogun, 2012).] Is there evidence of conversion and apparent symbols of membership? Does new membership require the adoption of new symbols, such as special clothing or uniforms, language, in-group references, and/or activities that create new identities for the membership? Do rituals provide mechanisms for conversion or transformation to new identities? Are special strategies designed to increase (or decrease) membership? What rewards or punishments are used to enhance membership in the organization?

The organization can be examined to find out whether it has an apparent culture within itself. A *culture* is a system of informal rules that spell out how people are to behave most of the time. Hall (1997) used the word *culture* "to refer to whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation, or social group" (p. 2). E. O. Wilson (1998) said, "Culture is created by the communal mind . . . culture is reconstructed each generation collectively in the minds of individuals" (p. 127). Culture is equal to the set of social practices that incorporates and forms the shared values that arise among social groups on the basis of their historical conditions and relationships. Values are the bedrock of a culture; thus, the propaganda of an organization is based on a complex system of values in its ideology that will be instrumental in achieving and maintaining all elements of its structure. According to Hall, "Culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings between [and among] the members of a society or group" (p. 2). Beliefs will be talked and written about; slogans will be used; everyone in the organization will agree with and consistently use these meanings in many ways, for

they assist in organizing and regulating social practices. A culture also has heroes and heroines who personify the culture's values. *Rituals* are the systematic and programmed day-to-day routines in the organization, or they may be anniversary rituals that take place on a grand scale—for example, the parade of athletes at the Olympic Games' opening ceremonies or the parades of goose-stepping Nazis carrying banners with swastikas. Rituals provide visible and potent examples of what the ideology is.

The organization will also have a set of formal rules. The analyst should determine not only what the rules are but also how they are sanctioned. Is there a system of reward and punishment? How are the rules made known? Who oversees enforcement of the rules?

An organization network becomes apparent through message distribution. How is the network used to foster communication? How is information disseminated from the leader to the membership? How is information transmitted to the public? Is there evidence that the public is denied access to information that is made available only to the membership or the organization elite? Steganography, discussed in Chapter 1, is used to hide files on websites and e-mail. Data can be hidden in graphics, video, sound, text, e-mail, executable files, and empty sectors of disks (Warkentin, Schmidt, & Bekkering, 2008).

To obtain the data necessary to analyze the structure of a propaganda organization, the analyst should have access to sources that penetrate the organization. Previous investigators (Altheide & Johnson, 1980; Bogart, 1976; Conway & Siegelman, 1982) have either used assistants to feign conversion or been members of the organization at one time themselves. Often, verbal compulsions of the propagandists result in autobiographical treatment of their roles in the organization (Armstrong, 1979).

The structure of propaganda organizations also varies according to whether the communication is within the organization or directed to the public. The analyst may discern two different and separate structures—one for the hierarchy and the membership and one for the audience and potential members.

Spontaneous revolts, such as those spread through smartphones in oppressed countries, may not have a developed structure, but if the revolution lasts for a significant time, a structure will emerge.

The Target Audience

A target audience is selected by a propagandist for its potential effectiveness. The propaganda message is aimed at the audience most likely to be useful to the propagandist if it responds favorably. Modern marketing

research enhanced by new technologies enables an audience to be targeted easily. Many facets of an audience are easily determined. Mailing and Internet lists can be purchased and coordinated with audience responses to media appeals. For example, if a person buys a product or gives a contribution to a cause online, her or his name is put on a mailing list for future mail appeals from the same organization or from other organizations that buy the list. Grocery stores give customers "free" discount cards that identify them at the cash register when they buy certain products. When people buy books on the Web, they get recommendations for similar books and discount coupons. Pop-up advertisements on the Web are geared toward interests reflected in other viewed webpages. Terrorist organizations capture information about the users who browse their websites. Those users who seem more interested in the organization's ideology or who seem well suited for the organization's work are then contacted. Recruiters also roam online chat rooms and cybercafés, looking for receptive people, especially the young (Ogun, 2012).

The traditional propaganda audience is a mass audience, but that is not always the case with modern propaganda. To be sure, mass communication in some form will be used, but it may be used in conjunction with other audience forms such as small groups, interest groups, a group of the politically or culturally elite, a special segment of the population, opinion leaders, and individuals. Bogart (1995, pp. 55–56) pointed out that the former U.S. Information Agency (USIA) addressed itself to those in a position to influence others—that is, to opinion leaders—rather than to the masses directly. He quoted a USIA report that stated, "We should think of our audiences as channels rather than as receptacles" and "It is more important to reach one journalist than ten housewives or five doctors." Opinion leaders are a target for American propaganda abroad. In the Middle East, for example, the masses can be reached indirectly through the culturally elite 10% of the population. In America, opinion leaders are usually professionals who are respected by the public (e.g., doctors, outstanding athletes, celebrities).

A distribution system for media may generate its own audience. A television program, film, webpage, or e-mail may attract a supportive audience. Once that audience is identified, however, it, too, can be targeted for receipt of propaganda messages.

Some organizations prefer a "buckshot" approach to a mass audience. Kecskemeti (1973) claimed that a strong propagandist could work the message media in a homogeneous way with a consistent message. Some audience members accept the message more eagerly than others; some reject it.

There are many variations of audience selection, and none should be overlooked by the analyst. It is useful to examine the propagandist's

approach to audience selection, noting any correlation between selection practices and success rate.

Media Utilization Techniques

At first, it may not seem difficult to determine how propaganda uses the media. The analyst examines which media are being used by the propagandist. Modern propaganda uses all the media available—press, radio, television, film, the Internet, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, e-mail, smartphones, videos, cartoons, direct mail, posters, meetings, rallies, door-to-door canvassing, handbills, buttons, billboards, speeches, flags, street names, monuments, coins, stamps, books, plays, comic strips, poetry, music, rituals, museum displays, sporting events, cultural events, company reports, libraries, and awards and prizes. Kepel (2004) emphasized that with the U.S. occupation of Iraq, "the war for Muslim minds entered the global jungle of the Internet. Photos of Iraqi prisoners being tortured or humiliated circulated freely along with videos of hostages being mistreated by their terrorist captors" (p. 7). Graphic Internet videos, some of which are staged, of torture and murder are frequently used by both the Syrian government and by the insurgents. Some well-established awards function as propaganda—for example, the Rhodes Scholarship, the Fulbright Scholars Program, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Rhodes scholars from the United States are expected to represent their country and return to the States as eventual leaders. Likewise, American Fulbright scholars are often asked to give guest lectures about issues in their own country. The ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom emphasizes American patriotism and heroism.

Also, tone and sound may have a conditioning effect. In 1950, Dobrogaev, a Russian psychologist, began working with speech tones and sounds for conditioning. When the Soviets took power, they chose to broadcast ideology over loud speakers (Starr, 2004). In 1954, China also began using loud speakers that broadcast official "truths" in city squares and gathering places; this is still being done in China and South Korea on the North Korea border. A French fable reminds us, "Man is like a rabbit; you catch him by the ears." Musical anthems and patriotic songs are forms of conditioning, for people walk around whistling these melodies and even sing their children to sleep with them. Musical slogans can become detached from the original composition, as were the four opening notes of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony during World War II, which came to signify the *V* for victory, the sounds of the Morse code for *V,* dot-dot-dot-dash.

The various messages coming from the same source via the media need to be compared to determine any consistency of apparent purpose. All output

will be tied to ideology in one way or another. Describing the media usage alone is insufficient in drawing a picture of media utilization, for the analyst must examine the flow of communication from one medium to another and from media to groups and individuals. Evidence of multistep flow and diffusion of ideas should be sought. The relationship among the media themselves and the relationship between the media and the people should be explored.

The main focus should be on how the media are used. Interactivity on the Internet websites and chat rooms has become widespread. In a real-life setting, a propagandist might show a video and hand out leaflets afterward. This type of practice maximizes the potential of the media. When an audience perceives the media, what expectation is it likely to have? What is the audience asked to do to respond to the message in the media? Does it seem that the audience is asked to react without thinking? Are the media used in such a way as to conceal the true purpose, identity, or both of the propagandist?

Propaganda is associated with the control of information flow. Those who control public opinion and behavior make maximum and intelligent use of the forms of communication available to them. Certain information will be released in sequence or together with other information. This is a way of distorting information because it may set up a false association. Propaganda may appear in the medium that has a monopoly in a contained area. There may or may not be an opportunity for counterpropaganda within or on competing media. The media should have the capability to reach target audiences, or new technologies may have to be designed and constructed to do so.

The analyst should see what visual images are presented through pictures; symbols; graphics; colors; filmed, televised, and Internet representations; books; pamphlets; and newspapers. Also, verbal innovations need to be examined for information, slogans, and emotional arousal techniques. The analyst should go beyond interpretation of the message to a closer scrutiny of the ways the message is presented in the media. What is the overall impression left with the audience? Essentially, how are the visual and verbal messages consistent with the ideology? The book, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Hall, Evans, & Nixon, 2013), is an excellent resource for understanding the codes and systems of representation and interpreting their meanings.

Selection of the media may be related to economics, as well as to the most effective access to the audience. An audience located in a remote region without access to major media will have to be reached in appropriate ways. Because the Internet is free, it has become a popular choice of media. Sometimes, the ways that messages are distributed require acceptance of innovations on the part of the audience. It may be asked to try new technologies or to participate in novel activities.

For analysis of media utilization, every possibility should be examined. Bogart (1995) told of the faculty members in engineering and medicine at Cairo University who were so intensely sympathetic to communism that they would not come to the American library or read American material. They would, however, come to see a film about a new surgical procedure developed by an American physician or a film about an application of engineering to industry. The overt purpose of the film was to transmit valuable information, but the covert purpose was to get the faculty to observe superior information, compared with information from other sources in their professional specialties. They were not expecting propaganda, but they absorbed a good impression of American science. Eventually, they started coming to the American library.

The analyst needs to be aware of unusual and unsavory media utilization as well. In 1954, for example, China began to send opium to Thailand to promote addiction, dependency, passivity, and lethargy, thus rendering a group of people susceptible to takeover.

Special Techniques to Maximize Effect

We have deliberately chosen not to make a comprehensive list of propaganda techniques in the manner of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (see Chapter 5). Propaganda is too complex to limit its techniques to a short list. Certain principles, however, can be elaborated to assist the analyst in examining techniques. Aristotle, in discussing rhetoric, advised the persuader to use "all of the available means of persuasion." Goebbels, in discussing propaganda, advised the propagandist that every means that serves the purpose of the conquest of the masses is good. Qualter (1962), in discussing the techniques of propaganda, said that the common slogan of the four basic criteria of successful propaganda should be considered: It must be seen, understood, remembered, and acted on.

We believe that propaganda must be evaluated according to its ends. Ends may be desired attitude states, but they are more likely to be desired behavior states such as donating, joining, and killing. Audience members may also be aroused to enthusiasm manifested in behavior states such as cheering and yelling.

Predispositions of the Audience: Creating Resonance

Messages have greater impact when they are in line with existing opinions, beliefs, and dispositions. Jacques Ellul (1965) said, "The propagandist

builds his techniques on the basis of his knowledge of man, his tendencies, his desires, his needs, his psychic mechanisms, his conditioning" (p. 4). The propagandist uses belief to create belief by linking or reinforcing audience predispositions to reinforce propagandistic ideology or, in some cases, to create new attitudes or behaviors or both. Rather than try to change political loyalties, racial and religious attitudes, and other deeply held beliefs, the propagandist voices the propagandee's feelings about these things. Messages appear to be resonant, for they seem to be coming from within the audience rather than from without. Lawrence Weschler (1983), writing about martial law in Warsaw in 1982, quoted John Berger, the British art critic, who said, "Propaganda preserves within people outdated structures of feeling and thinking whilst forcing new experiences upon them. It transforms them into puppets—whilst most of the strain brought about by the transformation remains politically harmless as inevitably incoherent frustration" (p. 69). Some obvious techniques to look for when analyzing propaganda are links to values, beliefs, attitudes, and past behavior patterns of the target audience.

Messages that are supportive of, rather than discrepant from, commonly held views of the people are more likely to be effective. Yet, the propagandist uses canalization to direct preexisting behavior patterns and attitudes. Once a pattern has been established among a target audience, the propagandist can try to canalize it in one direction or another.

When change does take place, it does so because of a multitude of factors related to the source of the message, the impact of opinion leaders, group interaction, the context in which the message is sent and received, and media utilization.

Source Credibility

Source credibility is one contributing factor that seems to influence change. People have a tendency to look up to authority figures for knowledge and direction. Expert opinion is effective in establishing the legitimacy of change and is tied to information control. Once a source is accepted on one issue, another issue may be established as well on the basis of prior acceptance of the source.

The analyst looks for an audience's perceived image of the source. How does the audience regard the source? Are the people deferential, and do they accept the message on the basis of leadership alone? Is the propaganda agent a hero? Does the audience model its behavior after the propagandist's? How does the propagandist establish identification with the audience? Does she or he establish familiarity with the audience's locality, use

local incidents, and share interests, hopes, hatreds, and so on? During the Vietnam conflict, the Viet Cong would move into a hamlet and establish rapport with the local citizenry, taking their time to become integrated into the life of the hamlet. Soon, they would enlist help from the villagers; for example, some would prepare bandages, and boys would carry messages. Seeing that they were helping the Viet Cong, the villagers would experience cognitive dissonance and have to justify their own behavior by accepting the Viet Cong's view of the world. American soldiers and aid organizations in Afghanistan and Iraq help communities by building schools and restoring facilities.

Opinion Leaders

Another technique is to work through those who have credibility in a community—the opinion leaders. Bogart (1995, p. 102) told how the USIA warned its agents not to offend the opinion leaders in other cultures. They were ordered to avoid taboos, curb criticism of respected leaders, and observe national pride. He said that Americans should sit down when being photographed with Asians in order not to emphasize the Asians' shorter stature. Above all, the agents were warned not to patronize opinion leaders in other cultures. The analyst should identify the opinion leaders and examine the ways the propagandist appeals to their status and influence.

Face-to-Face Contact

The analyst should look for face-to-face contact as a separate activity or following an event, or the screening of a video. For example, does the propaganda institution provide local organizations or places to go for "information"? Is the environment of the place symbolically manipulated? Traditionally, propagandists have provided listening stations, "reading huts," "red corners," libraries, virtual publications, and cultural events. Bogart (1995) said the former USIA provided cultural events that were free of political content but that had secondary effects on the people. USIA libraries were used as "bait" to get people to go in and hear lectures or see films and videos. The USIA made special efforts to create a "pretty, inviting place" with flowers and comfortable furniture. The coauthor of this book, Victoria O'Donnell, lived in Europe during the Cold War and remembers the American centers and libraries as places to meet important American authors, read American books and magazines, drink good bourbon, and eat American food. At the time, these centers were a bit plusher and symbolized a "good life" more than native places did.

Group Norms

Group norms are beliefs, values, and behaviors derived from membership in groups. They may be culturally derived norms or social and professional norms. Research on group behavior has shown that people will go along with the group even when the group makes a decision contrary to privately held beliefs and values (Karlins & Abelson, 1970, pp. 41–67; Pratkanis & Aronson, 2001, pp. 167–173). The propagandist exploits people's conforming tendencies, and the analyst should look for examples of this. Conforming tendencies are also used to create a "herd instinct" in crowds. The propagandist may manipulate the environment to create crowded conditions to achieve a more homogeneous effect. It is common practice to hold large meetings in halls too small to accommodate the crowd to create the impression of a groundswell of support.

Reward and Punishment

Another way to get people to accept an idea "publicly" is through a system of rewards and punishments. A propagandist may even use threats and physical inducements toward compliance. *Propaganda of the deed* is when a nonsymbolic act is presented for its symbolic effect on an audience. For example, public torture of a criminal has been practiced for its presumable effect on others. When the Taliban was in power in Afghanistan, women accused of adultery were stoned to death before large crowds of people. Giving "foreign aid" with more of an eye to influencing a recipient's attitudes than to building the economy of a country is an example of symbolic reward.

Monopoly of the Communication Source

Whenever a communication source is a monopoly, such as a single newspaper or television network, and the message is consistent and repetitious, people are unlikely to challenge the message. Weschler (1983) said that in Poland prior to the victory of Solidarity, people heard the same thing over and over again. "After a while," he said, "it does get through, and they find themselves thinking, 'Those Solidarity extremists really were bastards.' But the strange thing is that this in no way affects their hatred of the government" (p. 69). As previously noted, the Internet has made monopoly of a communication source less likely except in countries like China and North Korea, where the Internet is controlled by the state.

Visual Symbols of Power

The analyst should look at the media messages to examine the visual symbolization of power. Do visual representations have an iconographic denotation of power and ubiquity? For example, when a speaker stands in front of a huge flag, an emotional association is transferred to the speaker. Sometimes, a speaker will stand in front of a huge poster of herself or himself. This symbolizes a larger-than-life feeling and creates a sense of potency. Hitler, represented as a Teutonic knight, and Mussolini, a state prince, were symbolized in pictures and posters as the new emperors of Europe. Soviet socialist realism art featured paintings of tireless laborers, courageous Red Army soldiers, diligent schoolchildren, and dedicated Communist Party activists, symbolizing Soviet political ideals. Stalin was depicted in paintings as a tall, handsome man, although he was short, bandy-legged, and had a pockmarked face and withered left arm (T. Clark, 1997, pp. 87–101).

Corporate lobbies often have marble floors; guards at the elevators; tall, live trees and plants; fountains; and a large, imposing reception desk. Executive offices are usually on the top floors where the luxurious custom-detailed doors are made of fine wood and taller than average; hallway walls are paneled; and from inside their offices, the executives have panoramic views that extend the office out into the city skyline. The desk puts 7 feet between the executive and a visitor, and walking toward the desk is akin to approaching a throne. In fact, the executive's chair is like a throne, sitting higher than the visitor's. Franklin Becker, in his book *The Successful Office: How to Create a Workspace That's Right for You* (1982), said that these and other forms of control and power in an office are meant to be intimidating. Expensive art on the walls and rare objects of art are additional visual symbols of power. Major monumental complexes, such as the Acropolis of Athens and the Forbidden City of Imperial China, created a sense of power by the planned approaches to them. The Acropolis stood at the highest point of Athens, with individual buildings forming a processional path to it. The Forbidden City in Peking created a cumulative effect as it symmetrically aligned many buildings, gateways, plazas, and terraces that led visitors to the center, creating awe and respect. Whether a complex of buildings, an office, a photograph, a video, or a logo, a visual symbol is a key to a propagandist's desired image.

Language Usage

Verbal symbolization can also create a sense of power. The use of language associated with authority figures such as parents, teachers, heroes, and gods

renders authority to that which the language describes—"the fatherland," "Mother Church," "Uncle Sam," "Dear Leader." The propaganda agent who can manipulate sacred and authority symbols but avoid detection can define a public view of the social order. Propaganda uses language that tends to deify a cause and satanize opponents. Symbolization affects receivers according to associations they make with the symbols. According to Noam Chomsky (1992), Western intervention against the Soviet Union during the Cold War was warranted by language: "Language that was used in the West was that 'the rot may spread' and the 'virus' may 'infect' others" (p. 141).

Language can generate fear with terms like Anthrax, terrorist threat, chemical weapons, and suicide bombers. "Jihad" literally means "effort in the cause of God," which can be of nonviolent means. The concept of jihad has taken on a more violent meaning as used by militant Muslims who use the term against Western governments (Karim, 2004, p. 109).

Positive terms may mask the actual intent of government bills and laws. During the second Bush administration, environmentalists decried the "Clean Air Act" that softened controls on air pollution and the "Healthy Forests Initiative" that increased timber cutting.

In wartime, the enemy is often symbolized as subhuman or animal-like to soften the killing process linguistically. Metaphors of hunting down animals or exterminating vermin were common in the rhetoric of both sides during World War II.

Exaggeration is often associated with propaganda. Goebbels said that outrageous charges evoked more belief than milder statements. A great deal of exaggeration is associated with the language of advertising. Everything is the "best there is," and "satisfaction is guaranteed." During the Cold War, the Soviets called Americans "imperialists" but referred to the Soviet Union as the "camp of peace and democracy."

Innuendo is also associated with propaganda, implying an accusation without risking refutation by saying it causes people to draw conclusions. If one says, "The captain was sober today," an audience might draw the conclusion that she or he is usually drunk.

Music as Propaganda

From stirring patriotic anthems to protest songs, music and lyrics are important propaganda techniques. Whether the exhilarating melodies and words of "La Marseillaise" or a commercial jingle advertising Tums, music is effective because it combines sound and language and is repeated until it becomes familiar. "Yankee Doodle Dandy," sung in the American

Revolutionary War, was an American adaptation of an English satire against themselves. Arlo Guthrie's "Alice's Restaurant," written in 1968, was both a protest against "an officious and petty village police department, as well the Viet Nam War draft" (Perris, 1985, p. 5). The national anthems played for the gold medal winners at the Olympic Games signify nationalist pride. The "Star Spangled Banner" is sung at the opening of baseball and football games. Music is an effective propaganda technique because it touches the emotions easily, suggests associations and past experiences, invites us to sing along, and embraces ideology in the lyrics.

Arousal of Emotions

Propaganda is also associated with emotional language and presentations. Although this is sometimes true, many agents believe that dispassionate reporting is more effective. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for years has been known for its objective and accurate reporting. Outrage was expressed when the British government invoked for the first time a little-known clause in the BBC licensing agreement that gives the government the right to take over the BBC transmitters in times of crisis. In 1982 during the Falklands invasion, a BBC-originated program came on the air in the guise of an Argentine radio program. On the program was "Ascension Alice," a sultry-voiced announcer who attempted to demoralize Argentine troops on the Falkland Islands. Alice reported that Argentine President General Leopoldo Galtieri said in a television interview that he was prepared to lose 40,000 men to defend the Falklands. She also played sentimental Latin ballads and a rock song by Queen called "Under Pressure." The Associated Press (AP) said that the BBC also broadcast "clearly fake requests from Argentine mothers for their boys at the front" ("British Enlist 'Alice,'" 1982, p. 10A). Without explaining how it received the requests, the BBC played messages such as a request from Ernesto's mother, who said, "Look after yourself son and please come home safely soon." Conservative M.P. Peter Mills said, "We have to win the propaganda war. It's just as important as firing bullets and so far not enough ammunition has been made available" ("British Enlist 'Alice,'" 1982, p. 10A).

Bogart (1995) said that emotional propaganda may be appropriate for semiliterate people, but as previously noted, the USIA tried not to offend opinion leaders. He thought reporting should not be heavy-handed. Instead of saying, "The Soviet premier was lying again today when he said ' . . . ,'" Voice of America would report, "Comment on this subject points out. . . ."

Audience Reaction to Various Techniques

The analyst looks for evidence of the target audience's response to propaganda. If a propaganda campaign is open and public, journalists will offer critical reaction to it. This should not be mistaken for the target audience's attitudes in opinion polls and surveys reported in the media.

The most important thing to look for is the behavior of the target audience. This can be in the form of letters to the editor, joining organizations, making contributions, purchasing the propagandist's merchandise, forming local groups that are suborganizations for the main institution, acting in crowds, rallies, or blogs on the Internet. The analyst also looks for the audience's adoption of the propagandist's language, slogans, and attire. Does the target audience take on a new symbolic identity? If so, how does it talk about the identity? Over time, does the propaganda purpose become realized and part of the social scene?

Counterpropaganda

Counterpropaganda is likely in a free society where media are competitive. Where the media are completely controlled, counterpropaganda can be found underground. Underground counterpropaganda may take as many media forms as the propaganda itself. Some forms of underground counterpropaganda, such as handbills and graffiti, are obvious, but other important forms of counterpropaganda are theater, literature, video, film, and websites. Twitter has been widely used in Egypt, Syria, and other repressed countries. Alternative ideology is sometimes presented in the form of entertainment. A. P. Foulkes (1983) presented many examples of both counterpropaganda and propaganda in various literary forms. Examples of counterpropaganda to McCarthyism in the 1950s included plays, especially Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. Films such as *High Noon* were also thought to be counterpropaganda to McCarthyism.

Satellite transmission of video counterpropaganda was widely used in Czechoslovakia and Poland to resist the communist governments. Home video cameras and rented satellite dishes enabled the resistance movement to broadcast its messages widely.

Counterpropaganda may become as active as propaganda itself. The analyst should attempt to determine whether it is clear to the public that counterpropaganda exists to oppose propaganda. Very often, both propaganda and counterpropaganda exist apart from mainstream ideology and the beliefs and behaviors of the general public.

If a counterpropaganda campaign is well organized and carried out, the analyst can apply some or all of the 10 divisions of propaganda analysis to it as well.

Effects and Evaluation

The most important effect is whether the purpose of the propaganda has been fulfilled. If not the overall purpose, then perhaps some specific goals and/or objectives have been achieved. If the propaganda has failed to achieve goals, the propaganda analyst should try to account for the failure in her or his analysis.

Questions related to growth in membership should be examined as effects. The analyst must be careful about sources in making a determination of membership. Propaganda agents traditionally inflate numbers regarding membership, contributions, and other goals.

Sometimes, effects can be detected as adjustments in mainstream society. The analyst looks for the adoption of the propagandist's language and behaviors in other contexts. Legislation may be enacted to fulfill a propagandist's goal, but it may be sponsored by a more legitimate source.

Evaluation is directed to the achievement of goals but also to the means through which the goals were adopted. How did the selection of media and various message techniques seem to affect the outcome? Would a different set of choices have altered the outcome? How did the propagandist manipulate the context and the environment? Would the outcome have been inevitable had there been no propaganda? If the public-at-large changed directions, what seems to account for the swing?

It is not always possible to gauge effects. Because Pentagon propaganda programs have been inadequately tracked, it is unclear what the impact has been, according to a 2013 report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office. The Military Information Support Operations has propaganda operations though websites, leaflets, and broadcasts intended to change foreigners' "attitudes and behaviors in support of the U.S. Government." As a result, "the military has revised its tracking requirements for propaganda programs," which extends from Southeast Asia to South America (Brook, 2013).

If the analyst can answer the many questions contained within these 10 categories, a thorough picture and understanding of propaganda will emerge. It is not always possible, however, to find all the information one needs to make a complete analysis. Years later, a memoir or set of papers will appear to fill in missing links and sometimes alter conclusions.