

RUNNING HEAD: Risk Perception and Vaccination

**A Meta-Analysis of the Relationship between Risk Perception and Health Behavior:
The example of vaccination**

Noel T. Brewer
University of North Carolina

Gretchen B. Chapman
Rutgers University

Frederick X. Gibbons, Meg Gerard
Iowa State University

Kevin D. McCaul
North Dakota State University

Neil D. Weinstein
Rutgers University

Address correspondence to: Noel Brewer
UNC School of Public Health, 306 Rosenau Hall, CB#7440, Chapel Hill, NC 27599
Phone: 919-966-3282. Email: ntb@unc.edu

April 4, 2005

Please do not cite without permission. Comments welcomed.

Abstract

Background: Risk perceptions are central to many health behavior theories. However, the relationship between risk perceptions and behavior, muddled by instances of inappropriate assessment and analysis, often looks weak.

Method: A meta-analysis of eligible studies assessing the bivariate association between adult vaccination and perceived likelihood, susceptibility or severity was conducted.

Results: 34 studies met inclusion criteria ($N=15,988$). Risk likelihood (pooled $r=.26$), susceptibility (pooled $r=.24$) and severity (pooled $r=.16$) significantly predicted vaccination behavior. The risk perception-behavior relationship was larger for studies that were prospective, had higher-quality risk measures, or had unskewed risk or behavior measures.

Conclusions: The consistent relationships between risk perceptions and behavior, larger than suggested by prior meta-analyses, suggest that risk perceptions are rightly placed as core concepts in theories of health behavior.

Key Words: perceived likelihood, perceived severity, perceived susceptibility, vaccination, meta-analysis, influenza

A Meta-Analysis of the Relationship between Risk Perception and Health Behavior:

The example of vaccination

Risk perceptions (i.e., beliefs about potential harm) are components of most theories of health behavior, but the strength of the relationships between these perceptions and behavior is unclear. Obtaining a better understanding of the size of these relationships can inform health behavior theory and guide intervention development. This article describes a meta-analysis of the associations between risk perceptions and behavior for one particular health-protective action: vaccination against infectious disease. Because we are aware of no experimental studies that have examined how manipulating perceived risk affects vaccination, all the data used in the meta-analysis are correlational (i.e., cross-sectional and longitudinal).

Reasons for Uncertainty of the Risk Perception-Behavior Relationship

The role of risk perceptions in shaping health behaviors is a fundamental, undecided issue in health psychology. Neither theories of health behavior nor empirical studies appear to agree about the importance of these perceptions. Risk perception is central to most *health-specific* behavioral theories (for reviews, see Sutton, 1987; Weinstein, 1993) including the health belief model (Rosenstock, 1974), protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), and the extended parallel process model (Witte, 1992). Similarly, the self regulation model (Leventhal, Meyer, & Nerenz, 1980) includes several constructs important to risk perception (Cameron, 2003). Many *general* behavioral theories that are frequently applied to health behaviors (e.g., the theory of reasoned action, Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; the theory of planned behavior, Ajzen, 1985; subjective

expected utility theory, Ronis, 1992) also posit that the likelihood and magnitude of potential outcomes shape behavior, but they only include the anticipated likelihood and magnitude of potential *harms* (i.e., risk perceptions) if participants in pilot studies mention them.

Although the majority of empirical studies find positive associations between risk perceptions and behaviors, as many theories suggest, individual studies report all types of relationships: positive, negative, and none. In meta-analyses, the effect sizes found for risk perceptions tend to be significant but small. For example, in a review of 17 studies based on the health belief model, Harrison, Mullen, and Green, (1992) report an effect size r of .15 (95% CI: .10-.20), $p < .01$ for perceived likelihood and .08 (95% CI: .01-.19), $p < .01$ for perceived illness severity, where the figures in parentheses indicate the range of effect sizes across five categories of health behaviors and several different research designs. Floyd, Prentice-Dunn, and Rogers (2000), reviewing studies related to protection motivation theory, report an effect size r of .20 for 25 studies measuring perceived likelihood and .19 for 21 studies measuring perceived severity, both significant at $p < .001$. However nearly half of the studies in this meta-analysis used intentions as the outcome variable, not behavior. In another meta-analysis guided by protection motivation theory (Milne, Sheeran, & Orbell, 2000), the effect size r for 8 studies using cross-sectional/retrospective designs was .13, *ns*, for perceived likelihood and .10, *ns*, for perceived severity. For 5 studies using prospective designs, these authors reported an effect size r of .12, $p < .01$ for perceived likelihood and stated that the effect for perceived severity was not significant. McCaul et al. (1996) conducted a meta-analysis of mammography screening and reported an effect size r of .16, $p < .001$, for the 19 studies examining the perceived likelihood-behavior relationship. Janz and Becker (1984) report that 30 out of 37 studies based on the health belief

model found significant effects for perceived likelihood. They also reported significant effects for perceived severity for 24 out of 30 studies. Looking at such data, some researchers (e.g., Leventhal, Kelly, & Leventhal, 1999) have argued that risk perceptions may have little impact on health behavior.

Risk Perception Dimensions

Before discussing the methodological issues that may have produced these relatively small effect sizes, we need to distinguish among three types of risk perceptions as shown in Table 1. Health hazards have many dimensions, but in describing the threat presented by a hazard, nearly all theories focus on only two: the likelihood of harm if no action is taken and the severity of harm if no action is taken. The term “likelihood,” is used interchangeably in this literature with “probability,” “susceptibility” and “vulnerability”. However, in this meta-analysis, we make a distinction between two logically distinct, though overlapping, concepts: likelihood of harm and susceptibility to illness. We define the first concept, “likelihood,” as one’s probability of being harmed by a hazard under certain behavior conditions. It is represented by the question, “What is the likelihood that you will get the flu this year if you don’t get a flu shot?” The term, “susceptibility,” is often used interchangeably with likelihood, but we use it here to denote risk questions that appear to address different issues. These questions emphasize individual resistance or constitutional vulnerability, as in the questions “, “Do you get the flu easily?” and “Are you more likely to get the flu than other people?” Susceptibility to a disease should influence the likelihood of developing that disease, but being susceptible to an illness does not necessarily mean that the absolute probability of that illness is large. These two concepts are distinct from a third issue, “severity” or “seriousness.” We define

this third concept as the extent of harm a hazard would cause. It is represented by the question, “How serious a disease is the flu?” Thus, our meta-analysis will address three perceived risk dimensions: the likelihood of harm if no action is taken, susceptibility to harm if no action is taken, and the severity of harm if no action is taken.

An additional risk perception, the perceived risk if one *does* take some health-protective action, is also clearly relevant to health behavior. However, it reflects a combination of beliefs about both the likelihood of the risk if there is no action and the effectiveness of the precaution (Weinstein, 1993). Because beliefs about the risk given preventive action are seldom reported, we did not include this concept in our meta-analysis.

Conditioned Risk Questions.

The empirical literature linking risk perceptions with behavior is compromised by methodological problems, some so severe that many studies need to be eliminated from meta-analyses (Brewer, Weinstein, Cuite, & Herrington., 2004; Weinstein & Nicolich, 1993; Weinstein, Rothman, & Nicolich, 1998). A major problem in testing whether risk perception motivates action is the failure to condition the risk question on not taking action. For example, if one is interested in testing the idea that a high perceived likelihood of getting influenza motivates influenza vaccination, one needs to know a person’s perception of what the probability would be *if he or she does not get vaccinated*. In a prospective study, when people are simply asked about their (unconditioned) probability of getting the flu, some may say that their risk is low because they never seem to get the flu. Yet, others may say that their risk is low because they plan to get vaccinated, so their answer anticipates the effect of the vaccination on their risk. The risk perceptions described by the second group are the expected consequence of vaccination, not

what they think their risk would be if they did not get vaccinated. Consequently, survey responses sometimes underestimate what people who plan to act think their risk would be without action. As a result, the observed perceived risk-behavior association will underestimate the true association between perceived risk without behavior and the behavior itself. The latter is the quantity we should be examining.

A second serious methodological problem is the use of unconditional risk questions in cross-sectional studies. Such studies compare the perceptions of people who have been vaccinated with the perceptions of people who have not. But the risk perceptions of the former group—in response to an unconditioned question such as, “What is your likelihood of getting the flu?”—will reflect their awareness of having received a vaccination (Brewer et al., 2004). If the vaccine is seen to be highly effective, the same theories that predict a positive association between risk likelihood and *subsequent* action would predict a negative association in cross-sectional data (i.e., that people who have received the vaccine think their likelihood is lower than those who have not received the vaccine). This negative association would not mean that low risk likelihood motivates vaccination! Unconditioned risk questions in cross-sectional analyses should underestimate the relationship between risk perceptions and behavior. (Because nearly all the studies that were excluded from this meta-analysis for using unconditioned risk questions also had other problems, we were unable to test this supposition.)

Whether or not risk questions need to be conditioned on not taking a precaution depends on whether it is expected to change one’s risk. Vaccination mainly changes likelihood. In contrast, mammography can change severity (by diagnosing breast cancer at an earlier stage) but it does not reduce the likelihood of disease. Consequently, perceived likelihood of the infectious

disease (but not perceived severity) needs to be conditioned on not being vaccinated. Perceived severity of breast cancer (but not perceived likelihood) needs to be conditioned on not receiving a mammogram. Perceived susceptibility, as we are using the term, refers to beliefs about a general constitutional resistance that is independent of particular preventive actions, rather than a temporary state, so it does not need to be conditioned on no vaccination. (No study using assessing perceived susceptibility located in our search of the literature did condition this variable on any action.)

The meta-analyses carried out by Harrison et al. (1992) and Floyd et al. (2000) and the cross-sectional studies examined by Milne, Sheeran, and Orbell (2000) included studies that should have used conditional questions to measure risk likelihood. The authors do not reveal which studies included in these reviews did or did not use conditional risk likelihood questions. Consequently, it is likely that they underestimate the risk likelihood-behavior relationship.

Other risk question problems. Risk questions often have other weaknesses. One problem is that the risk question's referent is ambiguous or that it refers to people in general ("How serious is the flu?") rather than to the respondent ("How serious would it be if you got the flu?"). Social-cognitive theories of individual health behavior are constructed in terms of a person's beliefs about himself or herself, not a broader population category. Responses to a question referring specifically to the respondent are more likely to be associated with the respondent's own behavior. Time frame is often missing from risk likelihood questions ("What is the chance that you will get the flu?" rather than, "What is the chance that you will get the flu this year?"). This can result in added noise in responses if different respondents think about different time frames. Susceptibility questions sometimes refer to illness in general ("I get sick more often than

other people”) rather than to the specific illness under consideration (“I don’t seem to have much resistance to the flu”). More specific questions are more likely to be associated with the specific vaccination behavior under study.

In selecting studies for this meta-analysis, we excluded findings about risk likelihood if a cross-sectional study did not use a likelihood question conditioned on not being vaccinated because the finding is uninterpretable. (However, if the likelihood question referred to people in general—“A lot of people get the flu each year”—we did not require it to be conditioned because doing so would be unlikely to change response.) The other methodological issues mentioned earlier were incorporated into a study quality score rather than serving as exclusion criteria. Even with this restriction, risk perception measures in the literature take many forms, some of which more faithfully represent the concepts than others. Examples of the range of questions encountered in this review and included in this meta-analysis are shown in Table 1.

Risk Perceptions and Different Health Behaviors

The importance of risk perceptions to health behavior undoubtedly varies across behaviors. Risk perceptions are probably more important for behaviors, such as sunscreen use, that are intended to reduce a specific health threat and are probably less important for behaviors, such as exercise and diet, that have a wide range of health and nonhealth consequences. Risk perceptions are probably more important when people make individual decisions about a behavior with relatively diffuse external influences, as in sunscreen use, than when strong external influences are present, as with physician recommendations for cancer screening tests. When it is easy to carry out the health behavior, there is likely to be a stronger association between perceptions and behavior than when it is difficult to carry out the behavior.

We selected adult vaccination against infectious disease as the focal health behavior for the current meta-analysis. It is a discrete behavior used to decrease the risk of a specific health threat. Strengthening the possible effect of risk perceptions on this behavior, vaccination behavior is relatively easy to carry out. Weakening the risk perception-vaccination relationship, vaccination behavior sometimes reflects physician practice (the physician both recommends the vaccine and delivers it during a single patient visit) rather than the independent initiative of the recipient.

This meta-analysis was designed to test the hypotheses that higher perceived illness likelihood, perceived illness susceptibility, and perceived illness severity are associated with greater vaccination behavior and to determine the strength of any associations that were found. In addition, we looked at several factors that might modify the strength of the associations, including both substantive issues (type of illness; population vaccinated) and methodological issues (study quality; ceiling or floor effects on variables). The results of this meta-analysis will help us to better understand the role that risk perception should play in our theories of health behavior.

Method

Study Selection

To identify articles to include in the meta-analysis, we employed a two-stage screening process. In the first stage, we identified papers examining the risk perception and vaccination behavior of adults. We excluded childhood vaccination from the current analysis because it represents a surrogate decision (parent judging risks and deciding about vaccination on behalf of the child). We searched PsycInfo and Medline for papers published between the beginning of

the databases and August 2004 whose title, abstract or key words included reference to both vaccination (i.e., vaccin\$ OR immuniz\$ OR inoculat\$ OR shot) and perceived risk (perceived risk OR risk perception\$ OR perception of \$risk OR perceived likelihood OR perceived susceptibility OR perceived severity OR attitude). We also searched the reference sections of the papers we obtained and circulated requests for unpublished studies among colleagues and on relevant email listserves.

In the second stage, we determined whether the studies satisfied our inclusion criteria. Studies included needed to assess one of three measures of perceived risk: perceived illness likelihood, perceived illness susceptibility, and perceived illness severity. Studies were excluded if they employed only risk measures that conflated multiple risk constructs (e.g., likelihood and severity). Cross-sectional studies that examined perceived likelihood were required to condition the belief on not having been vaccinated (e.g., How likely is it that you will get the flu given that you have not yet been vaccinated?). Measures of susceptibility were acceptable only if they clearly assessed an individual's resistance to disease (e.g., "I get sick more easily than other people my age."). Simply mentioning the word "susceptibility" was not sufficient for a risk item to represent this construct. The criteria that applied to perceived severity were somewhat more relaxed and, in practice, many measures were included that might also be considered knowledge (e.g., "Influenza can cause death.").

We required that the vaccination measure assess an actual behavior (not just a behavioral intention); vaccination measured by self-report was acceptable. Articles in any language were accepted. Studies that only reported multivariate relationships were excluded because such statistics may understate the true relation of perceived risk to vaccination behavior. Studies were

excluded from the meta-analysis if they did not report adequate statistical information to allow calculation of a bivariate effect size. When possible, study authors were contacted to obtain needed statistical information.

Of the 48 articles we excluded, the vast majority merely reviewed others' data or did not report a quantitative assessment of the risk perception-vaccination relationship ($n = 36$). The others reported the relationship of risk perception to vaccination in a way that precluded calculating a standardized effect size ($n = 2$), multivariate but not bivariate risk perception-vaccination relationships ($n = 2$), unacceptable risk perception measures ($n = 4$), or risk measures whose appropriateness could not be assessed ($n = 1$).

Study Coding

Each risk measure was assigned a quality score. All risk measures received one point for each of the following: The perceived risk question(s) concerned the individual's own risk, the topic of the perceived risk question(s) matched the outcome, the perceived risk measure was a composite of more than one perceived risk question (and, thus, was more likely to be a reliable measure), and categories of the response scale were not combined for analysis (a strategy that would reduce variability in the predictor variable). Likelihood measures received yet an additional point if the underlying question(s) was conditioned on not having been vaccinated (for prospective studies) or if the perceived risk question(s) specified the time frame for the illness. Based on a median split of the quality scores, risk measures were categorized as low or high quality.

For each study, we also coded sample size, whether the study was cross-sectional or prospective, the illness participants should be vaccinated against (i.e., influenza or other illness),

skew of responses (i.e., whether more than 80% of respondents used a single perceived risk response category), vaccination rate (high or low, based on a median split), and population (i.e., whether respondents were healthy adults, medical personnel such as doctors or nurses, or sick or high risk persons). Coding of studies was performed by one of three judges using a standardized coding protocol and checked for accuracy by a second. Instances that were not covered by the protocol were discussed by the three judges to establish a standard policy that was then incorporated into the coding protocol. Calculation of effect sizes was performed by two judges independently. In the few cases where judges' assessments differed, they conferred with one another to resolve the discrepancy.

Data Analyses

For each study, up to three effect sizes (r s) were calculated, one for each of the perceived risk measures reported. The effect sizes were converted to Fisher's z s (to allow us to combine the effect sizes properly). For each risk dimension, the z s were pooled across studies to create a single, summary z which was converted back into r (Rosenthal, 1994; Wolf, 1986). The single summary r for each of the three risk measures was tested for its difference from zero by t test. Variability among effect sizes might reflect important differences among subgroups. To investigate this possibility, the effect sizes were examined for heterogeneity by calculating the Q statistic. If Q was significant, we then examined six potential moderators of the risk perception-behavior relationship: design, quality score, illness, population, recruitment rate and vaccination rate.

Results

Thirty four studies fulfilled our inclusion criteria. The included studies and their characteristics are summarized in the Appendix. The total number of subjects in the studies was 15,988 with a median of 374 per study and a range of 72 to 1530. The studies were conducted between 1979 and 2004 (median = 1997). There were 28 cross-sectional studies and 6 prospective studies. Twenty five studies concerned influenza vaccination and the remaining concerned vaccination against hepatitis, pneumonia, or Lyme disease. Recruitment rates ranged from 25% to 99% (median = 63%) and vaccination rates ranged from 6% to 86% (median = 51%). Populations studied included healthy adults (9 studies), medical personnel (7 studies) and sick or high risk populations such as the elderly (18 studies).

Perceived Likelihood

The relationship of perceived likelihood to vaccination was examined in 12 studies with 6,958 participants (see Figure 1). The pooled effect was moderate in size ($r = .26$, range $-.12$ to $.45$) and significantly different from zero, $t(6957) = 22.29, p < .001$. Those perceiving a higher likelihood of getting the illness were more likely to be vaccinated. The pooled effect showed heterogeneity of variance ($Q = 155.29, p < .001$) suggesting the presence of one or more moderators.

Additional analyses showed significance for all six moderators we examined. Prospective studies yielded a pooled effect size ($r = .29$) larger than that for cross-sectional studies ($r = .24$), $t(6956) = 3.56, p < .001$. Higher quality risk measures yielded a pooled effect size larger ($r = .28$) than did lower quality risk measures ($r = .23$), $t(6956) = 3.14, p < .01$. Studies of influenza vaccination yielded a larger pooled effect size than studies of other illnesses

($r = .27$ vs. $.22$), $t(6956) = 3.36, p < .001$. Studies with extreme vaccination rates yielded a smaller pooled effect size than did those with vaccination rates closer to 50% ($r = .22$ vs $.28$), $t(6591) = 3.67, p < .001$. The pooled effect size was small for medical personnel ($r = .07$), moderate in size for healthy adults ($r = .23$) and large for sick and high risk populations ($r = .42$), and all differed from one another, $ts > 7.72, ps < .001$. The effect sizes for all subgroups created by the moderators were significantly different from zero, $ps < .001$. Extremity of response distribution was not examined as a moderator because no likelihood studies had extreme response distributions.

Perceived Susceptibility

The relationship of perceived susceptibility to vaccination was examined in 5 studies with 2,543 participants (see Figure 2). The pooled effect size was moderate in size ($r = .24$, range $.15$ to $.36$) and significantly different from zero, $t(2542) = 12.53, p < .001$. Those who perceived themselves to be more susceptible to an illness were more likely to be vaccinated against it. The pooled effect showed heterogeneity of variance ($Q = 16.99, p < .01$) suggesting the presence of moderators. Because of the small number of studies that assessed susceptibility, however, it was not possible to examine moderators.

Perceived Severity

The relationship of perceived severity to vaccination was examined in 32 studies with 13,945 participants (see Figure 3). The pooled effect size was small to moderate in size ($r = .16$, range $-.18$ to $.39$) and significantly different from zero, $t(13944) = 19.43, p < .001$. Those who perceived the severity of illness to be higher were more likely to be vaccinated. The pooled

effect showed heterogeneity of variance ($Q = 297.52, p < .001$) suggesting the presence of moderators.

The effects of all six moderators proved to be statistically significant.. Prospective studies yielded a pooled effect size ($r = .23$) larger than was yielded by cross-sectional studies ($r = .15$), $t(13943) = 7.60, p < .001$. Higher quality risk measures yielded a pooled effect size larger ($r = .20$) than for lower quality risk measures ($r = .11$), $t(13943) = 7.39, p < .001$. Studies of influenza vaccination yielded a larger pooled effect size than studies of other illnesses ($r = .18$ vs. $.07$), $t(13943) = 9.83, p < .001$. Studies with extreme vaccination rates yielded a smaller pooled effect size than those with vaccination rates closer to 50% ($r = .12$ vs $.18$), $t(13578) = 4.28, p < .001$. Studies with skewed risk response distributions yielded a smaller pooled effect size than those with more moderate distributions ($r = .12$ vs $.19$), $t(13213) = 5.86, p < .001$. Pooled effect sizes were smaller for medical personnel ($r = .14$) and healthy adults ($r = .11$) than for sick and high risk populations ($r = .20$), $ts > 4.18, ps < .001$. Effect sizes for all subgroups were significantly different from zero, $p < .001$.

Relationships among Moderator Variables

In the studies that assessed likelihood, no moderator variables were correlated with one another. Among the studies that assessed severity, however, several moderator variables were related to one another. First, quality of severity measures was related to study design: All 6 of the prospective studies that assessed severity used high quality risk measures, compared to only 12 of the 26 cross-sectional studies ($\phi = .42, p = .02$). Second, population was also related to study design ($\chi^2(2, N=32) = 7.07, p = .02$). Of the 8 studies of healthy adults, 50% used prospective design, compared to only 14% of the 7 studies of clinicians and 6% of the 17 studies

of high risk adults. Finally, population was related to extremity of risk responses ($\chi^2(2, N = 32) = 7.22, p = .03$). Of the 7 studies of clinicians, 5 showed extreme risk responses, compared to only 1 of 8 studies of healthy adults, 3 of 14 studies of high risk adults. (Three additional studies of high risk adults could not be coded for extremity of risk response because they did not report the relevant data.) Because several moderators were themselves related, one cannot interpret their effects on the perceived severity-vaccination relationship as if the influence of other influential moderators has been controlled for.

Discussion

Risk perceptions are central to many of the theories used to explain health behaviors but are less important to or ignored altogether by others. The empirical literature, muddied by frequent inappropriate assessment and analysis, looks inconsistent. However, we found a high degree of consistency and a strength of association between risk perceptions and behavior that is larger than had been suggested by prior meta-analyses. The present meta-analysis revealed that all three risk perception measures were related to vaccination behavior. The magnitudes of the associations with behavior were similar for perceived risk likelihood ($r=.26$) and susceptibility ($r=.24$) but somewhat smaller for severity ($r=.16$). The smaller effect size for perceived risk severity may reflect the larger variation of types of question used to assess this construct, although lower predictive validity for perceived severity has been reported previously in the literature (e.g., Harrison, Mullen & Green, 1992).

A number of factors moderated the relationship of perceived risk likelihood and severity to vaccination behavior. Of note, the few prospective studies located yielded larger effect sizes than did cross-sectional studies. This moderation effect was especially large for risk severity

measures, with the prospective studies yielding a pooled effect half again as large as that from the cross-sectional studies. To some extent, this may have been due to the fact that prospective studies tended to use higher quality severity measures. The moderating effect of prospective vs. cross-sectional design is still present, however, for risk likelihood relationships, where design type is not confounded with risk measure quality.

Prospective studies are the preferred design because they assess risk perception before the respondent engages (or does not engage) in the health behavior. Consequently, prospective designs increase the plausibility that the risk perception motivates the behavior, rather than the reported risk perception being constructed to justify a behavior that has already taken place. The post-hoc justification that can occur in cross-sectional studies (e.g., “I must be the sort of person who is at high risk because I just got vaccinated.”) might artificially inflate the size of the risk perception-health behavior relationship, but the fact that effect sizes were no greater in cross-sectional than prospective studies (and indeed were smaller) suggests that this is not the case. It should be recognized, however, that if a behavior is repeated, as in annual influenza vaccination, perceptions may change over time to become consistent with past action, so the direction of causation can be unclear even in a prospective design. For this reason, first-time vaccination against an illness (as represented by the studies of hepatitis, pneumonia, and Lyme disease vaccination) may be the best indicator of the strength of causation (Weinstein, 2004), and these effects were smaller than those with influenza.

Another moderator revealed by the current analysis is quality of the risk measure. Likelihood and severity measures that scored lower on our quality scale showed weaker associations with vaccination behavior. Poor quality measures may fail to capture the intended

construct. If the measure assesses something other than the intended likelihood or severity or is statistically unreliable, it is not surprising for it to be unrelated to vaccination.

Studies of influenza vaccination yielded larger effect sizes than did studies of other types of vaccination. This may be because the non-flu category consisted of a mix of vaccine types (hepatitis, pneumonia, and Lyme disease) that resulted in additional noise across studies in risk and behavior measures, resulting in smaller effect sizes. It may also be due to the relative familiarity, accessibility, low cost and habitual uptake of flu shots relative to these other types of shots. Another possibility is that the hepatitis and Lyme disease vaccines require a series of three vaccinations and this additional hurdle may attenuate the risk perception-vaccination relationship.

Studies of medical personnel yielded a smaller effect size than studies of sick/high-risk adults. The effect size for sick for healthy adults was in between these two groups for risk likelihood and equivalent to medical personnel for risk severity. Why would effect sizes be smaller for medical personnel? This result may indicate that perceived risk to self is less of a motivator for health care providers than it is for patients. Providers may be primarily motivated by concerns specific to their job role, such as a desire not to spread infection to patients. Alternatively, the smaller effects size may be related to some clinicians having been required by their employers to be vaccinated (e.g., against the flu and hepatitis B) or to receiving these services at their worksite. These two factors could undermine the influence of perceived risk by eliminating the volitional aspect of the behavior for some or by making vaccination so simple for others that the remaining unvaccinated persons reflect an unusual subset.

The distributions of both the risk measure and the behavior measure were both associated with effect size, an indication that perceived risk may have greater importance than suggested by the effect sizes we report. When an extreme percentage of respondents used a single risk response category or when an extreme percentage of respondents was in a single behavior category (vaccinated or not), effect sizes were smaller. If an outcome is dichotomous and rare, an effect can appear to be quite small when reported as a correlation coefficient (or effect size r) even though it is a clinically important effect that would be large when reported as an odds ratio (Rutledge & Loh, 2004). The implication is that the meta-analysis may slightly understate the meaningfulness of the relation of perceived risk to vaccination.

Only five studies on susceptibility were included in the present analysis. As a consequence, although we could detect that susceptibility is reliably associated with vaccination behavior, we could not explore moderators of this relationship. Susceptibility appears to be an under-studied aspect of risk perception. Research is needed to determine whether this construct improves the prediction of health behaviors beyond that provided by perceptions of risk likelihood.

In summary, the occasional study showing no relationship between perceived risk and vaccination, or a small negative relationship, can be viewed as part of a larger distribution of effect sizes around a positive and significant mean effect size. We find strong evidence that perceived likelihood, susceptibility, and severity are reliably associated with vaccination and that the relationships are at least small to moderate in size. When one considers the methodological weaknesses that suppress the size of this relationship, the effect may be more accurately characterized as moderate, with major applied implications. Many of these findings rely on data

from cross-sectional studies, but larger effects are found in longitudinal studies giving us confidence in our conclusion. However, experiments that manipulate risk perception are needed to provide a more definitive confirmation of the causal relationship between risk perception and preventive action.

To illustrate the applied importance of an effect size that corresponds to a small portion of the total variance in behavior, we converted a correlation of .28 (corresponding to the value found for high-quality studies of risk likelihood) to a contingency table. We assumed a vaccination rate of 50% and an equal distribution between high and low perceived risk, both parameters close to the median found in our meta-analysis. In this situation, the correlation of .28 corresponds to a vaccination rate of 36% in the low perceived risk group and 64% in the high perceived risk group. Assuming that the observed correlations represent the causal impact of risk perceptions, it appears that raising risk perceptions from low to high would have a major effect on vaccination behavior. The present meta-analysis demonstrates that hazard-specific risk perceptions are predictors of vaccination behavior. This finding supports the inclusion of risk perceptions in health behavior-specific theories such as protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975) and the extended parallel process model (Witte, 1992). It also suggests that the more general behavioral theories, such as the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985), may improve their ability to predict health behavior if they too incorporate these constructs.

References

Starred () references were included in the meta-analysis.*

- *Aho, W. R. (1979). Participation of senior citizens in the swine flu inoculation program: An analysis of Health Belief Model variables in preventive health behavior. *Journal of Gerontology, 34*, 201-8.
- Ajzen, I. (1985) From intentions to actions: A theory of planned behavior. In J. Kuhl and J. Beckman (eds), *Action Control: from Cognitions to Behaviors*. New York: Springer, 11-39.
- *Armstrong, K., Berlin, M., Schwartz, J. S., Propert, K., & Ubel, P. A. (2001). Barriers to influenza immunization in a low-income urban population. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 20*, 21-5.
- *Beguin, C., Boland, B., & Ninane, J. (1998). Health care workers: Vectors of influenza virus? Low vaccination rate among hospital health care workers. *American Journal of Medical Quality, 13*, 223-7.
- *Brewer, N. T., Weinstein, N. D., Cuite, C. L., & Herrington, J. (2004). Risk perceptions and their relation to risk behavior. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine, 27*, 125-130.
- Cameron, L. D. (2003). Conceptualizing and assessing risk perceptions: A self-regulatory perspective. Presented at the National Cancer Institute's "Workshop on Conceptualizing (and Measuring) Perceived Risk." Accessed 4/3/2005:
<http://dccps.nci.nih.gov/brp/presentations/cameron.pdf>
- *Chapman, G. B., & Coups, E. J. (2004). Worry, risk, and influenza vaccination. Provisionally accepted in *Health Psychology*.

- *Chapman, G. B., & Coups, E. J. (1999). Predictors of influenza vaccine acceptance among healthy adults. *Preventive Medicine, 29*, 249-262.
- *Cummings, K. M., Jette, A. M., Brock, B. M., & Haefner, D. P. (1979). Psychosocial determinants of immunization behavior in a swine influenza campaign. *Medical Care, 17*, 639.
- *Ehresmann, K. R., Ramesh, A., Como-Sabetti, K., Peterson, D. C., Whitney, C. G., Moore, K. A. (2001). Factors associated with self-reported pneumococcal immunization among adults 65 years of age or older in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area. *Preventive Medicine, 35*, 409-15.
- *Evans, M. R., & Watson, P.A. (2003). Why do older people not get immunised against influenza? A community survey. *Vaccine, 21*, 2421-2427.
- Fishbein, M. & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Floyd, D. L., Prentice-Dunn, S., & Rogers, R. W. (2000). A meta-analysis of research on protection motivation theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30*, 407-429.
- *Gene, J., Espinola, A., Cabezas, C., Boix, C., Comin, E., Martin, A., & Sanz, E. (1992). Do knowledge and attitudes about influenza and its immunization affect the likelihood of obtaining immunization? *Family Practice Research Journal, 12*, 61-73.
- *Hamilton-West, K. E. Unpublished data. University of Kent, UK
- Harrison, J. A., Mullen, P. D., & Green, L. W. (1992). A meta-analysis of studies of the health belief model with adults. *Health Education Research, 7*, 107-116.

- *Hashimoto, F., Hunt, W. C., & Brusuelas, P. (1988). Physician acceptance of the hepatitis B vaccine at a university medical center. *American Journal of Public Health, 78*, 973-4
- *Heimberger, T., Chang, H., Shaikh, M., Crotty, L., Morse, D., & Birkhead, G. (1995). Knowledge and attitudes of healthcare workers about influenza: Why are they not getting vaccinated? *Infection Control and Hospital Epidemiology, 16*, 412-414.
- *Honkanen, P. O., Keistinen, T., & Kivela, S. (1996). Factors associated with influenza vaccination coverage among the elderly: Role of health care personnel. *Public Health, 110*, 163-168.
- *Jacobson, J. J., Lang, W. P., Ybanez, M. S., Shipman, C. Jr., Johnston, F., K., & LaTurno, D. E. (1989). Acceptance of hepatitis B vaccine among dental health care workers. *Journal of Public Health Dentistry, 49*, 67-72.
- Janz, N. K., & Becker, M. H. (1984). The health belief model: A decade later. *Health Education Quarterly, 11*, 1-47.
- Leventhal, H., Kelly, K., & Leventhal, E. A. (1999). Population risk, actual risk, perceived risk, and cancer control: A discussion. *Journal of the National Cancer Institute Monographs, 25*, 81-85.
- Leventhal, H., Meyer, D. & Nerenz, D. (1980). The common sense representation of illness danger. In S. Rachman (Ed.) *Medical Psychology, Vol. 2*, 7-30. New York: Pergamon.
- *Lewis-Parmar, H., & McCann, R. (2002). Achieving national influenza vaccine targets--an investigation of the factors affecting influenza vaccine uptake in older people and people with diabetes. *Communicable Disease & Public Health, 5*, 19-26.

- *Madhavan, S. S., Rosenbluth, S. A., Amonkar, M., Fernandes, A., & Borker, R. (2003). Immunization predictors in rural adults under 65 years of age. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor & Underserved, 14*, 100-21.
- McCaul, K., Branstetter, A. D., Schroeder, D. M., & Glasgow, R. E. (1996). What is the relationship between breast cancer risk and mammography screening? A meta-analytic review. *Health Psychology, 15*, 423-429.
- *McCusker, J., Hill, E. M., & Mayer, K. H. (1990). Awareness and use of Hepatitis B vaccine among homosexual male clients of a Boston community center. *Public Health Reports, 105*, 59-64.
- Milne, S., Sheeran, P., & Orbell, S. (2000). Prediction and intervention in health-related behavior: A meta-analytic review of protection motivation theory. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30*, 106-143.
- *Nexoe, J., Kragstrup, J., & Sogaard, J. (1999). Decision on influenza vaccination among the elderly. A questionnaire study based on the Health Belief Model and the Multidimensional Locus of Control Theory. *Scandinavian Journal of Primary Health Care, 17*, 105-110.
- *Nichol, K. L., MacDonald, R., & Hauge, M. (1996). Factors associated with influenza and pneumococcal vaccination behavior among high-risk adults. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 11*, 673-677.
- *Nichol, K. L., Lofgren, R., P., & Gapinski, J. (1992). Influenza vaccination. Knowledge, attitudes, and behavior among high-risk outpatients. *Archives of Internal Medicine, 152*, 106-110.

- *Nichol, K. L., & Hague. M. (1997). Influenza vaccination of healthcare workers. *Infection Control & Hospital Epidemiology*, 18,189-194.
- *Opstelten, W., Hak, E., Verheij, T. J., & van Essen, G. A. (2001). Introducing a pneumococcal vaccine to an existing influenza immunization program: Vaccination rates and predictors of noncompliance. *American Journal of Medicine*, 111, 474-479.
- *Pearson, D. C., & Thompson. R. S. (1994). Evaluation of group health cooperative of Puget Sound's senior influenza immunization program. *Public Health Reports*, 109, 571-578.
- *Pregliasco, F., Sodano, L., Mensi, C., Selvaggi, M. T., Adamo, B., D'Argenio, P., Giussani, F., Simonetti, A., Carosella, M. R., Simeone, R., Dentizi, C., Montanaro, C., & Ponzio, G. (1999). Influenza vaccination among the elderly in Italy. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 77, 127-31.
- Ronis, D. L. Conditional health threats: Health beliefs, decisions, and behaviors among adults. *Health Psychology*, 11 (1992): 127-34.
- Rosenthal, O. (1994). Parametric measures of effect size. In H. Cooper & L. V. Hedges (Eds.), *The handbook of research synthesis* (pp. 231-244). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Rosenstock, I. (1974). The health belief model and preventive behavior. *Health Education Monographs*, 2, 354-386.
- Rogers, R. W. (1975). A protection motivation theory of fear appeals and attitude change. *Journal of Psychology*, 91, 93-114.
- *Roy, G., Fradet M., & Le Henaff, D. (1996). Vaccination against influenza in elderly persons: some current presumptions. *Canadian Journal of Public Health/Revue Canadienne de Sante Publique*, 87, 298-300.

- *Rundall, T. G., & Wheeler, J. R. (1979). Factors associated with utilization of the swine flu vaccination program among senior citizens in Tompkins County. *Medical Care, 17*, 191-200, 1979.
- Rutledge, T., & Loh, C. (2004). Effect sizes and statistical testing in the determination of clinical significance in behavioral medicine research. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine, 272*, 134-145.
- *Stephenson, I., Roper, J. P., & Nicholson, K. G. (2002). Healthcare workers and their attitudes to influenza vaccination. *Communicable Disease & Public Health, 5*, 247-52.
- Sutton, S. R. (1987). Social-psychological approaches to understanding addictive behavior: Attitude-behavior and decision-making models. *British Journal of Addiction, 82*, 355-370.
- *van Essen, G. A., Kuyvenhoven, M. M., & de Melker, R. A. (1997). Why do healthy elderly people fail to comply with influenza vaccination? *Age & Ageing, 26*, 275-9.
- *van Essen, G. A., Kuyvenhoven, M. M., & de Melker, R. A. (1997). Compliance with influenza vaccination: Its relation with epidemiologic and sociopsychological factors. *Archives of Family Medicine, 6*, 157-62.
- Weinstein, N. D. (1993). Testing four competing theories of health behavior. *Health Psychology, 12*, 324-333.
- Weinstein, N. D. (2004). Misleading tests of health behavior theories. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Human Ecology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Weinstein, N. D., Rothman, A. J., & Nicolich, M. (1998). Use of correlational data to study effects of risk perceptions on precautionary behavior. *Psychology and Health, 13*, 479-501.

- Weinstein, N. D., & Nicolich, M. (1993). Correct and incorrect interpretations of correlations between risk perceptions and risk behaviors. *Health Psychology, 12*, 235-245.
- Weinstein, N. D., McCaul, K., Gerrard, M., & Gibbons, F. X. (2004). Risk perceptions: Assessment and relationship to influenza vaccination. Unpublished manuscript. Department of Human Ecology, Rutgers, University.
- Witte, K. (1992). Putting the fear back into fear appeals: The extended parallel process model. *Communication Monographs, 59*, 329-349.
- Wolf, F.M. (1986). *Meta-Analysis: Quantitative Methods for Research Synthesis*. Beverly Hills, California: SAGE Publications.
- *Zimmerman, R. K., Santibanez, T. A., Janosky, J. E., Fine, M. J., Raymund, M., Wilson, S. A., Bardella, I. J., Medsger, A. R., & Nowalk, M. P. (2003). What affects influenza vaccination rates among older patients? An analysis from inner-city, suburban, rural, and Veterans Affairs practices. *American Journal of Medicine, 114*, 31-8.

Author Note

Noel T. Brewer, Department of Health Behavior and Health Education, School of Public Health, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Gretchen B. Chapman Department of Psychology Rutgers University. Frederick X. Gibbons and Meg Gerard, Department of Psychology, Iowa State University. Kevin D. McCaul, Department of Psychology, North Dakota State University. Neil D. Weinstein, Department of Human Ecology, Rutgers University.

Planning for this meta-analysis was supported by the Behavioral Research Program, National Cancer Institute. The study was also supported by grants awarded to: K05 CA92633 Kevin McCaul. We wish to thank Fred Wolf for his help with the statistics. Portions of this paper will be presented at the 2005 Annual Conference of the Society for Behavioral Medicine, Boston, MA.

Table 1.

Three Dimensions of Perceived Risk

<p>Perceived Likelihood (The probability that one will be harmed by the hazard)</p>	<p>Imagine that the flu shot this year is unavailable, and you are therefore unable to get the shot this fall. Given that you have had no shot, what would say is the likelihood that you would get the flu this winter? (Chapman & Coups, in press)</p> <p>If I don't get immunized, there is a high chance of me getting flu [or pneumonia]. (Madhavan, 2003)</p>
<p>Perceived Susceptibility (An individual's constitutional vulnerability to a hazard)</p>	<p>I get sick more easily than other people my age. (Nexoe, 1999)</p>
<p>Perceived Severity (The extent of harm a hazard would cause)</p>	<p>Influenza can cause death. (Nichol, 1992)</p> <p>If I had influenza, I would not be able to manage daily activities. (Zimmerman, 2003)</p>

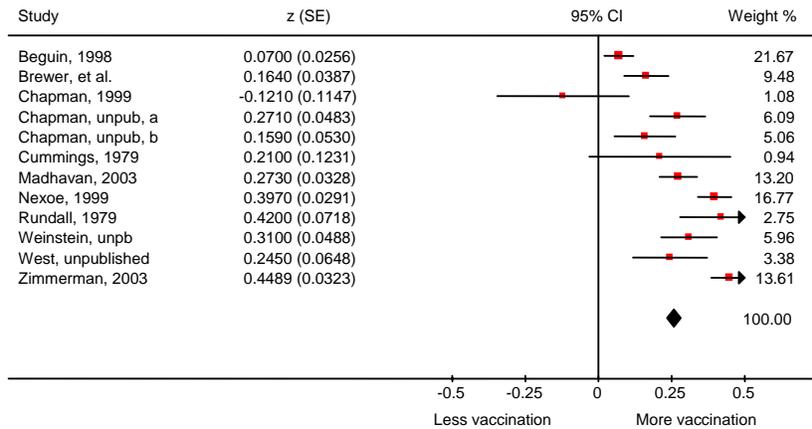


Figure 1. Perceived likelihood. Because our meta-analysis transformed the asymmetrical effect size r to the symmetrical effect size z , the figure shows the latter to more accurately depict confidence intervals. A positive z indicates that vaccination was more prevalent among participants reporting higher perceived likelihood.

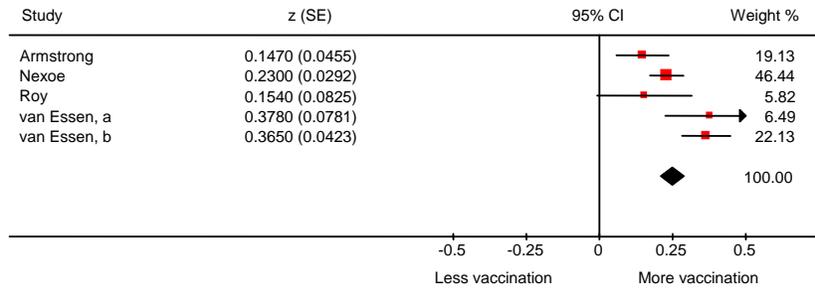


Figure 2. Perceived susceptibility. Because our meta-analysis transformed the asymmetrical effect size r to the symmetrical effect size z , the figure shows the latter to more accurately depict confidence intervals. A positive z indicates that vaccination was more prevalent among participants reporting higher perceived susceptibility.

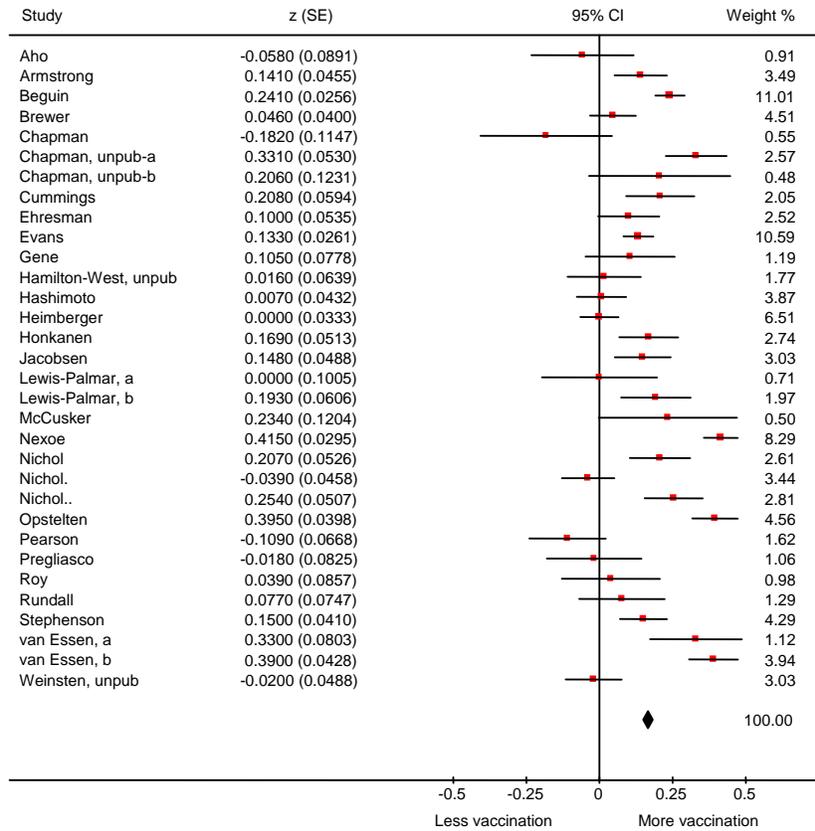


Figure 3. Perceived severity. Because our meta-analysis transformed the asymmetrical effect size r to the symmetrical effect size z , the figure shows the latter to more accurately depict confidence intervals. A positive z indicates that vaccination was more prevalent among participants reporting higher perceived severity.

Appendix.

Notes on the calculation of effect sizes

The general analytic approach followed that suggested by Rosenthal (1994) and Wolf (1986). An effect size (r) was calculated for each bivariate risk perception-vaccination behavior relationship reported in a study. We report only on linear effects because no papers reported tests of curvilinear effects and hardly any examined interactions. A sizeable number of studies reported contingency tables from which we were able to directly calculate r . The most common situation was a 2 x 2 table (low or high perceived risk, by vaccinated or not) from which we calculated a phi coefficient. In other cases, we transformed the statistic reported (e.g., t) to r . If multiple relationships involving the same risk construct (e.g., two likelihood measures) were reported in the same study, these were combined by averaging the r s after a Fisher z transformation. If multiple relationships for different risk constructs (e.g., likelihood and severity) were reported in the same study, these were included separately in the meta-analysis. In cases where a study reported results separately for substantially different populations (such as healthy adults and infirm adults), effect sizes were calculated separately for each population and were treated as being from separate studies.

Studies included in meta-analysis.

Design¹	Illness²	Vaccination Rate	Population³	r	N	Quality score	>80% in same response category
---------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------	----------	--------------------------	--

Perceived Likelihood								
Beguín, 1998	c	f	32%	m	.07	1530	2	n
Brewer, 2004	p	o	6%	h	.16	702	7	n
Chapman, 1999	c	f	Na	h	-.12	79	5	n
Chapman, unpublished, a	p	f	47%	h	.27	428	6	n
Chapman, unpublished, b	p	f	67%	m	.16	428	6	n
Cummings, 1979	p	f	na	h	.21	286	3	n
Hamilton-West, unpublished	c	o	34%	h	.25	241	7	n
Madhavan, 2003	c	o	20%	h	.27	931	5	n
Rundall, 1979	c	o	73%	s	.36	197	3	n
Nexoe, 1999	p	f	37%	s	.40	1182	4	n
Weinstein, unpublished	p	f	28%	h	.30	423	7	n
Zimmerman, 2003	c	f	79%	s	.45	959	3	n
Perceived Susceptibility								
Armstrong, 2001	c	f	63%	s	.15	486	3	n
Roy, 1996	c	f	48%	s	.15	150	2	y
van Essen, 1997a	c	f	66%	s	.36	167	3	n
van Essen, 1997b	c	f	86%	s	.35	561	3	n
Nexoe, 1999	p	f	37%	s	.23	1179	2	n
Perceived Severity								
Aho, 1979	c	f	54%	s	-.06	129	3	n
Armstrong, 2001	c	f	63%	s	.14	486	2	y
Beguín, 1998	c	f	32%	m	.24	1530	3	y
Brewer, 2004	p	o	6%	h	.05	627	2	n
Chapman, 1999	c	f	na	h	-.18	79	3	n
Chapman, unpublished, a	p	f	47%	h	.32	428	3	n
Chapman, unpublished, b	p	f	67%	m	.20	428	3	n
Cummings, 1979	p	f	na	h	.21	286	2	n
Ehresmann, 2001	c	o	59%	s	.10	353	1	na
Evans, 2003	c	f	51%	s	.13	1468	1	n
Gene, 1992	c	f	51%	s	.02	168	1	n

Risk Perception and Vaccination 36

Hamilton-West, unpublished	c	o	34%	h	.02	248	4	n
Hashimoto, 1988	c	o	57%	m	.01	538	1	y
Heimberger, 1995	c	f	16%	m	.00	904	1	y
Honkanen, 1996	c	f	51%	h	.17	383	1	y
Jacobson, 1989	c	o	61%	m	.15	423	1	y
Lewis-Palmar, 2002	c	f	67%	s	.00	102	1	na
Lewis-Palmar, 2002	c	f	70%	s	.19	275	1	na
McCusker, 1990	c	o	24%	h	.23	72	2	n
Nexoe, 1999	p	f	37%	s	.39	1151	3	n
Nichol, 1992	c	f	47%	s	-.04	480	2	y
Nichol, 1996	c	o	74%	s	.20	364	2	n
Nichol, 1997	c	f	61%	m	.25	392	2	y
Opstelten, 2001	c	f	75%	s	.38	634	2	n
Pearson, 1994	c	f	71%	s	-.11	227	0	n
Pregliasco, 1999	c	f	26%	s	-.02	150	1	n
Roy, 1996	c	f	47%	s	.04	139	1	y
Rundall, 1979	c	o	72%	s	.08	182	2	n
Stephenson, 2002	c	f	14%	m	.15	597	2	n
van Essen, 1997a	c	f	66%	s	.32	158	1	n
van Essen, 1997b	c	f	86%	s	.37	549	1	n
Weinstein, unpublished	p	f	na	h	-.02	423	4	n

¹ c = cross-sectional design, p = prospective design.

² f = vaccination against influenza, o = vaccination against other illness

³ h = healthy adults, m = medical personnel, s = sick or high risk persons