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Integral Energy Psychology

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ATTITUDE CHANGE AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE: A CONCEPTUAL OUTLINE

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I. COMMUNICATION AND INTERPERSONAL INFLUENCE: "Who Says What to Whom With What Effect?"

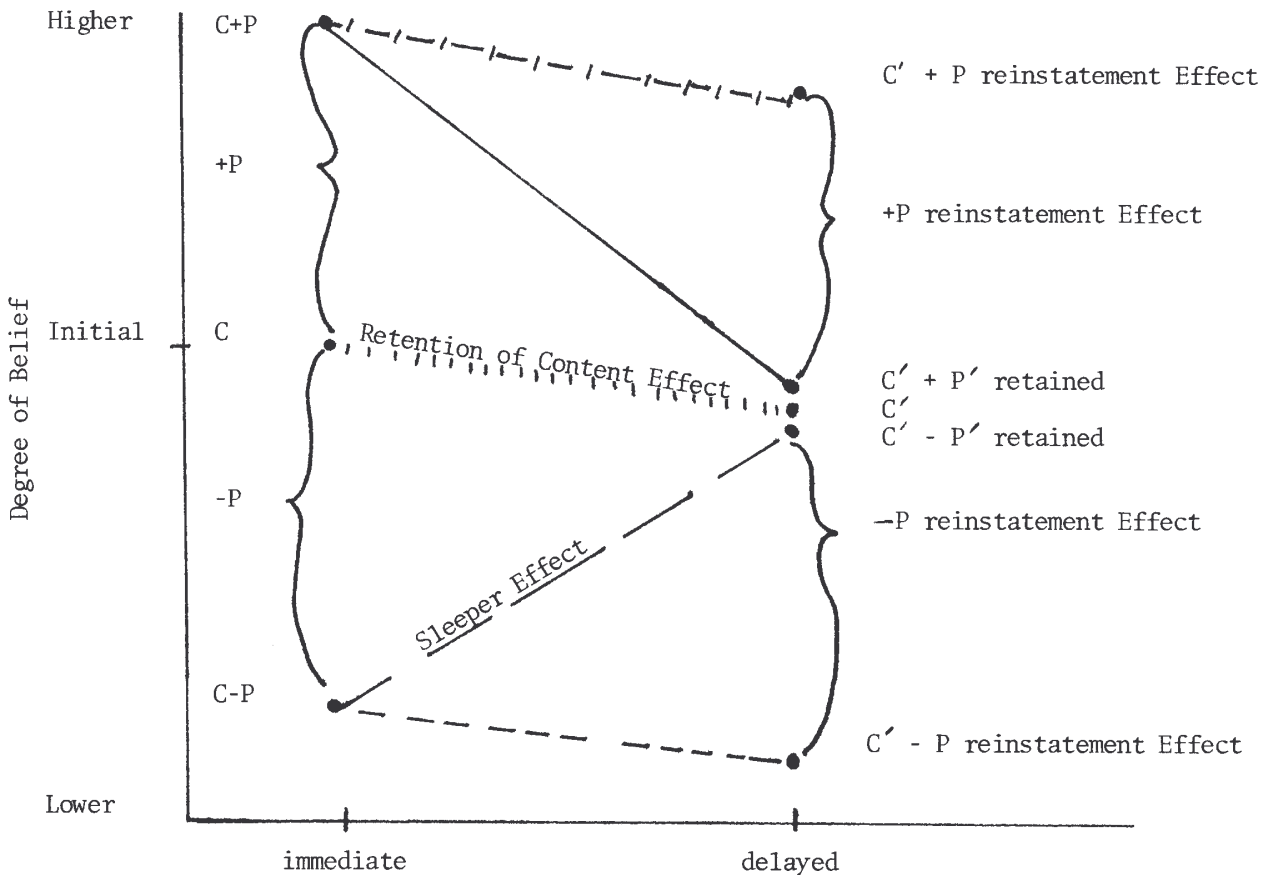
A. CLASSIFICATION OF THE ANTECEDENT VARIABLES IN THE INFLUENCE PROCESS.

1. SENDER -- COMMUNICATOR VARIABLES: Credibility, trustworthiness, fairness, expertness, prestige, respect, intention to persuade, impartiality, "sleeper effect"; Likability, appearance, smoothness, speaking ability; Group or class affiliation and status. (Hovland, Janis and Kelley chaps. 2 & 8; Cohen pp. 23-29, 33-36; Schram, p. 254; Katz, Cartwright, Eldersveld and Lee, pp. 337-347).

Credibility: Usually, communication from a high credible source produces more change in the direction of the message than that from a low credible source, which may produce change in the opposite direction than advocated. Credibility can be defined in objective or subjective-receiver terms. The most potent aspect of credibility is perceived fairness of the presentation. Attitudes toward fairness and trustworthiness of source are more important in producing change than attitudes toward expertness. The judgment of the intent of the sender to persuade does affect the amount of change some -- when the sender is not seen as intending to persuade there tends to be change in the direction of the message. Differences in the credibility of the sender do not seem to affect the learning of the content in the experimental situations studied (mostly using college students): it does affect the acceptance.

Aspects of the sender which bear no relevance to the topic of the message also influence the amount of change (e.g., fat or skinny vs medium weight, sloppy vs neat, ugly vs hand some or pretty, etc.)

" Sleeper effect ". Over time the positive and negative effects of high and low credibility diminish and thus the attitude change in the long run depends on the content and less on the source.



C = content effects; P = prestige effects of the source; ' = the retained effects (traces); + = effect due to credible source; - = effect due to non-credible source.

C=initial effect of just the content of the message (no source identified). C' = with time there will be a decline in the amount of the content remembered and hence the amount of influence the content exerts on opinion.

With time the values of P approach zero so that C' + P' and C F -P' tend to approach equality (or C').

Summary:

Both positive and negative prestige effects tend to be lost over time.

The degree to which a person accepts a persuasive message that is attributed to a prestigious source is comparatively high at first but gradually declines.

The degree to which a person accepts a persuasive message that is attributed to a non-prestigious source is comparatively low at first but gradually increases.

The effects are due to the fact that with time the content of the message tends to be judged independently of the source.

2. MESSAGE-COMMUNICATION VARIABLES

a. CONTENT VARIABLES (Janis and Hovland, et al p.4)

- (1). **TOPIC:** Theme, conclusion, amount of change advocated (Cohen, pp. 29-31; Schramm, p. 253), relation to receiver's group norms (see "assimilation - contrast effects" Sherif and Hovland).

There is an interaction between credibility and amount of discrepancy from receiver's position: High credible sources - the more the discrepancy the more the change in the direction of the message (up to a point). For low-credible sources there is no relation between discrepancy and change but the more the discrepancy the more the receiver disparages the source.

- (2) **APPEAL TYPE, STYLE, FORMAT, MANNER OF PRESENTATION** (Cohen, pp. 16-22; Hovland, Janis, and Kelley, chap. 3; Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, pp. 149-155, Schramm, pp. 253-254, Hollander and Hunt, pp. 320-336) Emotional vs rational approach; threat and fear; sound evidence; "Flogging a dead horse" = beginning by stating agreement with the audience on an irrelevant issue. Formal vs informal; humorous vs serious. Neatness, color of paper, professionalism of presentation, etc., etc.

Emotional vs Rational: in a mayoral race in a depressed mining town the emotional approach was most effective in getting votes.

Fear-Threat Appeals: The most effective appeals are those which serve as reassurances; those that elicit anticipations of escaping from or averting the threat.

(a). Factors influencing the arousal of fear:

- [1]. Content of the message: description of dangers which will allegedly result from non-acceptance of the message; the nature of the evidence for the message.
- [2]. Source of the message: qualifications of the sender-expertness, credibility, intention etc.
- [3]. Receivers antecedent experiences: prior "emotional inoculation" or preparation for and sensitization to the message.

(b) Factors influencing the sender's reassurance once fear is aroused:

- [1]. Presentation of the information which serves to alleviate emotional tension should immediately follow the arousal of that tension.
- [2]. The degree to which acceptance of the message will bring relief from threat.
- [3]. Mostly, the degree to which defensive reactions occur when emotional tension is strongly aroused. These defensive reactions may militate against change of attitude by leading to distortion of the meaning of the message and by producing tendencies toward escape.

(c) The arousal of fear, if intense, may produce adverse effects to those intended:

- [1]. Strong emotions may cause inattentiveness to the message because they increase distractibility and may temporarily impair thinking and perception (this is not too common).
- [2]. Aggressive feelings toward the sender may modify the effects of strong fear appeals (this occurs at times).
- [3]. Mostly, there is defensive avoidance occurring when a receiver, exposed to a strong threat is left in a state of emotional tension unrelieved by the reassurances in the message. When strongly aroused but not adequately relieved by the reassurances in the message, the subject is motivated to ignore or minimize the importance of the threat ("It can't happen here").
- [4]. Personality differences: Copers vs Avoiders. Avoiders try to by-pass and put aside the intrusion of threatening material. Copers handle threatening stimulation directly by problem solving.

Aggression: people aggressively aroused will be more influenced by a punitively oriented message and less influenced by leniently oriented message than will people not so aroused.

(3). ARGUMENT (Schramm, pp. 253, 255-256;

- (a) One vs Two sides presentation: explicitness of refutation of counter-arguments; see "inoculation effects" (Cohen, pp. 2-6) This depends on educational level and prior beliefs of receiver. Twosided messages are more effective with bettereducated people no matter what their initial position

Two sided messages are more effective no matter what the receiver is like if he is to be exposed to counter-arguments later.

One sided message are more effective with less educated people already convinced of the position advocated.

Introducing facts in support of the other side results in less change when these facts are unfamiliar to the receiver. Also, failure to include well known facts on the other side weakens the appeal.

(b). Order effects: Primacy vs recency (Cohen, pp. 9-15 Hovland, Janis, and Kelley, chap. 4; Maccoby, Newcomb and Hartley, pp. 131-148)

[1]. In successive messages (ala debate):

- [a]. The law of primacy is not general. When two sides of an issue are presented successively by different communicators, the side presented first does not necessarily have the advantage.
- [b]. Public commitment is a significant factor. If, after hearing only one side of an issue, a receiver makes a response which publicly indicates his position on the issue, the result is a primacy effect. The public expression of an opinion tends to fix the opinion on the first side and make the presentation of the second less effective. Where there is no public commitment but merely stating one's opinion anonymously on a questionnaire after hearing only one side of an issue, then this does not reduce the effectiveness of the second side.
- [c]. Primacy effects may occur when one communicator presents contradictory information in a single communication, but this effect can be reduced by interpolating other activities between the two sets of information and by warning the receivers against the fallibility of first impressions and judgments.

[2]. Order within a communication:

- [a]. The effect of order of information vs need for the information - receivers only see the relevance of the information after it is received. If the sender first arouses the receiver's needs, the information will be accepted more readily than if the arousal of the needs follows the presentation of the information.
- [b]. Attitudes change more when messages highly desirable to the receiver are presented first, followed by the less desirable ones, than when the less desirable ones come first (see "flogging a dead horse"). The hypothesis is that the receiver starts out by becoming progressively more responsive to the sender in terms of paying attention and being willing to learn. The sender later capitalizes on this in the less rewarding part of the message.
- [c]. The pro-con order is superior to the con-pro order when an authoritative sender plans to mention pro arguments and also non salient con arguments.

[3]. Summary: There seems to be a primacy effect when it is allowed to show itself. The conditions which affect primacy are:

- [a]. Time of measurement. This is related to differential forgetting. Forgetting is maximum just after exposure and becomes progressively less per time unit. Thus when the time for testing the affects is relatively long for both sides the primacy effect appears.
- [b]. Contiguity of presentation. The closer the two presentations are in time the less the recency effect.
- [c]. Interpolated activity. Warnings against premature commitment reduce the primacy effect.
- [d]. Number of separate issues. Primacy effect diminishes with an increase in the number of topics dealt with each with a pro-con order.
- [e]. Encouragement toward commitment, especially public, increases the primacy effect.
- [f]. Arousal of needs before information increases primacy effect.

(c). Conclusion drawing (Cohen, pp. 6-8) Persuasive messages which present a complicated and unfamiliar series of arguments on impersonal topics to less intelligent people are more effective when the conclusion is stated explicitly. Otherwise, it is best if possible to let the receiver come to the conclusion on his own.

b. MEDIA USED TO PRESENT MESSAGE (Janis, Hovland et al. pp. 12; Katz, Cartwright, Eldersveld, and Lee; Katz and Lazarsfeld; McLuhan). Closeness and amount of face to face contact and inter-action; Media type: newspaper, magazine, radio, TV, movies, face to face contact. Sense modalities involved: number and type. Some receivers will be more responsive to messages in situations of direct social contact; others more influenced by other media. Some evidence that less educated individuals more influenced by aural presentations (e.g. radio, lects) than by printed media.

3. RECEIVER-COMMUNICATEE VARIABLES (Smith, Bruner and White)

a. PREDISPOSITIONAL FACTORS. These are used to account for individual differences in the effects when communication stimuli are held constant.

(1). PERSUASIBILITY (Cohen, pp. 43-61; Hovland, Janis and Kelley, chap. 6; Janis and Hovland et al; Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, p. 224; Schramm, pp. 256-257)

- (a) FREE OR GENERAL PERSUASIBILITY. There is a trait of persuasibility which is independent of the subject matter or kinds of appeal presented.

Sources of Persuasibility.

- [1]. Self esteem: High persuasibility is related to low self-esteem, feelings of inadequacy, social inhibition and test anxiety.
- [2]. Perceptual dependence: Receivers whose perceptions of physical stimuli are affected by the surrounding environmental field are more susceptible than receivers who rely on bodily experiences as cues for perception (in the tilting room - tilting chair test).
- [3]. Other directedness: receivers who put emphasis on group adaptation and conformity are more susceptible than receivers who stress personal goals and standards (inner-directed).
- [4]. Authoritarianism: Excessive respect for obedience to authority, admiration for power, toughness and aggression, an attitude of cynicism and defensive projection lead to more susceptibility.
- [5]. Social isolation: Isolation of a child from peers leads him to place high value on social acceptance and increases agreement seeking and he is thus more susceptible.
- [6]. Richness of fantasy: A rich fantasy life allows the individual to anticipate more vividly the rewards and punishments conveyed by the sender and this increases susceptibility.
- [7]. Sex differences: Women are encouraged to be acquiescent: men are more variable in response to persuasion attempts.

Personality traits of changers, non-changers and negative changers:

Changers (in direction of message)	Non-changers	Negative changers (in opposite direction)
Need for social approval, participation & security; succumb to peer-group conformity pressures.	Concern with self-expression creative strivings, personal achievement, freedom from social restrictions, resist peer-group.	No trends.
Ideological focus on people & adjustment in short-run situations.	Ideological focus on ideas and principles.	No trends.
High respect for parental authority.	High respect parental authority.	Reject parental authority.
High condemnation of social deviates.		Non-punitive toward social deviates.
High admiration for power.	Low admiration for power.	Moderately low admiration for power.
Little projection.		Cynical. Tend to project.
Feel inadequate and inferior.	Feel adequate.	Feel physically inadequate.
Little assertiveness.	Wish for assertion and independence.	Rebellious toward Authority & convention. Expresses hostility.
Weak, passive self-image.	Strong, active, assertive self-image.	Strong, active, assertive self-image.
Not critical of self or others.	Much Self Analysis and Self-concern.	Over critical.

(b) BOUND PERSUASIABILITY. Bound to:

- [1]. Content (topic, appeal, argument, style, etc.)
- [2]. Communicator
- [3]. Media
- [4]. Context or situation

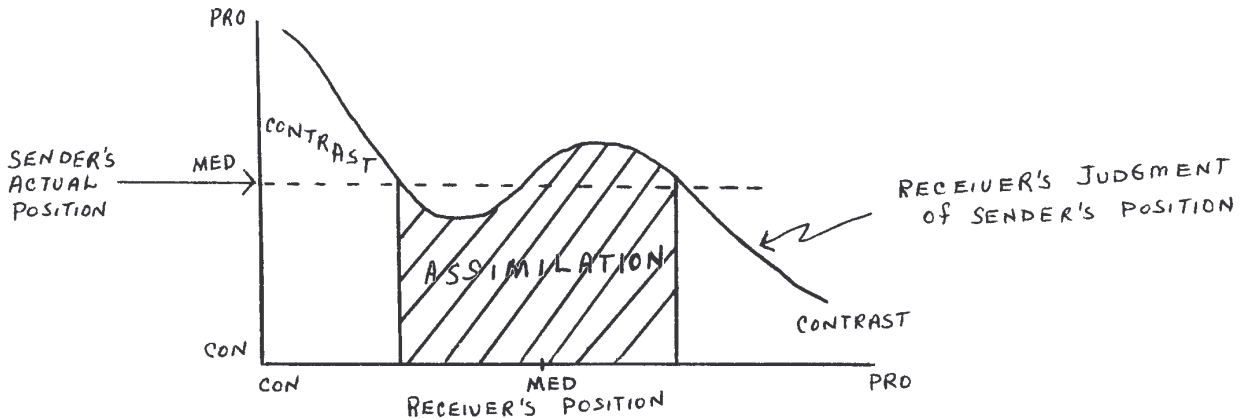
(2). CONSISTENCY NEEDS.

- (a). Models of Attitude Change (Festinger; Schramm, pp. 260-263; Brehm & Cohen, Chapters 12 & 14; Brown; Cohen, pp. 62-80; Holland & Hunt, pp. 191-202, 351-378)
- (b). Between Affective Cognitive and Behavioral Components, (Cohen, pp. 48-55, 6280; Rosenberg et al, 198-213) (see dissonance theory)
 - [1]. Effects of change of affect-emotion upon beliefs:
 - [a]. When the affective component of an individual's attitude is altered there occurs a corresponding and consistent reorganization of his beliefs about the object of that affect.
 - [b]. As long as the reversed affect persists, the individual maintains the cognitive structure which has been reorganized in directions consistent with that reversed affect.
 - [c]. Some cognitive effects of affect reversal persist after the affect reversing force has been removed.
 - [2]. Resolution of inconsistent beliefs:
 - [a]. Querying the individual's opinions on logically related issues, as in the Socratic method, results in a greater consistency of beliefs.
 - [b]. Individuals are more highly persuadable by messages arguing in a direction which increases consistency and are more resistant to messages arguing in a direction that increases inconsistency.
 - [c]. The preferred solution to a belief dilemma is one involving the least effortful path.
 - [d]. In resolving cognitive discrepancies, individuals seek not only the attainment of balance and consistency but also the solution that maximizes potential gain and minimizes potential loss.
 - [3]. Changes in affect and belief following behavioral change:
 - [a]. Commitment to a relatively great amount of discrepant behavior will increase resistance to belief of a non-supporting communication and will increase acceptance of a supporting communication.
 - [b]. A disliked event outside the individual's control (*a fait accompli*) will result in positive change toward that event when the individual feels he could have avoided it or when he feels he did have a prior choice.

(c). **Assimilation-Contrast Affects**. (Schram, p. 253; Sherif & Ho land)

In judging the position of the sender on an issue:

- [1]. Receivers whose position is close to the position advocated underestimate the difference between them and the message (assimilate).
- [2]. Receivers whose position is very distant to the message position overestimate the difference between them and the message (contrast).
- [3]. Receivers with a moderate amount of difference between own and message position change more than do receivers at the extremes.



Extremely con receivers judge moderate sender as very pro.
Extremely pro receivers judge moderate sender as very con.
Receivers in the middle judge the sender as closer to their position than he really is.

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(d). **Theory of Cognitive Dissonance** (Adams & Rosenbaum; Brehm & Cohen; Festinger; Weik; Smith)

OUTLINE OF DISSONANCE THEORY

I. THE THEORY: DEFINITIONS, POSTULATES ETC.

A. DEFINITION OF COGNITION: a cognition is any knowledge, opinion, or belief about the environment, oneself, or one's behavior.

B. THE ANALYZABILITY OF COGNITIONS: COGNITIVE ELEMENTS.

Cognition is decomposable into elements or clusters of elements; these elements refer to the things the person knows or believes he knows.

C. RELATIONS BETWEEN COGNITIVE ELEMENTS.

1. **IRRELEVANT:** Two cognitive elements are in an irrelevant relation if they have nothing to do with one another; if there is no relationship of logical or psychological implication.
2. **RELEVANT.**
 - a. **DISSONANT:** Two cognitive elements are in a dissonant relation if, considering these two alone, the obverse of one element follows from the other; dissonance is a non-fitting relation among cognitions.
 - b. **CONSONANT:** Two cognitive elements are in a consonant relation if, considering these two alone, one element follows from the other.

D. COGNITIVE DISSONANCE IS A MOTIVATING STATE: There is a drive toward consonance among cognitions. The existence of dissonance, being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try to reduce the dissonance and achieve consonance.

E. THE AROUSAL OF DISSONANCE:

The following situations imply the existence of dissonance:

1. After a choice between two mutually exclusive alternatives has been made.
2. After an attempt has been made to elicit behavior at variance with held attitudes by pressure of reward or threat of punishment.
3. Following forced or accidental exposure of information inconsistent with existing cognitions.
4. Following the open expression of disagreement in a minimally cohesive group.
5. Following the occurrence of an environmental event which unequivocally disconfirms some held beliefs.

F. MAGNITUDE OF DISSONANCE.

1. One determinant of the magnitude of dissonance is the characteristics of the elements between which the relation holds.
2. **IMPORTANCE:** The magnitude of the dissonance or consonance which exists between two cognitive elements will be a direct function of the importance of these two elements.
3. **TOTAL MAGNITUDE OF DISSONANCE:** considering the total context of dissonance and consonance the total magnitude of dissonance which exists between two clusters of cognitive elements is a function of the weighted proportion of all the relevant relations between the two clusters which are dissonant, each dissonant or consonant relation being weighted according to the importance of the elements involved in that relation.
4. **LIMITS OF THE MAGNITUDE OF DISSONANCE:** the maximum dissonance that can possibly exist between any two elements is equal to the total resistance to change of the less resistant element. The magnitude of dissonance can not exceed this amount because at this point the less resistant element would change, thus eliminating the dissonance.

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G. REDUCTION OF DISSONANCE

1. If dissonance exists between two elements, this dissonance can be eliminated by changing one of those elements. In order to eliminate a dissonance completely some cognitive element must be changed.
 - a. Changing a behavioral cognitive element: the simplest way is to change the action or feeling which the behavioral element represents.
 - b. Changing an environmental cognitive element; changing the environment itself in order to reduce dissonance is more feasible when the social environment is in question. Establishing a social reality by gaining the agreement and support of other people is one of the major ways in which a cognition can be changed.
2. Adding new cognitive elements consistent with the existing cognition.
3. Decreasing the importance of the elements involved in the dissonant relations.

II. DERIVATIONS AND APPLICATIONS.

A. DECISIONS AND CHOICE SITUATIONS.

1. PRODUCTION OF DISSONANCE: Dissonance almost always exists after a decision has been made between two or more alternatives.
 - a. The cognitive elements corresponding to positive characteristics of the rejected alternatives, and those corresponding to the negative characteristics of the chosen alternative are dissonant with the knowledge of the action that has been taken.
 - b. Those cognitive elements corresponding to positive characteristics of the chosen alternative are dissonant with the knowledge of the action that has been taken.
 - c. All those elements that, considered alone, would lead to action other than the one taken are dissonant with the cognitive elements corresponding to the action taken.
2. MAGNITUDE OF DISSONANCE.
 - a. In general, the magnitude of post-decision dissonance is:
 - (1) an increasing function of the relative attractiveness of the unchosen alternatives and
 - (2) an increasing function of the general importance of the decision and
 - (3) an increasing function of the number of alternatives among which the choice must be made (the more alternatives rejected the more elements associated with the favorable characteristics of the rejected alternatives) and
 - (4) a decreasing function of the number of cognitive elements corresponding identically to characteristics of chosen and unchosen alternatives (cognitive overlap, e.g. there is no or little dissonance if the two objects are identical).

SPECIAL SECTION: OUTLINE OF DISSONANCE THEORY

- b. More dissonance the more attractive the rejected alternatives when the person chooses between attractive alternatives.
 - c. The more dissonance the more important the relevant cognitions surrounding a decision.
 - d. More dissonance the more negative the characteristics of the chosen alternative when the person chooses between alternatives.
 - e. More dissonance the less the cognitive overlap between attractive alternatives.
 - f. More dissonance the greater the number of rejected alternatives when the person chooses between attractive alternatives.
 - g. More dissonance the more recent the decision to choose between attractive alternatives.
3. REDUCTION OF DISSONANCE. Once dissonance exists following a decision, the pressure to reduce it will manifest itself in attempts to:
- a. Increase the relative attractiveness of the chosen alternative.
 - b. Decrease the relative attractiveness of the unchosen alternative.
 - c. Establish or increase the cognitive overlap between the alternatives.
 - (1) One way of establishing cognitive overlap is to take elements corresponding to each of the alternatives and put them in a context where they lead to the same decision.
 - (2) Cognitive overlap may be established by discovering or creating elements corresponding to the chosen alternative that are identical with favorable elements that already exist for the corresponding unchosen alternative.
 - d. Reduce the importance of various aspects of the decision.
 - e. Psychologically revoke the decision.

B. FORCED COMPLIANCE, TEMPTATION, INSUFFICIENT REWARD AND EFFORT.

1. PRODUCTION OF DISSONANCE.

- a. Dissonance almost always exists after an attempt has been made, by offering rewards or threatening punishment, to elicit overt behavior that is at variance with private opinion.

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b. Overt behavior successfully elicited:

- (1) The private opinion is dissonant with knowledge concerning the behavior.
- (2) The knowledge of the reward obtained or the punishment avoided is consonant with knowledge concerning the behavior.

c. Overt behavior unsuccessfully elicited:

- (1) The knowledge of the reward lost or the punishment received is dissonant with the knowledge concerning the non-performance of the behavior.
- (2) The private opinion is consonant with the knowledge concerning the non-performance of the behavior.

2. THE MAGNITUDE OF DISSONANCE.

a. In general, the magnitude of dissonance resulting from an attempt to elicit forced compliance is greatest if the promised reward or threatened punishment is either just sufficient to elicit the overt behavior or is just barely not sufficient to elicit it.

- (1) Forced compliance is elicited: the magnitude of dissonance decreases as the magnitude of the reward received or punishment forgone increases. The magnitude of dissonance increases as the importance of the opinion or belief involved increases.
- (2) Forced compliance not elicited: the magnitude of dissonance increases as the magnitude of the reward lost or punishment received increases. The magnitude of dissonance decreases as the importance of the opinion or belief involved increases.

b. More dissonance the less the amount of positive inducement for commitment to discrepant behavior:

- (1) More dissonance the smaller the incentives or prizes for commitment.
- (2) More dissonance the less the justification-reasons for commitment.
- (3) More dissonance the more negative the characteristics of the inducing agent.

c. More dissonance the less the coercion applied in order to induce discrepant commitment.

d. More dissonance the more the person has to engage in the negative behavior (i.e., the more discrepant behavior he is committed to)

e. More dissonance the more negative information the person has about the discrepant situation to which he is committed.

f. More dissonance the greater the choice in commitment to discrepant behavior.

g. More dissonance the less the person's ability or self-esteem would lead him to perform a discrepant act.

SPECIAL SECTION: OUTLINE OF DISSONANCE THEORY

C. EXPOSURE TO INFORMATION, *FAIT ACCOMPLI*

1. PRODUCTION.

- a. Forced or accidental exposure to new information may create cognitive elements that are dissonant with existing cognitions.
- b. Group disagreement: the open expression of disagreement in a group leads to the existence of cognitive dissonance in the members. The knowledge that some other person generally like oneself holds an opinion is dissonant with holding a contrary opinion
- c. Mass phenomena: identical dissonance in a large number of people may be created when an event occurs which is so compelling as to produce a uniform reaction in everyone. An event occurs which unequivocally invalidates some widely held belief.

2. MAGNITUDE OF DISSONANCE.

The magnitude of dissonance introduced by the expression of disagreement by others:

- a. Decreases as the number of existing cognitive elements consonant with the opinion increases. The elements may correspond to objective non-social items of information or to the knowledge that some other people hold the same opinion (social reality).
- b. Dissonance increases with increase in:
 - (1) the importance of the opinion to the person.
 - (2) the relevance of the opinion to those voicing disagreement.
 - (3) the attractiveness of those voicing disagreement.
 - (4) the amount of the difference between own opinion and the opinion of the one(s) voicing disagreement.

End of SPECIAL SECTION: OUTLINE OF DISSONANCE THEORY

(e) Open and Closed Belief Systems (Rokeach)

- [1]. The Cognitive Basis of the Open-Closed Mind. "...The ability (or inability) to discriminate substantive information from information about the source, and to assess the two separately." (p.60) "...in any situation in which a person must act, there are certain characteristics of the situation that point to the appropriate action to be taken...The same situation also contains irrelevant factors, not related to the inner structure or requirements of the situation ... A basic characteristic that defines the extent to which a person's system is open or closed (is) ... the extent to which the person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors in the situation arising from within the person or from the outside." (p.57)
- [2]. The Formation of New Belief Systems. The essence of the difference between open and closed persons in the formation of new systems lies in the ability to synthesize rather than analyze. There are several variables that determine the ability to form new systems: (p. 398)
- [d]. The ability to remember or keep in mind all the new parts to be integrated.
 - [b]. A willingness to "play along" or entertain new systems.
 - [c]. Past experience, which determines whether a particular system is, psychologically speaking, new or not.
 - [d]. Presenting new beliefs to be formed into new systems all at once or gradually. In closed persons the formation of new systems is facilitated when the new beliefs are presented all at once; the new beliefs do not have to be reconciled with old ones. In open persons it makes no difference.
 - [e]. The degree to which there is isolation within the belief system. The less intercommunication between individual beliefs the more the formation of new systems is retarded.

[3]. The defining characteristics of open-closed systems: (pp. 55-6)

A Belief-Disbelief System Is	
Open	Closed
<i>A. to the extent that, with respect to its organization along the belief-disbelief continuum,</i>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the magnitude of rejection of disbelief subsystems is relatively low at each point along the continuum; 2. there is communication of parts within and between belief and disbelief systems; 3. there is relatively little discrepancy in the degree of differentiation between belief and disbelief systems; 4. there is relatively high differentiation within the disbelief system; 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the magnitude of rejection of disbelief subsystems is relatively high at each point along the disbelief continuum; 2. there is isolation of parts within and between belief and disbelief systems; 3. there is relatively great discrepancy in the degree of differentiation between belief and disbelief systems; 4. there is relatively little differentiation within the disbelief system;
<i>B. to the extent that, with respect to the organization along the central-peripheral dimension,</i>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the specific content of primitive beliefs (central region) is to the effect that the world one lives in, or the situation one is in at a particular moment, is a friendly one; 2. the formal content of beliefs about authority and about people who hold to systems of authority (intermediate region) is to the effect that authority is not absolute and that people are not to be evaluated (if they are to be evaluated at all) according to their agreement or disagreement with such authority; 3. the structure of beliefs and disbeliefs perceived to emanate from authority (peripheral region) is such that its substructures are in relative communication with each other, and finally; 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the specific content of primitive beliefs (central region) is to the effect that the world one lives in, or the situation one is in at a particular moment, is a threatening one; 2. the formal content of beliefs about authority and about people who hold to systems of authority (intermediate region) is to the effect that authority is absolute and that people are to be accepted and rejected according to their agreement or disagreement with such authority; 3. the structure of beliefs and disbeliefs perceived to emanate from authority (peripheral region) is such that its substructures are in relative isolation with each other, and finally;
<i>C. to the extent that, with respect to the time-perspective dimension there is a</i>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. relatively broad time perspective. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. relatively narrow, future-oriented time perspective.

(3). INOCULATION AND IMMUNIZATION. (Cohen, pp. 4, 121-128; Katz, Cartwright, et. al, pp. 347-362; Maccoby, Newcomb & Hartley, pp. 131-136)

(a). Receivers who have been exposed to counter-propaganda and who hear the two sided presentation are more resistant to the counter propaganda than those who hear only the one sided message.

(b). A two sided message is more effective in the long run when:

[1]. no matter what the initial opinion the receiver is exposed to subsequent counter-propaganda or

[2]. regardless of the subsequent exposure, the receiver initially disagrees with the position advocated by the sender.

(c). A two sided message is less effective if the receiver agrees with the initial position and is not exposed to later counter-propaganda.

(d). The medical analogy:

[1]. For a person raised in an ideologically clean environment, you can develop resistance to persuasion by pre-exposing him to weakened forms of counter-arguments or to some other belief threatening material strong enough to stimulate, but not so strong as to overcome his defenses against the counter belief.

[2]. If there is no threatening stimulation the person will not be sufficiently motivated to learn the defensive material.

[3]. The general tendency to avoid dissonant information may make him over confident of the strength of his belief and thus not motivated to seek out further better defensive material.

[4]. Weakened counter-arguments confer more resistance to persuasion than further supportive arguments.

[5]. Refutation defense produces resistance to later novel counter-arguments as well as to counter-arguments which have originally been refuted.

[6]. Immunized receivers think up more arguments and of better quality in support of their original beliefs than do non immunized receivers.

(4). ACTIVE-PASSIVE INVOLVEMENT (see dissonance theory). (Hovland, Janis & Kelley, Chapter 7; Schramm, p. 2S4; Brehm & Cohen, Chapter 11; Cohen, pp. 81-99)

(a). General Principles: the effects of enforced discrepant behavior engaging in behavior which is contrary to one's attitudes and belief)

[1]. The cognitions about the initial attitude held and the subsequent behavior are in a dissonant relationship.

[2]. The person who has complied has committed himself to the relatively irrevocable and undeniable discrepant behavior, so that the dissonance can be most easily reduced through changed attitudes so that they become more consonant with the discrepant behavior.

[3]. Role playing and speech giving are both more effective in changing attitudes towards the side for which the role is played or the speech is

given than are just watching or reading and listening. The more the person puts himself into the role or speech the more the change.

[4]. The more compelling the reason for doing what goes against your values and opinions the less dissonance and so the less change in values. The fewer the supports for doing it, the greater the dissonance, the greater the pressure to reduce dissonance, and having engaged in the behavior, the greater the attitude change. (There are other ways of reducing dissonance than attitude change such as increasing the felt coercion and the rewards, etc. or denying the amount of choice one had).

- (b). Effects of rewards-incentives on coercion. The fewer the incentives and/or threats used to produce commitment beyond those necessary to get the person to comply, the greater the change of attitude. Large rewards and/or severe threats can always serve as a rationalization for having done something personally objectionable. With only small rewards/threats the person must find a solution internally and one way to rationalize his behavior is to bring his attitudes into line with his behavior. The more reward received or the more punishment avoided for engaging in a discrepant act, the less you actually change your attitudes in the direction of believing the worth of the position you took.
- (c). Effects of justification. The weaker and less compelling the reasons and justifications one has for engaging in discrepant behavior (performing or participating in an act which is not consistent with one's values) the more change there will be in values.
- (d). Characteristics of the person who induces compliance. The more disliked or negative the inducing person the more dissonance for having done it and thus the more liking of the unpleasant or discrepant position.
- (e). Characteristics of the person committing himself. The higher and self-esteem (being accustomed to think of self as having integrity and true and correct opinions) the more dissonance upon compliance and the stronger the pressure to reduce the tensions. This he may do by justifying his stand more and by being more certain that his new position is correct.
- (f). Choice in compliance. To the extent that the person feels he had no choice (because of rewards, coercions etc.) he feels little dissonance in doing what he did and thus has less attitude change. Attitude change supporting an inconsistent commitment increases as the felt degree of choice increases.
- (g). Amount of discrepant behavior. The more effort put into taking a discrepant position (the more ingenious the arguments given in its favor, the longer one engages in it, the greater the sincerity and willingness to do a good job of it) the greater the dissonance when it is inconsistent with one's attitudes and consequently the greater the attitude change.

(5). GROUP MEMBERSHIP (Katz, Cartwright et al, pp. 295-305; Katz and Lazarsfeld, Cohen, pp. 100-120; Hovland, Janis and Kelley, Chapter 5)

- Reference groups (Schramm, pp. 257-260; Hollander and Hunt pp. 506-516; Maccoby, Newcomb and Hartley, pp. 265-280)
- Social comparison factors (Cohen, pp. 113-116; Hare, Borgatta and Bales, pp. 146-170; Hollander and Hunt, pp. 409-420)
- Approval and disapproval from others (Cohen, pp. 37-41)
- Conformity or deviation allowed (Cohen, pp. 105-113; Hollander & Hunt, pp. 398-408, 425-435).

b MEDIATING PROCESSES. (Janis & Hovland, et al. p. 5) Used to account for the different effects of different communication stimuli on a given person or group -

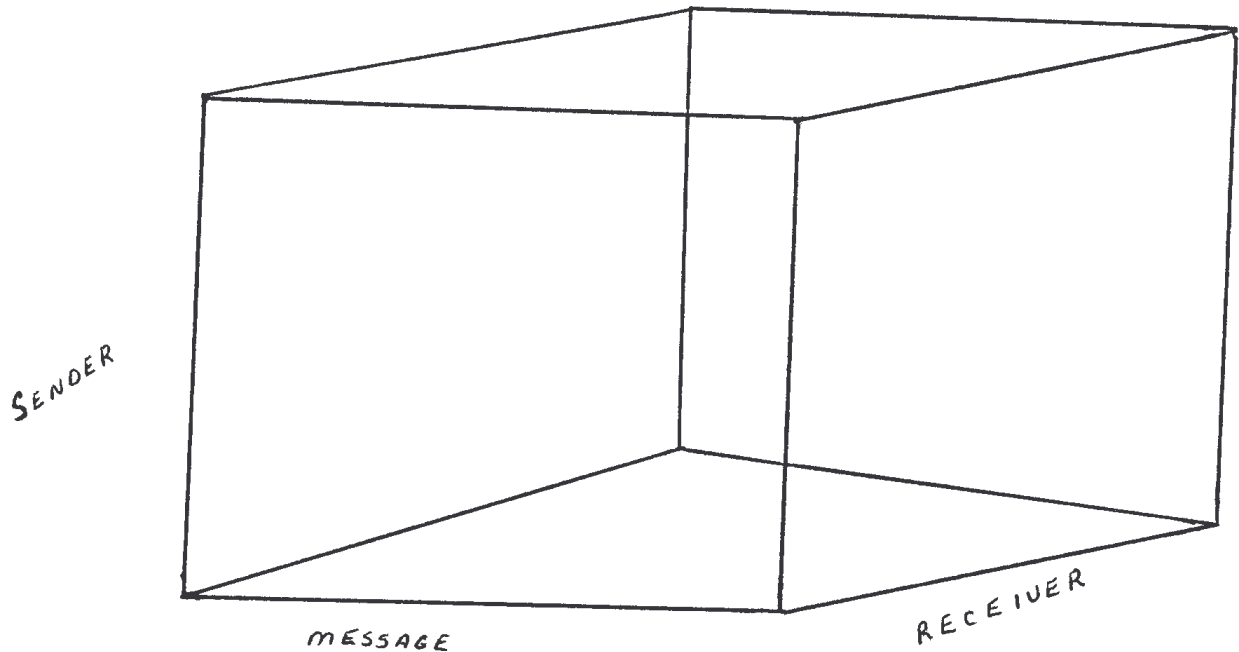
- (1). ATTENTION: determine what receiver will duplicate concerning the content.
- (2). COMPREHENSION: decoding of message, concept formation, perceptual processes, determine the meaning of the message.
- (3). ACCEPTANCE: the motivational aspects, determine whether or not the receiver will accept and use what he has duplicated of the content.

4. CONTEXT OF THE COMMUNICATION - INFLUENCE PROCESS. (Schein, p. 45)

- a. Social and physical setting. Pleasantness, formality-informality, appropriateness, distractions etc.
- b. Classification of settings and organizations based on type of power- authority involved.
 - (1). Predominately coercive authority: concentration camps, prisons and correctional institutions; prisoner of war camps; custodial mental hospitals; coercive unions.
 - (2). Predominately utilitarian, rational-legal-authority, use of economic rewards; most business and industry; business unions; farmers' organizations; peacetime military organizations.
 - (3). Predominately normative authority, use of membership, status, intrinsic value rewards; religious organizations; ideologically based political organizations or parties; hospitals; colleges and universities; social unions; voluntary associations and mutual benefit associations; professional associations.
 - (4). Mixed settings
 - Normative-coercive: combat units
 - Utilitarian-normative: most labor unions.
 - Utilitarian-coercive: some early industries, some farms, company towns, ships.

5. INTERACTION BETWEEN THE CLASSES OF VARIABLES (need a 4 dimensional space)

Assuming the context is constant then study the inter-relationships between Sender, Message, and Receiver.

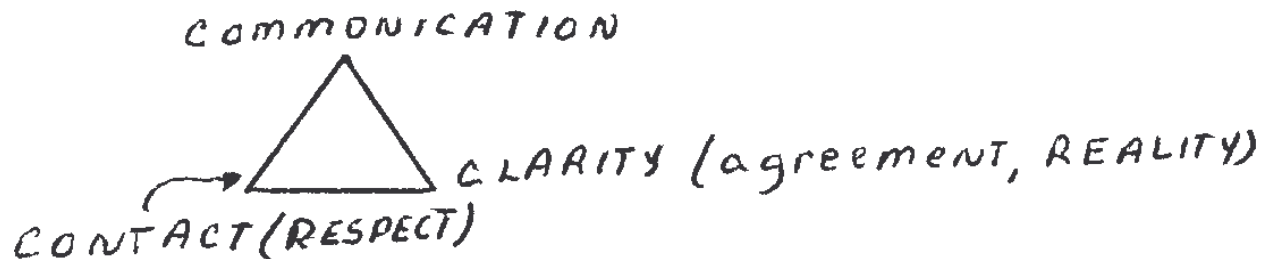


B. DEFINITION OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS AND A GENERAL THEORY OF THE PROCESS OF UNDERSTANDING (Warren)

1. INTRODUCTION

This is a general theory in the sense that it can be applied to understanding any aspect of life, whether this is a subject area (educational application), an issue (inter-group relations, conflict resolution, negotiations etc.), or a person (coming to know someone better or more fully -- marriage, friendship, psychotherapy etc.)

The three component parts of understanding are Contact, Communication, Clarity. These parts are interdependent such that as any one improves the other parts do also. This interdependence is thus conceived of in the form of a triangle:



2. CONTACT Defined:

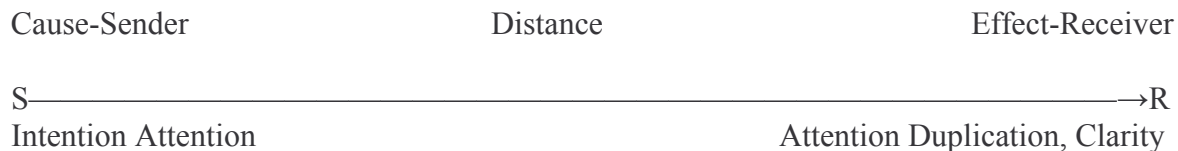
The willingness and ability to share a viewpoint (or number of viewpoints). The consideration or belief that an interchange of communication and clarity can occur. The relative distance and willingness to obtain similarity between the two ends of a communication line.

3. DEFINITION OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS.

a. ONE WAY COMMUNICATION.

(1) DEFINITION: The action of impelling an idea or particle from a source point, across a distance, to a receipt point, with the with the intention by the source point of bringing into being at the receipt point, a duplication of the content of the message which emanated from the source point.

(2). DIAGRAMMATICALLY:



- (a). Cause -Sender: something or someone must be there to originate and start a message on its way.
- (b). Intention: the sender must intend to originate the message and get it across to the receiver in a form that is duplicable (e.g. he must be decisive or not "wishy warshy", not talk to himself, use language and concepts which the receiver understands and can duplicate, take the initiative in originating, etc.) The concept of intention is a "logical and psychological primitive" in this system and it is assumed that the reader knows what intention involves.
- (c). Attention-Sender: to actualize his intention to communicate the sender must put his attention on various aspects of the communication process: the message (content), sending the message (consider the direction, velocity, etc.), the distance and other barriers to be traversed (consider the optimal force to use to travel the distance--not too little or too much, use the proper energy form to get around or through the barriers and to use in the system), the form of the message -- make sure that the receiver can duplicate it accurately, etc.
- (d). Distance: communication closes a gap and this gap can be physical distance or it can be a gap in ideas and opinions and knowledge.
- (e). Effect-Receiver: something or someone must be there to receive the message eventually, otherwise the process is not social or inter-personal.
- (f). Attention-Receiver: "really listening" in an unbiased manner with full attention. It is obvious that the attention of the receiver must be on the

message rather than on something (anything) else (such as his problems, own thoughts and opinions and arguments concerning the content of the message, etc.) Many people find that their attention is off the sender and his message when they find something with which they disagree-their attention goes off the message and on to their own thoughts and rebuttals and counter arguments. Thus they do not know what the message contains or else they get the actual content of the message mixed with their thoughts about what was contained in the message -- they are imputing things to the sender that he didn't say.

- (g). Duplication: this plays a vital role in communication; it is necessary to have received the message accurately (without distortion) in order to respond to that message in an appropriate fashion. Duplication is the extent to which the message sent and the message received are similar in denotation and connotation.

- (3). The above 7 variables are all necessary and none are sufficient in the definition of social (one way) communication.

b. TWO WAY COMMUNICATION: INTERACTION

- (1). **DIAGRAMMATICALLY:**

A originates a message —————→ B receives and duplicates it.

A acknowledges that B has answered the question or executed the request. ←————— B answers the question or executes the request etc.

Then A and B reverse roles.

- (2). Each individual in the interaction must be willing to do the following in order to be in good communication. Both must be willing to:
- (a). be cause or effect at will (send or receive, switch roles freely)
 - (b). duplicate the other one's message.
 - (c). have the message they send in duplicable form.
 - (d). accommodate to the distance (physical, emotional, cognitive, etc.) between them.

- (3). **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**: The function of an acknowledgment is to let someone know that you have received and understood a communication. It is an action in the cycle of communication which puts a stop to that cycle and functions as a "behavioral period".

An acknowledgment is not to be confused with reward, punishment or reinforcement which are somehow related to the goals and needs of the person; however, an acknowledgment is a rewarding experience. The function of an acknowledgment is not to approve or disapprove or to evaluate in any way. It is simply to let the person know that you have received and understood his message.

- (4). Some of the conditions which can occur in distorted communication:

- (a). A failure to be duplicable before one emanates a communicator(a disease of many innovators and original thinkers).
- (b). An intention in the originator contrary to being received (as when one is enamored with his own verbiage).
- (c). An unwillingness or inability by the sender or receiver to give attention to the other and the message (as when one is "wrapped up in his own thoughts").
- (d). An unwillingness or inability to acknowledge and answer.
- (e). An unwillingness or inability to accommodate to the distance and other barriers.
- (f). An unwillingness or inability to duplicate or listen.

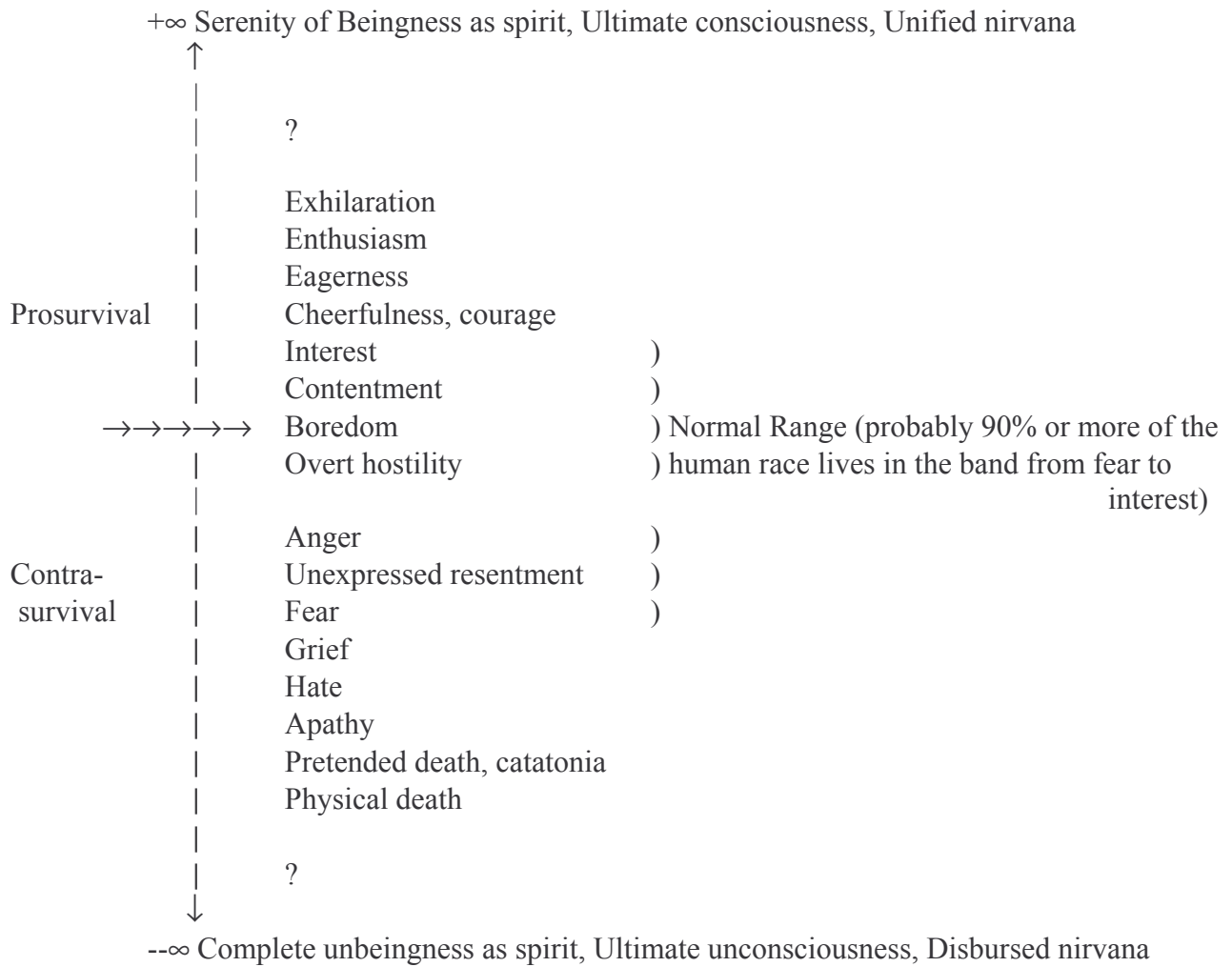
4. CLARITY (Reality, Agreement) Defined:

The extent to which the message sent and the message received are similar in denotation and connotation.

Reality is the degree of agreement or clarity reached by the two ends of a communication line (cause and effect points).

That which is real is only real because it is agreed upon and thus agreement is the essence of reality (but reality is not necessarily truth for people can believe completely false things with a high degree of reality- agreement; e.g. prejudice)

5. LEVELS OF HUMAN FUNCTIONING AND THE TONE SCALE.



II. ATTITUDE AND ATTITUDE CHANGE.

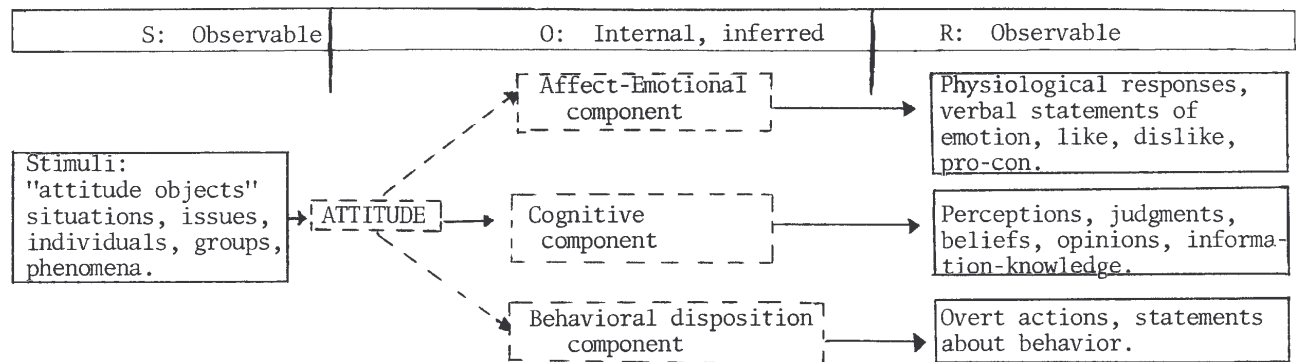
A. NATURE OF ATTITUDES.

1. DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS. (Costello & Zalkind p. 253)

- a. Attitude--an enduring system of positive or negative evaluation, emotional feeling, and pro or con action tendency with respect to an object, issue, phenomenon, etc.
- b. Opinion--the verbal expression of an attitude; attitudes can be expressed in non-verbal ways.
- c. Belief--the cognitive aspect of an attitude; all attitudes include beliefs but not all beliefs are attitudes.

2. DIMENSIONS OF ATTITUDES.

a. THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL. (Rosenberg, et al, p. 3)



b. RELATIONS BETWEEN DIMENSION AND COMPONENTS.

Dimension: (Krech, Crutchfield & Ballachey, 216-220; Costello & Zalkind P . 253-4)	Component		
	Emotional	Cognitive	Behavioural
1. Valance: a. Extremeness-intensity b. Direction: pro-con; positive-negative			
2. Complexity-Multiplexity a. Specific-general. b. Differentiation. c. Open-closed mindedness.			
3. Consistency: a. Within a component. b. Other components.			
4. Interconnectedness-value system: a. Other attitudes. b. Other components.			
5. Consonance-dissonance of attitude cluster.			
6. Strength and number of wants-needs served; functional relevance: instrumental, ego defensive, value expressive, knowledge.			
7. Centrality of related values.			

c. RELATION BETWEEN DEPTH OF CHANGE AND COMPONENT OF CHANGE.
(Kelman., Holland Hunt pp. 454-462)

Depth from shallow to deep	Component		
	Emotional	Cognitive	Behavioural
Compliance			
Identificaion			
Internalization			

Compliance: person accepts influence from another (person or group) because the person hopes to achieve a favorable reaction from the other (receiving rewards and/or avoiding punishments). w the person complies, he does what the agent wants him to do (or what the person thinks the agent wants him to do) because he sees it as a way of achieving a desired response from the other. The person does not adopt the behavior because he believes in its content but because it is useful for getting a desired result.

Identification: The person adopts behavior derived from the other (person or group) because this behavior is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this other (it forms a part of the person's self-concept). Accepting influence through identification is a way of establishing or maintaining the desired relationship to the other, and the self-definition that is anchored in this relationship.

Internalization: The person accepts influence because the induced behavior is congruent with his value system. The content of the induced behavior is intrinsically rewarding. The person

adopts it because he perceives it as inherently conducive to the maximization of his values. The crucial dimension of the inducing agent is his credibility or relation to the content.

	COMPLIANCE	IDENTIFICATION	INTERNALIZATION
ANTECEDENTS			
1. Basis for the importance of the induction; what is the motivational base:	Concern with social effect of behavior.	Concern with the social anchorage of the behavior.	Concern with the value congruence of the behavior.
2. Source of power of the influencing agent:	Control over means for the person to attain his goals.	Attractiveness based on occupying a desired position or role.	Credibility, truthfulness, worthy of serious consideration. Expertness and trustworthiness.
3. Manner of achieving prepotency of the induced behavior:	Limitation of choice behavior through pressures or blocking alternatives.	Delineation of the role requirements which are specified.	Reorganization of the person's conception of the means-ends relations.
CONSEQUENTS			
1. Conditions of performance of the induced behavior:	Surveillance by the influencing agent (Physically present or can find out).	Importance-salience of the relationship with the agent.	Relevance of the values to the issue.
2. Conditions of change and extinction of induced behavior:	Changed perceptions of conditions for social rewards (behavior is not useful).	Changed perceptions of conditions for satisfying self-defining relationship.	Changed perception of conditions for value maximization.
3. Type of behavior system in which induced behavior is imbedded:	External demands of a specific setting.	Expectations defining a specific role.	The person's value system.

B. FUNCTIONS OF ATTITUDES, CONDITIONS OF AROUSAL AND CHANGE

Functional approach is the attempt to understand the reasons people hold the attitudes they do; what psychological need is being met with the attitude?

Attitude arousal involves the description of the appropriate conditions which evoke a give attitude. Generally dependent on the excitation of some need in the individual or some relevant cue in the environment.

Attitude change involves specifying the factors which predict the modification of different types of attitudes. Conditions conducive to attitude change involve the idea that the expression of an old attitude or its anticipated expression no longer gives satisfaction to its related need state. It no longer serves its function and the individual feels blocked or frustrated. Modifying an old attitude or replacing it with a new one is a process of learning. Learning starts with a problem or being thwarted in coping with a situation. Being blocked is a necessary but not sufficient condition for attitude change.

FUNCTION, ORIGIN, BASIS	AROUSAL CONDITIONS	CHANGE CONDITIONS
<p><u>Adjustment, instrumental.</u> Utility of the attitudinal object in need satisfaction. Maximizing external rewards & minimizing punishments. Attitudes acquired in service of adjustment are either means for reaching a goal or emotional associations based on satisfactions attained.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Activation of needs associated with the attitude. 2. Salience of cues associated with need satisfaction. The person must perceive the appropriate cues associated with the content of the attitude. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Need deprivation & dissatisfaction. The attitude and the activities related to it no longer provide satisfactions they once did. 2. Creation of new needs and new levels of aspiration, 3. Shifting rewards punishments. Showing that a new attitude will lead to better reward & avoid punishment. The use of punishment & arousal of fear depend for their effectiveness upon the presence of well-defined paths for avoidance of negative aspects. If no clear relation between the punishment and the desired behavior, people may continue to behave as before but now they have negative attitudes towards the persons and objects associated with the negative sanctions. Also may develop defensive avoidance of whole situation. 4. Emphasis on new and better paths for need satisfaction.
<p><u>Ego Defensive.</u> Protecting against internal conflicts & external dangers. Defense mechanisms: denial, distortion (rationalization, projection, displacement).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Posing of threats to ego. Appeals to hatreds & repressed impulses, & providing socially acceptable support for the expression of the attitude. 3. Rise in frustrations. The strength of defensive reactions rises due to inhibition of impulses and frustrations. Where negative attitudes exist, frustration in areas unrelated to the attitude will increase the strength of the negative attitude. 4. Use of authoritarian suggestion and appeal to authority. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Removal of threats. The usual procedures for changing attitude & behavior (information, promising rewards & invoking punishments) have little effect on ego defensive attitudes and may boomerang, An attack may make the person even more defensive and resistant. Removal of threat is necessary but not sufficient condition permissive & supportive atmosphere of therapy). 2. Catharsis-express feelings. Reduce emotional tension so that other factors may work to change the person. Works on two levels. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Release or drain off emotional charge. b. Bring to surface something of the nature of the conflict in the individual. 3. Develop self insight into own defensive mechanisms. People high in defensiveness are not affected by insight material but people low or moderate are. Changes in attitude by arousal of self-insight persist for longer time than change produced by fact or pressure to conform.

FUNCTION, ORIGIN, BASIS	AROUSAL CONDITIONS	CHANGE CONDITIONS
<u>Value expression.</u> Maintaining self identity, enhancing favorable self-image. Person derives satisfactions from expressing attitudes appropriate to personal values and self concept.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Salience of cues associated with values. 2. Appeals to individual to reassert self-image due to thwarting of the person's expressive behavior in the immediate past. 3. Ambiguities which threaten self-concept. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some degree of satisfaction with self; the complacent & the arrogant person is immune to attitude change. 2. Greater appropriateness of new attitude for the self. Old attitudes seen as inappropriate to values lead to change. 3. Control of all environmental supports to undermine old values (no social support).
<u>Knowledge.</u> Need for understanding, for meaningful cognitive organization, for consistency & clarity.	Reinstatement of cues associated with old problem or of old problem itself.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ambiguity created by new information or change in environment. Existing attitudes inadequate to deal with new & changing situation. 2. More meaningful information about problems.

C. PROBLEMS AND APPLICATIONS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY: SOME GUIDELINES. (Costello and Zalkind, pp. 290-297)

The administrator-manager should:

1. Recognize that attitudes serve different functions. In order to change, the person must feel a need to change; a need stronger than the need to maintain the "Old" attitude. One need that may at times be helpfully aroused is the need to reduce feelings of inconsistency or of dissonance.
2. It is the need to change that must be aroused. Other needs that are satisfied by "outside" inducements may bring about compliance, but not bring a shift of attitudes that will serve as the basis for maintaining new behavior without the inducement (surveillance). For example, a reward system for promptness may thus cut lateness when the rewards are sought by the individual, but may later decline in effectiveness, or may not work to change attitude toward lateness. The individuals may seek ways to beat the system or show up late if the rewards seem lost.
3. Try to arouse values that are important to the other person or encourage him to feel some dissatisfaction with his attitudes. Then, if he can see how a change in attitudes will be more consistent with other values he accepts, shifts may occur ...BUT...
4. Don't arouse feelings of threat. If ego-defensiveness comes into play, the threats may boomerang, just as inducements may. The chance for the person to let off steam and to express his ideas and feelings may allow him to see that a change is not a threat.
5. Give the individual (or group) a special role, if possible, that leads to behavior that arouses feelings of dissonance and that leads to attitude changes. Or, use his present roles if he can be helped to see that a presently existing role is incompatible with certain attitudes. The person's subjective feeling of personal choice is crucial here. To the extent the person feels he had no

choice his attitude about the area will not change but he may become more negative to the agent causing the dissonance.

6. Use the group as a source of support for attitude shifts. A variety of needs are fulfilled in this way.
7. Get an expression of commitment (the more public the expression the better) to changed behavior; if possible, to a kind of behavior that is linked to existing values or attitudes that may, in turn, act as magnets to attract other attitudes. Getting the person to make some sort of effort (not "bribery") can lead to movement of attitudes. If that effort is based on values or attitudes consistent with the attitudes the administrator is trying to develop, it will be particularly effective.
8. With all these suggestions, maximize the feeling of choice for the individual. Earlier attitudes will be viewed with less ego-defensiveness if the person feels he has chosen to behave in new ways and that these new ways lead to new attitudes.
9. Recognize the useful limits of information. Seek to be (deservedly) credible as a source of information. Provide access to information, and if possible arouse needs that will lead the person to choose to use the valuable information. Provide a "low pressure" rationale (within the framework of the other suggestions).
10. Notice individual differences--both in attitudes and in their "shiftability".
11. Don't be surprised if--after trying these ideas--attitudes still don't change (much). Also, don't be surprised if, by ignoring these suggestions, attitudes change even less. The odds are more with you if you understand some current knowledge on attitudes, even if the odds are not 100 to 1.

Realize that attitude change can work in two directions. Others are seeking to change the administrator's attitudes too. And why (without being defensive), the administrator must ask himself, should his attitudes never change?

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