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Staff Paper

A PLAN FOR THE STUDY OF INFLUENCE PROCESSES
IN MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

by

Douglas S. Holmes

This Staff Paper has been prepared for dissemination within HumRRO for purposes of information or coordination internal to the organization. It does not necessarily represent official opinion or policy of either the Human Resources Research Office or the Department of the Army.

May 1969

HumRRO Division No. 4 (Infantry)
The George Washington University
HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH OFFICE
operating under contract with
THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

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PREFATORY NOTE

This Staff Paper was prepared to summarize work accomplished under Exploratory Study 60, Troop Information.

The over-all objective of ES-60 is to determine the feasibility of research aimed at evaluating and improving the Army's capability to increase the individual soldier's understanding of the Army and his motivation to perform to the limit of his ability.
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A PLAN FOR THE STUDY OF INFLUENCE PROCESSES IN MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

BACKGROUND

On 2 May 1968, the Office, Chief of Information, and the Office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, Department of the Army, requested research that would have, as a minimum, the following objectives:

1. Evaluation of the current Command Information Program to determine its effectiveness relative to the program objectives.

2. Recommended action to improve command information objectives, standards, and training techniques.

3. Determine the feasibility of broadening the scope of the Command Information Program to include additional activities related to Cold War missions.

More generally, the Army would like to know how best to control attitudes.

To determine the feasibility of research that would fulfill these requirements, a literature survey was undertaken in the area of mass communication, attitude change, and influence processes.

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS

It is commonly assumed that attitudes are a major factor in determining performances. Because military performance is important, attitudes are important to the military. The relationship between attitudes and performances is an important topic for scientific study also.

Attitudes

Cohen (1, p. 131) implied that the divergence between the findings of laboratory and field research may, in part, be due to the experimenter's habitual use of attitudes readily susceptible to modification. Thus, laboratory studies may not be relevant to performance of interest to the military.

"Recently, Cohen (1964) and Festinger (1964) appear to have become skeptical concerning the significance of attitude manipulations in the laboratory. Each posed a test for the relevance of laboratory studies to attitude change phenomena. The argument takes the following form: Since attitudes (evaluative predispositions) are assumed to have consequences for the way people behave--for their
interaction with others, for their programs of action and persuasion—then experimental manipulations shown to produce attitude change should also produce a change in behavior, that is, changes in learning, performance, and interaction. Thus, Cohen (1964) stated that 'until experimental research demonstrates that attitude change has consequences for subsequent behavior, we cannot be certain that our procedures for inducing change do anything more than cause cognitive realignments...' (p. 138). Parenthetically, this is essentially the same significance test that Asch (1952) proposed many years ago with respect to conformity experiments (3, p. 80).

Insko discusses the problem of immediate and long term behavioral effects of attitude and opinion change:

"This neglected problem was brought to attention by Cohen (1964), Festinger (1964) and Greenwald (1965). Granted that the connection between attitudes and behavior may not be a very direct one, there certainly should be some connection and it is time to thoroughly investigate this whole problem. Perhaps rather than approaching the problem by investigating the effect of attitude change upon behavior change, a more immediately productive approach would be to investigate the effect of behavior change (e.g., through experimentally manipulated role-playing) upon attitude change" (4, p. 346).

"The survey of the various theoretical orientations in the preceding pages makes it quite evident that the field of attitude change is a long way from having any one theory that is a serious contender as a respectable general theory. From the present vantage point the most glaring weakness of contemporary theorizing is the lack of emphasis upon the relation between attitudes and behavior. The theories seem to have concentrated on the relation between attitudes (affection) and opinions (cognitions) and have almost completely neglected behavior (conation). Common sense seems to suggest that there is some relation between attitudes and behavior, but social psychology has been slow to explore the matter. What are the circumstances under which attitude or opinion change might be expected to produce behavior change? Surely such circumstances need to be theoretically specified" (4, p. 348).

Triandis (5) reviews many studies based on his three component analyses of attitudes. The behavioral component is based on questionnaire data and represents a sophisticated approach to the problem of the relationship between attitudes and behavior. One of the main values of the Triandis approach lies in the relative ease with which it can be investigated.
Weick in discussing attitude change experiments states:

"One of the most common discussions among researchers is that there seems to be a poor fit between attitudes and behavior. Perhaps their puzzlement is not so surprising when we consider that very seldom do they watch attitude change and behavior at one sitting in the laboratory. Seldom are subjects given the opportunity to do anything about their beliefs. Thus, it should not be surprising that attitudes change in the laboratory but that these changes are fleeting.

"The changes might be more stable if the subject could do something to validate or find support for them (e.g., Festinger, 1964). Hovland made a similar point in 1959, yet it has often been overlooked in favor of his more straightforward comparisons of the laboratory and the field. He noted that the field has numerous feedback loops that are absent in the laboratory. One consequence of these loops is that they affect influences that occurred earlier in the persuasion sequence" (6, pp. 61-62).

McGuire cites several studies on opinion change and action change:

"The perennial question of what degree of relationship obtains between opinion change and gross behavioral change continues to attract a modicum of interest, as would be expected for a topic of considerable practical and some theoretical interest. Several studies on the relationship of persuasion to physiological change have been cited earlier in this chapter. Campbell accounts for the often low correlation between the two measures by arguing that the action index measures the effect over a longer course and a higher hurdle than the verbal opinion index. In the classical picture, the correlation between the two was assumed to derive from the effect of opinion on action. Now the perspective has reversed because of the impact of dissonance theory, and the correlation is expected for the reverse reason, because actions affect opinions, as discussed above in the section on justification and forced compliance. Yet, Festinger, the big man responsible for this little reversal, has recently pointed out the zero correlation (or even negative correlation) between the two in a number of studies. Perhaps the dissonance theorists will come to regard verbalized opinion change and gross action change as alternative, rather than complimentary, responses to persuasive communications" (7, pp. 503-504).
Moskos (8), in a prepublication chapter of his forthcoming book about the relationship between attitudes and behavior, classifies combat motivation under four headings: (1) national character, (2) operation of the formal organization, (3) national patriotism, beliefs, and ideology, and (4) primary groups.

Moskos' view is:

"Combat motivation must be understood in terms of the linkages between individual self-concern, primary group properties, and the shared beliefs of soldiers. Rather than viewing the ideological and primary group explanations as somehow contradictory, an understanding of the combat soldier's motivation requires a simultaneous appreciation of the role of small groups and underlying value commitments as they are shaped by the immediate combat situation" (8, p. 3).

"... It is proposed that primary groups serve to maintain the soldier in his combat role only when there is an underlying commitment to the worth-whileness of the larger social system for which he is fighting. This commitment need not be formally articulated, nor even perhaps consciously recognized" (8, p. 18).

Moskos acknowledges that American soldiers are anti-ideological, but he feels that they have a latent ideology, i.e., social and cultural sources for those beliefs manifest in the attitudes toward the war in Vietnam.

"Latent ideology in this context refers to those widely-shared sentiments of soldiers which, though not overtly political, nor even necessarily sub-political, nevertheless have concrete consequences on combat motivation" (8, p. 19).

Moskos' candidates for latent ideology include Americanism or elemental Nationalism which, in turn, is based on materialism. Materialism is basically the idea that America is good because America is powerful and affluent. Moskos suggests that if American soldiers were committed to fighting in a country which had a higher living standard than our own that they might seriously question the worth-whileness of the effort. The paper by Moskos is extremely insightful and raises some profound questions.
Attitude Measurement

Measuring attitudes is important to the Army because it enables the Army to spot sources of trouble, e.g., Stouffer's work on the point system in World War II and Sample Survey (9, 10).

Propaganda

Enemy propaganda aims at converting American soldiers; the Army should be concerned about counteracting effects of enemy propaganda.

Influencing Attitudes

One could argue against formal efforts at influencing attitudes of soldiers, perhaps on the basis of lack of relevance of current efforts to influence attitudes, but conservative wisdom dictates that efforts continue to be made in the absence of overwhelming evidence that the efforts are unworthy. An example of where conservative wisdom won out over scientific conclusions is the area of psychotherapy where effectiveness of psychotherapy failed to be demonstrated for a number of years. More recently, finer breakdowns of data have suggested that psychotherapy is sometimes helpful and sometimes harmful, etc. The point is that the argument against studying attitudes cannot be substantiated on the basis of scientific evidence, even if the scientific evidence indicates that attitudes are not worth the Army's concern.

Timeliness of Study

The timeliness of studying topics suggested in this paper has been independently assessed by social scientists concerned with the military.

"In the fall of 1957, the advisory panel on psychology and the social sciences of the Office of Director of Defense Research and Engineering initiated a series of planning studies of the research on human behavior required to meet long-range needs of the Department of Defense. The general philosophy was to define research areas relevant to future military needs, ready to advance in the next ten years and particularly ready if given a new and different kind or level of support than those areas were then receiving.

"In May 1959, the research planning studies were transferred to the Smithsonian Institute under contract. To complete the studies, the Smithsonian established a research group in psychology and the social sciences which proposed a definition of the objectives of defense support of long-range research on human behavior and recommended specific subject matter emphases and methods of support for the topics emphasized."
"The recommendations have been accepted in broad principle within the Department of Defense. Increased support should be given to technologically oriented long-range studies within the general field of human performance, military organization, and persuasion and motivation" (11, p. 527).

"Messages are passed on from person to person, but beyond the first few links, we know almost nothing of the process. The general questions are of who knows whom in a given kind of society, how influence and authority are exerted within it, how information spreads, and is reflected in attitude changes as it passes from person to person. The mass communication audience is a social structure, not an aggregation of individuals. Individuals seem to vote, buy, think, and act with other individuals who are significant to them and whose beliefs are salient to the issue at hand ...

"One of the major findings of attitude research in World War II was that the American soldier was motivated less by ideology and training than by his desire not to let his buddy down. A combination is suggested of field studies using attitude survey techniques with laboratory studies of two-person interactions in response to persuasion in simulated situations.

"There has been little systematic research on the characteristics of the communicator, on the pressures which impinge upon him, on his sources, on his use of feedback information from those to whom he communicates, on his role, in other words, as an integral part of a communications system. The Department of Defense should be interested in studies of opinion leaders—internal, allied, neutral, and enemy—in prisoner-of-war camps, guerrilla bands, and barracks cliques, as well as in military and political leaders" (11, p. 539).

It should be noted that, between the military problem and scientific considerations, there is much overlap. This is because the Army has been using previous research as part of the basis for its current programs.

**SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS**

**Defining Attitudes**

The history of defining attitudes is like the history of defining personality. The formal definition(s) depend to a large extent on the theoretical framework espoused by the definition maker. I have no favorite definition, but three good discussions of the issue are contained in the following sources:
Shaw and Wright (12) discuss the topic of attitudes. They state:

"We believe that attitude is best viewed as a set of affective reactions toward the attitude object derived from the concepts or beliefs that the individual has concerning the object and predisposing the individual to behave in a certain manner toward the attitude object. Although intimately related to attitude, neither the propositions that the individual accepts about the object (beliefs) nor the action tendencies are a part of the attitude itself.

"Our conception rejects the notion that attitudes are composed of three components, rather the affective reactions specified by the traditional analysis constitute the attitude; the traditional cognitive component provides the basis for an evaluation and thereby for the attitude; and the attitude predisposes the individual to act in a certain manner toward the attitude object. We accept the other characteristics of attitude as traditionally described; that is, attitudes are learned; they are relatively stable; they have a specific referent (or class thereof); they vary in direction, in intensity, and they possess varying degrees of interrelatedness and of scope. We would add that they possess varying degrees of definitiveness" (12, p. 13).

Rokeach (13) has a unique and valuable approach which he discusses along with a summary of the literature.

"To summarize this chapter, the following more extended definition is offered: An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of interrelated beliefs that describe, evaluate, and advocate action with respect to an object or situation with each belief having cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Each of these beliefs is a predisposition that when suitably activated results in some preferential response toward the attitude object or situation or toward others who take a position with respect to the attitude object or situation, or toward the maintenance or preservation of the attitude itself. Since an attitude object must always be encountered within some situation about which we also have an attitude, a minimum condition for social behavior is the activation of at least two interacting attitudes, one concerning the attitude object and the other concerning the situation" (13, p. 132).

Inako (4) discusses the nature of attitudes, as well as methodological considerations.
Attitude Instruments

Attitudes are what attitude instruments measure. There is a clear analogy between definitions of intelligence and measures of IQ and the situation with attitudes. Thurstone, Likert, and Guttman Scales are well known and certainly have led to much productive work. Shaw and Wright (12, pp. 15-33) discuss methods of scale construction and summarize major issues involved in scale selection.

Osgood's Semantic Differential, in my opinion, possesses great advantages over other methods. The book by Osgood et al. (14) is still the best source for reading about the Semantic Differential; however, a new book is to be published which I believe contains the major articles that have appeared since 1957. The superiority of the Semantic Differential derives from its ease of administration, its well-known factor structure, and its versatility in terms of adjectival scales to select. Simplicity and power are important virtues.

The most exciting development in attitude measurement is Sherif's work on the latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and non-commitment (15, pp. 105-139). The social judgment-involvement approach to attitudes ordinarily uses the method of ordered alternatives for assessing the structure of attitude:

"In order to obtain measures of the three latitudes, the subject is simply asked to indicate the position most acceptable to him (his own position), any others that are acceptable or not objectionable, the position most objectionable to him, and any others that may be objectionable. Note that he is not asked to respond successively to every statement. In fact, many subjects prefer not to do so, and the positions which they neither accept nor reject constitute the latitude of non-commitment" (15, pp. 116-117).

From the patterns of the latitudes, one can estimate the subject's ego involvement with an issue. (See McCroskey (16) for dissenting opinion.) Also, assimilation and contrast effect can be predicted. Sherif's main point is that a single point on a scale as a measure of attitude leaves out much or most of what is most important concerning an individual's attitude toward an object. Sherif's method appears to be capable of revealing substantially more than other methods of measuring attitudes. From a practical point of view, Sherif's method appears highly desirable because it promises to reveal enough about attitudes to increase the chances of predicting behavior, as well as provides a framework for assessing the practical significance of attitude changes. Clearly, attitude changes which go from the latitude of acceptance to the latitude
of rejection are of extreme importance; whereas, changes within the latitude of acceptance are not so important. The point is that the technique is individualized for the particular subject and uses the subject's own scale rather than an external absolute scale. Hence, one can better evaluate the practical meaning of a change in mean scale value for an individual. The magnitude of change becomes relatively unimportant because of the relative importance of the built-in boundaries of acceptance and rejection.

The desirability of combining Sherif's technique with the Semantic Differential is obvious. Diab has worked on this (15, pp. 140-158). Unfortunately, not enough work has been done to make the technique practical for large-scale use. McCroskey has recently published an article on the same topic (16). If the Semantic Differential can be effectively combined with Sherif's technique, then the practical benefits of future research probably will be vastly increased.

Long-Term Changes

It should be noted here that the problem of long-term changes is of great relevance to research in this area. To quote Insko:

"A problem that has been too long neglected relates to the long term attitudinal and opinion effects of various persuasive manipulations. Most researchers have been content to demonstrate that a manipulation has an immediate effect and have simply neglected the equally important long-term effects. There are undoubtedly several reasons for this neglect, such as the difficulty of gaining access to subjects for a second time, the problem of repeated measurements on the same subjects, and the belief that long-term effects will be minimal or nonsignificant. The first problem can be handled with more work, the second problem can be handled by increasing the sample size and assessing different subgroups at only one point in time, and the third problem is a matter for empirical study. Certainly if most of the manipulations do, in fact, have only transitory effects, this is a serious indictment of attitude change research" (4, p. 346).

The expectancy effects (Rosenthal, 17) are probably especially likely to influence results of laboratory studies on attitudes. A very recent study, for which I do not have a reference, reported that attitude change was greater in a laboratory situation than in a situation where the same manipulations took place outside of the laboratory. Because long-term effects have been little studied and relationships to performance have been little studied, there is great need for caution in designing studies on attitudes. It is all too possible for minor effects of little practical importance to lie at the heart of such studies.
Processes of Attitude Formation and Change

Lasswell's (18) statement, "Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?" provides an organization for most of the research accomplished. Hovland's 1954 chapter (19) is an excellent summary of work up to that point. Cohen's 1964 book (1) brings it up to date, and the new Handbook of Social Psychology ought to have several chapters on attitudes.

Almost all previous work on attitudes is of potential value to Exploratory Study 60; however, only work that is relevant to the main theme of the Study will be touched upon in this paper.

Three "type theories" take a functional approach to attitude change and are discussed in Insko (4, pp. 330-344). The basic assumption of the type theories is that, in order to know how to change attitudes, you have to know what type of attitude you are trying to change. Kelman's theory (20) appears to be extremely fruitful and suitable when applied to the full context of the military problem. His theory has not yet been fully tested but appears to be based on an insightful analysis of the processes of attitude formation and change.

Table 1 presents Kelman's summary of the distinctions among three social influence processes. Some of the thinking behind Kelman's table is as follows:

"Kelman starts with the assumption that opinions adopted under different conditions of social influence and based on different motivations will differ in terms of their qualitative characteristics and their subsequent histories. ... Kelman, however, specifies the functional basis not just in terms of motives but also in terms of antecedent social influence conditions. Approaching attitudes as a function both of motives and of antecedent social influence conditions leads to a distinctively different kind of theory.

"Kelman distinguishes three processes of social influence: compliance, identification, and internalization. Each of these social influence processes theoretically leads to a different type of opinion or attitude. Compliance occurs when an individual accepts influence from another person or group, with the hope of gaining some reward or avoiding some punishment controlled by this person or group.

"Identification occurs when an individual adopts another person's or group's opinions because these opinions are associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship with this person or group."
KELMAN'S SUMMARY OF THE DISTINCTIONS AMONG
THE THREE SOCIAL INFLUENCE PROCESSES

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A self-defining relationship is 'a role relationship that forms a part of the person's self-image.' This role relationship can either take the form of classical identification in which the individual takes over all or part of the influencing agent's role, or it may take the form of a reciprocal role relationship in which the roles of the two parties are defined with reference to each other.

"Internalization occurs when an individual accepts an opinion because it is congruent with his value system. In this case, the content of the opinion itself is rewarding and external incentives are unimportant" ... (4, pp. 337-338).

Kelman emphasizes that internalization can occur because an opinion is congruent with either a rational or an irrational value system, thus keeping internalization rooted in reality. Finally, it should be said that, according to Kelman, if an opinion has certain antecedents, it will of necessity have certain consequence. Most of the rest of Kelman's thinking is implicit in Table 1.

Kelman's theory is relevant to the Army for a number of reasons. For one thing, forced compliance is obviously an important ingredient of Army life; so also is identification as Stouffer's work, etc., on primary groups has indicated. Perhaps most important from a practical point of view, the source of power of the influencing agent, i.e., the Army and its designates, and the manner of achieving prepotency of the induced response, differ according to which of the three social influence processes are involved. I doubt that the Troop Information Command, for example, has thought in these terms before, yet obviously if Kelman's analysis is taken seriously, there are clear implications for what the Army ought to do. For example, the credibility of a spokesman, according to Kelman, relates most to the process of internalization; whereas, attractiveness relates most to a process of identification. The Army ought to be clear as to what it is trying to accomplish in terms of Kelman's theorizing because if it is not clear, then it may slant its TIC program towards identification but may use means more appropriate to internalization, etc.

In my opinion, Kelman's theory provides the best approach from the attitude literature for keeping straight the things that are really important and can be manipulated by the Army organization in its attempts to shape attitudes. I see Kelman's theory as mainly a background resource that will be indispensable to research at the point at which it focuses on manipulating attitudes of significance to the Army.

It should be noted that by adopting Kelman's perspective towards attitude research, most current studies become largely irrelevant as a
basis for further work. Most research is based on consistency or balance theories of one sort or another. Except for Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory, the balance or congruity principles and findings can be accepted as a given, and the focus of research in ES 60 can involve matters of more practical importance.

Group influences are essential to the processes involved in attitude formation and change. Sherif is perhaps the leading exponent of a current zeitgeist. In the quote that follows, he refers to the scaling possibilities inherent in his latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and noncommitment, as well as, in my opinion, accurately assesses future payoffs of present research.

"Psychologically, the distances from one position to another on psychosocial scales may differ considerably from individual to individual: positions near a person's acceptable range appear closer, and those in his objectionable range appear more distant. The appropriate yardstick for measuring individual differences and attitudinal functioning is the scale prevailing in their reference groups.

"Placing the individual's attitude and behavior in the context of his reference groups is essential in attitude research for other reasons as well. A person does not form attitudes nor expose himself to communication pertinent to them nor change them in a social vacuum nor does he form attitudes just for the sake of a researcher who wants to study them. His attitudes represent established ways of relating himself to others in the very real business of living in a world peopled by other human beings. They are never divorced, in his mind, from his relationships with others who count in his eyes. They have to do with how well he gets along and whom he gets along with, how well he stacks up with others, what he desires, and what he detests.

"Unlike the attitude researcher who views the solitary individual with his attitude exposed in splendid isolation to a communicator with a message, the individual himself is constantly mindful of others in his reference groups when alone, and continually dealing with them when he is not. Thus, whether the researcher likes it or not, the individual's reference groups, their scales of values, and his real give and take with them are parts of the context for attitude formation and change. The most significant communications to the individual are those exchanged in his reference groups, whether they originate there or filter through the discussions among individual members. The necessity of studying attitude formation and attitude change in the context of the reference groups of the individuals in question is elaborated in the last section of Chapter 6 (pp. 203-218)."
"Because of such considerations, which are stressed throughout this book, problems of attitude formation and change are being studied increasingly by researchers in the front lines of this vital problem area in the matrix of reference group ties of subjects. Developments in attitude research that will advance its frontiers most unerringly are in the direction of linking the psychological problems of the individual's attitudes with the processes of group functioning and intergroup encounters, which are their abiding context" (21, p. 246).

Controlling Attitudes

A formal organization may have one of three objectives in controlling the attitudes of its members:

a. **Reinforce.** An organization may wish to reinforce desirable pre-existing attitudes. Klapper (22) emphasizes that the chances for doing this are fairly good.

b. **Convert.** An organization may wish to convert or change undesirable attitudes. Klapper (22) emphasizes the extreme difficulties involved in attempting to do this successfully.

c. **Prevent.** McGuire (23) presents an "inoculation theory" which is concerned with how to make attitudes resistant to change. Other theories of attitude change do have implications concerning ways of inducing resistance to persuasion, but the inoculation theory is the only major formulation that focuses primarily upon this problem. Following the biological analogy, McGuire contends that there are two possible ways to make someone resistant to counter-attitudinal propaganda. One way is to make the attitude healthier by providing supportive information and arguments. The other way is to inoculate the attitudes by presenting the individual with weakened counter-attitudinal propaganda. If the individual has been living in an environment where his attitudes have not been threatened, the inoculation procedure, it is predicted, will be the superior one. Up to now, primarily cultural truisms have been focused on as the attitudinal content; however, the insights lying behind McGuire's formulation appear to be strong enough to deserve testing with highly ego-involving types of attitudes. To the Army, prevention of undesirable attitudes would seem to be extremely important, e.g., immunization against enemy propaganda and immunization against developing unfavorable attitudes to the Army as a function of experience in it.

Army programs designed to influence attitudes should be clear as to whether the purpose is to reinforce, convert, or prevent attitudes. It might be possible to develop a manual indicating what techniques are most desirable for each purpose. In some cases, for example, where identification is the social influence process involved, the same technique might be desirable for reinforcing, converting, or preventing attitudes. In other cases, the techniques would differ.
It should be noted that Command Information Program literature indicates that the Army is aware of the distinction between reinforcing and converting attitudes. The notion of reinforcing pre-existing attitudes developed in the home, schools, and church appears to be sound. Clearly, the possibilities of converting individuals to new attitudinal positions are limited.

Methods of Controlling Attitudes

A formal organization has five means at its disposal to influence attitudes:

a. Policy statements from high levels.

b. Mass communication efforts.

c. Front-line supervisors.

d. Concrete aids provided by the organization to help front-line supervisors.

e. Formal programs conducted by front-line supervisors or others.

Mass Communication

Work on mass communication is important because in large part the Command Information Program represents a mass communication effort. There are three major sources that review research and ideas concerning mass communication. First, Weiss (24) has written a chapter that will appear in Lindsey's New Handbook of Social Psychology. Second, Klapper (22, 25) is the pre-eminent authority who best represents a multi-disciplinary approach. He communicates well with journalists, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, etc. In the quotation that follows, he presents his most recent conclusions. His discussion of reinforcement should clarify the earlier distinction concerning reinforcing, converting, or preventing attitudes.

"Twenty-odd years of mass communication research have identified some tendencies that are basic and even axiomatic. Perhaps most basic and widely confirmed is the finding that mass communication ordinarily serves as an agent of reinforcement for such attitudes, opinions, and behavioral tendencies as the individual audience members already possess. The term 'reinforcement,' it must be noted, is not used here in the sense
that it is employed in learning theories but rather with less specialized reference to the intensification or support of existing attitudes against the possibly corrosive effects of time and counter influences.

"A second finding, and a logical correlate of the first, is that mass communication rarely serves as an agent of attitude conversion. Of course, this is not to say that mass communication never produces attitude changes, but only that conversion in the sense of a reversal of the direction of an attitude is a rare effect that occurs under highly specific conditions.

"Types of attitude change other than conversion are more common. Thus, the third basic finding is that mass communication often modifies existing attitudes of audience members in one direction or the other but to a degree short of nullifying the attitude or of effecting conversion.

"The fourth basic finding that needs to be cited here is that mass communication has been found extremely effective in creating attitudes or opinions in regard to topics on which the audience member has no previous opinion at all" (25, pp. 297-298).

"... We may turn ... to consideration of some of the factors and conditions that are apparently responsible for the relative incidence of these effects.

"Although somewhat digressive, it is germane to note at this point that the identification of the factors responsible for the relative incidence of the effects was long delayed by the persistence in mass communication research of what has become known as the 'hypodermic model.' With rare exceptions, mass communication research up to the late 1950's was designed on the implicit or explicit assumption that the communication was a pure stimulus, like the serum in a hypodermic syringe, which, when injected, would either produce a response or would fail to do so. This simple S-R model was of course duly modified into an S-O-R model, with the audience member as the organism. Although this was a step in the right direction, it can hardly be said that it provided any dramatic breakthroughs. Not until the late 1950's and early 1960's did this model give real ground to the current model. Today's model is at once so simple and obvious in concept and so complex in implementation that it can scarcely be called a model at all. More accurately described, it is a
point of view, on the basis of which models are designed for specific studies. In brief, this approach no longer conceives the phenomenon under study as a unidirectional affair with one independent variable. Instead, the mass communication situation is viewed as an interactive life experience, in which the audience member and his social milieu affect the nature of the communication that he is exposed to and mediate its effects upon him. The process is regarded as multidirectional, and the independent variables are recognized as numerous. In any given study plan, provision must be made for investigating and controlling these several independent variables.

"The process of effect is, in my opinion, almost always a manifestation of one or more of three roads. I have previously formulated these roads and I here draw for their description on my previously published work (Klapper, 1960).

'First, I propose that mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences.

'Secondly, I propose that these mediating factors are such that they typically render mass communication a contributory agent, but not the sole cause, in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions. (Regardless of the condition in question—be it the vote intentions of audience members, their tendency toward or away from delinquent behavior, or their general orientation toward life and its problems—and regardless of whether the effect in question be social or individual, the media are more likely to reinforce than to change.

'Thirdly, I propose that on such occasions as mass communication does function in the service of change, one of two conditions is likely to exist. Either: (a) the mediating factors will be found to be inoperative and the effect of the media will be found to be direct; or (b) the mediating factors, which normally favor reinforcement, will be found to be themselves impelling toward change" (25, pp. 299-300).

"Mediating factors" are most important for ES-60. Klapper calls attention to three mediating factors, which although not the primary focus of ES-60 remain as background variables.
"To whatever degree the propositions summarized above are valid, a description of the process of effect will involve identifying the mediating factors and observing them at work. Let us first look at several which are, as it were, resident in the audience member. They are part of the O in the now obsolete S-O-R formula. They are also likely to be old friends—familars long known but perhaps not so widely considered as mediating factors that tend to make mass communications agents of reinforcement.

"The most basic of these mediators are audience predispositions and their progeny, the selective processes. The term 'predisposition' is here used in its everyday sense to mean an existing tendency toward or against some view or some mode of behavior. It is now quite firmly established that people's predisposition largely govern the way they use mass media. The immediate manifestations of this tendency are known as the selective processes. It has become traditional to talk in terms of three selective processes, namely, selective exposure, selective retention, and selective perception" (22, pp. 300-301).

The following quote by Klapper concisely summarizes the extent to which a mass communications approach is most relevant to the concerns of ES-60:

"Various other mediators serve similar functions, and many of them are clearly social in origin. Two of the most important are (1) groups and group norms, and (2) the process of opinion leadership or personal influence.

"There is a long tradition of research that has established the crucial role of the group as a source of individual attitudes and opinions. Such attitudes and opinions have been shown repeatedly to derive not only from basic primary groups, such as the family, but also from quasi-primary groups, such as play and peer groups, and from secondary groups, such as those formed by the mere existence of co-workers, co-memberships in the same union local, and the like.

"Such groups are of course the source of many of the opinions, attitudes, and values that are reinforced by mass communication through the agencies of selective exposure, selective retention, and selective perception. These group-engendered attitudes derive, in fact, from group norms, and the group continues to serve as an anchoring point in holding the individual to the group opinion, thus directing the selective processes through
which the individual reacts to mass communication. An excellent illustration of the end results of this process is seen in the political homogeneity of groups, the degree of which correlates with how primary the group is."

(25, p. 303).

"This discussion cannot, of course, review all the ways in which groups and group norms may, can, and do serve to mediate the effects of mass communication. We will rest content with having indicated that they do so and with pointing out one other extremely important way in which they do, namely, by serving as an arena for individual face-to-face personal influence.

"The term 'personal influence' is here used to refer to a phenomenon that has been called a variety of names including 'opinion leadership,' 'influentialism,' 'initiation,' and 'the two-step flow' of communication. The concept, like others cited earlier, was first noted by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet in The People's Choice. It has been further investigated and refined, exaggerated and modified by perhaps 50 different studies and evaluation papers... particularly in the areas of rural and industrial sociology and market research.

"The bare bones of the concept of personal influence lie in the fact that in reference to decisions in various areas of attitude and behavior, people have been found to be influenced by specific other individuals as strongly or more strongly than they have been influenced by mass communication. These others have variously been called opinion leaders, gatekeepers, influentialites, initiators, and tastemakers. They are not, however, characteristically political leaders or teachers or preachers or elites. What are the chief demographic characteristics of opinion leaders? Interestingly enough, they cannot be characterized as a whole, apart from those who heed their words. Their chief characteristic is that they can influence the attitudes and opinions of a few people like themselves, typically from one to five others. Even within that sphere, their leadership seldom extends beyond a limited range of topics. For example, the opinion leader heeded on political matters is likely to carry little weight in reference to ladies' fashions or the arts. The influence of the opinion leader is typically exerted in informal face-to-face discourse and may or may not be purposive.

"To date, this process of personal influence has been studied in reference to voting; to views on public issues; everyday fashion and marketing decisions, including the choice of what movie to see, the manner in which physicians adopt new
drugs, the purchase of new products and, perhaps more thoroughly studied than anything else, the adoption or refusal to adopt new agricultural techniques. In virtually all of these spheres, the exercise of opinion leadership, or of personal influence, has been found to be as critical or more critical than the influence of mass communications.

"But, in fact, where opinion leadership exists, it has been found typically much involved with mass communication. To begin with, the opinion leader is typically more exposed to appropriate mass communications than are his followers: the political opinion leader reads and sees more mass communication regarding political issues than do his followers. The fashion leader, the what-movie-should-we-see leader, and the agricultural opinion leader variously read more fashion magazines, movie magazines, and farm magazines than do their followers. And either they pass on this information, or they do not pass it on. In this sense they function as 'gatekeepers' and it is in this connection that the term 'two-step flow' developed. The opinion leader may also direct followers to mass communication to document or promote his opinion, or, vice versa, he may serve to interpret to his followers what mass communication on a given topic really means. In short, then, where opinion leadership exists, it mediates the effects of mass communication" (25, pp. 304-306).

At this point, it can be stated that ES-60 is planned to focus on personal influence processes among soldiers as they relate to attitudes of utmost concern to the Army. The effects of mass communication efforts, of individual leadership efforts, and of policies (such as those specifying assignment of individuals to squads) are objects of study. In the next section, some ideas are discussed that appear to be particularly pertinent to social influence processes in the Army.

RELATED SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTS

The following concepts, as well as the scientific concepts previously discussed, all relate to what the Army can do about attitudes.

a. Leadership. In the Army, there are formal leaders who are appointed and informal leaders who emerge. Through the formal leadership structure, the Army may exert strong influence on attitudes. Competitive with this source of influence may be the structure of informal leadership. Sociometric measures provide the best way to gain a picture of informal leadership as it compares with formal leadership. Some relevant sources on leadership are Jacobs (26) and Olmstead (27).
b. Source Credibility. The research topic of source credibility represents an interest in the "Who" of Lasswell's (18) organizing sentence of "Who says what to whom, etc.?" From the viewpoint of ES-60, source credibility is an important area of study because it relates to the mass communication efforts of the Command Information Program (i.e., who should lead the program), to leadership, to social power (see below), and to authoritarianism (see below). The major issues will be presented by selected quotations.

"One persistent theoretical problem is that of disentangling the main components of credibility. Is it expertness or trustworthiness, perception of fairness or bias, disinterest or propagandistic intent, or any combination of these factors which is responsible for the effects of credibility on attitude change" (1, p. 26)?

"It may well be that the most potent aspect of credibility is the perceived fairness of presentation; perception of motivation to persuade may, by itself, be relatively less important in predicting the effectiveness of a persuasive communication. These suggestions have many implications for understanding the determinants of a communication's effectiveness, but a good deal more research must be done before we can adequately separate out the different factors in the credibility of communicators" (1, p. 27).

"In view of the high degree of consistency in this source credibility literature, we can safely generalize that a high credibility source will be more influential than a low credibility source. Being able to state this generalization, however, does not mean that we really understand source credibility. What is it that makes a source credible and how does source credibility operate? These are questions for which research has provided no ready answers. The Aronson and Golden, 1962, experiment on the differences between objectively relevant and irrelevant aspects of credibility makes it quite evident that we are really just beginning to study source credibility. Perhaps some help could be obtained from a consideration of the social power literature (Schoplur, 1965).

"One possible approach to source credibility is in terms of interactive variables. If we knew more about the variables with which source credibility interacts, we would undoubtedly understand more about source credibility itself. We have discussed the literature on the interaction between source credibility and amount of time after communication presentation. There is also some literature on the interaction between source credibility and communicator-communicatee
discrepancy (Aronson, Turner, and Carlsmith, 1963; Bergin, 1962; Bochner and Insko in press) that is discussed in Chapter 3. This literature seemingly demonstrates the greatest superiority of the high credibility source when the communicator advocates a position that is moderately to extremely discrepant from that of the communicatee. In an experiment discussed in Chapter 13, Kelman (1958) presents evidence for interactions between the basis for a source's credibility (attraction, expertness, or means to control power) and the salience or surveillance of the source when opinion regarding the issue in question is measured. Other interactions undoubtedly relate to the type of communication with which a highly credible source is linked. Certainly, not all high-credibility sources will be equally influential when associated with the same communications. Some sources may be considered expert only when discussing certain issues, and some sources may be considered trustworthy only when advocating certain points of view (4, pp. 48-49).

"... many questions can be raised relevant to the factor of source credibility for which intuition alone cannot confidently be relied upon to provide the correct answers. For example, why are some speakers perceived as highly trustworthy by some people, yet at the same time untrustworthy by others? Are the long-range effects of source credibility any different than the immediate effects? Is a negative communicator ever more effective than a positive communicator?

"Before attempting to answer these questions, let us first consider some of the major variables which determine credibility. Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall note that 'credibility and like terms do not represent attributes of communicators; they represent judgments by the listeners. ... There is no such animal as a perfectly credible communicator although there may be a few persons willing to accept absolutely anything some other special person says.' Whether or not a communicator is credible depends on the point of view of the recipient of his communication. To paraphrase an old saying, credibility is in the eye of the beholder.

"Certainly, however, there are verbal and non-verbal cues to which an audience can respond which may influence its perceptions of a communicator. For example, the 'expert' often sounds as though he knows what he is talking about. He exudes an air of self-confidence and authority, yet his authoritateness usually seems to vanish when he discusses matters outside his immediate area of expertise or
defends a position inconsistent with his beliefs. One explanation for this effect is implied in the 'consistency hypothesis'—discussed in detail in a later section (pp. 298 ff.). Here, however, we can note that when a speaker is placed in a psychologically inconsistent position where his public behavior is counter to his private beliefs, the consistency hypothesis predicts that he would experience psychological discomfort. Often, the discomfort tends to be manifested unwillingly in some overt, observable act to which an audience can respond. Hence, when an otherwise credibly perceived communicator defends a position not his own, he may stumble over his words, show uneasiness, 'hem' and 'haw,' and in general lose his air of authority, and his persuasiveness along with it.

"Another important variable influencing source credibility is implied in findings by Thomas Ewing and Walter Weiss. Ewing observed that acceptance of a communication from an unknown or ambiguous source is increased if, at the beginning of the message there is the claim that the communicator's position is consistent with that of the audience. Weiss found that, by agreeing with the views of an audience on one issue, he was better able to persuade the audience on other issues. Apparently, we are significantly influenced by communicators with whom we can identify—those whose personal beliefs seem not unlike our own. 'I can trust him; he believes in the same things I do.'

"Furthermore, when people think that a communicator sincerely likes them, they may make the assumption that he cares about their welfare and that whatever he asks them to do is probably in their self-interest. The more they think he likes them, probably the more susceptible they will be to his arguments. However, if the source's motives are held suspect by the audience, he may be perceived as less fair, less honest, and even a poorer communicator than one who is perceived as impartial.

"It also has been observed that age can play an important part in determining whether a communicator is influential. Duncker found that young children are more likely to be influenced about food preferences by an older child, and Berenda noted a similar relationship in a length-judging task. Interestingly, these findings have been cited in support of the contention that age may be important insofar as it is a characteristic of the recipients rather than of the communicator.

"Among the many other possibilities that have yet to be explored in the laboratory is whether the various personality factors which establish qualities of leadership in an individual also determine his credibility as a communicator" (29, pp. 2-5).
Giffin (30) reviews studies that have factor analyzed the components of source credibility. Several investigators from different directions, using somewhat different techniques, have converged on a set of common factors. Factors based on use of the Semantic Differential as applied to the communicator appear to work as well as any and certainly have the desirable feature of simplicity. The time appears ripe to mount a full-scale attack on the components of source credibility, as they relate to attitude reinforcement and change in the Command Information Program. As will be suggested later, source credibility also may well relate to components of social power in personal influence, face-to-face situations. The key article in the source credibility literature from a measurement standpoint is that by Giffin (30).

c. Reference Groups. Reference groups are a major determinant of attitude. This is clearly recognized in the mass communication literature, as indicated by Klapper (22, 25), and theoretically is placed in an interesting perspective by Kelman's analysis (20), summarized in Table 1. In the Army, possibilities for reference groups include the Army itself, primary groups within a platoon or squad, groups in which an individual had a pre-Army membership (such as hippies), etc.

The book of readings by Hyman and Singer (31) presents an excellent integration of work on reference groups. Their 20-page introduction to the book is the best review that I know. Other relevant works include Herton (32) and Sherif and Sherif (33).

Knowledge of an individual soldier's reference groups is essential if his attitudes are to be predicted. All of Ruth Hartley's work (see Roles and Reference Groups section of Bibliography) concerning acceptance of new reference groups is centrally related to an inductee's acceptance of the Army as a reference group. Measures of reference group acceptance are relevant to Phase 2 of the proposed research, as will be indicated later.

It should be noted that the original concept of reference groups also contained the idea of a referent person who personified the reference group. Apparently, this idea was lost sight of because the phrase "referent person and reference group" over time was shortened to reference group. The conceptual and empirical relationship of "referent person" to "opinion leader" is an interesting one, as is the relationship between French and Raven's (37) "referent power" and "referent person."

d. Social Power. Cartwright (34, 35), Scholper (28), Raven (36), and Hollander and Julian (38) are the best sources on social power. Social power is formulated in different theorists, but there is little difficulty in expressing one position in the terminology of another. Cartwright (34) provides a straightforward view. He conceives of power
in Lewinian terms, defining power as the maximum resultant psychological force that one individual can bring to bear on another concerning a particular region of the other's life space. The "resultant psychological force" is composed of the strength of the force to comply minus the strength of the force to resist. If the leader can induce a force to comply in the follower that is greater than accompanying forces to resist, then the leader may be said to have power over the follower. Perhaps the best known formulation of the sources of social power is that by French and Raven (37).

For ES-60, social power represents the single most integrative concept. Power is central to Kelman's theorizing; it is related to authoritarianism (see below). It lies behind opinion leaders and referent persons, etc. Most importantly, measures of social power based on the Semantic Differential provide a common operational language crossing the barriers between source credibility, formal and informal leadership, organizational power, etc. The leader who influences the actions of others is the same person who influences follower attitudes. The questions are, "What are the components of source credibility?" and "How do they affect acceptance of communications?" "What are the components of leadership power, both with formal appointive leaders and informal emergent opinion leaders or referent persons?" and "How do they relate to leader influence on followers' attitudes?" and most importantly, "What is similar about power in a source credibility situation, in a formal organizational leadership situation, and an informal primary-reference group situation?" and "What are the differences?" Perhaps power operates in a disjunctive fashion. Certainly, its effectiveness depends on interactions with other variables. Empirical answers to the questions posed are not yet available, and to be of maximum value to the Army, empirical answers concerning such questions might best be obtained in an Army setting.

Appended to this paper is a separate bibliography on social power. It may not be as complete as the bibliography on source credibility, but probably does contain almost all of the most relevant articles and books. Some of the more important articles are: Sherif, et al. (21) on p. 72 criticize other theories; Klapper (25) on pp. 305-307 discusses personal influence and opinion leaders; Klapper (22) on pp. 68-72 discusses personal influence; Cohen (1) starting on p. 120 devotes an entire chapter to social influences and groups in the context of his book on attitudes; Weiss (24) on pp. 156-171 reviews work on personal influence that relates to attitudes; Insko (4) on pp. 278-281 discusses social support; Lane and Sears (32, pp. 43-46) devote a chapter to social influences in the context of mass communication; Brehm and Cohen (40) on pp. 259-265 have a relevant discussion of social influence.

e. Authoritarianism. Personality variables undoubtedly interact with attempts to manipulate attitudes. The authoritarian syndrome or some related way to conceptualize personality variables, e.g., Rokeach (41) or Juers and Harvey (42), is probably the best type of personality variable to include in research of ES-60. An excellent review of authoritarianism
is provided by Kirscht and Dillehay (43). They, very nicely, take into account the highly subjective, biased nature of the literature on authoritarianism and present a convincing case that research on the guts of authoritarianism is eminently suitable at this time. Berkowitz's (44) "forced choice version of the F Scale" may be the best version currently available; however, copies must be obtained from him personally since it has not been published.

Authoritarianism is highly relevant to ES-60 for a number of individually compelling reasons

(1) The Army is more authoritarian than civilian life, and research, as well as observations, indicate that authoritarianism is one thing that new soldiers react to upon entering the Army.

(2) Authoritarianism is a major determinant of attitudes in general and therefore promises to remove error variance from studies on attitudes in the Army.

(3) It is likely that attitudes of most concern to the Army are closely related to authoritarianism, e.g., patriotism, citizenship, militarism, respect for the organization, etc.

(4) There is intriguing evidence available suggesting that authoritative suggestion may work well with high authoritarians but have a reverse effect with low authoritarians. The evidence is not clear on this point (42, 43). However, the interaction of authoritarianism with source credibility and with techniques of influencing attitudes by leaders and communicators, combined with the prevalent authoritarian atmosphere in the Army, suggests that one of the most difficult problems faced by the Command Information Program, or by formal leaders who wish to influence follower attitudes, lies in this area. The literature indicates that high authoritarians are relatively more influenced by the source than are low authoritarians, and that, in fact, the content of the communication may be relatively unimportant for high authoritarians when the communicator is in a position of strong authority.

It may be virtually impossible to devise a program that works effectively both with authoritarians and nonauthoritarians in the same target audience, but in any event the possibility that the Army may be influencing attitudes in an undesired direction by gearing their program either to authoritarians or to nonauthoritarians certainly deserves study. One of the problems in studying the question is that authoritarianism is not black and white, and it would be important to accurately classify individuals into meaningful categories that encompass the full range of the personality dimension as manifest in the Army.
RELATED MILITARY STUDIES

The general bibliography contains a number of studies conducted in a military setting. These studies are important because they may contain both theoretical and concrete findings relevant to proposed research. They also certainly contain reports of independent and dependent variables that have been operationally defined and successfully used in a military setting. In particular, they contain measures of attitudes relevant to the Army concerned. Time precluded the abstracting and organizing of relevant material from these studies but the studies themselves were selected because they appeared to represent medium or high-grade ore in terms of what we were looking for.

APPROACH

What attitudes are of concern to the Army? Before work can be accomplished concerning prediction and control of attitudes in the Army, it is necessary to isolate those attitudes that are both of prime importance to the Army and measurable. The first phase of the proposed research is devoted to this problem in large part and will be discussed under that section heading.

What can the Army do about attitudes of concern? As a formal organization, the Army can do the kinds of things discussed on Page 14. That is, the Army can be clear as to whether its purpose in a particular situation is to reinforce, convert, or prevent attitudes. Also, the Army can publish DA-type directives, can publish magazines such as Army Digest, can incorporate attitudinal influence ideas in leadership training, can instruct company commanders, etc., to perform certain duties, can provide aids for leaders such as are provided by the Command Information Program, and can institute and maintain full formal programs such as commander's call that are directed at influencing attitudes.

From the present point of view, social power determines attitudes in the Army to a large extent. The Army ought to know where the power lies, both quantitatively and qualitatively. To a large extent, the question is, "Who has the power and how do they generate it?" All of the scientific concepts so far discussed relate to this question. The assumption is made that knowledge concerning who has the power will enable the Army (or HumRRO) to design a superior troop information program in terms of its actual impact on attitudes. In addition, the same base of knowledge ought to provide a sound basis for leadership training in the area of attitudinal influence.

PROPOSED RESEARCH

It should be noted that two important problems—the relationship between performance and attitudes or attitude change, and the long-term effects on attitudes of attitude change attempts are not directly attacked in the initial stages of the proposed research. Perhaps, in fact, they may
not be directly attacked at all but rather dealt with inferentially, depending on the amount of resources available at later stages of the research. The reason is both problems relate to the practical question of "so what?" and that is why they are so important. What must be avoided is reliance on statistically significant paper-and-pencil measures that don't relate to anything other than other paper-and-pencil measures. There are several things that can be done to increase the probability that research on attitudes actually relates to important real-world phenomena:

(1) Sherif's latitudes provide a very promising way of individualizing examination of attitudinal changes. As previously mentioned, I think that Sherif's approach offers an excellent way to sneak up on the relationship between attitudes and performance.

(2) By looking at individuals rather than groups in general, it may be possible to separate out those individuals whose change in attitude reflects an actual predisposition towards behavior from those whose measured change in attitude relates only to paper-and-pencil measures. There are many possibilities for subgrouping large categories to a sufficient extent so that it becomes meaningful to speak of working at the individual level. Breaking subjects down along the authoritarian dimension by their position and attraction to primary reference groups is an example.

(3) The authoritarian dimension in itself should provide in the military context an important covariant with changes in paper-and-pencil attitude measures.

(4) Kelman's approach promises to provide insightful guidance concerning the relationship between attitudes and performance. Attitudes based on "forced compliance," to which I would add experimenter expectancy effects, etc., probably have least relevance to performance of things that are most important to the Army. Performance of behaviors based on attitudes rooted in forced compliance cannot be trusted to occur under stress in my opinion. Performance of behaviors based on attitudes rooted in "identification" or "internalization" is considerably more trustworthy.

The trick would seem to be to know the functional basis underlying attitude changes or attitude retention because the underlying source of motivation probably is what relates most closely to behavior in specific situations. In other words, to speak meaningfully about attitudinal effect that relates to performance, it seems necessary to know what an individual's reference groups are, what his internal values are, and within that context to know what has happened to his measured attitudes as a function of influence attempt by the Army. If this reasoning is sound, then the major focus of the research ought to be on variables that are relatively easy to measure, e.g., reference groups, attitudes, authoritarianism, social power, etc., because the relationship to performance can be inferred. Naturally, at some point the inferences have to be checked on a sampling basis. The advantage of tying attitudes into a conceptual framework dealing with
meaningful inferred psychological variables is that the possibility of gaining deep understanding is increased; whereas, if the focus were to be on attitudes demonstrably related to performance, resources would be eaten up at the cost of generality and all that might be forthcoming would be an empirical or actuarial description of what can be expected in specific situations that were studied. Finally, it should be noted that the problem of long-term attitude change effects has been implicitly subsumed under the problem of the relationship between attitudes and performance. If attitude changes are sufficient to lead to changes in performance, then it is assumed that they are of practical importance. If it turned out that such attitude change effects were transitory, then, of course, something would have to be done about reinforcing the changes over time.

PHASE 1

The objectives of Phase 1 are to discover what attitudes of soldiers are of importance to the Army, to operationally define those variables concerned with the attitudes that are important to the Army, and to accomplish whatever pilot work is necessary for subsequent phases. The plan is to content analyze roughly the outputs of the Command Information Program, to seek opinions from expert military sources, and to introduce a few sets of attitude measures such as that relating to materialism (8). Concretely, the attitude measure sources are contained in Shaw and Wright (12) and the military references contained in the bibliography. Sherif’s techniques of measurement can be used with any of these sources. A large battery of instruments should be administered to soldiers who are fairly representative of those in the Army today and should be factor analyzed, both as to attitude components and as to individual attitude patterns of the factor components. The personality measure relating to authoritarianism should also be included in such factor analyses. The goal would be to arrive at a simple but comprehensive set of measures that represent what Army consumers would be most interested in, once they understand what the factor analysis had accomplished. The factor analysis of persons would result in the measure of Army-relevant values to be used as discussed above.

Pilot work for subsequent phases entails several things. The measures of social power, source credibility, referent group acceptance, etc., should be worked with until a refined set of measures is obtained. Research personnel should work with the training center personnel to the extent necessary to gain cooperation and understanding of what would be involved in working with recruits over time. The pilot work necessary can be inferred from the description of Phase 2.

The data-gathering portion of Phase 1 should not take more than six months. In actual practice, Phase 1 would merge into Phase 2 without discernible discontinuity.

Phase 1 should lead to a Technical Report that describes measured attitude in the Army, that presents simplified measures of the major components, and that describes types of individuals in the Army in terms of their attitude patterns.
Phase 2 has two major aims. The first objective is to nail down the effects of source credibility components on attitude reinforcement, conversion, and perhaps prevention. The idea is to study the same questions with several different methods. One would be to take the Command Information Program hours (four) in Basic Training and manipulate the communicator for those hours. There are several ways to manipulate the source without seriously interfering with the present way of doing things. For example, it has been found that a source can be meaningfully identified even though he does not present the program to the audience, i.e., the communicator indicates that he has laryngitis and presents a tape recording of a previous talk of his, or perhaps he presents a movie that he claims to have been technical advisor on. It might also be possible, since the sponsor would certainly be interested in the question, to actually manipulate the communicator in a more straightforward manner. Another technique would be similar to that used by Goldberg (45) where booklets were prepared with messages and a short description of the source was provided. A third way would be to follow the traditional academic approach and call subjects into a laboratory and present them with source and communication. The two major problems, as I see it, are gaining cooperation from the Command Information people to manipulate variables in a field setting, and to gain access to the full range of attitude topics that are of concern to the Army. This second problem might make it necessary to work in TOE units, as well as in Basic Training.

The expected outcome of a series of studies on source credibility would be:

1. Information relevant to the CIP's concern about who the communicator should be would be obtained.

2. Information about leadership variables (e.g., rank, command bearing, etc.) as they relate to source credibility would be obtained.

3. Familiarity with the common language (i.e., Semantic Differential measures of source credibility—social power) would be obtained.

4. Information on the interaction between the source and authoritarianism would be obtained, as well as information concerning other interactions with source credibility.

5. If measures resulting from the factor analyses in Phase 1 are obtained, then information concerning the interaction between source, content, and the value system of soldiers would be obtained, with the most useful information perhaps being the relationship of type of attitude pattern interacting with type (content and source) of communication.
The second part of Phase 2 is more risky because it is breaking new ground to a greater extent. The study of source credibility, Part 1, can be predicted to yield useful information and follows straightforward lines of specifying parameters. However, studying source credibility in the Army does not reveal anything about the broader context in which effects occur, and so, for example, whether identification or internalization (Kelman) is involved would be uncertain. Part 2 of Phase 2 focuses on the context in which influence attempts by the Army may occur. The idea is to study the development in Basic Training of the variables hypothesized to be of most theoretical and practical importance to the Army-relevant attitudes. The variables to be measured include the attitude factors obtained in Phase 1; the acceptance of the Army as a whole, and of primary groups, squads, platoons, companies, etc., as reference groups over time; social power; and opinion leaders (referent persons). Sociometric measures would be crucial to such an endeavor, with an essential element being the identification of universal and quite common role incumbents in the Basic Training situation; for example, squad leader, company guide, drill instructor, company commander, best friend (if, for example, the best friend in the company identified at the end of Week 1, in a high percentage of cases, continues to be the best friend at Week 7 or Week 8), etc. Dealing with roles rather than individuals would be one way to simplify data analysis and provide most generality.

The first two questions to be asked are: (1) "What attitude changes occur in Basic Training?" This question ought to yield new information since it would be based on the results of the factor analysis in Phase 1. (2) "How does social power develop over time in Basic Training; that is, who has the power initially, what does it consist of qualitatively, and what common trends exist in training companies (e.g., squad leader, low initially—high subsequently, etc.)?" Once answers to these two questions are established, the same data can be examined in order to determine upon whom or what set of role incumbents attitude changes tend to converge. French's (46) approach offers a way of looking at this problem, and Harary's (47) refinements suggest some of the problems involved. The overall question, of course, is "Who influences attitude changes during Basic Training: the peer group, the cadre, the military ideology from up high, etc.?" Obviously, the answer depends in part on who is being influenced (attitude types of persons, especially authoritarian orientation), as much as it depends on what influences are being exerted in the environment. Both of these questions would seem to be of importance to the Army.

There are several good ways available of teasing out the effects of repeated measures, the effects determined by the idiosyncratic history of particular groups, and the effects of measuring different cohorts at the same time. Barker's (48) work on ecology is also relevant.
PHASE 3

The details of Phase 3 would depend on the outcome of Phase 2. The idea is to extend the results of Phase 2, based on developmental studies, by performing comparative analyses with other than Basic Training units, perhaps even using WAC Basic Training units as one comparison point. The generalizability of Phase 2 results ought to be determined and findings modified in accordance with what is discovered in Phase 3. A Technical Report would be expected from the comparative analyses performed.

PHASE 4

After completion of Phases 1, 2, and 3, detailed recommendations for CIP leadership training, DA policy, etc., might be prepared. In addition, specific products might be developed as wanted.
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APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERATURE ON MASS COMMUNICATION, ATTITUDE CHANGE, AND INFLUENCE PROCESSES

This is a working bibliography and represents the scope of the literature review conducted for Exploratory Study 60. Time did not permit the ultimate value of each item to be adequately assessed. An attempt was made to organize the materials into general subject areas and to provide the necessary information for document retrieval. Items found in the section, "Psychological Research: Military Related," were selected on the basis of subject population studied; these items may or may not have a military sponsor. The items in "Specific Areas of Interest" represent an initial organization of material for use in the writing of Exploratory Study 60 planning papers.
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The influence of own attitude and ability to discriminate among attitudinal stimuli was studied in relation to anchoring phenomena. Ninety-six Ss, differing in own attitude towards fraternities, judged the stand towards fraternities represented in moderate statements presented in an alternated 4-trial sequence of either extreme profraternity context anchors or confraternity context anchors. Although initial judgments showed no responsiveneness to context anchors, significant differences as a function of own attitude were obtained. Subsequent judgments revealed definite assimilation trends in the direction of context anchors, with diminished own-attitude effects. Limited capacity to discriminate was found to have only indirect bearing on susceptibility to assimilation tendencies. The findings are discussed in relation to existing theories of judgment.


Dealt with the effect of the sequential presentation of positive and negative attitudinal stimuli on impression formation. There were four experimental groups of 10 Ss each: complete similarity to S's attitudes, complete dissimilarity, and two 50 percent similarity conditions with a progression from similarity to dissimilarity and the reverse. The four conditions were found to differ significantly (p<.001), but the difference between the two 50 percent groups was not significant. Neither a primacy nor a recency effect was found.


The effects of attitude, involvement (measured by a self-report method), and item scale position on the judgment of attitude statements were investigated. The items concerned the social position of the Negro. It was found that the more involved the judge in the issue, the further from his own position was his mean judgment of the statements. Similarly, the more extreme the attitude of the judge, the closer to the opposite end of the continuum was his mean judgment of the items. None of the interactions was significant. Various motivational interpretations and a cognitive adaptation-level interpretation of the effect of involvement were discussed. It was concluded that the latter was most appropriate for the present results.

Studied the effects of reading a civil defense pamphlet about the construction of fallout shelters on beliefs regarding nuclear war. One hypothesis tested was that the mere presentation of such a pamphlet created an implicit source of prestigious communication independent of the content of the pamphlet. This effect was found most strongly on issues specifically dealt with in the pamphlet, such as the value of fallout shelters. Reading of the pamphlet also led to important changes in opinions and beliefs. Some evidence indicated that Ss believed war was more likely to occur after reading the pamphlet. There appeared to be a process of anxiety reduction that took place as a result of pamphlet reading, but it seemed related only to anxiety regarding the outcome of war, not to increased belief in the likelihood of war as originally hypothesized. The study also showed that women are generally more suggestible than men, more tolerant of foreign aggression, less optimistic about the outcome of nuclear war, and tended to place the time of a war’s possible occurrence farther in the future.


The effects on attitude of an intensive training program for 55 graduate students, none of whom had taught before or attended courses in education, were measured with the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI). Females were found to change significantly in their attitudes, revealing greater permissiveness, while males showed no change. Initial scores on the MTAI were inversely and significantly related to authoritarianism and dogmatism (as measured by the California F Scale and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale). Attitude shifts as a function of training were significantly related to authoritarianism but not to dogmatism.


A theoretical framework for behavior identified as "rolecentric" is presented within the general context of self-role interaction. Rolecentrism is defined as a concern with one's own role such that the role behavior of others is monitored, perceived, and evaluated for its impact on one's self-prescribed role. The forces responsible for the formation, retention, and change of self-other expectations that in combination define the self-prescribed role, are discussed.

Sociometric scores were obtained for 1437 male and 1505 female students in eight high schools throughout the United States. Four scores were obtained for each student: attractiveness to members of the same and of the opposite sex, and rejection by members of the same and of the opposite sex. Correlations among these scores and factor analysis showed that popularity scores were independent of rejection scores. The implications of these results for factor analytic model construction are discussed.


Ss listened to one of 15 different communications in which a little-known group of people was described by sets of adjectives. Ss then evaluated the stimulus object by semantic differential scales. The general design consisted of factorial combinations of two levels of order of presentation, two context levels, and three levels of frequency ratios. The results showed all main effects and the interaction between context and frequency ratio to be significant. Only the order of presentation was found to be unimportant on a retention test. A general dampening effect was noted on impressions formed at all levels when compared to the input value of adjectives used in the communications. An interpretation of the results in terms of shift in meaning and the congruity principle is discussed.


The fact that adolescent residents of smaller communities have lower aspirations than those of larger communities is well documented. A number of possible explanations have been suggested: (1) financial resources and needs, (2) educational opportunities, (3) the sociocultural context of community life, and (4) special consequences of farming. However, no previous researcher has attempted a direct empirical evaluation of the relative importance of these explanations. Data from a survey of Canadian high school girls were used to evaluate the first three, since the fourth appears to apply only to boys. This analysis indicates that educational opportunity explains most of the relationships; and when both educational opportunity and community context are controlled, all relationship between community size and college aspiration disappears. Previous research allows tentative generalization of these findings to high school boys.

February 1967


Previous research, in which 895 American women responded to an objective Inventory of Feminine Values, indicated that women perceived themselves and their ideal woman as essentially similar in the area of desired activities and beliefs. Both the ideal and self-perception were relatively balanced with comparable components of intrafamily and extrafamily orientations. However, women perceived man's ideal woman as strongly intrafamily oriented, and significantly more accepting of a subordinate role in the family structure. New data, reported herein, from a survey of 562 American men, using the same Inventory, indicates that men's actual ideal woman is not significantly different from the women's own ideal or self-perception, and thus significantly more active and self-assertive than the ideal women attributed to them.


Three hundred and twenty-nine children, stratified by age, race, IQ, and socioeconomic status, were tested to determine the extent of negatively valued racial stereotypes in children. A four-way analysis of variance indicated significant differences among all stratifications except IQ. The report also includes the pictorial test which the author devised and used.


No significant negative attitude shifts in evaluation occurred on concepts attacked by the radical speaker. But there was evidence of reverse attitude shifts in response to his attacks. Attitudes toward a speaker who was not heard but who became known as a Communist shifted sharply in the direction of disapproval. Several concepts exhibited significant changes which were related to events outside the experimental situation.


When 405 male and 279 female college students were compared in their smoking attitude, it was found that for each sex the greater the smoking experience the more favorable the smoking attitude. However, when matched for smoking behavior, males reported a more favorable smoking attitude than females. A greater percentage of female present smokers, former smokers, and nonsmokers were concerned with the dangers to health from smoking than for the males.

With the help of a checklist of 24 qualities, a sample of 50 student leaders and 50 nonleaders were interviewed to determine the qualities perceived as characterizing the student leadership, and those which were considered ideally desirable for it. The two groups showed a high degree of agreement about their perceptions of the "ideal" and "perceived" qualities (rho = .92 and .83, respectively). However, in both groups, there was great divergence between the ideal and the perceived images (rho = -.06 and -.11). The findings are discussed in the light of the situation prevailing in the Student Union, and are suggestive of a possible change in the student leadership role.


The model includes three sets of variables of increasing specificity—personality traits, attitudes relevant to formal voluntary organizations (FVOs) in general, and attitudes toward the specific FVO. The results strongly support the value of the sequential specificity model, accounting for over 50 percent of the variance in participation in both samples and indicate that general and specific FVO-relevant attitudes are the more important discriminators of FVO members from nonmembers, while personality traits are more important discriminators of high- and low-participating members. This fact is attributed to a two-stage selection process.


April 1967


May 1967


June 1967


Comparisons between 15 high affiliators and 14 low affiliators were made based upon a number of measures, including the MMPI, the Gordon Personal Profile, and indices of motivation, satisfaction, performance, and personal background. Low affiliators scored significantly higher than high affiliators on measures of satisfaction with their stay in the United States, satisfaction with United States training, academic satisfaction, and satisfaction with supervision. Low affiliators, who came primarily from eastern Europe, attributed significantly more influence to economic and family reasons in their decision to come to the United States than did the high affiliators. The results are discussed in relation to previous findings on the role of national consciousness and adjustment to the host culture.


Sociology students ranked their ability to imagine themselves in various difficult situations including being a criminal (ranked most difficult to imagine). They also ranked their degree of sympathy for various corresponding "afflicted" types (criminals received least sympathy). The rank-order correlation (N = 8) was .53. Six social problems were also ranked in terms of knowledge of each (treatment of criminals was ranked next to last) and interest in spending money (treatment of criminals ranked last). It is concluded that students were largely unable to identify with either the delinquent or adult offender...apparently this failure...made them unwilling to support research relevant to the treatment of the offender."

The data analyzed were based on the responses of a stratified sample of public high school students strictly representative, proportionately, of the number of individuals present nationally in sex, grade in school, region of the country, and rural or urban residence. The sample numbers 2,000, drawn from a total return of approximately 17,000. Two separate discussions of student opinion are reported and analyses are based on the responses of the total sample and various subgroups or categories of the sample. Complete percentage breakdowns on all items are shown, and a complete description of the sample and an explanation of the significance of differences between percentages are given.


Concerned with surveying the correlation between two forms of prejudice (anti-Semitism and anti-Negro attitudes) and various subvarieties of religious and political attitudes. It includes an examination of the correlations between the two varieties of prejudice and eight dimensions of religious attitudes and 13 dimensions of political attitudes. The research was conducted in four undergraduate university student populations: midwestern urban and rural, and southern urban and rural. The analysis reveals relatively strong correlations between political conservatism and the dimensions of bigotry in all the populations, and strong correlations between religiosity and bigotry in the southern populations. Kendall's coefficient of concordance disclosed that the ranking of the correlations is significantly similar in the populations examined.


Evidence is presented that neither social class position nor political party preference is associated with a uniformly liberal or conservative ideological orientation. In a study of voting on a local school expenditure, two conflicting forces—home ownership and educational level—were found to produce conflicting consequences. Occupational success facilitated by higher education enables college graduates to more easily purchase homes, which provides selfish economic motivations to offset the civilizing influences of education.


Discusses in detail the gradual escalation of the war in Vietnam and the psychological effect on the masses. The methods used by the
government to diminish objections to the war depend greatly on psychological habituation by gradual involvement. Each new level of escalation is put forward as a "logical, unavoidable result of a commitment made by a previous small step." The result is acquiescence by the individual, with no feeling that his right to disagree is being suppressed. "The gradual habituation or "management" of news media and public opinion is discussed and pictured as an undermining of the average American's right to think for himself which only produces an ill-informed, ill-advised public. It is considered dangerous to the collective emotional health of America.


While a linear relationship between self-esteem and susceptibility to social influence has often been found among male populations, this relationship has not generally been found among females. The present study was based on earlier indications that the relationship in female populations might be curvilinear in nature. It was further predicted that the curvilinear relationship would occur under task conditions in which judgments were of moderate difficulty. Under both high- and low-difficulty task conditions, it was hypothesized that conformity in general would be less and unrelated to self-esteem level. Evidence from two studies, in which 67 females were influenced to change their judgments of artworks, largely supported the predictions.


Results of a before-after opinion change experiment raise the possibility that a one-sided communication is more persuasive than a two-sided communication if the recipient is forewarned of the communicator's intent, but that a two-sided is more persuasive than a one-sided presentation if the recipient is not forewarned.


An experiment tested the hypothesis that when the audience feels that the communicator thinks the communication will be desirable to the audience he addresses they will be less persuaded than when they feel the communicator thinks the communication will be undesirable to the audience addressed. College students read a speech favoring tripling truck license fees. Some were told it was delivered to railway men (desirable condition), others, that it was delivered to truck drivers (undesirable condition). Agreement with the communicator was lower in the desirable than the undesirable condition. The results confirm the
hypothesis, which provides an explanation for previous findings that overheard communications were more persuasive than regular communications only when the conclusions were desirable.


Asserts that "the degree of authoritarianism which determines the ability of policemen to function properly...is the same facet of personality which makes for the policeman's attending college." One hundred and twenty-two New York City policemen who had not elected to go to college and 104 who had were given two scales of authoritarianism. College men were less authoritarian than noncollege and younger college men than other groups. "This implies that there are certain personality characteristics of police who attend college that make it likely that they will be able to function more effectively [in the face of contemporary problems]."


The effects of social participation on self-reports of happiness were examined, and attention is focused on the mechanisms through which the relationship is established. Analysis of the data reveals that, as hypothesized, the greater the extent of participation, the greater the degree of happiness reported. This relationship, it is argued, emerges from the fact that positive feelings are directly correlated with social participation, while negative feelings bear no relation to participation. Thus, the net difference between positive and negative effect, which previous investigators have termed the "Affect Balance Score," is a major determinant of happiness.


The latitude of acceptance concept was defined in terms of a range criterion consisting of (1) statements indicated as acceptable by each S, and (2) the scalar distance covered by these statements. Fifty-four Ss, reflecting pro, neutral, and anti own-attitude positions toward fraternities, judged the attitude expressed toward fraternities in a series of statements and indicated which statements they found acceptable or objectionable. Each S also judged the scale position represented in one of three possible persuasive communications. Results indicate that Ss who perceived a persuasive communication as falling within their latitude of acceptance showed significantly greater change of own position in the direction of the communication than Ss for whom the communication fell outside their latitude of acceptance.

The basic hypothesis concerned an interaction between communicator characteristics and whether or not Ss had volunteered to listen to the communicator. Two predictions were based on this hypothesis: (1) Ss who had volunteered to listen to the persuasive communication would be influenced more by a negative than by a positive communicator, and (2) Ss who were "accidentally exposed" to the persuasive communication would be influenced more by the positive than by the negative communicator. Both predictions were borne out: the interaction was significant and analysis of the simple effects indicated that the positive and negative communicators differed significantly, in the appropriate directions, depending on whether Ss had volunteered to listen or were "accidentally exposed" to the communication.


Sanctions and incentives alone have proved to be ineffective in reducing disruptive behavior and increasing the constructive, goal-oriented behavior of students in certain Job Corps settings. Verbal commitment in front of peers, and peer involvement in sanction and incentive distribution, however, show promise of marked ability to shape individual behavior toward more constructive efforts.

August 1967


Recent studies of peoples' attitudes toward health services have failed to develop reliable scales or indices of those attitudes. The Student Health Services scale was developed through a modification of Thurstone's method of equal-appearing intervals. It consists of 20 items concerning various aspects of student health services--10 are favorable (scale values range from 1.04-2.23) and 10 are unfavorable (scale values range from 3.67-4.96).


Three studies using college students as Ss are reported in which the major conclusions were: for females, self-esteem and persuasibility were negatively related when the persuasive arguments were simple and curvilinearly related, with the positive slope changing to negative at
the higher levels of self-esteem when these arguments were complex. For males, this relationship tended to be negative at levels approaching significance under both argument conditions. A negative relationship between social desirability and persuasibility for males only was observed in two of the three studies, significant in one and approaching significance in the other. Various interpretations of these findings and the findings of previous studies are discussed.


Psychotherapies, whether individual or group, consist of a communicative exchange of semantic information between persons in an attempt to alleviate those personal and interpersonal misunderstandings which are involved in mental suffering. Some work in computer science is discussed which is intended to contribute to the psychotherapies by increasing understanding of change in certain thought processes. The discussion notes that models are not the same as theories, that a computer program can serve as a model of human belief systems, and that models of belief systems can be corroborated by engaging the person whose belief system is being modelled in repeated on-line dialogues. Recognition is given to the point that little is known about how humans change their minds.


Aronson and Linder demonstrated that a gain in esteem resulted in greater liking for an evaluator than did constant positive esteem. Similarly, a loss in esteem lead to less liking for the evaluator than did invariant negative esteem. The present experiment attempted to apply these findings to the area of opinion change. The hypothesis was that the greatest amount of agreement with the communicator would be produced by a communicator who had previously expressed a gain in esteem for the recipient. The extent of agreement would be next highest in the case of constant positive esteem, followed by invariant negative esteem, with loss in esteem producing the least agreement. The results supported the hypothesis.


"...isolates the vital but neglected play element in newspaper-reading, television-and movie-watching, and radio-listening, and indicates its relevance to the whole of human behavior.... The empirical data... were gathered by means of the author's 'Q-technique'...." Includes a name and subject index.
September 1967


One hundred and ninety-two Ss were assigned to two experimental conditions aimed at creating different levels of the drive for self-evaluation as it applies to the evaluation of one's opinions. Although the experimental conditions were effectively created, no differences in affiliative behavior occurred between the two conditions. Of the S variables, only affiliation motivation, as measured with an extended version of the Interpersonal Affect Test (IAT), was related to affiliative behavior. The IAT should prove useful in further studies of affiliation.


Several concepts and distinctions are explicated to clarify certain basic features of recent and contemporary research on conformity and nonconformity. The main points considered are: (1) the current preoccupation with conformity and the resulting neglect of nonconformity phenomena, (2) the widespread failure to distinguish carefully between descriptive and explanatory levels of analysis, (3) the nearly universal failure to distinguish between two basically different criteria of social response, viz., congruence and movement, (4) the persisting tendency to conceptualize conformity and its alternatives in a highly restrictive unidimensional manner, (5) the continuing value judgments implicated in the "conformist society" and "conformist personality" points of view, and (6) the simplistic assumption of norm homogeneity, in which conformity is arbitrarily defined alike for all group members. Illustrative research findings are reviewed in considering these points, and implications are drawn for fruitful research approaches.


A modified Crutchfield apparatus was used to investigate the relation between conformity and n Affiliation. Male high school juniors and seniors were subjected to a simulated group pressure situation in which each S was asked for his judgment of a perceptual problem in the face of four earlier erring, but unanimous, judgments. A conformity response was defined as yielding to this erring majority on those slides which other Ss were able to answer correctly in a pretest. The results indicate that high n Affiliation Ss conform significantly more.

The credibility of male vs. female communication sources was evaluated among 549 college-age Ss in Brazil, Hong Kong, India, Rhodesia, and Jordan. When the presentation was oral (tape-recorded), male sources were perceived as significantly more credible than female sources in Brazil, India, and Hong Kong. In written presentations, only Brazilian Ss perceived the male source as significantly higher in credibility. The differences in other countries were not significant. The data also suggest that the communicator (regardless of sex) is perceived as more credible in oral than in written presentations.


The effect of irrelevant fear on persuasibility and conformity was studied in two experiments. Irrelevant fear facilitated the acceptance of persuasive messages, but it did not increase the probability of yielding responses in a conformity situation. The relationship between conformity and persuasibility is discussed with respect to these results.


A recent issue of the Bulletin of the John Birch Society attacked a short story in a national magazine as being antireligious, un-American, and communist. Largely as a result of the Birch article, 2,254 letters were received. From a random sample the nature of the writers' responses to the story and their demographic, sociological, and psychological characteristics were studied. Specific variables detected were literacy, education, dogmatism, flexibility of protest, as well as Birch Society "True Believers," and religiosity.


University students were given inconsistent positive and negative blocks of written narrative information from which to rate the character of a stranger. One-half receive the information in positive-negative order and one-half in negative-positive. Ratings were made after each block of information and again seven to nine days later. Initial ratings based on single univalent paragraphs were significantly altered in both groups by subsequent incompatible information, but the change was not equally permanent for both orders of presentation. Whereas originally positive impressions were lastingly changed by negative information, originally negative impressions which had been revised upward became
significantly more negative again within nine days. Replication with different information about the stranger (inversion of original content) yielded the same results.


Ratings of the value of personality information provided by persons identified by occupational title were obtained. In a subsequent experiment, rated value of a communication source was found to affect the favorability judgments of fictitious persons these sources described. Rated likability of the sources affected favorability judgments less discriminatively.


The effect of expectation of reward for forced compliance was examined experimentally. In a factorial design under one treatment S received less, more, or the amount of money he expected for taking a discrepant stand. In another treatment he received one of the three reward levels without any prior expectation. The data indicate a curvilinear trend with greatest post-advocacy change at the moderate reward level. In general, the data can best be interpreted as having been due to an incentive effect. There was some support, however, for dissonance theory in that at the lowest reward level there was more opinion change in the direction of the position advocated under the expectation treatment where it was more clearly an insufficient reward.


In the forced-compliance paradigm, attitude change following a counterattitudinal performance has been shown to be both a direct (reinforcement prediction) and an inverse (dissonance prediction) function of the amount of incentive offered. An experiment successfully demonstrated that if S feels free not to comply attitude change will be inversely related to incentive magnitude, but that the positive relationship will hold if this freedom is reduced. It was hypothesized that the procedure of an earlier study by Rosenberg, whose results supported the reinforcement prediction, inadvertently reduced S's freedom not to comply. When this procedure was closely replicated in a second experiment, the positive relationship was again found, but when the procedure was modified to make a decision not to comply a viable alternative for S, the inverse relationship resulted. The two
experiments together show that a low incentive arouses dissonance, leading to attitude change, only when the person remains free to decide against compliance after he has been fully informed about the incentive. If the incentive is announced after the person is committed to compliance, a reinforcement effect obtains.


The hypothesis was tested that sensitivity training would increase self-acceptance as well as acceptance of others. Acceptance of others was defined as the affective components of an individual's attitude toward different ethnic groups and measured by a 15-item scale of "human-heartedness." It was also hypothesized that those who increase in self-acceptance will increase more in acceptance-of-others than those who do not change or who decrease in self-acceptance and that changes in self-acceptance will lead to changes in acceptance of others. The results generally confirmed the hypothesis and suggested that sensitivity training may be a powerful technique in the reduction of ethnic prejudice.


11864. Sermat, V. The possibility of influencing the other's behaviour and cooperation: Chicken versus prisoner's dilemma. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 1967, 21(3), 204-219.

Two hundred and thirty-two male Ss participated in four experiments, three of which used a chicken matrix, while the fourth used a prisoner's dilemma matrix. All Ss were unknowingly playing against a prearranged program, which made 50 competitive choices, followed by 20 cooperative ones. An attempt was made to vary the motives which Ss could satisfy in the game situation by creating different conditions under which the alleged other player was operating. In the free condition, S was led to believe that the other player was free to change his strategy and informed about the outcomes. In the comm condition, he was told that although the other was committed to a previously chosen strategy, he was informed about the outcomes. In the abs condition, he was told that the other had written out his strategy, was not absent, and would not be informed about the outcomes. In the machine condition, the S was told that he was playing against an impersonal machine with a fixed program. These differences produced different degrees of cooperation during the competitive treatment with the chicken matrix, but not with the prisoner's dilemma. With both, the free condition produced more cooperation than the others during the cooperative treatment which followed the program.

As a consequence of an experiment by I. Janis and S. Feshbach (see 28:1) it is now widely accepted by psychologists and propagandists that fear appeals hurt rather than help a propaganda campaign. A critical reexamination of the experiment suggests that differential learning among their experimental groups may account for the differential conformity they demonstrated. A new experiment found that additional communications appended to a standard communication hinder learning of the standard communication information. Whether or not the added material is emotional or fear arousing in content was not found to influence learning of the standard material. In overview, the question whether or not fear appeals are effective in promoting the propagandist’s cause remains equivocal.


The personalities of 209 college students were categorized according to Jung’s dimensions—sensation-oriented or intuitive—by means of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. Substantial support was given to the hypothesis that sensation-oriented persons prefer the well-structured media of television and movies; intuitive persons prefer the more ambiguous stimulus of the printed page in novels and magazines.


Examines the relationship between age, sex, and education with media usage and credibility. Some of the principal findings are (1) age-sex classifications are more sensitive predictors of which medium is believed than age alone; (2) the general relationship of education and media credibility is found principally among the older male respondents; (3) the relationship of sex to media usage is independent of education and age; and that of education to media usage is independent of sex or age; and (4) younger, better educated men consistently choose the newspaper as their news source, but vacillate between the newspaper and television as the more credible medium.

October 1967


December 1967


January 1968


Attempted to determine if sex differences in persuasibility reflect unique features of a specific culture or if the differences are universal. A test of persuasibility was administered to college students in Rhodesia, Lebanon, Brazil, Peru, and Hong Kong. Only the difference between males and females in Hong Kong was significant. Another purpose was to determine if sex differences in persuasibility occur in Ss of ages different from those utilized in previous studies. Differences were found only among adolescent Ss in the United States. Finally, the relationship between persuasibility and CA was explored. Older Ss, regardless of sex, appear less persuadable than younger Ss.


The Thurstone attitude scales on Negroes, war, patriotism, church, law, and birth control were given in 1965 to the same groups who took them in 1935. High correlations were obtained through the 30-year gap.

Investigated the nature of some of the variables influencing attitude dynamics. Ss were presented with unbalanced situations consisting of persons with a negative valence doing acts which had a positive value. It was postulated that a combination of varying levels of person valence and act value would result in specific cognitive reorganization of the type indicated by Heider. The nature of attitude change resulting from a negative person doing a positive act more than once was also investigated. Resultant rating scale data were subjected to analysis of variance and the importance of the significant main effects are discussed.


The F Scale and a Mexican Family Attitude Scale were administered to Mexican- and Anglo-American middle-class college students. The results show that Mexican-Americans scored significantly higher on both scales and that there was a significant positive relationship between agreement with the items on the family attitude scale and high scores on the F Scale in the data of the Mexican-Americans. The results confirmed Madsen's findings and also those of Levinson and Huffman.


In high-involvement (HI) conditions, S received information discrepant from his belief concerning himself, while in low-involvement (LI) conditions, S received information discrepant from his belief concerning another person. The information was discrepant in either a favorable or unfavorable direction and by differing amounts, depending upon the discrepancy conditions to which S was assigned. When information was unfavorable, HI Ss changed less toward the information and evaluated it as less accurate than did LI Ss. These differences in response between HI and LI conditions did not emerge when favorable information was presented, except on one of the two measures of change employed. With one of the change measures, high-self-esteem (SE) Ss in the HI conditions resisted change in the unfavorable direction more than did low-SE Ss, but changed more in the favorable direction than did low-SE Ss. The data were interpreted in terms of the centrality of the concept activated by the discrepant information and the incentive value of the information for the perceiver.


Investigated the hypothesis that "the more salient the object, the more highly the person will value it, and the less likely he is to change his evaluation..." and examines the "relationship between cognitive homeostasis and communication." It is hypothesized that "(1) communication is less likely to continue under non-homeostatic conditions, but (2) when there is communication in a non-homeostatic situation, it is more likely to be an attempt to achieve homeostasis than some other type of communication." One hundred and five Ss imagined two conversations, one creating a homeostatic and the other, a nonhomeostatic condition. Salience and evaluations of objects were measured before and after imagined conversations, and S was asked if he wanted more communication. It was found that (1) initial salience is inversely related to value change, (2) desire to communicate is slightly greater when the situation is homeostatic, and (3) most differences between conflict and dissonance situations fall short of significance.


It was hypothesized that Ss prefer information sources which match in variance the criterion against which they are judging and that the variance in their judgments tends to match that of the criterion. Ss made numerical ratings of 120 hypothetical persons on "practicality" on the basis of information ratings of each person on "ambitiousness." Criterion ratings were provided after every 10 trials. Information ratings could be obtained from one of three sources on each trial. All three sources' ratings correlated equally with criterion ratings on "practicality" but differed in variance, with only one of them matching the variance in the criterion. Overall, the data provided support for the operation of a variance-matching principle in both information-source preference and judgment.