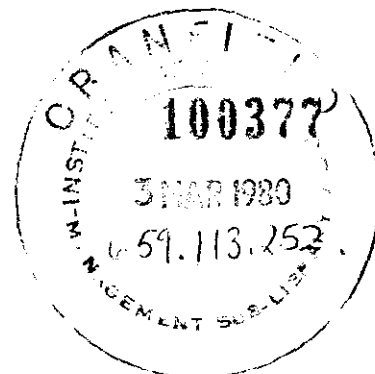


The Attitude Behaviour Relationship

Report No.15



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P R E F A C E

Why should market researchers, advertisers and persuaders be concerned about experiments with a Chinese couple or a coal mining town in the States in the 1930's ? Or, care about the results of distraction, reactance and forced-compliance experiments conducted in psychological laboratories around the world for the past fifty years ?

Why ? Because they are integrally bound into a very basic controversy - do attitudes predict behaviour or only mirror behaviour ? Consumer psychologists share with applied psychologists in other fields - education, personnel selection, child development, organisational behaviour, learning, social interaction, politics, therapy, interpersonal attraction, law and social work - a preoccupation with attitudes which hold a central position in their theories. Enormous amounts of time, energy and money have been expended in order to investigate the attitude-behaviour relationship.

Most social researchers, and in particular market researchers, tend to operate under the "common sense" assumption, embedded in the nineteenth century theories of Thermodynamics in which input = output, that under most conditions attitudes are the input to behaviour. Pinson and Roberto, (288) present the typical market researcher's argument :

"It is assumed that some internal change must precede a new external act ; attitude change is an internal change and behaviour change is a new external act ; therefore, some attitude change must precede behaviour change".

Advertisers are even more resolute -

"The natural feeling of those in the advertising business that attitude change must precede changes in behaviour must be tautologically true unless, for example, people buy things which at least at the time of purchase they dislike".
Forthergill, (113).

Thus, practising consumer and communications psychologists have much in common with applied psychologists in other fields who on the whole tend to believe that "the actions of the individual are governed to a large extent by his attitudes".

In experiments or the real life market situation when attitudes have failed to predict behaviour the insensitivity of the measuring tools or the inability to identify relevant attitudes have been blamed. Psychologists believe they are taking the scientific leap in the dark as medicine did before them. Convinced for a long time that disease was caused by germs which they could not see or predict, doctors operated under an act of faith until the advent of the microscope. Most psychologists are equally convinced that behaviour is caused by attitudes which will someday be identified once the equivalent of a powerful microscope is discovered.

Over the last twenty years, the influence of existentialism on psychologists and the emergence of the cognitive dissonance theorists (who seem to be able to explain any type of behavioural response to a stimulus situation including a non-response) has created a "self-actualising" rethink among psychologists. Perhaps it is really a chicken and egg situation ; therefore behaviour can and often does precede attitude change.

One of the foremost exponents of this approach is the social psychologist and recently market research mentor M.A. Fishbein who has gone on record over the issue :

"Indeed, what little evidence there is to support any relationship between attitude and behaviour comes from studies showing that a person tends to bring his attitude into line with his behaviour rather than from studies demonstrating that behaviour is a function of attitude". (110)

To the consumer researcher, and particularly persuaders, whether attitudes precede behaviour or behaviour precedes attitudes has a significant bearing on the persuasive input and raises the pertinent question tabled at a meeting of clients of the Marketing Communications Research Centre at Cranfield Management School in March '75 - "How can advertising best influence the attitude-behaviour relationship ? "

The simple answer to this question is of course first to UNDERSTAND it, and secondly to look for clues to more effective persuasive communications among the numerous experiments, both laboratory and in the field, which have attempted to identify the variables which influence attitudes, behaviour and frequently both. It is for these two reasons that this book has been written.

I INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Why should psychologists believe that attitudes and behaviour are linked in the first place ? The question is more eloquently and philosophically stated by Popper, (293).

"... how can it be that such things as states of mind - volitions, feelings, expectations - influence or control the physical movements of our limbs ? And, how can it be that the physical states of an organism may influence its mental states ? "

It is indeed a fascinating subject and one that has inspired as much heated argument as the age old nature-nurture controversy. Certainly throughout history those who sought to persuade others have assumed that if they could convert the hearts and minds of the people they could manipulate them into the desired activities.

A. Phase One

Attitudes were first studied in a laboratory setting by Lange back in 1888 in conjunction with studies of reaction time. He observed that the "Aufgabe" or task attitude played a decisive role in all psychological experiments of perception, recall, judgment, thought, etc.

By the turn of the century there was a lively controversy over the place of attitudes in consciousness. Introspection was applied to the problem as it was being applied in all psychological fields including : studies of emotions, memory, thinking, morality, language acquisition, aggression and abnormal behaviour in particular.

Through introspection it was concluded that attitudes were an affectation, vague feelings of need, sensations and images. These explanations were not entirely satisfactory to psychologists because they left unanswered the essential question - an explanation of individual differences. The learning theorists in particular restated the position of attitudes in their research ; attitudes were the "guiding force" for the individual, they determined what he would see, learn, think and do. They assumed that without attitudes judgment and reactions would be confused, he would have to give in to the chaotic world around him. William James summed up the philosophy of the times stating that attitudes "engender meaning upon the world."

The turn of the century was indeed a fertile time for the study of attitudes. Harlow Gale of the University of Minnesota was studying consumer response to advertising at this time. These studies were simplistically based on the assumption that there were laws of human nature as there were laws of physics, thus all people were pretty much alike and advertising could be evaluated by interviewing a few people.

It was also at this time that Freud empowered the concept of attitudes with some vitality by equating them with longing, passion and unconscious needs.

However, the concept of attitude really came into its own with the work of Thomas & Znaniecki, (371) in 1918 and their monumental study of Polish peasants. They brought into the research repertoire the concepts of environment and the influence of the social element on attitudes, which were defined as "the state of mind of the individual toward a value" (values were defined as social in nature). The two researchers were able to give rich descriptions of individual differences.

B. Phase Two

From 1918 to 1950 was a period of intense research activity into attitude formation and change. Thurstone was one of the first to attempt to measure attitudes in a scientific way in 1928 when he created his scaling technique of "equal appearing intervals" in which he attempted to create "a subjective measurement with a rational origin". Hundreds of attitude scales have subsequently been developed which have tended to decrease consensus on the definition of attitude.

The first psychologist to attempt to explain the environmental dynamic of attitudes was Lewin whose Field Theory led the Cognitive movement of the Thirties.

There were two aspects of attitudes :

- . . . They were situational - embedded in a cognitive context.
- . . . They had valences - that is positive or negative charges in the life space of the individual

The behaviourists also had a tremendous experimental influence in attitude research with their emphasis on the reinforcement value and drive strength of attitudes.

The forties saw further research refinements ; Newcomb's work emphasised the importance of reference groups while Smith brought in the concept of value function, attitudes were the way in which the individual made sense of his world.

The Second World War accelerated psychologists' interest in the attitude-behaviour relationship as a method of understanding and explaining prejudice and persuasion. Adorno's extensive study of The Authoritarian Personality enhanced psychologists' understanding of just how prejudiced attitudes function in individual personality systems. The F (Fascist) personality scale was developed from his work. Government sponsored research into persuasion and propaganda set a standard for many years to come. When these researchers returned to academia they continued their

research into attitude change particularly at Yale University under Carl Hovland. As a communication psychologist his work evolved around the study of social issues ; in addition to prejudice he looked at persuasion in the context of health, job enrichment, political issues, learning theory and personal attraction. The studies conducted by Hovland and his associates into distraction, credibility, sleeper effects etc. are benchmarks in attitude research.

C. The Current Situation

Attitude theory affects almost every facet of personal life and every field of endeavour. Doctors are as concerned with how attitudes form and change as teachers, business managers, law enforcement agents, social workers, journalists and advertising agents. Attitude formation and change affects group behaviour (juries and work-groups) as well as individual behaviour. Many areas of attitude research are wholly or partly concerned with broad social issues such as racial prejudice, preventive medicine, environmental problems or political behaviour. While there is no doubt that these issues are for the average person more ego involving than brand and product preferences, the dynamics of attitude formation and change and attitude-behaviour correlations generally correspond regardless of the content of the research. For instance, political attitudes tap the basic belief and value system but then so do persuasive appeals to use an old, reliable product ; they tap nostalgic associations and the basic value of security one gets from associating with a known entity. Research has also shown that when people have lived in integrated housing their attitudes towards negroes changed in a more positive direction. Similarly in product research it is known that when consumers try a new brand featuring 10p off on a tinned item their attitudes change less than if it is only 2p off, in the latter case they have to rationalise their behaviour, it was not such a bargain, therefore their basic attitudes towards the product become more positive.

Therefore, throughout this book examples will be drawn from all of the social research and applied psychology fields including marketing. Only one area of attitude research will be ignored - interpersonal attraction. The dynamics of one to one relationships go beyond the scope of mass communication and marketing although very relevant to salesmanship.

In the course of this exploration of the attitude-behaviour relationship many journal articles will be reviewed because they provide a great wealth of insight into the various facets of attitude research. Although many of the results are contradictory this is because attitude research is still a lively, fertile field for further research.

This book will deal, by chapter, with the following areas :

- The inevitable definition : in the case of attitudes it is extensive, contradictory but interesting philosophically. Are we born with attitudes written on our genes or written into our character, or do they evolve from operant

conditioning or social pressure ? Behaviour is fortunately easier to define .

. . . A look at the theories surrounding attitudes ; it is the theories which dictate experimental paradigms.

. . . How are attitudes formed ?

. . . How are attitudes changed ?

. . . The crux of the matter - the attitude-behaviour relationship ; the two appear to have as much in common as the human body and clothes. For instance, some clothes when they are off of the human body give a very good idea of what the human body looks like, others give a very deformed view, one would think that the human form was pyramid-shaped. Likewise some attitudes correlate with behaviour, others do not.

If there is a correlation, and most researchers agree that there is a relationship however weak and irregular, which is cause and which effect ? Currently it is a chicken and egg argument.

. . . If behaviour precedes attitude change what then is the nature of behaviour and behaviour change ? While behaviour is generally easier to describe and observe the researcher will not always know why it changed.

. . . A special look at models of the attitude-behaviour relationship which have recently been put forward as the answer to the dilemma

. . . Adding another complicating link in the chain - advertising - how does it fit into the attitude-behaviour relationship ? And how can it best influence the attitude-behaviour relationship ?

II - PROBLEMS OF DEFINITIONS

Attitudes have been called the "fly wheel" of social psychology ; Allport, (11) claims that this is because as a concept it escapes the ancient controversy of heredity vs environment. But does it ? Some theorists have formulated a genetic explanation! Attitudes have always been easier to measure than to define, which has led many a researcher to the conclusion that - "Attitudes are what attitude scales measure".

The advent of attitude scales in the thirties encouraged researchers from all schools to turn to attitude studies ; moreover, they all felt compelled to formulate a definition. By 1939 there were enough definitions for Nelson, (255) to write an encyclopaedic summary which included 23 meanings. These ranged from organic drives and affective states to generalised conduct. As Campbell, (55) has more recently noted - "The diversity of definition has been in added contrast with the obvious similarity of research procedures."

A. First Origins

The derivation of the word attitude creates real problems of definition. It comes from the Latin "aptus" meaning fitness or adaptedness and was thus defined as a subjective or mental state in preparation for action. It was first used by Herbert Spencer in 1862 to describe a mental concept. He pointed out that attitudes of mind determined how people arrived at correct judgments.

However, on a non-scientific level, attitude had come into the repertory of the artist in the 17th century to refer to the physical positioning of his subject on a background. Thus used it became a synonym for posture, as when artists referred to the 'posture' of a figure in statuary or painting.

Once attitudes were equated with posture and applied to humans it came to imply a readiness for some type of action ; e.g. attitude connoted a motor concept. Lange's studies of motor reactions (1888) in which he described "task attitude" as an important element helped to secure the motor attitude definition. Thus it transpired that the word attitude got caught up in the mind-body dualism argument from which it has yet to escape ; hence, the attitude-behaviour controversy.

By way of example, the writer recently asked groups of graduate business students at Cranfield School of Management as well as a group of student wives to draw or otherwise portray an attitude. (See Figure 1 on the next page) It is interesting to note that an attitude, unlike other concepts, does not have a consistent shape - round and secure, pointed and aggressive, undulating and rhythmical, T-shaped and rigid were all chosen. Similarly the colours chosen with which to draw ranged from blue, the colour of intellect to red for passion, the earthiness of brown and erraticness of green. On an association level are attitudes rough or smooth,

AN ATTITUDE IS :-

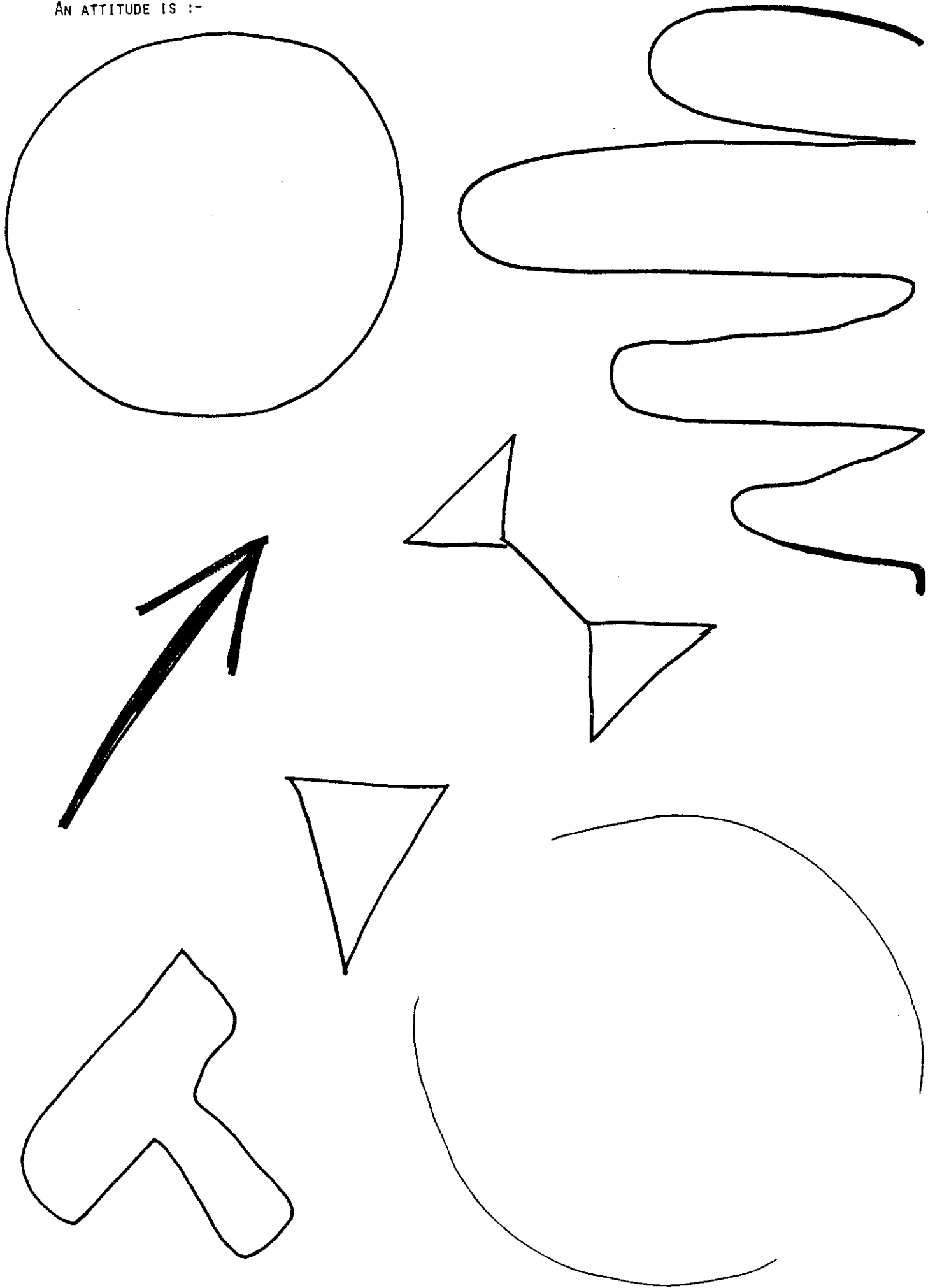


FIGURE 1

sweet or sour ? Respondents could not agree.

B. Current Status

Attitudes are as unclear a concept to the average person as they are to the psychologists. Everyone uses the word but what does it really mean ; what are the essential qualities of an attitude ?

Are Attitudes permanent or tentative ?

Are Attitudes physiologically or sociologically based ?

Are Attitudes unconscious or cognitive ?

Are Attitudes learned or emotional drives ?

And, more importantly, are attitudes ethereal mental states only or can they be observed as objective motor states ?

The various schools of psychology are of course represented in the definitions which theorists give to attitudes.

1. Permanent vs Tentative

Psychologists from many schools have preferred to think of attitudes as permanent, an "enduring" aspect of character, "an integral part of personality" - Eysenck, (104) .

Thus, attitudes have what De Fleur and Westie (82) call "probability definitions", attitudes are anchored and consistent, there is a high probability of a certain type of response to an attitude statement or in a particular behavioural setting. Attitudes become predictable because the individual forms them as he interacts with the same things and people in his environment, he makes a mental organisation, what Eysenck refers to as being "programmed" and others prefer to call habit.

Other theorists such as Newcomb et al (258) have stressed the tentative nature of attitudes and pointed out that an individual will bring his/her stored and organised past experiences to any new situation but that he will evaluate the new situation afresh - form an attitude about it on the spot. To such theorists the individual is an impulsive, spontaneous creature. In this school of thought are the Self Theorists, the Cognitivists and Sociologists. The eminent social psychologist Allport (11) is among those pointing out that "there is no inner consistency in personality". Since "we are bundles of tendencies in a situation it is not we who are integrated ; it is only the environments in which we move that have stability and therefore elicit characteristic behaviour in given situations." Thus, attitudes are spontaneous responses to various environmental situations.

Research Implications

This dichotomy poses very real problems for the researcher, for if he assumes the permanence of attitudes how does he explain a major shift of attitude in a follow-up study? If he assumes tentativeness how does he explain the presence of the same attitude in a follow-up study when there has been an obvious and dramatic change in circumstances - the petrol crisis and motorists' attitudes towards petrol brands for example.

2. Physiology vs Sociology

There are probably few theorists who could go along with Washburn's (390) definition of attitudes as "the static movement systems within the organs of the body and the brain" which were said to control all behaviour. However, the prominent psychologist McGuire has recently postulated a genetic theory of attitudes in which he points out that there is a genetic determination found in both animals and man for instance to be hostile to groups that are perceived as different to one's self. He points to the work on persuasability which indicates that certain character types are more susceptible to persuasion, and to examples from physiological states whereby TB patients have optimistic and euphoric attitudes, epileptics distrustful and cynical attitudes and encephalitis patients aggressive attitudes even after the physical symptoms have disappeared. He further points to the physical stages of man which affect attitudes: the three year old is negative, the pre-adolescent more pliant, the adolescent rebellious and the older person conservative. While these are mostly statements about behaviour McGuire states that the developmental stages cause attitude change, thus there is a genetic or physiological link with attitudes.

Other theorists such as Doob, (89) find this approach hard to swallow because they feel that attitudes must have "social significance" in the individual's society before they exist. The sociologically oriented would agree with Campbell's (55) definition that an attitude is simply "a response to a social object" and that this is because attitudes have the function of being the major equipment for dealing with reality. The sociologically oriented would further stress as Klineberg, (198) has that an individual's attitudes are an imitation of others in one's social milieu because they are so frequently expressed as stereotypes.

Research Implications

Many sociologically oriented researchers have expressed the view that market and social research would be far more meaningful if it looked at and analysed the society rather than the consumer/voter/patient/student, etc. They stress that since people are socially conditioned and reflect the beliefs and attitudes of their society we would have a better chance of understanding people if we looked at the personality

and attitude moulder - society. They operate under the assumption that the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

On the other hand, most research seems to take the additive approach and assume that one can only understand the consumer etc., by looking at many individuals closely and then adding up the results to predict what a group of voters or housewives feel and think. Researchers, particularly those who are involved in life style research, need to be asking themselves if a conglomerate of personality, interest and opinion variables is the best way to find out about groups within a society. Would it perhaps be better to look at the society and make deductions about attitudes? Similarly, when researchers are presented with sweeping social trend data they need to question whether they have really got to the heart of the matter; would a more in depth analysis, including a physiological or even endocrinological analysis get more to the heart of a particular problem - food preferences, medicine usage, etc.

3. Unconscious vs Cognitive

The concept of "underlying processes", De Fleur and Westie, (82), or a push from within imply that attitudes are unconscious expressions of the individual over which he has very little control. In Freudian terms the hidden desires, needs and impulses create basic attitudes such as associating baking with a creative experience, the rising of the dough is the growth of the baby in the womb. Similarly, traumatic experiences leave an attitudinal residue - milk puddings are often disliked by men who had them forced down their throat as children.

The Cognitivists in stressing that an individual actively strives to create an internal harmony and balance represent the conscious viewpoint as concerns attitudes.

In cognitive terms the individual strives to evaluate the objects in his/her environment and to come to some kind of opinion about them. Thus, Thomas and Znaniecki, although pre-dating the cognitive movement, described attitudes as "a process of individual consciousness". Katz, (186) goes even further and postulates that there is a predisposition in the individual "to evaluate some symbol, object or aspect of his world in a favourable or unfavourable manner".

Research Implications

Here is another dichotomy which poses practical problems for the researcher; if attitudes are deeply rooted in the unconscious are there any research techniques which can reveal them? Can projective techniques such as sentence completions or cartoons reveal individual's attitudes? Or is it essential to use real depth analysis similar to hours of therapy sessions to probe into attitudes? If on the other hand, attitudes are conscious then many of the expensive, time consuming depth-projective

techniques and personality tests that are being used to uncover basic attitudes are like taking a machine gun to kill a mouse. If people are perfectly willing to tell the researcher their attitudes and opinions then why all the game playing? As Sheth, (338) has commented regarding consumer research :

"Consumption behaviour is normal behaviour and the society has a positive attitude towards greater consumption. It is correct to expect that people will feel free to openly talk and discuss their consumption behaviour in a similar way to that which they discuss interpersonal relationships".

4. Learned vs Emotional

Learning theorists postulate that attitudes are learned through conditioning ; that is when certain attitudinal expressions are rewarded, such as stating a preference for a particular political candidate among one's peer group, an attitude will be developed. Or when two things occur simultaneously such as the accidental pairing of the word German with intellectuals in a given context then an attitude may be established. On this basis many attitudes will be picked up accidentally by the individual merely by association. Eysenck, (104) has described attitudes as "learned modifications of the central nervous system ; they are dispositions to act which cannot be observed directly". Attitudes are therefore subject to change as the individual experiences new and different associations ; thus Allpott's (11), definition is the most concise of the learning theorists - "A mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience".

On the other side of the coin are the theorists who regard attitudes as the affective or emotional part of the intellectual life of the individual. On the effective or learning side there is perception and awareness which delineates the intellectual world of the individual who then affectively attaches meaning to these percepts via emotional associations or attitudes. The first psychologist to construct attitude scales, Thurstone, (373) emphasised the emotional attachment feature of attitudes when he defined them as - "The degree of positive or negative affect associated with some psychological object". Chave, (62) another early proponent of attitude scales, is even more explicit in defining attitudes as "a complex of feelings, desires, fears, convictions or other prejudices". More recently Fishbein and Ajzen, (111) have also emphasised the emotional aspect in defining attitudes as a "function of the affect associated with the beliefs a person holds about the object".

Research Implications

More problems for researchers. If attitudes are learned and changed through experiences both accidental and planned how reliable can one attitude measure really be? How often should subsequent measures be taken in order to monitor change? And, can we assume that a social or marketing change will be experienced by everyone in a particular sub-group, e.g. C2's if learning is so accidental?

On the other hand, if attitudes are the affective component of the intellectual life of the individual can they be tapped or measured at all? Is it sufficient to determine whether an individual agrees very much or disagrees with an attitude statement or do we need more sensitive tools?

5. Ethereal Mental States vs Objective Motor States

A basic difference among researchers concerns the degree to which they feel that attitudes are essentially ethereal "abstractions". The belief that attitudes are a potpourri of feelings, emotions, sensations, percepts, cognitions, associations, vague rumours and even reinforced ideas which are only aroused when the individual is confronted with a request to tell someone else his/her attitude towards something or some person, is becoming increasingly common among some researchers. Under questioning attitudes become "avowed" according to Harre and Secord, (141), thus "attitudes can only surface in what they call "relatively quiet and low arousal situations where there is little demand for action".

At the other extreme are researchers like Bauer, (24) who feel that attitudes can't really be measured but only inferred from behaviour - "be they samples of what he says, does overtly or readings of his physiological responses. The concepts of a true attitude or a valid measure of attitude as ordinarily discussed is nonsense". Thus, it is theorised by Hayakawa, (150) among others that since "an attitude is preparation for behaviour" there can be no attitude unless there is a motor action of some sort. Campbell, (55) in dealing with measurement techniques describes attitudes as manifested in responses; a review of the literature has convinced him that both direct and indirect tests have shown that there is enough "internal consistency demonstrated on some topics to justify speaking of attitudes" because they are reliably manifested in behaviour.

Research Implications

The mental vs motor explanation of attitudes is really at the crux of the attitude-behaviour relationship dilemma, and at some point the researcher needs to make a decision. Can attitudes be measured without destroying the original form of the attitude? Do attitudes exist as such in the minds of individuals or are they merely a research artifact that has been created by psychologists to describe something which ought to be there so that behaviour can appear logical and purposeful when in fact it may be haphazard and accidental? Does an attitude actually exist before the individual is asked to express an opinion? In an experiment conducted by the writer to demonstrate the "birth" of an attitude to the classroom a colleague was interviewed and a tape recording made on the subject of his attitudes towards a new pill for men which would enable them to give up shaving. In the course of describing his attitude towards the product, he went through all of

his feelings, emotions, abstracted thoughts, etc., associated with shaving, presenting an appearance, his relationship with his physical self, the meaning of his face, taking pills in general and the medical profession. At the end of the interview he exclaimed that he had expressed ideas he had never thought of before, expressed attitudes he didn't know he had ! Did the interviewing situation create the attitudes or just reveal them ? Once it is done we will never know.

The deductive approach wherein attitudes are inferred from behaviour or physiological measures must also make a leap in the dark, everyone who votes X will not have the same attitude towards him. What attitude has been revealed by their voting behaviour other than a general preference ? People who obey speed limits may have many attitudes towards them ; does their behaviour reflect : a respect for law and order ? fear of being caught ? habit ? lack of confidence in themselves as drivers ? lack of confidence in other drivers ? a fear of more bad luck ? not wanting to be different ? , etc. It is this essential dichotomy which the remaining chapters will attempt to explore further.

Is there an acceptable definition of attitude ? Or, more pragmatically, what do you write on the blackboard so that the study of attitudes looks legitimate ? The safe bet is probably the current one appearing in the Dictionary of Psychology, (93) - "A more or less stable set or disposition of opinion, interest or purpose, involving expectancy of a certain kind of experience and readiness with an appropriate response".

C. Further Classifications

In their constant striving to be scientific, to emulate the zoologist, physicist and other pure scientists, psychologists have never been deterred from researching attitudes merely because they cannot agree on a definition. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that psychologists have thoroughly analysed and categorised attitudes into typologies and classes. There appear to be four main approaches in classifying attitudes :

1. Positioning Attitudes in Physic's Terms

Klineberg, (198) postulated that attitudes had five properties similar to those in physics :

- . . . Direction - Individuals are either for or against the attitude object.
- . . . Degree - How far individuals are for or against the attitude object and in what situations.
- . . . Intensity - The individual's strength of feeling towards the attitude object.

- . . . Consistency - How far the individual extends his attitudes beyond the one specific attitude object ; for example, does he dislike all freeze-dried vegetables or only peas ?
- . . . Salience - The individual's willingness to express his/her attitude in actions.

There have been several researchers who have taken issue with the simplistic ideas of talking about attitudes in terms of degree and direction as though there were only two dimensions to an attitude - positive and negative. Cattell, (61), for instance, stated that there are many other planes relevant to attitudes - "curiosity, incuriosity and acquisitiveness; vs lack of acquisitiveness, for instance. However, too many researchers assume that it is easier to think of people on a simple continuum of positive-negative.

Research Implications

A great majority of all research evolves around Klineberg's five properties of attitudes and it is only the measurement of salience which is deemed at present to be wholly unsatisfactory.

2. Positioning Attitudes in Terms of Group Dynamics

Kelman, (189) has devised a classification of attitudes in terms of levels of involvement similar to classifying the way in which groups work dynamically.

- . . . Compliance On the most superficial level the individual complies with group norms by appearing to express attitudes similar to the group. For instance in a pub he will drink beer with his friends.
- . . . Identification On a slightly deeper level the individual has identified with the group norms ; the individual drinks beer because he likes it and goes to the pub because he finds the atmosphere congenial.
- . . . Internalisation On the deepest level the individual has internalised the value system of the group and taken the attitude as his own ; now he will go to the pub nightly because it is as much a part of his home and life style as his own house, and without his beer he's a misery.

In a study of attitudes applied to faith, Lewis (213) developed a similar classification system which he labelled : Acceptance, Preference and Commitment.

Research Implications

This particular classification system creates several real problems for the researcher ; if attitudes do function in the manner outlined by Kelman how can a particular attitude be classified ? For instance, if the individual expresses a positive attitude towards a new soya-based food product how is the researcher to know if the attitude is merely a compliant one or an internalised one ? Does it make a difference ? If Kelman is right the internalised attitude has permanence while the compliant one is more tentative, it is a trial attitude in fact. Shouldn't techniques be developed to gauge the level at which the attitude is operating ?

3. Positioning Attitudes as they are Organised Within the Personality

Katz, (1986) has classified attitudes into three quality states :

- . . . Cognitive - the knowledge component
- . . . Affective - the feeling component
- . . . Conative - the action-tendency component

It is assumed that every attitude contains these three components which can be measured and furthermore persuaders can appeal to one or more of these components. In addition the Self-Theorists have pointed out that for the individual, some attitudes are more ego-involving than others ; for some people the preference for a political party will be more ego-involving than the preference for a breakfast cereal while for another individual it may well be the other way around.

Research Implications

Researchers are on the whole used to determining the degree to which an attitude expresses an affective or cognitive quality, the what do you know about it and how do you feel about it ? line of questioning. The measurement of action-tendency or in Fishbeinian terms - "behavioural intention" - is relatively new in research and is receiving well deserved interest among researchers, especially those interested in correlating attitudes and behaviour.

There have also been a few isolated attempts to measure the ego-involvement of an attitude. Respondents may be asked to answer a series of Likert statements along a degree-disagree continuum and then asked to go back and tick those statements that are most important to them. The technique is not frequently used because it makes comparisons difficult. However, it is essential that research techniques which not only measure direction and degree of an attitude but ego-involvement as well, be developed and refined.

4. Positioning Attitudes Between Opinions and Beliefs

There are today very few researchers who would use the terms beliefs, attitudes and opinions interchangeably thanks in part to Fishbein's emphasis on making a distinction between normative beliefs and attitudes in constructing his model. On a simplistic level it is best to think of beliefs, attitudes and opinions in terms of the depths to which they penetrate the basic personality structure of the individual as shown in Figure 2 on the next page. As can be seen the belief system of the individual permeates his personality structure by reinforcing it. Thus, a belief in God, free enterprise or the right of all creatures to live freely will be as much a part of his personality as the degree to which he is an introvert or extrovert ; a risk taker or cautious ; creative or convergent. Beliefs in turn feed energy into and give form to an attitudinal system ; someone who believes in the right of all creatures to life will have negative attitudes towards slaughtering animals, eating meat and killing insects and positive attitudes towards living in harmony with animals, maintaining the balance of nature and eating vegetables. These attitudes will then reinforce both the belief systems and opinions, the latter being more susceptible to change. For instance the attitudes described above might lead the individual to have opinions that eggs are a good source of protein or that it is better to grow your own vegetables. Suppose however that he reads something about the dangers of eating eggs for health reasons or the cruelties to chickens kept for laying ; he might easily change his opinions regarding eggs while leaving his attitudes regarding meat and vegetables and his belief system concerning animals intact.

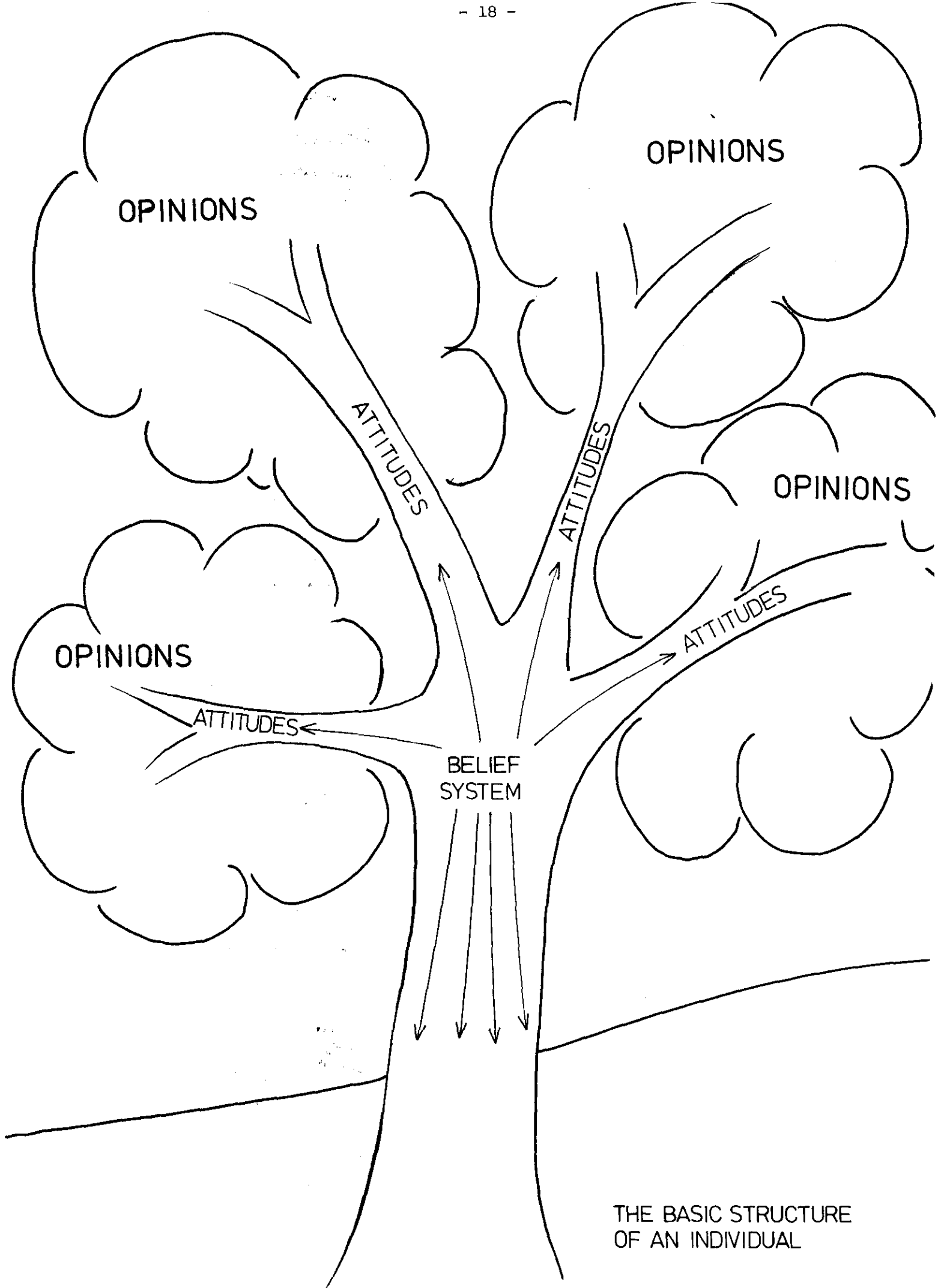
Therefore :

BELIEFS

are what Krech and Crutchfield, (204) call "an enduring organisation of perceptions and cognitions about some aspect of the individual's world." They are strongly entrenched in the basic personality structure of the individual. They are the general cognitive component and therefore neutral, e.g. they are not for or against anything or anyone. Beliefs provide a larger frame of reference or background for people's actions. For instance, because of a belief system the individual will perceive his environment selectively. Thus, the individual previously described will because of his belief system "choose" not to see advertisements for meat.

ATTITUDES

are less securely attached to the basic personality structure although they always incorporate the belief system (beliefs do not always incorporate the attitude system). Attitudes are also influenced by the opinion network of the individual and therefore subject to change from both sides. For instance, if the individual previously described finds that a respected "guru" has decided that meat eating is God's will then his belief system may be affected ; on the other hand an opinion regarding the food value of liked vegetables may be challenged. Thus the attitude will be attacked from both sides and subjected to change.



THE BASIC STRUCTURE
OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Figure II

Attitudes differ from beliefs primarily because they have direction, that is a negative or positive valence whereas beliefs are generally neutral.

Attitudes differ from opinions in that while opinions are always verbalisable, attitudes may not be. For example, fears are not easily verbalised ; the individual who is against eating meat may hold fearful associations with large animals which go back to his childhood without his being fully aware of them.

OPINIONS are only peripherally attached to the basic personality structure and they are subjected to environmental pressures ; in fact they would appear to protect the attitude structure from bombardment by outside forces, since it is easier to change one's opinions. Opinions are on the conscious level and easily identified by the individual ; when asked what he thinks about eggs he can immediately respond. Depth or projective techniques are usually unnecessary to reveal opinions.

Research Implications

Different techniques are required to reveal beliefs, attitudes and opinions. While direct questioning will reveal the latter and may reveal attitudes as well, more indirect, in-depth or projective techniques are necessary to reveal certain types of attitudes such as those respondents would find anti-social to discuss (an enjoyment of speeding in a car) or deeply held beliefs. In fact, to date special techniques to reveal belief systems have not been developed, rather researchers use in-depth or projective techniques which they hope will reveal the belief system or resort to personality tests such as the Allport and Vernon Study of Values, or the I.O. (Inner vs Outer-Directed) Social Preference Scale. This is not wholly satisfactory ; measurements of belief systems need to be developed.

As can be seen from the preceding discussion the concept of ATTITUDE is very elastic ; it is adaptable to numerous definitions, classifications and analyses. Perhaps, however, most researchers and theorists would be able in the last analysis to agree with Professor Jahoda's (177) description of attitudes : "An attitude is content specific whatever the definition". (That is attitudes must be measured in relation to something or someone).

D. Defining Behaviour

Having spent many a page describing and defining attitudes it may appear that the concept of behaviour for all of its importance in the attitude-behaviour relationship is being given short shrift. However, behaviour

is a less controversial concept to define than attitude. Researchers and theorists would agree that BEHAVIOUR is a change in the physical state of the individual such that he responds physically/emotionally as well as intellectually to a perceived situation.

Furthermore, there are two categories of behaviour :

- . . . Overt Behaviour - a response that can be observed by another person. Social psychologists can observe and record social behaviour in groups, the shopping situation or the individual's reactions to an experiment such as a choice situation.
- . . . Covert Behaviour - an implicit response of muscles and glands which are not observable directly without the appropriate apparatus or instruments such as those which measure heart rate, brain waves, eye blink rate, sweating, or saliva flow. Covert behaviour also includes "inner speech" or subvocal response by the vocal organs, usually an accompaniment to thought, particularly relevant to research into attitude change wherein the concept of counterarguing has been introduced - an absence of counterargument is said to facilitate attitude change .

(see Chapter IV re "distractions")

In broad terms : $B = f(P, E)$; Behaviour is a function of the Person in his Environment, Lewin , (110).

Psychologists who study behaviour make one basic assumption and that is consistency. As described by Pervin, (284) the psychologist assumes that "individuals have characteristic ways of behaving" and furthermore that these individual differences "are stable over time and consistent across situations".

E. Summary

The study of the attitude-behaviour relationship is confounded by the fact that while behaviour is easily understood and a definition easily agreed upon among researchers the attitude concept is a confusing and contradictory one. Is this because we cannot see attitudes or measure them with an instrument ? Or, is it because the concept is only a research artifact and does not in fact exist within real human experience?

Assuming that attitudes do exist, if only on the level that attitudes are what attitude scales measure, the remaining chapters will attempt to reveal and evaluate the research that has been conducted into attitude formation and change with a view towards evaluating the state of the attitude-behaviour relationship in the light of today's knowledge. First, however, a brief look at the major theories surrounding attitudes which have stimulated the research of the last forty years.

III - THE MAJOR THEORIES INFLUENCING THE STUDY OF ATTITUDES

Theorising is as much of an indoor sport for psychologists as defining terms. Greenwald et al, (1968) estimate that by the late 1960's there had been at least 34 contributions to the development of attitude theory, ranging from Learning or S-R theory to motivational and dissonance theory. The majority of these theories are concerned with the BIG DILEMMA the attitude-behaviour relationship, and accordingly suffer from what Kiesler et al, (1968) describe as "imprecision" :

"They consist of a set of theoretical concepts and linking statements, such as - a whole lot of this leads to more of that - dissonance leads to a large amount of attitude change ; never quantifying either 'a lot' or 'a lot more' ".

Not every theory has had the impact on the thinking or research activities of social psychologists as the six that will be discussed in this chapter. They are in order of their chronological development : Learning Theory ; Functional Theories ; Cognitive Dissonance Theory ; Self Perception Theory ; Social Judgment Theories and Attribution Theory. The time scale ranges from the thirties for Learning Theory to the late 60's and early 70's for Attribution Theory.

A. Learning Theory

Attitudes are formed through a simple stimulus-response paradigm according to Learning Theorists. Based also on Lewin's Field Theory it is assumed that the individual is exposed to various attitudes which create a tension in the environmental space. Certain attitudes are reinforced as the proper way to think, thus they are imbued with a valence or value. The individual adopts those attitudes with the strongest valences and changes attitude A for B when he perceives that the valence of B is stronger than A. For instance if people he respects hold attitude B the valence will be increased. Learning theorists feel that the individual is influenced in the direction of persuasive communications because such communications have a positive valence.

Learning Theorists have a simplistic attitude-behaviour formula : attitudes precede behaviour because attitudes produce a tension which can only be resolved behaviourally ; e.g., a positive attitude towards coffee can only be resolved by buying some.

B. Functional Theories

These theories which emerged in the fifties evolved around the concept of motivation - Motivational Research was coming into its own at about

that time. The Functionalists also emphasised individual differences and in particular that people may hold the same attitude for different reasons. They assume that attitudes are based on the basic needs of the individual - love, affection, self-esteem, etc., and can only be really understood on the level of psychological motivation.

Furthermore, attitudes are formed primarily through interactions with others and serve four Functions, according to Katz, (1956).

- . . . Instructional Function - to satisfy the needs of the individual, physical, social, emotional and intellectual.
- . . . Ego-Defensive Function - to protect the self-image, help the individual deal with conflicts.
- . . . Value-Expressive Function - to give expression to self concepts and self identity.
- . . . Knowledge Function - to give meaning in an unorganised, chaotic world, by providing the individual with order and stability.

According to Functionalists attitudes emerge out of the motivational system to serve a function and they are changed when the individual finds that the attitude in question is no longer functional. For instance, a new attitude may be adopted because it will increase rewards such as social approval ; or a new attitude may be an expression of aggression or guilt.

The Functionalists believe that the purpose of changing attitudes is essentially to change behaviour but they admit that the link is difficult to establish because of situational factors. Thus, one might appeal to the consumer to try X because it offers a unique experience ; he might change his attitude towards X because he had never thought of it that way and it appeals to his basic need for adventure. However, he might not find the product, may decide it is too expensive or that other people feel that it is childish to use such a product.

C. Cognitive Dissonance Theory

Generated in the fifties and sixties this theory has had more influence and caused more research supporting and attacking it than almost any theory in psychological history. The individual is portrayed as someone constantly striving to maintain his equilibrium; dissonance is the state of disequilibrium. Thus, the individual in order to maintain his own sense of balance will adopt the attitudes of those around him in order to exist harmoniously. Attitude change comes about when he perceives an inconsistency, a dissonance which makes him uncomfortable, he resolves the tension by changing his attitudes. Inconsistency among one's attitudes can come about for a variety of reasons ; foremost among these are : environmental changes ;

occupying two or more social roles - parent and doctor ; forced-compliance situations - enforced working groups ; or adopting a new attitude which conflicts with significant others.

1. Dissonance Reduction

Cognitive Theorists postulate that there are at least eight ways in which the individual deals with the conflict of competing attitudes :

- . . . Increase the attractiveness of the new attitude.
- . . . Decrease the attractiveness of the old attitude.
- . . . Perceive identical characteristics between the two attitudes.
- . . . Seek information and support for the new attitude and avoid discrepant information before accepting it, thus sharing the responsibility.
- . . . Influence others to change their attitudes towards the new one, thus decreasing one's isolated feelings.
- . . . Reject the attitudes of previously respected sources and avoid situations that increase dissonance so that the new attitude can be accepted without guilt.
- . . . Downgrade the importance of the attitude pushing it out of the mind for more important considerations.
- . . . Accept the inconsistency .

Similarly, Cognitivists see the attitude-behaviour paradigm as a two-way system ; the individual can either change his behaviour to bring it more in line with his attitudes or change his attitudes to bring them more in line with behaviour especially if he is in a forced-choice situation. For example, the student activist who takes a lecturing job will become more conservative in his attitudes as he plays the role of lecturer.

The best thing about Dissonance theory is that it has an answer for every eventuality, not since Freud has one theory been able to explain data no matter how it comes out. In other words, faced with a dissonant situation the individual can either accept the new attitude, reject it, avoid it or downgrade it. Or, faced with an attitude-behavioural dilemma he can either change his behaviour or his attitude - all of these occurrences are dissonance reducing despite the fact that they are contradictory.

2. Criticisms of The Theory

This state of affairs has greatly annoyed many researchers and theorists who have thus set out to disprove the basic tenets of the theory . As Truzzi, (378) has pointed out the theory does not allow for personality differences - "some people are more inclined to seek relevances or create relevancies in their cognitions". In other words, some people

need consistency, others do not. Psychologists of the Maslow Self-Actualising School of thought such as McGuire, (233) point out that there is enough evidence that people have an opposite tendency, they do not always seek internal harmony, rather they seek out the novel and the discrepant. Furthermore, this is as it should be for it is the natural way to cope with a changing environment. Daily activity contradicts Dissonance Theory according to Zajonc, (420) who asks why do people love modern music or why does a well-insured man gamble if people are supposed to dislike dissonant situations ?

If Dissonance Theory was to be believed wholeheartedly then advertisers would have to accept that people only expose themselves to what they already know, e.g. they selectively avoid being persuaded. This does not correspond to common experience, people expose themselves to the mass media to find out what is new. Sears and Freedman, (331) examined eighteen studies regarding selective exposure to communications ; in five studies subjects elected to expose themselves to information consistent with their attitudes, in eight studies there was no relationship and in five cases the communications preferred were inconsistent with subjects' attitudes. Concerning exposure to advertising, Oshikawa, (271) has found for instance that after the purchase of a car people not only read ads relating to the car they have chosen, which would be predicted by Dissonance Theory, but they also read the ads of rejected cars which goes against all dissonance theory predictions. Why do they expose themselves to this potentially dissonance producing situation ? Maslow's answer would of course be that the individual is essentially a curious individual with an adventurous mind and this is a need that must be satisfied.

Another problem of Dissonance Theory is that it is based on concepts which are impossible to measure and can only be inferred. Kiesler et al, (195) explains "it's difficult if not impossible to make precise measurements of the degree of dissonance an individual experiences". It is equally impossible to measure the importance of the new attitude or event, but more importantly there is a further step - there must be commitment before there is dissonance and commitment is an even more elusive phenomenon.

D. Self Perception Theory

With this theory Bem set about to formulate an attack on the wishy-washy approach of the Dissonance theorists in dealing with the attitude-behaviour relationship. Simply stated Bem's view was that the individual infers his attitudes by observing his own behaviour, thus attitudes are an outgrowth of actual behaviour. Therefore, according to Self Perceptionists the individual forms his original attitudes and changes or modifies his existing attitudes on the basis of observing or being aware of his own actions. In fact Bem asserts that we have no attitudes towards a particular object until somebody asks us how we feel about it ; we then ascribe an attitude by reflecting on our behaviour towards the attitude object - "I must like tea, I'm always drinking it", etc.

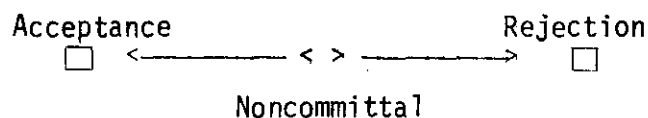
One of the advantages of the theory, as pointed out by Day, (78) is that an individual's attitudes and the attitudes that an outside observer might attribute to the individual will be functionally similar because both are partial inferences from the same evidence - "the public behaviours and accompanying cues which the socialising community has relied on in training him". With Self Perception Theory an attitude becomes an explicit and agreed upon concept between the individual, society and

the researcher.

For many theorists Self Perception Theory has a common sense purity which Dissonance Theory, in trying to be all things to all people, totally lacks. Weiner, (396) in reviewing the research literature over the period 1965/74 has noted that in studies offering support for both Self Perception and Dissonance Theory, the former is more viable and requires fewer assumptions.

E. Social Judgment Theories

Another answer to Dissonance Theory which arose in the late sixties is Social Judgment Theory. It is assumed that attitudes occur along a continuum ranging from acceptable to unacceptable positions. Although it does not appear to deal with the problem of attitude formation the theory describes an information flow approach to attitude change in which the individual evaluates incoming information in terms of :



When the persuasive message is within the receivers' range of acceptance, he/she will accept the position being advocated ; that is he/she will "assimilate" it.

The theory explores the factors which influence acceptability ; such as the degree to which the individual was anchored or ego-involved towards an original attitude, perhaps the attitude is anchored to a basic belief system or to an important "significant other". On the other hand, if the new information is "too far out" Social Judgment Theorists predict that the individual will not only reject it but will reinforce his original position as many Nixon supporters did when Watergate first began to leak out. This is referred to as the "boomerang effect".

Day, (79) has pointed out that Social Judgment Theory has more relevance in the marketing context than most theories ; for instance the marketer need only consider the product as having three attitudinal meanings , it's;in the consideration class ; in the buying class or in the non-consideration class. Consumer behaviour is also seen as a perceived risk situation for which the consumer develops strategies to reduce the risk, primarily habit.

Social Judgment Theorists assume that there is no question about it - attitudes lead to behaviour.

F. Attribution Theory

What McGuire, (234) calls "the most popular new theoretical fashion within social psychology", began to gain popularity in the late sixties. The theory according to van Veldhoven, (382) focuses on the processes whereby the individual attempts to make sense of his environment by the attribution of causal relationships. It brought back an emphasis on motivational issues.

Attribution Theory is based on the assumption that the individual does not change his attitudes but rather discovers what they are. It is further assumed that causal attribution for one's own performance affects subsequent behaviour.

However, there are many theorists who have not been impressed with the substance of the theory ; Kiesler and Munson, (194) complain that it is both woolly and badly researched ; Jones et al (180) call the theory "an amorphous collection of observations about naive causal inference".

G. Summary

This chapter has summarised the six major theories of attitude which have influenced the research on attitudes over the past forty years. Each of these theories proposes a unique explanation for attitude change. For instance, attitude change occurs when :

- . . . the individual yields to pressure - Learning Theory
- . . . when the old attitude is no longer functional - Functional Theory
- . . . when new information creates a dissonant situation which must be resolved - Cognitive Dissonance Theory.
- . . . the individual observes his own behaviour - Self Perception Theory
- . . . the individual evaluates the information flow in his environment for acceptability - Social Judgment Theory
- . . . the attitudes are discovered - Attribution Theory .

Interestingly, most theories are based on the assumption that attitudes precede behaviour whether the theory is recent or forty years old. Cognitive Dissonance Theory, however, is different, it proposes that the individual can reduce dissonance by either changing his behaviour or his attitudes. Self Perception Theory is uncompromising - behaviour precedes attitude formation or change.

Each of these theories has generated a great deal of research among social psychologists. The remaining chapters will look at the theory based research as well as the many other studies which have been generated by an eclectic interest in attitude change/attitude behaviour relationships rather than trying to prove or disprove a certain theory. The research falls into four main categories ; attitude formation ; attitude change ; attitudes and behaviour ; and, behaviour change.

IV - ATTITUDE FORMATION

How are attitudes formed or learned in the first place ? Whether the individual is born with a predisposition towards certain attitudes or is presented to the world as the proverbial "tabula rasa" upon which attitudes are written, how does it happen ?

Psychologists do seem to agree that attitudes get formed out of the residue of feelings, beliefs and patterns of response which are repeatedly evoked and stored in the memory in some type of related fashion. These memory elements somehow get formed into mental dispositions, tendencies or propensities which when measured by researchers are labelled - "attitudes". Once an attitude is established it has functional value for the individual ; he is "programmed" with this attitude so that each time he is face to face with a certain situation he need not re-think, re-evaluate and make a decision afresh concerning how he feels about it, he "knows".

However, before an attitude can even begin to develop the individual must be exposed to stimuli which he perceives as relevant or important to him or which in some way (classical conditioning) penetrates into his conscious or unconscious mind :

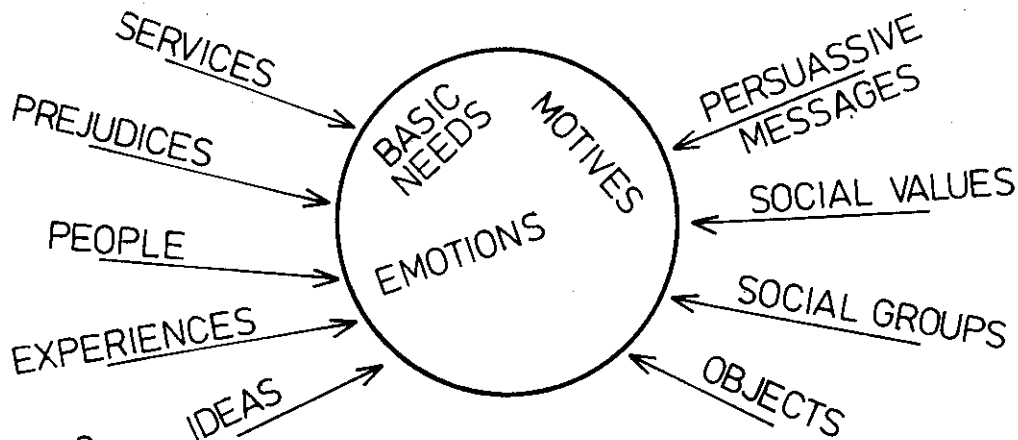


Figure 3

FIGURE 3

While some attitudes are formed through conscious reflection most of our attitudes as Smith, (348) describes "are taken over from parents, teachers, friends, newspapers, movies and TV and function more or less unconsciously". For instance, in a famous longitudinal study, Newcomb, (256) showed that the more integrated students became into university life at Bennington (a very liberal college established in the 30's) the more liberal they became towards a variety of social issues.

A. Monitoring Attitude Formation

1. The Problem

One of the fundamental problems for the researcher is that he/she only knows if an attitude has been formed if he can measure it and in the measuring process he may either create it or destroy it. As Campbell, (55) has said - "In the problem of assessing social attitudes there is a very real need for instruments which do not destroy the natural form of the attitude in the process of describing it". This is why most researchers feel a certain unease about today's measuring tools.

Dawes, (77) has described what attitude measurements really measure - "It's not things that are measured but attributes of things" ; thus we are not measuring attitudes directly as a thermometer measures temperature, but rather the attributes of an attitude are being measured, e.g. direction, degree, etc. This is further complicated, Dawes goes on to explain, because when an individual responds to a stimulus his response conveys information about the stimulus, about himself and about the relationship between himself and the stimulus ; measurement may reflect any or all of these. The researcher is never sure.

The other side of the measurement problem is that throughout the history of scientific inquiry the principles of measurement have usually been applied to something with structure ; since attitudes do not have a structure there is the inherent danger that by measuring them we are imposing a structure on them that does not exist. Thus, the accusation that attitudes are the creation of attitude researchers.

The closest that attitude researchers can really come to measuring an attitude according to Ostrom and Upshaw, (274) is to get an estimation of the parameters in which it functions. Thus, they point out that when an individual is asked to label his own attitude he uses a series of "end anchors" which are sensitive to the frame of reference of the attitude "which affects the content of the attitude".

2. The Approach

The research into attitude formation comes from two related fields, the learning psychologists and the communication theorists, especially those involved in studies of propaganda and persuasion. In many cases the evidence that is presented in support of theories of attitude formation is based on laboratory experiments since it is extremely difficult to set up real life situations and control all of the intervening variables. By their very nature laboratory experiments only simulate real life because they over simplify the environment for the subject.

Moreover, in an ideal scientific world every experiment would be subjected to several replications by other researchers, this is rarely done. Therefore, in reviewing the experimental evidence from learning and communication research the writer has had to rely on the reputation of the journal in which it appeared, the reputation of the researcher and on a personal evaluation of the experimental paradigm as presented in the article. None of these are infallible methods of assessing the reliability and validity of an experiment.

With these qualifications, research work from learning theory and communication, researchers has revealed that attitudes "appear to be" formed according to certain principles. The phrase "appear to be" is used to remind readers that there is no actual dip stick method of determining that, at a particular point in time, an attitude was formed out of vague feelings, associations and experiences. Frequently attitude formation is studied when something new has been introduced into the environment which it is assumed individuals did not have attitudes about before, such as the sudden publicity on health hazards for smokers which invaded the public in the fifties. Or, the researcher may attempt to isolate subject areas about which individuals have neutral opinions, expose them to a persuasive event and assume that an attitude will form from the experience and that this attitude can be measured.

In either case the researcher is making a perhaps unwarranted assumption that a formal attitude did not exist in the first place. Social scientists, however, in choosing to research the human being as opposed to physical phenomena are used to making such intellectual leaps in the dark.

B. Processes of Attitude Formation

1. Information Overload

Attitude formation increases as the amount of information about the subject increases. In keeping with the "information processing" approach to attitude formation and change advocated by McGuire among others, research has shown for instance that there is greater attitude formation with three exposures on the same topic as compared to one exposure, Weiss, (399). And, attitudes were formed more quickly when arguments were stronger.

Farkas and Anderson, (105) on the subject of health issues found support for the Information Processing Theory of attitude formation; they determined that attitudes were weighted averages of stimulus information.

Using 36 experimental groups Solomon, (353) showed that multiple exposure significantly increased recall and that there was a statistically meaningful relationship between post communication attitude scores and recall of relevant content.

In a consumer context Russo, (316) stated that "more information is better" when consumers showed a preference for more information on labels for each of several brands before forming an opinion about them.

Furthermore, they made better choices with more information. In a similar study Jacoby et al (176) showed that when the consumer was presented with four bits of information for each of four brands, they made better choices than when the number of brands increased ; i.e., their attitudes were more clearly formed. However, they seemed to be happier with increased information and even if their choices were not as good they could still make decisions with 256 bits of information.

Applying the same principles to social issues Hardy and Fox, (139) tested environmental awareness among rural, suburban and urban samples ; the amount of information on environmental issues and attitudes were found to correlate significantly for the urban and suburban samples. In a simulated jury situation Calder et al (54) found that belief was a positive function of the number of arguments presented ; as the amount of information increased belief moved in the same direction, and the effect was still evident two weeks after the communication.

Even meaningless information can become salient due to mere exposure. Zajonc, (421) has shown that repeated presentation of novel stimuli such as Chinese characters had a positive effect over time. He concluded that it is easier to form a positive attitude than a negative one through repeated exposure. Burgess and Sales, (51) have presented stimuli in positive and negative contexts and found that with increased exposure the stimuli become respectively more positive and negative. Greenwald and Sakumura, (129) using Vietnamese war propaganda showed that a lot of novel information enhanced the initial learning of an attitude.

Not only are attitudes formed when there is information overload but "polarisation is augmented when the information about an issue is increased to extreme limits", Wilkie, (409). Cole, (67) also found that the intensity with which an attitude was embraced increased as the amount of information increased, e.g. polarisation.

Advertising Implications

There are many product and firm names which are just names to the consumer in an age of millions of consumer goods. Advertising which simply creates an image for the product or service as friendly, fun to use, modern, preferred by young people, etc., is of no use if the consumer doesn't know what the product is. Is it a bank, building society, or insurance company ? Is the product a cleanser, air freshener or toiletry ? Is it a sweet or baby food ? With many new products and services being brought out in an age when clever, "out of context" advertising is the rule of the day, is it safe to assume that the message is getting through to the consumer ? Are people being given an opportunity to form an attitude ? Most advertising research measures liking, disliking and recall of copy points, what of knowledge of the product or service ?

2. Creating Associations with an Attitude Object

Conditioning experiments in which a stimulus object is exposed in association with another stimulus object or an attitude give psychologists clues into the ways in which attitudes are born. Staats and Staats, (354) for instance presented students with slide presentations of national names while verbally presenting adjectives. They were able to create various attitudes concerning the Dutch by pairing the national name with - "pretty", "healthy" and "sweet". Grush, (132) used rare words with a slight positive or negative rating. The stimuli were presented on slides and he found that not only did the numbers of associations with each word increase as exposure increased but that the number of positive or negative associations also increased.

In a consumer context, Swap, (361) presented audio-visual communications regarding a car, a person and teaching machines in positive, neutral or negative conditions and obtained very high correlations between the persuasive condition and attitudes.

A novel association technique used by Dillehay and Jernigan, (87) was the biased questionnaire. The subject was treatment of criminals and the questionnaire was either harsh or lenient in terms of the slant of the questions. A measurement of attitudes after exposure to the questionnaire showed that the lenient treatment questions were successful in manipulating response with a lenient bias, while the harsh questionnaire was not successful. It is interesting to find some sort of proof for what most researchers have always regarded as a serious problem - the conditioning of respondents' reactions because of the style in which questions are posed.

Advertising Implications

Advertisers have frequently been concerned about association or rub-off effects. Studies have shown that when an ad appears in a quality magazine or newspaper the product gains in quality associations ; the reverse is of course also true. Cronen, (74) found that respondents who had poor non-salient attitudes towards American Indians were relying on old-fashioned westerns. But what are the association effects in other media ? Does a frenzied, brash, radio or television commercial offering price-off's create an association effect for the next commercial which has a sophisticated and romantic 'After Eight' approach? Does an aggressive, hard sell commercial rub-off on to the next one which is gently urging people to invest in a building society ? These questions are frequently asked and have yet to be fully answered by researchers. Everyone is sure that it is true, there is a rub-off effect, but how true ? What sort of effect ? Is there a certain time lapse for association wear out ? How quickly can the viewer or listener switch over ? On the other hand, has commercial television trained the viewer to make quick mental switches and disallow rub-off effects as some advertisers have postulated ?

3. Reinforcing the Attitude Object

Frequently attitudes are created out of a more manipulated situation than mere association, the experimenter or persuader reinforces certain responses. In a complicated university experiment Salancik and Conway, (318) made pro or anti-religious attitudes salient by "means of a linguistic device" and found that respondents developed attitudes accordingly.

Rosnow, (312) exposed respondents to successive arguments concerning the use of nuclear weapons ; those who experienced a rewarding event at the same time shaped their attitudes towards the issue. Similarly, Kanekar, (183) showed that while it was possible for attitudes to be formed due to observation, when there was some type of vicarious emotional arousal associated with the observed event there was more attitude formation.

However, the most dramatic reinforcement experiment was conducted by Bem, (29), in which he claimed to have raised an attitude "from birth". Subjects were presented with a notebook containing cartoons previously rated as neutral. They were to describe them as funny or not funny ; however, a coloured light was flashed on which told them when to tell the truth. Without the light they were to lie. Thus, the cartoons were rated as funny to the truth light and respondents ultimately internalised their evaluations or as Self-Perceptionists such as Bem would describe, they observed their own behaviour and then formed an attitude. To the Learning Theorists this is simple classical conditioning ; the two theories have much in common as can be seen.

Advertising Implications

Advertisers seem to have been aware of the value of reinforcement for many years : products are set in emotionally rewarding settings ; users of the product look deeply satisfied etc. Are there other ways in which advertisers can use reinforcement association in attitude formation ? Are certain sounds or types of music, colours or shapes more reassuring ? The heartbeat sound reassures infants and frightens adults, which sounds reassure adults ? This should be investigated. The man who has everything can now buy screens for walls on which he can project stimulating or soothing shapes, scenes and colours ; do researchers know for certain which these are ?

4. Presentation Effects

The manner in which a persuasive message is presented will affect whether or not it is allowed to pass the barrier of the individual's basic resistance towards foreign stimuli. Some presentation techniques (in certain situations) seem to be more persuasive than others - forewarning and distractions for instance. Other techniques may be more persuasive - the two-sided argument ; primary or recency

effects and conclusion drawing - depending on the audience. In one area there is no argument. The effect of the presenter - his source and style of presentation of the persuasive message - dominates all other factors.

a. Source of the Message

Most advertisers make use of a spokesperson at some time or another in the course of their promotional activities ; social causes and even political candidates become associated with various personalities. Which types are most effective in forming attitudes ?

Credibility and Trustworthiness - It is not enough to be an expert on a subject, although that is frequently essential, but even more importantly the source of the message must be seen as trustworthy and relevant. For instance, Hovland et al (171) have shown that a highly credible source is necessary if the message is highly technical - drugs, or other science-related issues, but not when the issue is one of common experience - the value of the cinema. Thus, Johnson and Watkins, (179) found that a highly credible source produced more message recall on a health issue than did a low credible source.

The most credible and trustworthy source is someone who has had the experience ; thus, Levine and Valle, (212) found that former alcoholics were more influential in persuading students towards certain specific attitudes about alcoholism, especially if they spoke in the first person as opposed to the third person. And, McPeck and Edwards, (238) found that when long-haired males argued against marihuana they were more persuasive than seminarians. Later ratings of the sources indicated very high scores for the unexpected long-haired persuaders on sincerity and honesty.

In a consumer setting Lutz, (219) found that Consumer Reports was the most credible source for the housewife when forming attitudes towards nonphosphate detergents.

Research into credibility has revealed what has come to be known as the " sleeper effect " ; that is after a three or four week time lapse the effect of a credible source loses its advantage and people's attitudes towards the stimulus object will decrease and more importantly as pointed out by Cox, (), the attitudes elicited by a low credible source lose their disadvantage and become more positive. It appears as though the information conveyed by a source is retained longer than the emotional associations with that information ; there is what Cox calls a "disassociation effect". The reinstatement of the original credible or noncredible source however recreates the original attitude response, wherein a highly credible source creates more positive attitudes.

Similarity of Source to Listener - The individual is more likely to be persuaded by someone most like himself ; for instance, Cantor et al, (57) found that young women were more inclined to be persuaded about the IUD contraceptive method if the persuader was their own age and had used the device. In consumer research it is known, according to Fishbein, (110) that consumers are more persuaded by someone like themselves than a public figure. It is a common human experience that we are more likely to be persuaded by a friend with whom we have more in common than by an expert. However, demographic similarity is not enough, preferably the person should be similar ideologically in order to persuade an individual. Thus, Good, (110) found that students were more likely to be persuaded by topics said to be of importance to students than by topics said to be important to people of 50 years or more. And, Granberg and Serdil, (127) observed that voters of a particular persuasion were more likely to be persuaded by the candidate they favoured on urban issues because they identified with the candidate (Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace and McGovern) ideologically and not with the issue.

Likeability - Frequently a likeable source can rise above all other considerations, such as similarity with audience, expertise and credibility just on the basis of personality or uniqueness value alone. It is for this reason that many advertisers select a charismatic personality for a spokesperson and gradually associate them with the product to increase expertise etc. In a very interesting research investigation Stone and Hoyt, (259) have shown the value of a likeable source. Respondents were sorted into three groups by the experimenters : source-oriented ; message-oriented and inter-oriented (both). They showed that source likeability increased attitude formation and change even for those who were message-oriented.

Likeability is a difficult concept to identify. Recently, developmental psychologists have shown that very young infants get bored with simple stimuli and turn off just as the adult gets bored with certain uninteresting, repetitive activities and people and turns off. In an interesting experiment along these lines Butzine, (53) exposed visual stimuli of varying degrees of complexity to adults for times ranging from 0 to 192 seconds. He found that as he increased the exposure time of a simple stimulus the evaluation of it decreased ; subjects became bored with a simplistic stimulus and turned off.

People are also more likely to buy a product if they like the advertising, Martineau, (224) reports of a study with 1600 New Yorkers which showed that those who liked the advertising were significantly more likely to buy the products. A recent IPA study in the UK indicated that eight times as many people who liked a commercial "a lot" shifted brands after seeing it ; Wight, (408).

Advertising Implications

As can be seen, credible and trustworthy sources are effective in forming attitudes if they are consistently associated with the message ;

if allowed to lapse a highly credible source loses its advantage. Thus an advertiser who decides to use a spokesperson must make a long-term commitment as was done for Katy and OXO. In selecting spokespeople there are certain guidelines :

- . . . Someone who is or has used the product or service or could be imagined doing so ; an elegant, well manicured lady talking about floor cleaners does not bridge the credibility gap.
- . . . Technical, medical or safety experts where necessary but not out of context ; a doctor recommending a building society ; a racing-driver recommending a film is often meaningless and annoying.
- . . . While demographic similarity is important in creating feelings of identity on the part of consumers ideological similarity is even more important. Frequently, character or ideological similarities are conveyed by the personality of the spokesperson ; thus consumers may say he isn't like me, "too earthy" or "too uptight", etc. These facets could and should be evaluated with a representative sample of consumers before a spokesperson is selected.
- . . . What is IT ? Some people have IT and some people don't ; some people are likeable, charismatic and interesting, others are not ; they are boring or dull. These characteristics can also be evaluated with typical consumers before a particular spokesperson is selected.

b. Style of Presentation of the Message

There are many ways in which the persuader can change his/her style in order to be more persuasive ; some of the techniques which have been recently researched include the following. One of the most important is speech style. For instance Moscovici, (247) has shown that poor grammar, pauses or even worse repetition and poor organisation reduces credibility of the speaker, although interestingly it does not reduce the speaker's trustworthiness image. Thus, good grammar, organisation and presentation increase persuasiveness as does an appropriate accent. There have been many experiments in which various regional and class accents have been pitted against a typical English or acceptable BBC accent ; the latter wins with the majority of people. However, where the audience consists of a particular class or regional group obviously the appropriate accent is more persuasive.

Giles, (121) using respondents from two regional areas exposed them to persuasive arguments in three forms : written ; prestigious English and own dialect. He found that prestigious speech increased attitude formation while regional accents were most effective in inducing attitude change.

In addition to grammar and accent persuaders adopt an approach which may be serious, dramatic, or emotional ; Vincenzo and Hendrick (384) have obtained interesting results when they compared a serious and a dramatic speaking style. Women were more likely to be persuaded by a dramatic presentation and men by a serious presentation ; however, all of the respondents felt that the serious speech presentation was more sincere, relaxed and trustworthy.

Another obvious feature of a persuader is body language. McGinley et al, (229) conducted an experiment in which a persuasive message was accompanied by pictures of the speaker in an "open or receptive body" position or a "closed, rigid body" position. The open body position was significantly more persuasive.

Most researchers would however agree that the most important thing a persuader can do is to appear as someone who does not stand to profit from his persuasive posture, better still to be arguing against his own best interests. Stone and Eswana, (359) reported a study in which a likeable and unlikeable source were used to educate students about a new speedometer signalling system. The unlikeable source enhanced his effectiveness by arguing against his own best interests which of course the likeable source could not do. In a study by Wright, (417) it was found that when the persuasive message was delivered in a non-directive and seemingly non-purposive manner it was more likely to be accepted than when it was delivered directly or arrogantly.

In a slightly different vein Hendrick and Shaffer, (158) used high, medium and low volume messages and high and low credible sources. They found that while the highly credible source led to better learning, moderate volumes with a low credibility source led to even better learning than either type of source at high volumes. In fact high volumes had a negative effect with an interesting sex difference, women became restless and reported feeling helpless, men became aggressive and motivated to "get back".

Advertising Implications

The style of presentation can be the key to the effectiveness of a persuasive message. There are therefore certain guidelines in presenting a persuasive message.

- . . . An appropriate accent for the intended audience, good grammar and a nonrepetitive presentation are important in persuading individuals to consider another viewpoint.
- . . . A serious presentation may enhance the image of the speaker but may not influence all types of individuals ; whether a dramatic, emotional, humorous or serious approach is used should be determined by testing a typical sample with the intended message in a variety of styles.
- . . . Body language says a lot about the speaker, such as his/her openness to people, degree of self-confidence and even trustworthiness ; a persuasive communication should be as carefully planned in terms of body language as it is in terms of verbal content.

- . . . If the persuader is seen to be talking against his/her own best interests, such as the hippie types in McPeck and Edwards' experiment who were arguing against marihuana, he/she will be more persuasive. When the Electricity Board, Gas Board or an oil firm encourage people to save energy, the consumer is bound to sit up and take notice ; when television promotes the cinema people remember ; or when a granny promotes a pop record it must be good (or bad depending on your viewpoint).
- . . . There has been a lot of controversy about the volume of commercials on television ; many media observers have felt that the commercials are creating ill will before they start their message by being too loud. The experiment reported would lend some weight to this argument. Advertisers defend the volume of commercials on the basis that they are perfectly recorded and just seem louder by comparison with imperfectly recorded programmes ; it is hard to accept that the many part-series costume dramas which have cost millions to produce have not been well recorded. It's time advertisers re-evaluated this problem

c. Order Effects

When to deliver the punch line ? Right away or at the end ? Communication psychologists have argued this point for years and seem to have come to the conclusion as described by Cohen, (66) that if there is a good chance that the audience will have little inherent interest in the message, such as an advertising message, the major argument should come at the beginning to attract their attention. However, if the audience has an interest in the subject, such as a political candidate's stand on a major issue, the major argument should come at the end ; there should be a climax "so there is no let down at the end". These effects are commonly referred to as Primacy (first heard) and Recency (last heard). Most persuaders tend to play it safe and use the old journalist's rule - "tell them what you're going to tell them, then tell them, then tell them what you've told them."

Advertising Implications

Given a mixed audience in the mass media where some people may be particularly interested in an advertisement because they are considering a purchase while others are only marginally interested, presenting major arguments at both the beginning and end of a message no doubt has a lot of validity. The primacy effect, however, may serve to cue those who are not particularly interested to "switch-off".

d. Two-sided vs One-sided Arguments

Should the persuader present both sides of the issue or only the main argument? The idea of presenting both sides is to counteract doubts and arguments that the audience will think up anyway and probably rehearse as they hear the message. The best known example of the one-sided vs the two-sided argument was Volkswagen. When it first came on the market many people believed that it was an economic car to drive which was the principal selling argument. However, then they looked at it and found it peculiar; "the ugly little bug". Instead of trying to persuade people to forget that it was ugly by focusing them on the ease of parking and replacing parts, the economics of driving it and the reliability of its performance, the advertiser presented the two-sided argument: "The ugly little bug", "Not exciting, it never changes", "VW doesn't do it again". Its success is a legend. Martineau, (224) reports of other instances when the two-sided argument has proven effective. In an experiment in the States one and two-sided commercials were presented for cars, gas cookers and floor waxes to a sample of 500 people. The two-sided argument approach produced more positive attitudes than the one-sided. In a study for Marlborough cigarettes one-sided print ads stated that it was the mildest and best tasting cigarette available, the two-sided ads stated that while everyone knew that filtered cigarettes couldn't be as tasty as unfiltered cigarettes Marlborough was still the finest tasting filtered cigarette you could get. The latter approach was far more persuasive.

Social issues also yield to the two-sided approach. Hovland et al, (171) found that two-sided arguments concerning Russia's development of nuclear weapons were more persuasive than a one-sided argument. Haas and Linder, (134) also found that acknowledging serious counter arguments at the beginning of a communication created more persuasion on a social issue. There is however, research evidence that the better educated and "friendly" audience can be antagonised by the two-sided argument. They feel they are being talked down to or oversold.

Advertising Implications

The two-sided argument should be considered by advertisers more than it is unless it might antagonise. For instance, if one believes that people are charitable and that X charity has a good reputation, persuading people to give money to the charity will not be enhanced by pointing out all the reasons why people do not give to charities. Many packaged goods manufacturers have used the two-sided argument effectively by admitting that their brand costs more and then trying to persuade the consumer that it is worth it.

e. Conclusion Drawing

Does one leave the audience to draw their own conclusions or should the persuader draw the conclusion? The majority of communications psychologists would agree with Cohen's advice that an audience is more likely to be persuaded if the communication contains a conclusion as

opposed to leaving it up to individuals to draw it themselves. However, as Robertson, (303) has pointed out if the audience is particularly intelligent, if the issue is simple or if the issue is very personal such as speeding behaviour which involves the basic personality structure then it is better to let the audience draw its own conclusion. Hovland et al, (171) conducted an experiment which involved persuading people towards a position about the devaluation of currency ; the group who had the conclusion drawn for them were more likely to be persuaded. They concluded that on a complex issue conclusion drawing was essential.

Advertising Implications

Intelligent audiences are obviously likely to be insulted by simplistic conclusion drawing by the persuader, particularly if the issue is a simple one. Many communications are specifically addressed to a more sophisticated audience and appear in media where the users are considered to be quite intelligent. Why should these communications insist upon talking down to people ? Why not invite the consumer to participate and draw his own conclusions ? Surely the numbers of people who have participated in advertising tests and complained that they are being talked down to by persuaders is as valid an attitude as preferring brand X because it has a nicer fragrance !

f. Forewarning

Forewarning of persuasive intent has been shown to increase learning and attitude formation. Hollander, (165) requested that subjects read booklets some of which contained warnings of persuasive intent ; he found that the warning condition was significantly more persuasive than the unwarned condition. In another forewarning experiment Holt and Watts, (167) found a "sleeper effect", that is learning was not affected by the forewarning situation until several hours later when subjects who had been in the forewarning situation showed greater learning. However, one week later learning was equal for the two groups.

Wertsch, (402) has shown that when individuals are given information regarding the speakers' identity and intentions they are significantly more likely to retain or recognise the pertinent passages of the persuasive message. Forewarning people tends to focus their minds on certain features of a persuasive communication and thus increase learning. However, isn't forewarned being forearmed ? What of the natural tendency to counterargue and resist persuasion pointed out by many communication psychologists ? Merely forewarning people does not guarantee that they will be persuaded ; life can't be that simple especially when there are psychologists about ! Haas and Grady's (133) findings raised doubts about the validity of forewarning. Their subjects were forewarned either ten minutes before the message or right

before ; irregardless of the timing they found that forewarning inhibited persuasion. How to account for the contradictory findings? A study by Dean et al, (80) sheds some light. Subjects were exposed to persuasive communications with low involvement or high involvement in terms of current interest within the university community. Half of the subjects were forewarned of a persuasive intent. When the issue was a low involvement one there was more learning in the forewarned condition ; however, forewarning "boomeranged" in the high involvement condition, subjects were not persuaded to the viewpoint advocated but rather its opposite. Kiesler and Munson, (194) concurred with these findings in a series of studies in which it was revealed that if subjects were uncommitted/uninvolved with the issue forewarning of persuasive intent led them to form the attitude advocated.

Advertising Implications

Advertisements rarely appear in an unforewarned condition; that is the average person is aware of the purpose of a commercial break on television or break up of a story in a magazine by advertisements and the purpose of hoardings. Thus, most advertising occurs in a forewarned situation. For this reason there has been a recent attempt by advertisers to blend into the scenery ; magazine advertisements are presented in article or story form, TV commercials start off like a good serial or variety show. Is this necessary ? If the consumer, who generally has low involvement with branded goods and advertisements is persuadable when forewarned, is there any reason to be so clever and sneaky about advertising ? Isn't the consumer getting the last laugh anyway sitting back and feeling who are they trying to fool, why be so indirect ?

g. Distractions

One of the most interesting and theoretically unexpected findings to emerge out of attitude formation and persuasion research is that distractions during the learning process can increase the effect of the communications. The value of distractions is based on a cognitive dissonance approach to learning ; that is if the individual cannot produce counterarguments during the learning process learning will be increased. Distractions keep the individual too busy to concentrate on counterarguments. There has been a great deal of research justification for this view.

Kiesler and Matog, (196) asked subjects to listen to persuasive speeches and compute digits ; they found that the distraction "raised the effect of communication". Osterhouse and Brock, (272) conducted a distraction experiment with flashing lights and found that the rate of flash increased the acceptance of the persuasive communication and furthermore decreased the post communication production of counterarguments. Galizio and Hendrick, (117) accompanied a persuasive message with folk songs and guitar music, they found that there was greater persuasion with the presence of the guitar and that respondents

had more positive feelings in general. The authors rejected dissonance theory explanations in favour of the theory that a pleasant activity such as instrumental music creates a mood of compliance towards any communication. Doob and Janis, (90) agreed with this interpretation when they revealed that eating while reading a persuasive message enhanced the acceptance of the communication for one group compared to the group who were not offered snacks - cola and peanuts.

Shamo and Meador, (334) used visual distractions in the form of slides of an irrelevant subject while respondents heard an emotional message about segregation. A matched group heard the message only. Results showed that the distracted group were significantly more likely to accept the persuasive message, although there was a reduction in recall of information. Rosenblatt, (311) also used visual distractions when he subjected listeners to a persuasive message in four different conditions : very distracting slides, moderately distracting slides, mildly distracting slides and no distractions. He found that more persuasion had taken place in the moderately distracting condition. In a more commercial vein, Venkatesan and Haaland, (383) report that respondents learned a TV message better when hearing the audio plus unrelated video than when the video was related !

Thus it can be seen that distractions appear to lower recall and that if the distraction is too dominant it can weaken persuasion as well. Is distraction always successful ? Surely we should be encouraging all consumers to get up and make the tea during the commercial breaks or do their knitting as they read a magazine, but nothing is ever that easy and distraction experiments have been shown to fail.

Venkatesan and Haaland, (383) report a study in which subjects viewed a video recording which was either positive or negative concerning lowering the voting age ; at the same time half of them were asked to fill out a questionnaire. There was more attitude change or formation in the no distraction condition. For some of the respondents a commercial was also played, thus they had a double distraction ; this group was the least likely to be persuaded. Like Shamo and Meador they found that in the distraction condition recall was inhibited, which the authors pointed out supported simple learning theory. Vohs and Garrett, (385) also found that there was less persuasion in the distraction condition ; respondents were asked to doodle - blacken the circles in a geometric design or do maths problems. However, the persuasive issue was support for the Klu Klux Klan and the subjects lived in the North West of the U.S. where it is not a well understood or involving issue.

Can distraction be manipulated so that it works under certain conditions ? Insko et al, (174) report that it can. Respondents listened to a persuasive message while working on maths problems. However, while some of the respondents were told to attend to the communication, others were told to attend to the task. A comparison group listened

to the message only. The results showed clearly that when told to attend to the message there was more persuasion, more positive thoughts and a decrease in counterarguments and recall. However, those told to attend to the task were significantly less likely to be persuaded than the message only group.

Haslett, (147) has revealed that if the distracting stimuli are very intense or require an active response from individuals they are likely to inhibit counterargument and therefore there will be more persuasion. However, if the stimuli are not very intense or require only a passive response - viewing slides, there will be no persuasion. Similarly Petty, (287) has shown that if the persuasive message is one that it is difficult to counterargue against, distraction will detract from the persuasive effect. However, if the persuasive message is one that it is easy to counterargue against, the distraction condition will enhance persuasion. Hedges, (152) has concluded that it is a matter of confidence. If the individual is confident in his ability to counterargue he is more likely to allow himself to be persuaded. Robertson, (303) has added the qualification that when the individual's commitment to the persuasive message can be tapped (humanitarian issues) the persuasive impact is enhanced by distraction because his defences are less active. However, if there is low commitment, such as the situation as regards brand attachment, distraction merely detracts from the persuasive communication.

Advertising Implications

It would appear that doing something - eating, listening to folk songs, figuring out maths problems or seeing moderately distracting visuals - inhibits counterarguing, or creates a positive affect towards the situation, whichever your preferred theory. The result is that these distractions increase the effect of a persuasive communication particularly if ; the receiver has confidence that he could argue with the persuasive message ; he is asked to concentrate on the persuasive message ; there is potential commitment to the persuasive message. Thus, distractions during advertising messages - reading the paper, walking to another room, polite chatting, etc., - may be an advantage since the average consumer is confident of his/her ability to counterargue with advertising. Creators of television commercials may in fact want to consider building in more irrelevant visual images with a stronger more persuasive verbal message. Several commercials featuring visual entertainment during a persuasive message have been tried briefly. At a recent British Psychological Society Conference a speaker presented rather dull results from a study in a boys' school while showing delegates a humorous film of cricket being played by a tribe on a Pacific island. The level of attention on the part of delegates was very high, although comparing notes on an ad-hoc basis it was clear that the recollection of the dull data was very low. As was shown in several of the studies reported however, while the level of recall is low, positive feelings about the message experiment were very high. Is this not the intention

of much advertising to create warm feelings towards the product ?
If humorous and enjoyable distractions can help create this feeling surely it is worth a try.

5. Barriers to Attitude Formation

There is essentially only one barrier to attitude formation - the human being who is not an infinitely flexible animal and presents many natural resistances to any incoming new or challenging information which essentially asks that a change be made. There are various reasons for this inflexibility :-

- . . . Increasingly, more psychologists feel that there may be some biological basis for rigidity, dogmatism and inflexibility similar to the physiological theory put forward by McGuire on attitude formation and change. (see Chapter II)
- . . . Certainly personality characteristics and basic motivations must play a role in attitude formation. For instance, when subjects are presented with an unfamiliar story from another culture they will remember it in terms of their own motives and character type. Aggressive people will add more assertive detail ; dogmatics add more certainty, etc. Similarly, those motivated by patriotism are known to have positive attitudes towards the national airline whether or not they have ever travelled with them.
- . . . Emotional arousal also comes into attitude formation ; some individuals can withstand more than others. In reviewing numerous studies of emotionally-loaded messages, Rapaport, (296) found that material considered unpleasant, tended to be forgotten more rapidly than material considered pleasant. Garrett and Wallace, (118) in examining attitudes towards Watergate when the news first broke, found that previous voters tended to minimise the likelihood of Nixon's guilt, not unexpectedly. Moreover, emotionally repressed respondents, as revealed in a personality test, were more likely to believe he was innocent. And, respondents who measured high on moral judgment felt that he should be immediately impeached. Thus, the personality moulds the news that reaches it to fit in with preconceived ideas.
- . . . Group Affiliations effect attitude formation as well : Hussan and Sarkan, (172) found that only class status influenced attitudes towards class among Indian students. Mason et al, (225) found that higher status women were likely to be more aware and positive towards the Women's Movement regardless of membership or participation.
- . . . Basic beliefs impede attitude formation as well. Hovland et al, (171) reported a study among atheists and theists in which the material which supported the subjects' frame of

reference was retained better than material which opposed it. Kinnear and Taylor, (197) showed that where housewives were ecologically concerned as part of their belief system, all of the ecological laundry soaps were seen as good brands.

. . . . Selective Perception is a technique that the individual uses to decide which of all the many bits of incoming information to pay attention to. For instance, in a typical day the average person receives 1500 messages and if he goes to the supermarket will be greeted with at least 8000 labels vying for attention. An advertising testing technique based on selective perception is the use of the game of "rumours". The researcher starts with an advertising message which has all the basic ingredients the advertiser wishes to convey. Respondents are asked to play "rumours" with the message. At the end it will be clear what elements are important to the consumer for they will be retained. The technique is described in Mostyn, (249) under projective techniques. People have always selected out of their environment answers to their own needs ; people in financial difficulties will see all the ads having to do with money ; people who have just put out a lot of money to buy a car will see all the car ads trying to justify their decision. Hillis and Crano, (163) conducted a study in which subjects were asked to write a speech that was either pro or antiabortion. They were then shown slides with arguments for both sides presented. Those asked to make a pro-speech viewed the statements longer because they were looking for validity.

Despite the fact that people will strive to see the world through their own eyes and to keep out contradictory thoughts everyone is exposed to them regardless of selective perception. Thus, it is a common human experience as Hovland, (169) has pointed out that "individuals will appear adamant in their opinions while in the heat of an argument, only to use the adversary's argument on a subsequent occasion".

6. Summary

A review of the principal processes of attitude formation has revealed that there are contradictory findings. One can only conclude that there are many ways in which attitudes are formed depending on the specific conditions. This is due in part to the fact that psychologists have never been sure whether an attitude is a permanent and integral part of the personality or rather as Salancik and Conway, (318) have described :

"An attitude is not a predisposition of a person to respond to certain stimuli, but rather a judgment developed to satisfy the question : What is your attitude ? "

Even if the concept of attitude were perfectly understood and the techniques to influence attitude formation applied by the book there would still be the human element. The individual with his own personality, motivations, emotional make-up, belief system, group affiliations and resulting selective perception will always be the filter of persuasive techniques. Persuaders who short cut their profession by trying to understand the techniques and not the human input will never be truly successful. The fact that the human being is a constant source of mystery is also his own best defence against the persuaders.

"When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less".

Humpty Dumpty in Alice in Wonderland

V - ATTITUDE CHANGE

"The control or manipulation of attitudes is known as propaganda", Klineberg, (198).

Persuaders not only attempt to implant attitudes but they seek to change existing attitudes as well. Therefore, political, social, educational and business organisations have a vested interest in understanding the processes of attitude change. Resultingly, there is a wealth of research data on the ways in which attitudes typically do and do not change. No less than 5% of the total number of books and articles summarised in the Psychological Abstracts are on Attitude Change.

Attitudes can be changed in many ways and under diverse circumstances but there are two basic essentials. First of all an event must occur whether it is registered consciously or unconsciously, for as Adler and Crespi, (5) describe: "Experience is necessary for an attitude change to occur".

Secondly, before an individual gives up one attitude for another there must exist at some level a feeling of dissatisfaction with the old attitude or more basically feelings of dissatisfaction with self. Rokeach, (306a) describes the phenomenon of self-dissatisfaction as emanating from an individual's own observation of his behaviour which for some reason leads him to feel dissatisfied with himself and therefore with his values and attitudes. Once the individual reaches this stage he is similar to someone in a state of grief. From dissatisfaction he moves through the various stages, disbelief of the old attitude to conflict resolution, and a gradual coming to terms with the new attitude until he reaches the advanced stage as described by Kelman in which he has internalised the new attitude. This internalisation is evidenced by a discernible change in perceptions, affects, overt actions or verbal judgments.

A Monitoring Attitude Change

In addition to the problems discussed in Monitoring Attitude Formation, which relate to Attitude Change equally well, monitoring attitude change presents the unique problem of what to use as a criterion measure. Lin, (214) has expressed the opinion that attitude change can only be expressed as an opinion which has changed its position in the rank order from what it formerly was before the attitude change took place. Thus, attitudes change when they perform differently on certain measuring tools such as Likert scales and Semantic Differentials.

Thus, attitude change is what attitude scales measure.

B Processes of Attitude Change

All of the processes described in the previous chapter apply not only to attitude formation but to attitude change as well. That is; individuals are more likely to change attitudes if :

- . . . the source is credible and trustworthy, similar to the listener and likeable.
- . . . the style and presentation of the message is right for the particular audience.
- . . . the persuasive message is presented first or last depending on the audience and type of message.
- . . . both sides of the issue are presented.
- . . . conclusions are drawn for the listener.
- . . . there are moderate distractions during the persuasive communication.

In fact many of the experiments conducted regarding the processes of attitude formation frequently fail to determine with certainty that the attitude formed (or the persuasive message learned/believed) did not exist before the experimental variable was introduced. For instance, when smokers gave up cigarettes during the Fifties health scare, were they reacting to the persuasive communications only or using it as an excuse to give up an expensive/inconvenient/boring habit ?

Similarly in studies of attitude change it is never possible to know how firmly an individual held attitude A before changing to attitude B : had he/she in fact entertained or "flirted with" attitude B in the past ? had he/she gradually been leaning towards attitude B until the straw broke the camel's back ? For example, many heavy sugar users, who were becoming increasingly aware of the health factors regarding sugar, reported using scarcity and the increase in price as an opportunity to develop a negative attitude towards sugar and cut down or cut out consumption.

Thus, it can be seen that there is no firm and distinctive line between attitude formation and change ; many of the research paradigms and findings are therefore similar.

Despite this, there has been a great deal of basic research into attitude change using the simplistic paradigm of a before and after measurement of attitudes with an intervening persuasive or dramatic variable. The following processes have been discovered :

1. Attitude Change without Awareness

There have been several unique experiments conducted among respondents whose attitudes are known before the experimental event. For instance Pollis et al, (292) sought to move people from their "anchor" position regarding alcohol by asking them to sort statements into as many piles as they wanted. It was presented as a test of word meanings ; thus they were not expecting to be persuaded. They were then asked to label one of the piles - "most acceptable" ; the researchers found significant evidence of attitude change due to this activity.

With alcohol again as a focus Hart, (144) used a tachistoscopic presentation of the word "poison" superimposed on bottles of whisky, gin, etc., at a subliminal level, i.e., below respondents awareness. Over a five-day period respondents saw various slide presentations; half of them were subliminally exposed to the word "poison". This latter group changed their attitudes towards alcohol significantly.

On an even deeper level Newcomb, (257) reports the use of hypnosis to change attitudes towards negroes, the value of living in large cities and the honesty of city governments. While respondents were aware that they were being hypnotised, they were unaware of the attitudes that were being manipulated.

Turning to more everyday activities, Cohen, (66) reports of experiments which show that overheard communications produce more attitude change than normally delivered communications.

Research and Advertising Implications

While none of these techniques lend themselves to the mass media, they indicate that attitude change occurs frequently on an unconscious level and that research techniques are sensitive enough to pick up these changes.

2. Repetition Works Wonders, Works Wonders, Works Wonders

Repetition strengthens original learning or new learning and slows down forgetting according to Johnson and Watkins, (179) who found in their study of health issues that repetition facilitated the persistence of attitude change. In a consumer setting, McCullough and Ostrom, (228) presented ads for after-shave which were highly similar in content; attitude change increased with this sort of repetition. Engel et al, (102) report that when magazine ads for consumer products were shown again to respondents, belief in the claims tripled. In another study consumers were given two one-day exposures to Reader's Digest (as opposed to the usual one-day exposure), which increased high quality ratings for the advertised brands from 11 to 17% and intention to buy from 15 to 26%.

Repetition serves an important function for the individual, it provides him/her with the means of "mental rehearsal", essential before the acceptance of a new idea.

In a novel study related to repetition McCroskey and Combs, (102) were able to show that the use of analogy was more effective in changing attitudes towards a national issue than a persuasive message with no analogy. Analogy is another way of repeating the message but in a more memorable and colourful way.

Prolonged thought is also a form of repetition, interval repetition

Tesser and Conlee, (367) found that the longer respondents were able to think about an attitude object the more their attitude changed and polarised from their original attitude point. The subjects were social issues - prostitution, grading in universities and revolution; and the time durations to think about the persuasive message - 30, 60, 90 and 180 seconds. The authors concluded that thought (internal repetition) made the attitude more extreme in the initial direction.

Research and Advertising Implications

Attitudes change because of the reinforcement of repetition but they also wear out without repetition ; the highs and lows of an attitude need to be monitored between and after bursts of repetition. It is surprising that so few advertisers have sought to use the advantage of repetition by : placing the same ad more than once in a newspaper or magazine ; repeating hoardings in the tubes, buses and outside spots the way the French do so successfully ; or, using more tag lines as 10 second commercials to reinforce the longer commercial.

3. Dissonance Resolution

According to dissonance theorists the individual cannot tolerate a state of imbalance or disequilibrium. Thus, if an old attitude is challenged by a persuasive message the individual must either abandon the old attitude or discredit the new information (resist persuasion). Frequently, the easiest solution is the one of least resistance, abandon the old for the new. Stewart, (357) showed for instance that when students with specific attitudes towards national defence heard a persuasive communication regarding the building of a supersonic plane there was immediate attitude change if the information was new or unfamiliar. In a similar experiment Hart , (144) found that when subjects had extreme initial positions on an issue and were exposed to a persuasive message with maximum use of evidence there was significant attitude change which was manifested several weeks later . Interestingly, those with initial neutral positions did not show long-term attitude change. Furthermore, if the individual is put into a forced-compliance situation, as in most dissonance type experiments, where his behaviour is manipulated, dissonance theory predicts that he will bring his attitude into line with his behaviour. For example, in an interesting and complicated experiment Taylor, (366) asked women to rate a series of men's pictures on attractiveness. The experiment was complicated by the presence of a meter on each woman's arm said to measure her "real" reaction ; in some cases the subject was given feedback consistent with her verbal choices and the other half of respondents were given feedback that was inconsistent. Following this, half of the respondents were told that they would meet these men in the near future and were asked to pick the one they would most like to meet. These respondents were significantly more likely to abandon their first choice and move in the direction of the reported "feedback" from the meter ; that is to seek consonance between their behaviour as registered by the meter and their attitudes.

If the meter feedback had been consistent with her initial choice it strengthened her initial choice even if she had no expectation of meeting the man involved.

Dissonance and Incentives

One of the most popular dissonance research paradigms of the forced-choice type was first introduced by Festinger and Carlsmith, (108) in the fifties, when they included financial incentives. In their experiment subjects were paid either \$20.00 or \$1.00 to tell the next subject that a dull, boring task had been interesting and enjoyable. The results indicated that those who were paid the higher sum did NOT change their own attitudes towards the tasks as measured by a post-experiment questionnaire; however, those paid the smaller amount did change their attitudes towards the tasks significantly. The researchers pointed out that while the well paid subjects could rationalise their dissonant behaviour, because of the financial incentive, the lower paid subjects had to change their attitudes to correspond with their behaviour in order to compensate for feelings of dissonance. Cohen, (66) however felt that the financial incentives in this experiment were too disparate. He conducted his experiment with students who had a known negative attitude towards the police. They were asked to write an essay in favour of police action after a riotous incident in the town. The students were paid one of four sums : 50 ¢ ; \$1.00 ; \$5.00 or \$ 10.00 ; the same results obtained, the less the financial incentive the more attitude change. Robertson, (303) transferring these findings to the market place has found that when the consumer takes advantage of 10 ¢ off as opposed to 25 ¢ off, or a free offer on packaged goods, there is more attitude change towards the product when there is only 10 ¢ off.

On the other hand, psychologists representing other schools of thought have interpreted the Festinger-Carlsmith findings differently. Bem, (30) stated that in Cohen's experiment concerning attitudes towards the police attitude change was not due to dissonance reduction but rather respondents inferring their attitudes from their behaviours - the behaviour of writing essays for certain amounts of money. Nuttin, (263) conducted a series of thirteen such experiments and showed that self persuasion was more powerful than dissonance reduction.

Although in the minority among current research reports some experiments have shown that there is a positive relationship between amount of incentive and attitude change. Rosenberg, (310) found that the higher the incentive the more attitude change and concluded that incentives operated as reinforcements for the new attitudes. Kiesler, (192) found that when old positions were attacked there was greater attitude change among those who had received the largest incentives.

In order to clear up the confusion other researchers have attempted to show that there are certain situations in which dissonance operates and others in which reinforcement operates in a forced-compliance paradigm. Touhey, (375) paid respondents either 50 ¢ or \$ 2.50 to write counter-attitudinal essays ; among half of the sample the initial attitudes were salient and among the rest non-salient. Reinforcement (larger incentive) created greater attitude change if the initial attitudes were salient : dissonance reduction (lower incentive) created the greater attitude change if the initial attitudes were non-salient. Similarly, Linder et al, (215) showed that there were reinforcement effects when respondents had no choice but to engage in counter-attitudinal behaviour such as essay writing ; however there were dissonance effects when they were given the choice.

Research and Advertising Implications

There has always been concern among researchers about the "meaning" of the interview situation to the individual. It is generally assumed that it is an event which produces "dissonance" because respondents are asked to comment about and evaluate subjects they have thought very little about and may have little interest in knowing. However, they perceive their task of respondent as one of supplying answers. How does he/she reduce the dissonance ? Most researchers agree that all too often respondents play back the answers they think the researcher/interviewer wants to hear or ideas picked up from the mass media.

Researchers have attempted to make questionnaires more relevant to respondents but this always creates problems of comparing answers within a sample. For instance, respondents may be asked to go back over a list of Likert statements and tick those which are more relevant or important for them. Carter et al, (60) allowed respondents to select their own polar opposites for the Semantic Differential Technique ; they were also able to disregard pairs of adjectives which they found to be meaningless. The original Kelly Grid design allows respondents to create their own constructs in the first place. All of these efforts have been attempts to make the questionnaires more relevant to the respondent, but it has made large scale interviewing unwieldy and even unrealistic. On the other side of the coin, consumer psychologists have attempted to train interviewers in the art of establishing rapport by making the respondent feel confident and secure and also how to present themselves in a non-threatening manner in order to reduce dissonance.

On the advertising side, advertisers frequently present their product as a solution to a problem - removes stains, smells better, lasts longer, stands upright, doesn't break, etc. - often without knowing if there is a real consumer concern in this area. Or is the solution offered just one that the product can answer ? Thus, they attempt to set up a tension - "you've got a problem" - which may not have relevance for the consumer and therefore the expected behaviour, dissonance reduction (buying the product), to solve the problem does not occur. It would be far more effective in setting up real dissonance to learn the consumer needs first.

4. Walk Softly But Carry a Big Stick

A further refinement of some of the original dissonance experiments has led many researchers to feel that it is all a matter of freedom ; if the individual is made to feel that he has a choice of whether to participate in an activity or to be persuaded by a message then he/she is more likely to change attitudes. Zanna et al, (418) made respondents feel that they had high choice concerning writing counter-attitudinal essays ; during the experiment they were also given a pill which they were told would have no effect on them. However, under these conditions attitudes did shift in favour of the position in the essay ; apparently taking a pill from someone puts you under their power. Another way to have power is to elicit help ; Worchel and Arnold's (415) subjects were given a choice of whether or not to listen to a counter-attitudinal speech on a tape ; for half of the sample the tape broke on the last sentence. Those in the choice condition where the tape broke were more likely to change their attitudes towards the one advocated because they had to fill in the punch line, help the persuader.

Drachman and Worchel, (92) also gave subjects the choice of whether or not to write a counter-attitudinal essay; however they presented emotionally arousing pictures in support of the proposed attitude. Respondents in the high choice condition were more likely to change their attitudes towards the direction of the essays. Heilman and Toffler, (154) found that subjects in the high choice condition showed greater compliance to the persuasive message if a co-worker was involved as opposed to an unknown person. On the subject of Women's Lib a sample of women were given a choice concerning writing messages supporting it. They were then asked to act counter-attitudinally by making a speech against it on a tape recording ; attitudes changed towards the tape-recorded viewpoint if they were in the high choice condition.

Thus, if the persuader creates an atmosphere in which the persuadee feels that he/she has a choice of whether to listen/participate there is more likely to be attitude change.

Research and Advertising Implications

We all know from personal experience that it is far better if we let people think that they are making up their own minds, deciding for themselves. How to translate this into advertising terms ? Are there certain less restrained advertising techniques than the three minute spot or the half-page spread which would allow for more consumer participation ? Aside from running a contest for a winning jingle or slogan couldn't consumers participate in advertisements more than they do ?

5. Enhancing One's Image - Winning Social Approval

People will take on attitudes that enhance their own image ; that is, they will yield to social pressure or join the winning team. For instance,

Sloan et al, (346) played video-tapes of Nixon and Muskie speaking on several of the 1972 campaign issues to groups who were either committed to one candidate or neutral ; however, hecklers accompanied the showings. They found that subjects yielded to social pressure ; the neutral audience became negative to the speakers and the committed audience became neutral in terms of attitudes.

Scott, (330) showed that people will change their attitudes in order to be on the winning side. In a complicated research design subjects' attitudes towards a social issue were determined ; they were then asked to speak against their own attitude. A "jury" decided on the winning attitude by declaring winners in the debate. Attitudes registered after "winners" were declared showed that subjects moved towards the "winning" argument regardless of their previous attitude, and regardless of whether or not they were declared "winners" in the debate.

Singer, (343) has shown that when respondents were required to deliver counter-attitudinal speeches they were significantly more likely to change attitudes in line with the arguments if the experimenter reinforced his/ her points by saying "right" or "correct" .

Wanting to live up to others' expectations creates a social pressure to reconsider one's attitudes as was shown by Sherrod and Beech, (337) in a study among policemen in which they answered several personality and value tests geared to determine the degree to which they were tolerant and believed in equality. They were then read a series of statements which outlined the moral code of a policeman - justice for all, equal before the law, etc., and told of their low scores on equality. A subsequent value test revealed that they gave greater value to equality.

Rokeach, (306a) conducted a similar experiment among students in which he induced dissatisfaction with personal values by manipulating the values of "freedom" and "equality" by showing respondents the better scores of other students. They were also told that while they were concerned with their own freedom they didn't care a jot about equality. Post-experiment evaluation showed a significantly more favourable attitude towards civil rights even after 15 months: Rokeach goes on to point out the danger of social pressure as a manipulative tool.

Social Pressure and "Impression Management"

A number of research investigations have revealed that when the individual expects or fears being challenged publicly about his attitude he will change it to fit into expectations. Cialdini et al, (64) first determined subjects' attitudes on social issues. Those who were told to expect to have to discuss the issue with a peer moderated their subsequent attitudes towards the centre ; when they were told the meeting had been cancelled they returned to their own position.

Haas and Mann, (149) determined subjects' attitudes and then told some of the subjects to expect to hear a counter-attitudinal message ; these subjects changed their initial attitudes. However, when told the message had been cancelled, attitude change was eliminated. The authors put this down to what they call "impression management", the desire people have to manage the impression others have of them.

In a consumer setting Weber and Hansen, (391) manipulated consumers' brand preferences for coffee, gelatine and toothpaste among those with weak preferences. Letters were sent to respondents telling them of the brand preferences of the majority ; there was a significant increase in positive attitudes towards these brands as well as brand switching behaviour.

Important current events, the impact of social trends can also shape attitude change. Riley and Pettigrew, (299) monitored whites' attitudes towards negroes during the fifties and sixties regarding three levels of contact : formal ; informal ; and intimate contacts. The de-segregation of schools due to the "Little Rock" decision showed that there was some attitudinal compliance with de-segregation. However, it was after the Martin Luther King assassination that there were notable positive shifts in attitudes towards formal and informal contacts but only after the Robert Kennedy assassination was there a noticeable positive change in attitude regarding intimate contacts. The authors concluded that with time people eventually yield to social pressure when there are dramatic events to underscore it. Peterson and Peterson, (285) agreed that it takes time for attitudes to catch up with social trends. They found that male preferences for a male child significantly declined over the twenty years from 1954. They put this down to feminine propaganda and the changing role of girls in society.

Research and Advertising Implications

Findings such as the above raise the issue - how solid is an attitude, how deeply felt is an attitude ? at what level does the individual experience an attitude ? In research terms it raises the question about the value of an attitude statement obtained from a research investigation. Is the individual simply yielding to social pressure and forming or bringing his/her opinion in line with expectations in order to win the approval of the particular interviewer ? Perhaps the attitude statement is a reflection of a significant event of the day such as being told that one is too narrow-minded ; or merely a playback of current thinking as reflected in the mass media.

A question advertisers need to be asking themselves is just how much are they contributing to "mass think", reinforcing social trends rather than setting a pattern for change. How can consumers be expected to change attitudes if advertisers set the standard that following is safer than leading ?

6. The Last Straw

Frequently the individual just needs one last push before changing one attitude for another ; however that last push may have to be - very dramatic, unexpected or forceful.

In a jury decision experiment Zillman and Cantor, (423) were able to divide the sample into favourably and unfavourably disposed towards the defendant ; respondents were then exposed to the defendant's attorney for the summing up. For half of the sample the attorney used a questioning style - "How could he ? " "Why ? " "Where ? ", etc., - for the other half of the sample the attorney presented statements. The researchers assumed that the questioning format would direct attention to counterarguments and there would be greater awareness of the arguments. The effect was to further polarise both the favourably disposed and the unfavourably disposed over the line with the questioning approach.

O'Keefe, (267) in a major study of smoking and drinking in France among people who were exposed to publicity on the health hazards of smoking and drinking found that only those smokers who had already decided to quit smoking, as determined by previous announcements to their spouses, changed their attitudes towards smoking and health as a result of the campaign. Sometimes an attempt to tip the balance can backfire ; Joyce, (181) reports that in some experiments it has been shown that when people are presented with arguments in favour of a concept they already have some positive feelings about, but which is presented by a source they do not value, they will think worse of the concept and better of the source !

Research and Advertising Implications

The researcher has again to be wary ; the attitude reflected in a questionnaire may have resulted from the interview situation. Attitudinal "solidifiers" in the form of questions may be the last straw. On the other hand, neutral answers reflected on a questionnaire may be misleading as well if the respondent is flirting with an attitude change and just waiting for the last straw.

Much advertising attempts to portray a user profile in demographic and ideological terms with which the consumer is invited to identify. This technique may serve as a deterrent to would-be new users about to make an attitudinal leap, who do not fit into the user profile.

7. Experiencing is Believing

All the persuasion in the world cannot compare to actually being put into the situation to see, hear and feel it for one's self. This experience can be so dramatic that attitudes may change completely and be more enduring. Similar to being put into the stimulus situation

is being asked to simulate the situation via role playing. Elms and Janis, (100) asked students to role play how they would handle an international event; their attitudes towards the State Department became significantly more positive. Straus, (360) found that when he blindfolded participants and asked them to move about and to interact with other people their post attitudes towards blind people as helpless, inferior and dependent improved dramatically. Crane, (72) reports of a classical study in the States in which housewives were invited to a talk during the war on the use of intestinal meats and evaporated milk. A matched sample was invited to a group discussion about these subjects. There was significantly more opinion change among those who participated in the group discussions. Hovland et al, (171) have pointed out that role playing is not enough to assure attitude change, rather it is also essential that the participant feel satisfied with his "performance".

There are also many studies which have shown that seeing is believing; Gordon and Hallaner, (125) measured the attitudes of students studying the aged before and after a course about aging and before and after a series of twelve visits to homes for the aged; there was greater attitude change in the latter situation. Brazza and Kreuter, (46) found that students on a community health course learned the same amount whether they read about the subject or were immersed in the community for awhile, however in the latter condition there was more attitude change. Morin, (246) arranged for seven groups of gay speakers to visit a specially designed gay course for students and noted dramatic attitude change after meeting the variety of gays who came along to address the group. And, Hovland et al, (171) found that when students spent two week-ends in Harlem discussing negro history and culture with blacks there was significantly more attitude change than a year's academic course. This change was still evident 10 months later.

As if to underline the idea that seeing is believing, Prothero and Ehlers, (294) studied social workers' attitudes towards mental retardation before and after a programmed learning course on the subject. They found that while there was a significant increase in knowledge there were no differences in attitudes towards mental retardation. They concluded that in order to change attitudes on a rather emotive subject "something more than an increase in knowledge is needed".

And, experiencing is believing; Fry, (116) tested three groups of students on attitudes towards authority, they came from the fields of English, Social Science and Education. After one year they were tested again and it was found that those who had stayed on as graduate students had not changed their quite negative attitudes towards authority. However, those who had been working for a year showed a significant decline in negative attitudes towards authority.

Pollack et al, (291) selected respondents who indicated a concern about water pollution. They were asked to present arguments in favour

of stricter controls ; one half of respondents to a tape recorder and the other half to a passer-by. Those in the latter group were shown to change to more extreme attitudes as a result of this experience.

In a consumer setting Hamm et al, (136) were able to produce a dramatic attitude shift when they tested the effect of a free sample on the image of the product. The product was hair-spray and the sample men, who in general regarded it as a feminine product before trial ; after trial it was seen as significantly more masculine or neutral and intention to buy increased.

Research and Advertising Implications

While an experience can create dramatic attitude change which can be detected by conventional attitude scales the effect may wear out over time and therefore requires careful monitoring. For instance, following the petrol crisis motorists reportedly began to think of all petrols as pretty much the same and to buy them as a commodity item, that is on the basis of price. The price of petrol is still very high but is it safe to assume that the consumer still feels that brands are relatively unimportant ? , that creating a brand image is impossible ? Some petrol companies don't think so.

Over the decades there have been some very successful advertisements which have tried to create a real experience for the consumer of what it is like to use the product ; films taken from behind the steering wheel, close-ups of a man shaving and the appropriate scratching sounds, sounds of a wash flapping in the wind followed by close-ups of a well-washed towel with spring in it, etc. There is a need for more experiential advertising in a less inhibited and more sensually-oriented age.

8. Innoculation vs Attitude Change

McGuire's experiments on the vulnerability of cultural truisms is one of the most influential works in the field of attitude change. In his work he showed that cultural truisms, such as the necessity to brush one's teeth each day, are over-protected through the years because they are never attacked. Other types of truisms would include cultural and religious beliefs, or even political attitudes with which an individual is endowed from his family. Since these truisms form part of the individual's cultural heritage they are obviously constantly supported by the society, family, friends or other sub-group ; that is truisms are "over-protected". If the individual should find himself suddenly bombarded by evidence from so-called "experts" which stated that brushing the teeth was harmful, that smoking was good for the lungs, or that 80% of Tory funds come from Communist sources, he would be unprepared to argue with this evidence and his original attitudes would more likely yield to the new "evidence" because of his/her inability to counterargue.

However, if the individual has frequently argued the "rightness" of his political persuasion, the "wrongness of smoking", or the "value" of higher education he has no doubt heard all of the other arguments before, he's prepared for them and resistant to even strong doses of counterarguments. He is in McGuire's terminology "innoculated" against attitude change because he has had considerable exposure to the "Germs" or counterarguments, similar to inoculating people against a disease by introducing a milder dosage of the infectious germs into them.

A fairly recent example was the "salt panic" of several years ago. So unprepared was the average housewife for the idea that a basic item might be running short that when the rumour first started she could think of no counterargument to it (she didn't know that Britain has enough natural salt-mines to keep everyone in stock for centuries). Therefore, she adopted a new attitude - salt is a scarce commodity and not a common readily available staple ; she then went out to stock up.

Therefore, either an attitude is well inoculated and safe from change according to McGuire or it is unchallenged and ripe for change with an unexpected and persuasive argument. Bither et al, (37) used the subject of film censorship with students to test inoculation theory. First arguments were presented against the no censorship position to part of the sample. Next there was a strong attack against the no censorship position. They found that those who were "immunised" against attack showed less attitude change while those who were not immunised changed their attitudes under attack. Szybillo and Heslin, (362) used ads to support, refute and attack the idea of using air-bags in cars as a safety device which was topical in the American car market in the early '70's. All of the defensive techniques were found to confer greater resistance to persuasion than a no-defence treatment. Furthermore they found that refutation of an attacker's argument conferred more resistance to persuasion than supportive claims.

In a study with toothpaste purchasers Van Dyke, (381) found that those who were inoculated against attack were significantly less likely to change brands.

Tate, (364) showed that whether there was active participation in creating counter-attitudinal statements (essay writing) or just passive reading of arguments makes no difference. Both methods can be equally successful in inoculating (or failing to do so) the individual against attitude change. Koslin et al, (200) in an experiment which attempted to refute the value of wearing seat belts found that persuasive attacks did weaken beliefs particularly if the attack was moderately discrepant from the individual's own attitudes. When the attack was very discrepant from their own attitude they were better prepared to counterargue and resist persuasion, however.

How discrepant information is presented will also determine whether or not attitudes change, according to an experiment by Bozoki, (144) in which the discrepant attack was presented in one of two conditions ; all at once in one half-hour or over an extended period of 2½ hours. It was found that the longer time period allowed for an assimilation effect and there was less likelihood of attitude change compared to the all at once condition in which there was more attitude change.

Research and Advertising Implications

As can be seen the researcher will never know if respondents have in the past been exposed to counter-attitudinal arguments on a subject and therefore their attitude is tried and tested - resistant to attacks. Or, if the attitude held by an individual is an accident waiting to happen. Thus, it is never possible to know the quality of the attitude change detected; is it well thoughtout, a panic reaction or a small change about to become a big one ? Attack advertising is becoming more prevalent these days. There is a need for research into advertising strategies which confer resistance to persuasive attack. Szybillo and Heslin have raised many pertinent advertising questions : If an advertiser knows he is to be attacked and has an idea of what arguments the attacker will use, which of many advertising strategies will best neutralise the attack ? Do defensive treatments have differential effects on intention to purchase ? Could they help maintain brand loyalty ?

C. Endurance of Attitude Change

Several researchers have tried to determine if there are certain principles of attitude change ; such as easy come easy go or slowly acquired slowly expired to explain the potential endurance of attitude change. One thing seems certain, the individual can never return to the previous attitude as though nothing had ever happened. McGuire, (235) for instance reports that a week after the impact of a persuasive message it had seeped down to affect other derived issues. However, in a review of attitude change studies he reports that there appears to be a great deal of variance in the persistence of attitude change.

This is partly due to the "sleepor effect" first noted by Hovland et al, (171) that is after several weeks a positive or negative attitude change which was stimulated by a high vs low credible source will be forgotten. Individuals will remember the content of the message but not the affect. However, if the communicators are reinstated respondents will return to the positive and negative attitudes stimulated by the communicators and react accordingly. McGuire and Watts, (236) found for example that after six weeks those who remembered the persuasive arguments were LESS influenced than those who had forgotten the arguments. However, if the communication was reinstated respondents could recall which side of the argument they had taken and return to their "attitude change" positions.

Attitude change due to social pressure, threats, personal experience or conditioning by repetition cannot be expected and does not last forever IF there is no reminder or restimulation. However, exact formulas for forgetting attitudes do not exist as they do for forgetting facts. Learning Theorists have found the latter easier to study than the former. However, there is enough evidence to support the concept that attitudes probably endure along learning theory principles ; that is with intermittent reinforcement (occasional reminders) the attitude is retained similar to the way in which people continue to perform acts which are only intermittently rewarded such as fishing.

D. Resistance to Attitude Change

Persuaders have long recognised that many attitudes are resistant to change ; that certain persuasive techniques can and often do backfire, that certain situations instead of encouraging attitude change seem to have the opposite effect. What are the resistances to persuasion ?

1. Counterarguing

As pointed out in the descriptions of the various processes of attitude change communication theorists believe that if the individual can be prevented from counterarguing there will be more attitude change as a result of a persuasive communication. What exactly is counterarguing, can it be measured ? The theory is that while listening to a persuasive communication the individual will argue against each point as it is raised, that is he is mentally rehearsing his resistance against the new information. This arises according to theorists because the human being essentially does not like change and has a built-in need to resist it. Furthermore, counterarguing can be and has been measured with sensitive instruments which monitor the internal speech which accompanies both reading and listening. For instance, McGuigan, (231) has obtained electromicrogram readings from tongue and lips while respondents were reading, doing maths or preparing an imaginary speech, respiration rate also increased during these activities.

McCullough, (227) has studied the subvocal responses of individuals while looking at ads and listening to a persuasive message and found that the impact of both types of persuasive communications was related to the subvocal responses made by individuals while attending to the message.

Thus, it has been shown that individuals do engage in subvocal counter-arguments which contributes to resisting persuasion.

2. Immunisation of the Attitude

A well entrenched, immovable attitude is one that has been frequently challenged and defended according to McGuire. For example, a positive attitude towards one political party will have been challenged and argued about for years, there is very little chance that one more attack will cause the individual to give up that attitude since he is used to defending it.

In an interesting experiment Wixon and Land, (413) exposed subjects to a strong persuasive communication and obtained attitude change; they then reminded them of their initial attitudes which tended to erase the effect of the persuasive communication. Thus, the principles of McGuire's innoculation theory apply here ; that is if over time the individual is exposed to weakened forms of arguments against his attitude he will eventually be able to resist a stronger argument ; his attitude

will be immunised and protected against attack. This will be particularly true if, as recommended by McGuire, the individual has been required to make a public statement of some sort.

3. Anchoring the Attitude

Attitudes which are tied to central values are more resistant to change. Ostrom and Brock, (273) demonstrated that for subjects whose initial stand had been bonded to central values regarding an issue of financial aid to students there was greater resistance to counter propaganda. Issacs and Atkins, (175) reported in a study among students regarding one high involvement issue (the value of education) and one low involving issue (chest X-rays) that the high involvement issue did not exhibit a significant loss in belief level after an undefended attack, while the low level truism did. As Krech and Crutchfield, (204) have advised, when attitudes are linked to central values, the usual persuasive techniques are of no avail :

"There is a need to change the social supports and create new group identification, control emotional and motivational factors or remove the lasting after-effects of past emotional experiences".

Tetlock and Suedfeld, (368) administered basic belief tests to two groups of students ; half of the group then spent 24 hours in a dark silent chamber with only liquids for sustenance. They found that there was significant belief instability on peripheral and central attitudes but not for central beliefs.

Individual attitudes may be firmly anchored because of the strength or degree of feeling ; that is if they feel very strongly about their attitude this will inhibit attitude change. Allen, (10) found that individuals with extreme positions on student issues such as university rule by students, were significantly more resistant to change compared to those with only moderate attitudes.

Shaffer, (333) determined the degree to which individuals felt that their attitudes on a local issue were very important or only moderately important for them. Asked to write counter-attitudinal essays those with "very important" attitudes showed less attitude change than those with moderately important attitudes. He interpreted the results in terms of Bem's Self Perception theory ; that is people bring their attitudes into line with their behaviour - the commitment to an issue is very important.

Frequently attitudes are anchored in group norms causing the individual to resist changing attitudes and thus risking his membership in the group. Borden et al, (42) in their experiment exposed half of the subjects to a persuasive communication with an audience, the other half were alone ; their heart and G.S.R. rate were monitored. They found that there was significantly more acceptance of the message when individuals were alone, the peer group inhibited the acceptance of a new idea and enhanced measurable anxiety.

4. Reactance or the "Boomerang" Effect

Reactance is essentially a tendency to move away from pressure and resist a persuasive intent. Brehm, (45) for instance has shown that fore-warning can reduce attitude change, and furthermore that a high

prestige threat is more easily resisted than a low prestige threat.

Snyder and Wickland, (352) state that psychological reactance occurs when freedoms appear to be threatened or usurped, when manipulations infringe upon the right of people to decide for themselves. They were able to moderate this effect by obtaining initial agreement with the communicator on a rather neutral issue. He then proceeded to use aggressive persuasive techniques. The reactance or boomerang effect while evident was moderated. Miller, (240) found that over-exposure to a provocative poster campaign resulted in less attitude change than a moderate exposure condition; he attributed this to reactance since after a four-day hiatus the negative effects had worn off.

Wright, (417) found that when a known negative source tried to persuade college men it "resulted in a driving force upon the recipient toward a change in the opposite direction". And, Bowers (43) found that highly intense or emotional language boomerangs for audiences whose initial attitudes are incongruent with those expressed in the speech.

5. Repressing the Unpleasant

If changing an attitude requires that the individual expose himself to something unpleasant he will resist doing so and therefore resist attitude change. Silverthorne and Mazmanian, (342) found that groups exposed to a persuasive message with the presence of hecklers did not change their attitudes while the non-heckled groups changed significantly as a result of the persuasive communication.

Decker, (81) exposed respondents to : a low threat advertising message ; high threat or Consumer Reports. The more threatening communication was perceived as biased and there was less desire to have the product as a gift.

In a complicated design which required subjects to engage in a manual and reading task and involved the threat of electric shock Pittman, (289) found that when subjects were able to attribute their arousal to an irrelevant source (a previous experiment) attitude change was eliminated. As McGuire has pointed out if an individual's anxiety can be sufficiently aroused he will avoid thinking, discussing or changing an attitude in order to rid himself of the anxiety. Thus, dissonance is avoided and so is dissonance reducing behaviour - attitude change.

6. Discrediting the Source

Discrediting the source is often easier than giving up one's own attitudes. Rhine and Kaplan, (298) used three types of persuasive sources : expert, non-expert and prestigious layman and found that subjects found it easier to discredit the prestigious layman as well as the non-expert and thus hold on to their own attitudes. Ward and McGuiness, (230) demonstrated that the early mention of a non-credible source in a persuasive communication inhibited attitude change significantly while late or no mention of the non-credible source allowed for significant attitude change.

In a study with typical TV viewers it was determined before the experiment whether they were pro police or pro student. Zanna et al,

(419) then presented newscasts of a violent demonstration with either a police or student bias. For those respondents for whom the message was counter-attitudinal there was a tendency to rate the message as less objective and the newscaster as : less credible ; manipulative and extreme politically.

Hovland, (169) found in an experiment regarding prohibition that when the communicator was in favour of it and the receiver was not the communicator was discredited as an unfair, biased extremist.

7. Humour Offers a Genuine Distraction

What evidence there is on the effects of humour seems to indicate that humour is a distraction which the individual prefers to focus on rather than the persuasive message. For instance, Grote, (131) asked women who were involved with Women's Lib to listen to tapes on the subject which either contained humour, a straight talk or a non-relevant poem. For those who were exposed to humour their interest in and involvement with the issues was lower afterwards compared to the other conditions. He concluded that humour was a true distraction.

Markiewicz, (223) reviewed the literature concerning the effects of humour on attitude change ; she found that humour did not affect persuasion significantly whether integral or adjacent to the message and furthermore retention of the message was not improved. However, she felt that in many cases humour appeared to have been used in inappropriate settings, thus it was impossible to condemn it as a persuasive technique.

8. Resisting Change by Blending The Old and The New

A more ingenious way of resisting attitude change is to recast one's old attitude to blend in with the new persuasive message. Thus, respondents conveniently forget their first attitude and therefore freely make the assumption that there has been no attitude change. Goethals and Reckman, (124) found that when students were asked to duplicate their first opinions after exposure to a persuasive message on school bussing which caused substantial opinion change, they distorted their initial stand to make it consistent with the new attitude.

Bem, (29) found the same effect with students in a forced-compliance experiment where they were asked to write on issues concerning the university. They were unable to recall their pre-manipulation attitude correctly and actually perceived their post-manipulation attitude to be identical with it ; no change was perceived. Results such as these support consistency theory perfectly ; the individual is striving to create equilibrium in his perceptions.

Misperception can work the other way too ; the new persuasive message can be remoulded to fit in with one's old perceptions. Kelman and Eagly, (190) in a study concerning juvenile delinquency found that

respondents misperceived a negative message as being unrelated to the issue while a positive message was pulled towards respondents' own position. Hovland found in his study of prohibition that if the persuasive message was not too divergent from the respondents' own position it was bent towards their position, i.e., made acceptable.

Research and Advertising Implications

To prevent resistance to persuasion advertisers should attempt to :

- Prevent counterarguing.
- Attach persuasive messages to values which are not central to individuals, such as a basic belief in the value of brushing the teeth.

There is a need to develop sensitive research techniques which are capable of ascertaining just what are the central values of an individual as distinguished from peripheral values.
- Avoid high pressure which makes consumers feel that their right to decide for themselves has been usurped. The result is reactance - a tendency to move away from high pressure.
- Avoid arousing unpleasant associations which only encourage people to repress the entire message.
- Select communicators who can not be easily rejected on the basis of credibility because it gives individuals an excuse to discredit both the communication and the message.
- Determine whether the use of humour in a persuasive message contributes or detracts from consumer attitudes.

There is a great need for research into the effects of humour on a persuasive message in a consumer context.

E. The Persuasibility Factor

Anyone engaged in consumer research for any length of time becomes increasingly aware that it is impossible to talk about Consumer Behaviour since it is impossible to assume that consumers are alike ; the market place actually consists of various segments based on personality and sociological typologies. It is for this reason that psychological segmentation research and eventually psychographics and Life Style came into existence ; they were based on the assumption that the basic make-up of the individual determines acceptance of certain values, attitudes and behaviours, see Mostyn, (248), last chapter.

Similarly, individuals vary significantly in the degree to which they are persuasible regardless of topic ; as Hovland and Janis have described - "persuasibility exists as a content free factor". For instance, Allport, (12) reports that most experiments show that people who yield in one situation tend to do so in other situations ; there is "a predisposition for susceptibility on a wide variety of topics". The trait appears to be general enough to be measured and a great deal of research has gone into determining the factors which govern persuasibility.

1. Basic Personality Factors

Two factors stand out among all the research into the persuasible personality - authoritarianism and low self-esteem. Stone, (358) for example demonstrated that persons low in self-esteem and high on authoritarianism were significantly more persuasible on the subject of health issues. Cooper and Jones, (68) found that if the persuasive situation was in a self-esteem context there was significant attitude change ; however, if it lacked a self-esteem context there was no attitude change.

Not only authoritarianism but dogmatism correlates with persuasibility according to Cronkhite and Goetz, (95) who exposed students to twenty controversial issues and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale. However, using the same scale Heilkinen and German, (53) conducted a study with education counsellors which showed that being dogmatic tended to interfere with attitude change ; however, the persuasive communication was relevant to their jobs which made a significant difference.

Other personality characteristics which correlate with authoritarianism, low self-esteem and persuasibility include, according to Biderman, (36) :

- Lack of self confidence ; socially inhibited ; strong feeling of inadequacy and inferiority complexes.
- Lack of originality ; conventional thinker ; no imagination ; limited range of interests ; conformists ; inadequate in new situations.
- Lack of achievement motivation ; submissive ; respect for authority.
- Lack of critical approach ; with frequent guilt feelings ; compulsive.
- A desire for social approval ; other directed .
- Avoids self-analysis ; repressed emotionally ; socially inhibited.
- Proneness to worry and anger ; completely deflated by failures ; unable to evaluate situations competently.

In summary, the persuasible person is very vulnerable.

2. Demographic Variables

Many researchers have looked at age, sex and intelligence as factors in persuasibility. According to Hovland and Janis, (170) it has been concluded that there are no significant differences except that among children, girls are more persuadable than boys. Secord and Backman, (332) report however that there are some subtle differences concerning intelligence, the highly intelligent tend to be more easily persuaded by communications which rely heavily on impressive logical arguments while the less intelligent are more readily persuaded by

emotional appeals if in both cases they are persuasible personalities.

3. Mental Characteristics

Recently there has been an interest in determining if there were any mental characteristics among persuasible people. For example Cohen, (66) reports that persuasible types are "perceptually dependent" ; that is, their perceptions are affected by the environmental field rather than their own bodily cues. Commonly called "field dependent" such types are unable to overcome interference successfully and therefore yield. Similarly, Ritchie and Phores, (301) found that "externals" were more likely to be persuasible than "internals" ; internals relate occurrences to their own actions and externals to factors beyond their control.

Furthermore, Blass et al, (38) found that "subjective" thinkers (impressionable types) were significantly more likely to change attitudes than "objective" thinkers. Many researchers such as Cohen have also shown that persuasible types have a rich fantasy life ; they live in the subjective rather than the objective world, however this does give them the ability to anticipate rewards and punishments and thus yield to change.

Research and Advertising Implications

If the above profile describes the types of people most likely to be influenced by advertising then there is some justification for the attack that persuaders "prey" on the weak, defenceless types who are least able to defend themselves against the effects of the mass media. Eysenck has described persuasible types of neurotic ; and Scherf, (326) has conducted a study in which he found that those who had an increased desire and need for items of material value were extremely dissatisfied with personal relationships. An enlightened code of advertising should reasonably consider protecting the most vulnerable members of society from manipulation. Thus, research should be conducted to determine the ways in which persuasible types are most affected by persuasive communications ; certain techniques should then be declared "out of bounds" for persuaders in order to protect the innocent and specific markets made up of a high percentage of persuasible types should be carefully handled.

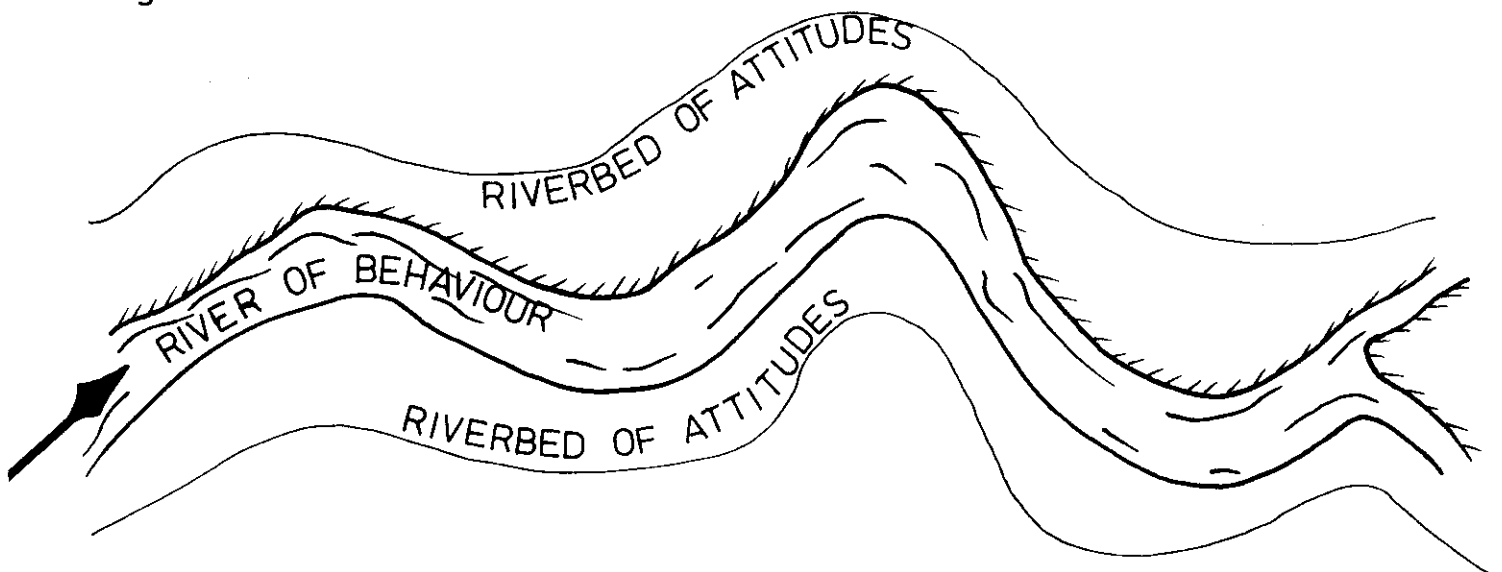
VI - THE ATTITUDE <—————> BEHAVIOUR RELATIONSHIP

A. Introduction

Most definitions of attitude include some association between attitudes and behaviour however loose it may be and regardless of direction. Thus, there are definitions which state that attitudes are "drive producing" and "direct" "provide a state of readiness for" "prepare the individual for" behaviour. However, there are also definitions which predict that it is behaviour which "shapes", "dictates" or "gives rise to" attitudes.

One could liken behaviour to a river whose flow, depth and course are influenced by outside forces and especially the river bed of attitudes. However, as with any river, the river of behaviour has a character of its own which in turn effects the immediate environment or the river-bed of attitudes. In Figure 4 one gets a closer approximation of current thinking about the attitude-behaviour relationship.

Figure 4



While the recent trend in psychology has been to lean away from absolute or either-or thinking even concerning the oldest controversy, the nature vs nurture problem, and to embrace a more symbiotic approach wherein two opposing theories are seen to have equal validity, this philosophical approach is not always helpful to the researcher or decision maker who attempts to make sense of research findings regarding human behaviour. For the marketing or advertising man for instance there is still the burning question - what is the best way to make a persuasive impact, to attempt to change attitudes, behavioural habits or both? It is as though the field of consumer psychology has arrived at the inevitable stage as described many centuries ago by Leonardo da Vinci :

"The supreme misfortune is when theory outstrips performance".

Or perhaps more optimistically it is as Oscar Wilde states :

"Truth is never pure and rarely simple".

B. Implications for Consumer Psychologists

From the point of view of consumer psychologists the inability of Attitude Research to come up with actionable findings has had the effect of disenchanting management ; as Henry, (159) has described :

"The principal obstacle to the use of attitude research for managerial decision making arises from the difficulty of identifying attitudes which are relevant to behaviour prediction."

He thus predicts that management will increasingly "ignore the ritual of research" and rely on management judgment only.

The problem of supplying meaningful answers to management started back in the sixties according to Bullen and Channon, (50) when quantitative research was at its height and there was a fundamental and unquestioned assumption - "If we monitor attitudes we can forecast sales" - because it was assumed that attitudes preceded behaviour. A simple formula, except it didn't work quite that way and the evidence kept mounting ; Adler and Crespi, (4) report several instances :

- A food manufacturer described his new product to 881 people ; after listening to the description, 360 had very positive attitudes including a "definite" intention to buy. Six months later when they were recontacted only one in three had actually purchased it.
- People interviewed regarding their attitudes towards buying a car within the next twelve months failed to live up to expectations ; only 63% of those who said they would actually bought one.
- People were interviewed outside an appliance store concerning preferred brands ; only 20% actually bought that brand.

Cheskin, (63) reports of a famous attitude study in which 90% of housewives said they would not use margarine even if it was coloured yellow ; once it was launched it met with considerable popularity.

Walters and Paul, (386) report of a Chicago study of brand preferences in which 15% of respondents actually bought non-preferred brands according to attitude scales and 61% purchased more units than they stated they would do.

Another study concerning the penetration of seat belt propaganda indicated that while 5 out of 6 respondents were convinced that they might be involved in a serious accident and had positive attitudes towards the safety of seatbelts, only one in six wore them.

And, in a famous Madison Avenue study "They say they don't but they do"

sponsored by BBDO it was shown that while people claimed to watch 10 to 12 hours of television per week, viewing figures showed that it was more in the order of 22 hours.

C. The Problems

In the first place, according to Doob, (89) the misunderstanding surrounding the attitude-behaviour controversy evolved around the use of the word "because" by researchers in all of the applied psychological fields : "people vote X because" ; "consumers buy X because" ; "drivers do not wear seat belts because". The use of the term "because" implied that there was causation between attitudes and behaviour when in fact there was only "correlation which would be better expressed :

"Instead attitudes are specific probabilities of specific forms of response to specific social objects",
De Fleur and Westie, (82).

Thus, if the researcher can accept that there is no one-to-one relationship but rather a correlation or mutual interaction between attitudes and behaviour then they need only accept that they are measuring attitudes and attitude change because they believe that there is some relationship ; as expressed by Adler and Crespi, (5) :

"It does not seem reasonable to assume that if a person buys a brand that he has never bought before that this is unrelated to what he would say about that brand in an interview. Neither does it seem reasonable to assume that if a person starts to say things about a brand that he never said before that this is unrelated to what he would buy when he next goes shopping".

However, correlations between attitudes and behaviour have rarely exceeded 3 or 4 ; Little and Hill, (204) report that the best correlation they have found is .543.

The other problem is that since attitude measurement pretty much ensures that attitudes are what attitude scales measure (rather than the complex mental event most theorists imagine them to be), one is really not attempting to correlate two separate entities - attitude (mental event) and behaviour (observable event) but rather the researcher is attempting to correlate what Burhans, (52) refers to as "two types of behaviour", response behaviour and overt behaviour. Thus, the problem is basically one of low correlations between two types of behaviour.

One of the basic problems the researcher must sort out in his own mind therefore is according to Alwin, (13) "the difference between attitudes and verbal reports of attitudes". He must be satisfied that the verbal report he is calling an attitude actually has some bearing on the mental event, attitude.

This brings us full cycle, what is an attitude ? Does it exist other than as a research artifact ? But these issues have been thoroughly explored in previous chapters.

D. Attitudes as Predictors of Behaviour

With the multitude of research projects which have been conducted into the attitude-behaviour relationship by social psychologists in all fields - education, marketing, medicine, politics, environment, social work, etc., it appears that there are at least ten ways in which the researcher can attempt to increase the reliability of the attitude-behaviour relationship ; that is to get a better "fit" between attitude measures and reported or observed behaviour :

1. Ensure Situational Sameness for the Attitude and Behaviour Measure

Wicker, (407) among others has observed that the more similar the situations in which verbal and overt behavioural responses are obtained "the stronger the attitude-behaviour relationship".

For example, Silverman and Cochrane, (341) sent interviewers to householders to administer attitude scales regarding selling one's house to a negro. Several weeks later interviewers returned to ask the householder to sign a petition promising to sell their house to a negro and decrying agents who were prejudiced. They found a very high correlation between the expressed attitudes and whether or not the petition was signed ; and attributed the high correlation to the fact that there was a sameness of situation - the doorstep - in which attitudes and behaviour were measured.

Norman, (262) conducted an attitude survey in the classroom among students concerning their opinions towards participating in psychological experiments and towards personal privacy. Three weeks later he re-administered the same questionnaire to check for consistency and three weeks after that he asked for volunteers for psychological experiments. Similarly, the high correlation he obtained between attitudes and behaviour, .5, he attributed to the sameness of the testing situation, e.g. the classroom.

Research Implications

With more imagination researchers could create more meaningful interviewing situations which would enhance the attitude-behaviour relationship. Attitudes towards shopping should be ascertained in stores, supermarkets, car or appliance showrooms ; attitudes towards the usefulness of various types of food in the kitchen. For instance Dichter, (86) was able to discover meaningful attitudes towards bath soaps by video-taping interviews in a bathroom setting while respondents used various types of soap.

2. Measure Attitudes and Behaviour at the Same Level of Generality or Specificity

Liska, (216) hypothesised that the attitude-behaviour relationship is affected by the extent to which attitudes and behaviour are measured at approximately an equivalent level of generality. Using students and the issue of examination coping behaviour he measured behaviour at two levels of generality and attitudes at five levels. With a multiple regression analysis the results showed that both specific and general patterns of behaviour were only affected by attitudes measured at an equivalent level of generality.

By limiting the number of factors in an attitude study of seat belt usage to five ; discomfort, worry, risk, effect and inconvenience, Phaner and Hane, (109) found near perfect predictions of seat belt usage which was also confined to a five factor scale.

On the other side of the coin, Heberlein and Black, (151) conducted a study among petrol purchasers in early 1973 in which they set out to determine attitudes towards the environment, air pollution and lead free petrol. They constructed eight attitude scales ranging from a very general one, e.g. attitudes towards the environment, to a very specific one, e.g. feelings of personal obligation to buy lead free petrol. With the more specific scale they found the highest correlation with lead free petrol purchasing because both the attitude and behaviour had been tested at the same level of specificity.

Research Implications

These findings should come as a warning to many researchers who create attitude scales and behavioural measurement criteria independently and with completely different dimensions. Preferably, respondents whose attitudes are fairly positive towards a brand or service, as determined by a seven point Likert scale, should be evaluated with a behavioural scale which includes more dimensions than - buy regularly, buy once in a while, never buy. Rather the behavioural dimension should allow for as much latitude as the attitudinal, preferably a seven point scale : buy regularly ; frequently consider buying ; buy occasionally for a change ; buy if there is a price-off ; buy if it is the only one available ; prefer never to buy ; never buy .

3. Examine Attitudes and Beliefs which are Central, Important and Ego-Involving

Where the issues are central to the individual's belief system there are pressures towards consistency between attitudes and behaviour. As Kiesler, (192) describes - "acting on one's beliefs enhances one's self-view". Creating consistency between words and deeds on important life issues is also essential to a functioning society according to

Wicker, (406).

"It enables men to participate in organised social life with good confidence that others will do what they say they will do".

This was exemplified in a psychiatric study conducted by Siwiak-Kobuyaski, (345) ; as treatment progressed patients changed attitudes which correlated reliably with behaviour changes. The importance of the treatment put pressures on them to be consistent.

Researchers have therefore found significant correlations between attitudes and behaviour when the attitude examined is BIG enough. Perry et al, (283) found a very high level of attitude-behaviour consistency when the attitude object - air pollution - was central. Researching the same attitude object - air pollution - Parker et al, (276) found a significant correlation between attitudes and such behaviours as giving money and helping to get a petition signed.

Issues with which people have an emotional commitment or ego-involvement also obtain a high level of attitude-behaviour consistency. And in fact, according to Krugman, there is a distinct "precedence of attitude over behaviour" when the individual is highly involved with the attitude object. Herberger, (161) found that when there was deep emotional commitment on the subject of ecological concern housewives went out of their way to buy less polluting detergents.

Kegules, (187) found that women with higher post belief scores concerning the effectiveness of cytology in detecting cervical cancer and the possibility of their own vulnerability, were significantly more likely to visit the clinic.

A very important, almost "irreversible" decision provokes the individual to acquire more information and according to Adler and Crespi, (4) build up a psychological predisposition and sense of confidence. Thus, in a consumer setting when an expensive, high risk item is involved, there is little question "that attitude change precedes purchase".

Research Implications

Many products, such as household cleaners, which may at first sight appear to have low ego-involvement, may in fact be linked to a central and important belief system whether environmental or one's perceived role, e.g., the housewife who sees her role as making the home clean and safe from germs. These basic beliefs should be investigated along with attitudes toward the product in order to enhance the attitude-behaviour relationship.

Also, research into attitudes towards expensive, important, high risk items should determine the extent of knowledge of the product as well as attitudes and intention to buy for knowledge appears to be an accompaniment to attitude-behaviour consistency. In addition, an estimation of the degree to which purchase is seen as "risky" should be determined.

4. Investigate an Attitude-Behaviour Relationship which has Group Support

As a potent source of social pressure, which also compels the individual to be consistent, group support can create a better correlation between attitudes and behaviour.

Kamal, (182) found high congruence between individual's attitudes and behaviour if there was a supportative group; the subject was the legalising of marijuana. Panazal and Jaccard, (275) showed the influence of social pressure when they studied the interaction between the intention to give blood and the actual behaviour; they attributed the high correlation to the fact that the behaviour was a public one and highly valued in the community.

Research Implications

Researchers should attempt to establish whether the attitude being investigated has (in the eyes of the respondent), any group support, since there is a better chance that it will be more stable over time and lead to consistent behaviour.

5. Find a Homogeneous Behavioural Group

An almost guaranteed way of assuring a good fit between attitudes and behaviour is to find a homogeneous behaviour group and look for consistencies and relevant attitudes which accompany the behaviour. Weigel, (393) conducted studies among people who were ecologically concerned to whom he administered the Pollution and Conservation Scales and determined their attitudes towards the Sierra Club. Five months later respondents were visited by members of the environment group called the Sierra Club and asked to join or help out; the best indication of whether or not they would join was a positive attitude towards the Sierra Club. Weigel pointed out that "attitudes exhibit increased power to predict behaviour when the content of the attitude measure is highly specific to the behaviour criterion."

Similarly, Canon and Mathews, (57) studied heavy smokers and occasional smokers. They were given a choice of articles to read written by medics; two of the articles linked smoking and illness and two were against the linkage. Using a 31 point scale respondents indicated their interest in reading each article and completed the Harm Avoidance and Health Concern Scales. Not surprisingly, each smoking group significantly preferred their own articles; however, heavy smokers were equally as concerned about health as light smokers, those with the most concern wanted to read that smoking was NOT harmful.

In a study on transport Westin and Watson, (403) found that travellers could be divided up into the economically-oriented and the convenience-oriented regardless of whether they were car or train users. However, their attitudes towards their preferred mode of travel were significantly related to their orientation.

A rather simplistic example is quoted by Dowell, (91) who found that men and women participating in a noontime physical fitness programme had more positive attitudes towards health issues than those not involved.

And, again on the subject of the environment Bruvold, (48) studied attitudes towards reclaiming water for recreational purposes. He found that users of the lake, golf course, pool or all three had the most positive attitudes towards the need for new water sources.

Research Implications

Homogeneous behaviour groups can easily be found whether they are brand loyal, light or heavy users or people who buy toothpaste to kill germs vs freshen their mouth. These groups not only yield higher correlations between attitudes and behaviour but more homogenous attitude profiles as well. Psychological Segmentation Research has proved most useful when homogeneous groups have been studied in the first place rather than an entire sample which is later segmented.

6. Concentrate on a Sample of "The Right" Types of People

People vary and according to Snyder and Warland, (352) some people are more consistent than others ; they are therefore significantly more likely to create consistency between their attitudes and behaviour. The authors developed a special scale to identify these types - Snyder's Scale - which determines if individuals are "self-maintaining" or not.

Sharpe, (335) has found that "high commitment" respondents used fewer evaluative categories to rate statements about an issue and they also rejected more statements because they are so highly committed to their own position.

Warland and Sample, (388) in a study of voting behaviour found that for "confident" respondents, there was a high correlation between attitude, intention to vote, involvement in politics and actual voting behaviour, while for respondents who were not confident there was a weaker relationship between these four variables.

Pellemans, (278) has shown that confidence, purchase intention and attitude are subsequently related to brand purchasing. He states that confidence creates suitable attitudes which are less influenced by the environment. Resultingly, people lacking confidence have been shown to be inconsistent in terms of actualising their purchase intention. Looking even deeper into the process O'Brien, (265) found a very high correlation between confidence and knowledge and between uncertainty and lack of confidence.

Sample and Warland, (319) on the subject of student elections divided their sample into those with high and low certainty and found that the attitudes of those with high certainty were a major predictor of both intentions and behaviour.

Research Implications

Researchers would be well advised to design a personality test of Consistency or Certainty in order to augment attitude studies, especially when there is an interest in predicting behavioural intention or potential behaviour regarding the attitude object.

7. Find an Assured Measure of Behaviour

Some of the neatest experiments showing a causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour have been conducted with school children in a "real life dental hygiene programme" using a special wafer which stains the teeth red. Photos of the teeth are taken after the wafer has been chewed, the less stain left by the wafer the more brushing behaviour has occurred. This ingenious "litmus" test of behaviour has been used by several researchers to correlate attitudes and behaviour. Evans et al, (103) exposed students to one of five types of persuasive communications regarding why they should brush ; a high or low fear approach, an appeal to popularity, elaborate or brief recommendations on how to brush. Attitude tests included measures of information retention, anxiety and intention to behave. They found that when appeals to popularity and elaborate recommendations were remembered and believed they were the most effective in changing behaviour. However, remembering and believing high fear and brief recommendations were the most effective in changing reported behaviour. Thus, positive attitudes towards certain types of appeals were successfully correlated with actual behaviour as opposed to the usual criterion of reported behaviour ; this gave a better "fit" between attitudes and behaviour.

Crespi, (73) in examining the attitude-behaviour relationship has advised that only "highly institutionalised or routinised behaviours" will give reliable and high correlations and recommends that only voting, food buying and film attendance are appropriately institutionalised and therefore assured behaviour measures of attitude-behaviour consistency.

In consumer research Frank and Strain, (114) point out the value of the home delivery service as a method of accurately monitoring purchase ; combined with attitude questionnaires very high correlations have been obtained.

Research Implications

As previously indicated there is a need for researchers to concentrate on refining the behavioural measure. While not many behaviours lend themselves to a "litmus" test, there are certainly more refined methods than self report. For example government -sponsored transport studies

into seat belt usage frequently consist of stopping drivers to inquire about the starting point of their journey, however, note is taken of whether or not the seat belt is in use. Using this method of monitoring behaviour they have been able to gauge the effectiveness of various persuasive campaigns.

8. Examine More than One Attitude or Belief

Individuals are rarely motivated to behave because of one prevailing attitude ; therefore, in order to improve the attitude-behaviour relationship it is essential that more than one attitude be examined. As Liska, (216) has stated - "Prediction increases with the number of attitudes included".

Wicker, (406) for example examined the verbal and overt behaviours of church members ; he found that the addition of more attitude indicators improved the prediction of behaviour - church attendance and money given to the church. In addition to Thurstone attitude scales, he included attitudes towards the behaviours and perceptions of behaviour evaluations.

Bruvold, previously mentioned, and his study on the reclamation of water for recreation purposes, found that one attitude (reclaiming water) and one belief (that there was a water shortage in California) gave consistency but did not reach statistical significance. Adding the attitude-behaviour relationship (using the pool) did not produce statistical significance ; however, when one more belief (that science can solve water purification problems) was added statistical significance was reached.

In a consumer setting Ehrenberg, (96) has shown the need to establish a broad brand image profile - value for money, nourishing, user image, etc. - in order to gain a strong correlation with buying and usage patterns.

And, Myers and Reynolds, (253) report of a study by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan where they developed a Consumer Attitude Index to encompass the many relevant attitudes involved. This they found closely paralleled changes in durable goods spending with more accuracy than disposable income ; this contradicts traditional economic theory.

They included such items as last purchase made and purchase intentions, in addition to brand preferences in order to achieve a reliable prediction of purchasing.

Research Implications

Frequently research into consumer attitudes is a very blinkered affair ; that is, attitude questions and scales are written to answer the specific requirements of the brief without regard to broader issues. Determine consumer resistances to gas cookers ; Determine housewives'

reactions to a new range of tinned sauce mixes, etc. Researchers must stop and consider the other "relevant" attitudes and beliefs which might have a bearing on consumer attitudes and behaviour. In the above examples, attitudes towards gas - what do they think it is? attitudes towards energy, cooking, food, smells in the home, health, etc., should be included. For the other example, attitudes towards tins, convenience, food preparation, role as a housewife, nutrition, meal planning, etc., should be included.

9. Utilise a Longitudinal Study

The Longitudinal Study, borrowed from Developmental Psychology has provided some of the most relevant and reliable attitude-behaviour research in the field of social psychology including consumer behaviour.

Weigel and Newman, (394) followed the attitudes of respondents towards the environment over a period of eight months; during this time each person was offered opportunities to engage in a variety of ecologically-oriented behaviours - signing petitions or participating in a litter pick-up programme, by either just dividing their own litter/agreeing to pick up other people's litter. They obtained significant correlations of .62 which they attributed to the fact that they had combined the behaviours into an index rather than looking at a single act.

Myers and Reynolds, (253) report a study in which families were asked to keep a diary of food purchases for one year. At intervals they were asked how strong their desire was for X and how strong their desire was to avoid the expense which the item might entail. They found that when they compared these two "tensions" for food expenditure to actual food expenditure there was a very close correlation over the entire year.

Achenbaum, (3) conducted a three wave study with 4,000 women concerning their attitudes and purchase of nineteen brands of packaged goods ; using a five point Likert Scale he came up with some important trend data :

"If attitudes shift upward among non-users from June to September, the likelihood of their becoming users from September to December increases as attitudes from June to September dropped the chances of a non-user becoming a user dropped too. The situation is much the same among users. Thus, there is a direct relationship between attitude changes and purchase behaviour."

O'Brien, (264) reports a five month study with a panel of housewives regarding two brands of convenience foods. Using cross-lagged multiple correlation techniques he found that awareness was causally prior to attitudes; intention and attitudes were causally prior to purchase.

Lastly, Kraft et al, (203) in an extensive longitudinal study asked housewives to keep diaries from 1970 to 1971 ; attitude scales were administered every 16 weeks. Only three products were involved - orange juice, coffee and paper towels. It was found that it was essential to sum the ratings of the attitude scales in order to predict brand choice ; they were right in two-thirds of the cases. In addition, it was found that three factors - brand first mentioned, brand bought last and favourite brand were almost as effective in predicting behaviour. This encouraged them to recommend that other factors be included in brand purchasing studies: brand familiarity ; variety seeking behaviour ; purchase inhibitors, out-of-stock ; and, special deals.

The principal advantage of a longitudinal study is that the researcher can combine the results of the attitude and behavioural reactions into an index and thus he is not dependent on one attitude survey or behavioural report which may be influenced by extraneous and temporary factors. On the whole a diary survey (where respondents record their buying behaviour as it occurs) is to be preferred to intermittent interviews where respondents merely report their buying behaviour.

Research Implications

Diary and Longitudinal Studies may appear costly but the resultant reliability is well worth the expense. Once respondents get used to the idea of a diary and the novelty wears off they have proved to be a valid and reliable method of studying attitudes as well as behaviour. For example, recently the Retail Development Centre at Cranfield undertook a Diary study with a male panel for a major men's retailer. Not only has it provided insights into purchasing habits but it has proved to be a valuable method of obtaining psychographic information.

The men have recorded their weekly leisure time activities including social and family life, sports, hobbies, committee and community work.

10. Employ a More Sensitive Technique to Obtain a Better "Fit"

Because most researchers are basically convinced that attitudes do precede and predict behaviour, they have been keen to blame the "bad fit" on the techniques which are employed to gain insight into attitudes. The result is that researchers have been motivated to find techniques which are more sensitive and will therefore improve the attitude-behaviour relationship.

For example, in constructing attitude scales Bullen and Channon (50) found that "evaluative items" such as - "value for money" ; "nice

taste", gave significantly better results when compared to usage patterns than what they called "descriptive items". These included such terms as "nourishing" and "modern packaging" which could apply equally well to preferred and non-preferred brands.

Other researchers have returned to the original Thurstone scales which although more cumbersome to create and administer, can be very sensitive to attitudes. (For a description of the technique see Mostyn, 249). Holloway et al, (166) report a study on trading stamps in which the Thurstone technique gave attitude indexes that were predictive of stamp-saving behaviour.

Weinstein (397) found that he could improve the prediction of the attitude-behaviour relationship if "attitudes towards actions" were also included in addition to attitudes towards the issue. The behaviour - signing a petition - was requested one week after the administration of the attitude scales. Respondents with a positive attitude towards the action were significantly more likely to sign.

Recently, due to the influence of Fishbein, researchers have shown an interest in measures which give insight into - Intention to Act or Buy. In the social marketing fields Rosen and Komorita (308) in a study of attitudes and willingness to be involved in the poverty origramme found that behavioural intentions mediated the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. They assessed subjects' intentions with regard to a series of related acts and the perceived "instrumentality" of these acts for achieving one's goals. Their Action Potential Index was found to be more significant than a conventional attitude measure.

Kothandapani, (201) sampled lower class women who were either regular users or non-users of contraceptives ; he looked at three factors - feelings, beliefs, and intention to act, and found the latter was a significantly better predictor of actual contraceptive using behaviour than any of the others.

In a consumer setting, Wells, (400) developed a readiness to buy measure which contained six levels ranging from "firm intent" to "never consider". This was linked with an eleven point attitude scale of liking. He found that readiness to buy was the most effective in determining intention and ultimately actual purchase.

Adler and Crespi, (4) report on the effective use of an eleven point "likelihood of buying" scale which was applied to motor car purchase ; choices ranged from "100% sure" to "certainly not". It was highly predictive of actual behaviour - 79% of those who had been 100% sure actually had bought one year later.

Gormley, (126) in a rather complicated study on bread used a seven point rating scale for such attributes as freshness, taste, quality, value, etc., for each brand. He also administered an overall attitude scale for each brand (excellent, good, fair, poor) and obtained an

intent to buy score. The latter was far more predictive of purchasing than ratings of product attributes or overall ratings.

In a new product test Taylor et al, (365) found that the "intention to buy" question was most effective in identifying whether or not the product was a "loser", since not one consumer subsequently bought the product if they had indicated "no intention to buy".

In order to find an effective intent to buy measure Rothman, (313) examined four methods to determine the propensity to buy within two product groups. Of the four methods - self-rating scales ; the Gift Method ; Guttman Scales ; and a Semantic Differential "Distance Scale" he found the Gift Method ("If you were to be given a year's supply of one of these products which one would you prefer ?") had the greatest likelihood of predicting purchase.

In order to be really certain that one has truly "ascertained the DETERMINANT attitudes - the attitudes or features which lead to, or determine buying behaviour," Myers and Alpert, (252) recommend that it is necessary to go beyond mere scaling techniques which do not provide a proper means for measuring determinance. Thus, given the time and money the only sure fire way to do the research properly is to use the four approaches of : direct questioning ; indirect questioning into motivations ; observation of behaviour and experimentation. With this procedure real or determinant attitudes and behaviours will be found to correlate significantly.

Research Implications

A great deal of research activity has been generated in order to find the most sensitive monitors of attitude and behaviour and to improve the correlations and predictive power of attitudes.

Some of this energy could be more positively directed towards attempting to determine what other factors go into the attitude-behaviour mix, in what proportion, under which situations, and for which sorts of people, rather than just churning out a myriad of so-called "models" of consumer behaviour which all too often merely consist of the terms from the marketing and psychological literature interconnected with arrows.

Summary

The attitude-behaviour relationship can be manipulated beyond the .3 or .4 level of confidence if the researcher adheres to the principles described above ; however, there will always be some sacrifices. For instance exploring too many related attitudes and beliefs in the same questionnaire will create a very long interview which will bore, tire or give away the researcher's ideas to respondents, or all three.

E. Attitudes as Inconsistent or Inefficient Predictors of Behaviour

"One of the many scandals of social psychology is the low correlation between attitudes and actions." - McGuire.

Several examples of low correlations were given at the beginning of this chapter.

This is in every field a seminal work. In the attitude-behaviour controversy it is the study by La Piere back in 1934 which first began to make researchers aware that people didn't always do what they said they were going to do. In this experiment La Piere, (209) accompanied a Chinese couple on an extensive tour around the United States noting the reactions of hotel and restaurant staff to the three-some and the couple in particular. Out of 251 hotels/restaurants visited only one refused to accept them and in only two others was there any hesitation or note of embarrassment. After the tour a questionnaire was sent to each establishment asking if they would serve Chinese people ; 92% of them said they would not !

Every since LaPiere published these findings to the amazement of the psychological community, who had always assumed the unidirectionality of the attitude-behaviour relationship, that is "The actions of the individual are governed to a large extent by his attitudes", Krech and Crutchfield, (204), there have been attempts to explain the discrepancy. It has been suggested that it was because the couple were with a Caucasian most of the time, or because they were middle class in appearance and manner, or that face to face situations bring out other factors such as the individual's (proprietor or head waiter) fear of making a scene or his uncertainty about his own REAL feelings, or knowledge of what one should do in such a situation.

Kutner et al, (208) conducted a similar experiment which concerned restaurant managers. A letter was sent to them requesting a reservation for a social gathering in which some of the guests would be black. After 17 days none had replied and so telephone calls were made to confirm the bookings ; not one manager accepted. The next day the same person called for a regular booking and was accepted. Several days later two young white women and one black arrived at each restaurant and in each case they were given exemplary service.

In a slightly different vein Minard, (244) conducted a classical study in a small mining town in the States on the consistency of social relationships. He found that while only 20% of the population were friendly towards blacks in the town, 80% were friendly in the context of the mine. He concluded that there is "no one latent process called attitude". Similarly Lohman and Reitzes (217) studied 151 residents in one community who were actively involved in keeping their homes restricted from blacks but were equally actively involved in practising and promoting equal opportunities in the work situation.

Deutscher, (85) reports of three significant social studies in which significant attitude change was reported as a result of a persuasive communication with NO evidence of a change in behaviour in the desired direction. The studies dealt with : attitudes of mothers towards an appropriate age for toilet training ; training industrial foreman in human relations ; attitudes of students towards dental care.

On the consumer side Wells and LoSciuto, (401) concluded that attitudes and behaviour are "only loosely related" when they conducted an extensive observation study of supermarket behaviour and found that at best 55% of purchase behaviour was intentional. This finding, however, was deduced from observation rather than interviewing to determine attitudes ; consumers were considered to have predetermined attitudes when they "seemed to know exactly what they wanted" either because it was written down or because they made an immediate decision.

Sheth, (339) in a study of purchasing behaviour and attitudes with 954 housewives found very low correlations even when evaluative beliefs were included ; evaluative beliefs were particularly low predictors of behaviour although good predictors of attitudes.

Myers and Reynolds, (253) concluded that in many consumer studies too many attitudes have no bearing on behaviour. For instance, in a study of coffee they found that 2 of 4 attitudes included were unrelated to coffee purchasing ; with scouring powder it was 3 of 6. The result was that the attitude profile was unrelated to the behaviour.

An Overview

In order to get a better picture of the complexity of the attitude-behaviour relationship many research psychologists have attempted to review the situation. Tittle and Hill, (374) for instance noted that between 1934 and 1964 out of fifteen major studies there was low correspondence in six cases, moderate in three and high in six. They concluded that "the degree of correspondence between measured attitude and other behaviours varies not only with the measure of attitude used, but also with the criterion which is taken as an indicator of behaviour", therefore the degree of correspondence between attitudes and behaviour "is yet to be discovered".

A more comprehensive list of studies was reviewed by Wicker, (406). The 33 studies (dating from 1934 to 1969) were grouped into three categories on the basis of the attitude object : jobs ; minority group members and miscellaneous objects ranging from cheating on exams to breast-feeding and public housing. All of the studies selected for inclusion had to include Wicker's four criteria :

- 1) the unit of observation must be individual rather than a group ;
- 2) at least one attitudinal measure and one overt behavioural measure towards the same object must be obtained for each subject ;

- 3) the attitude and behaviour must be measured on separate occasions;
- 4) the overt behavioural response must not be merely the subject's retrospective verbal report of his own behaviour.

Despite these stringent requirements product-moment correlations relating the two kinds of responses, attitudes and behaviour, were rarely above .30 and often were near zero. He concluded :

"..... taken as a whole, these studies suggest that it is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviours than that attitudes will be closely related to actions".

Heinrich, (155) in Germany looked at studies over the same time period and found that there were an equal number which showed a positive relationship as showed a negative relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

Similarly, Gross and Nimon, (130) in reviewing 46 studies found that "rarely are attitude-behaviour correlation coefficients above .30" thus disproving the commonly held assumption "that people will behave in a way consistent with their beliefs".

And Fishbein and Ajzen, (112) out of 60 studies investigated, found that 15 showed no relationship, 15 showed a positive relationship and the rest a negative relationship. Additionally, in 24 studies when there was a manipulation of attitudes and behaviour 19 showed that there was a different result from that expected, 3 no effects and 2 a positive effect. They concluded that it was time to stop conducting more research and instead to turn to a rethinking of basic assumptions.

Peterson and Dutton, (286) reviewed 28 reports on the attitude-behaviour relationship which showed poor correlations ; they concluded that there is a "consistent neglect of theoretical formulations which specify object centrality, attitude extremity and attitude intensity". They put this down to the "gap" between research and theory.

Research Implications

Probably the best advice researchers can take was offered by Marie Jahoda in her 1974 lectures at University College, London - "Attitudes can but need not effect behaviour". As Doob, (89) postulated as long ago as 1947 - "Attitudes and behaviour could be unrelated ; it is perfectly reasonable for two people with the same attitude to behave differently."

Instead of trying to improve the attitude-behaviour relationship with existing techniques or even trying to improve upon the techniques, it would be more meaningful if researchers could re-think the entire assumptive philosophy underlying the attitude-behaviour relationship.

1. The Perceived "Weak Link" in the Attitude-Behaviour Chain-Measurement

Despite warnings from many researchers to the contrary, such as those of Fishbein and Ajzen above that the entire attitude-behaviour relationship needs rethinking, the vast majority of researchers still feel that if the tools were right the results would come out the way they SHOULD. In other words, if measurement techniques were more refined and sensitive they would show that attitudes measured accurately, like a "litmus" test, did indeed predict behaviour.

In the previous section it was indicated that many researchers have developed a preferred measuring tool such as "attitudes towards performing the act" or "intention to act" or an "Action Potential Index" to improve the validity of measurement. However, other researchers feel that there is a need for a new approach to measurement.

Basic Questions - One of the inherent dangers of measuring anything is that the act of measuring will change the thing being measured ; for anyone designing a questionnaire the essential problem is that "a good question is one which does not effect the answer", Payne, (277). More fundamentally, for the Social Psychologist investigating attitudes the fundamental problem is described by Campbell, (55) :

"In the problem of assessing social attitudes there is a very real need for instruments which do not destroy the natural form of the attitude in the process of describing it".

For instance, questionnaires represent the "interviewing world" as opposed to "the real world" according to Schuman, (328), who has demonstrated inconsistencies in questionnaires to show the "gap" between this interviewing and the real world. He created questions that simulated the familiar pressures of everyday life on the subject of discrimination which showed that people may be against discrimination in the "interviewing world" but feel that it is alright to refuse to employ blacks if the other employees would be upset, e.g., the REAL world.

Other researchers have given up the questionnaire as a reliable measuring tool, not only because of low correlations with behaviour but because they believe that they either restrict the expression of or exert an influence on attitudes. Thus, there has been according to McGuire, (232) "a renewed interest in physiological measures as people get disenchanted with opinionaires." Resultingly, GSR rate and pupil dilation are being used to measure the intensity of an attitude; however, they are disappointing because they give no information on the content - is the person aroused by interest, fear or anger ? Equally what McGuire calls "unobtrusive measures" have become increasingly popular ; the wear and tear of a floor covering at an art gallery to indicate interest in certain exhibits or the Lost Letter Technique ; see Mostyn, (249) for descriptions of the above techniques. However,

many of these have proved to be what McGuire calls a "noisy index of attitudes" since they generate a lot of unusable information and there is no "why" component.

In reviewing the literature Fishbein and Ajzen, (111) have found that there are as many as 500 different operations being used to measure attitudes from physiological measures (whether measurements of the free fatty acid levels in the blood or brain wave patterns) to scales, cartoons and drawing techniques or even single statements.

Specific Problems - Because of the clumsiness of the most popular measuring tool - questionnaires - many researchers like Liska, (216) believe that the attitude behaviour relationship becomes depressed. Thus, it is felt that by going back to basics and attempting to re-identify terms and isolate which are the important factors to be measured, measurement techniques will improve.

Concerning attitude measurement for instance De Fleur and Westie, (82) have underscored the need to link definitions with the methods employed to measure them. In studies of discrimination, for instance, they point out the need to be exact about the "attitude objects" - what sort of negroes are researchers referring to: physically, in terms of class, age, sex and occupation, etc. ?

Kiesler et al, (195) go further and advise researchers to make decisions about "category width" in evaluating the results of the responses to an attitude question or scaled item. There have been instances for example where an item discriminates between extremely and moderately prejudiced such that everyone from "moderate" on down is classified as not prejudiced. On the other hand, if the scale discriminates between no prejudice and just a bit prejudiced then everyone above "a bit" is classified as prejudiced. There is a need for more accurate definitions of meanings and more realistic category widths.

Equally, there are many researchers who feel that by applying sophisticated statistical methods to attitude dimensions one can increase the validity of attitude scale construction. Weichmann and Weichmann, (392) recommend the use of multiple factor analysis to assist in scale construction on the basis that is the only method to :

- 1) determine content validity of a series of attitude statements by ascertaining whether they measure a single, unitary characteristic or a complex one ;
- 2) contribute to construct validity by ascertaining the smallest number of factors that can be postulated to account for item intercorrelations.

And, of course they recommend the use of multiple factor analysis in the interpretive stage in order to reveal the "underlying higher-order attitude structure".

Concerning behaviour measurements there are other types of structural problems. Tittle and Hill, (374) as the result of an extensive study of student political behaviour and attitudes point out that it is essential to use "patterned behaviour" as opposed to single acts as a criterion for behaviour. In their study they combined a series of acts which occurred under normal circumstances to give a wider range of behavioural activity for the behavioural measure - records of voting in student elections, self report and actual political activity. They were thus able to improve the attitude-behaviour relationship. When they looked at a range of other studies of social issues which had showed a high correspondence between attitudes and behaviour, "patterned behaviour" had been the criteria as opposed to single acts.

One of the principal problems of behavioural measures according to Kiesler et al, (195) is that rarely is their reliability tested on a retest as is the case with attitude scales.

Research Implications

There is a desperate floundering on the part of researchers hoping to uncover the method of defining and measuring attitudes and behaviour more accurately so as to improve the attitude-behaviour predictions.

It is now time for a broader based body than that of a single university to collect and index the findings regarding measurement tools (looking at type of sample, situational variables, variations in the use of the technique, type of interview, interpretive techniques, etc.) so that ultimately some meaningful analyses could be made. The Index should be similar to the Yale Index of Anthropological data which has proved invaluable to researchers in these fields because it has incorporated all of the data available and cross-tabulated it by categories.

2. Other Obstacles to a Meaningful Attitude-Behaviour Correlation

"A round man cannot be expected to fit in a square hole right away. He must have time to modify his shape" - Mark Twain.

Similarly, if as researchers we can go along with Fishbein, (110) "The failure to find a relationship cannot be taken as evidence that attitudes are unrelated to behaviour", then there is reason to believe that while the individual strives towards creating reasonable correspondence between his attitudes and his behaviour there are what Lin, (214) calls "intervening factors" which prevent a meaningful correlation.

Therefore, the research emphasis according to Liska, (216) has shifted from trying to test the attitude-behaviour relationship on the assumption that it did exist to "testing the relationship in a variety of settings to examine the conditions which effect the relationship".

Most researchers eventually come to the conclusion that :

"The most common tack to increase predictability is the other variables approach" ; Kiesler and Munson, (194)

What are these other variables ?

a. Motivation - Assuming that at any given moment the individual has a great many attitudes or preferences stored in his mind, unless there is a motive "to energise and direct", they will not be expressed in action.

Dichter, (86) has described how in a study of toothbrushing it was essential to know the childhood habits in order to predict the underlying motivation which led to toothpaste choice ; thus, it was significant to know if respondents were hypochondriacs, conformists or anti-authority.

Frequently, as Wicker, (406) has pointed out people will have the same score toward some psychological object but have competing motives regarding it. For instance in a university study it was found that the motivation to improve one's grades were more potent than the motives to behave honestly despite a negative attitude towards cheating.

As Audi, (18) has concluded, after an in-depth look at the problem :

"The motivational component is largely responsible for the behaviour to which an attitude leads and which psychologists are concerned to predict".

b. Emotions - On a deeper level basic emotions may prohibit certain attitudes from influencing behaviour ; the most potent of these are the emotions of fear and anger. Fear of reprisals for certain behaviours or merely the fear of the unknown repress behaviour ; as Wicker has stated - "to act leaves one open to possible attack". In a study of seat-belt wearing Ashton and Warr, (15) showed that drivers' reported and actual use of seat-belts was predictable from their opinions about the comfort and effectiveness of seat belts; however, these relationships between attitudes and behaviour were moderated by anxiety. Interestingly, it was found that low-anxiety drivers exhibited a stronger association between attitudes and behaviour than high-anxiety drivers.

Similarly anger may inhibit action; respondents may have positive attitudes towards a product's attributes and believe it to be the best in its class and have positive attitudes towards buying and using the product, but feel resentment towards the childish or aggressive advertising and refuse to buy. The press has reported that these trends are currently prevalent in the States.

c. Individual Personality and Demographic Differences - As Wicker, (406) has pointed out even when there are strong positive attitudes and motivations towards action, individuals may lack the verbal, intellectual or social abilities to carry them out. Or, they may be lethargic types as opposed to active types. The individual may desire to bring his behaviour in line with his attitudes but not know how to go about it because he has never actually engaged in the behaviour before ; he/she may have a desire to travel abroad but not know how to go about booking a holiday.

People also vary in their perceptual abilities ; thus many people are forced to decide whether or not to act when they have insufficient knowledge concerning the alternatives. Thus, they may decide not to act on the basis of wrong or outdated information ; Hoinville, (164) has found that when individuals make choices concerning modes of travel they frequently select one over another on the basis of misperception.

There are also the demographic variables which exert an influence ; Eisinger, (99) conducted a study of smoking behaviour change over a two year period. He found that of the 35% of respondents who had either quit smoking or greatly reduced it there were more significant correlations with demographic variables than any of the attitudinal or behavioural measures obtained. Thus, males, respondents with children, heavy smokers and acquaintance with someone who had recently been adversely affected by smoking were the most likely to effect reduced smoking behaviour.

Many disillusioned users of Life Style and Psychographic Research have found that after a great expenditure of time and money to investigate the attitudes, opinions, interests, habits and shopping patterns of respondents that it is the ordinary demographic variables which give the best predictions of potential consumer behaviour.

d. Situational Variables - It is often assumed that if the individual does not behave in the expected manner then he obviously doesn't have the attitude we thought he did. However, as Walters and Paul, (386) have pointed out the absence of appropriate behaviour is no indication that the attitudes do not exist - "The individual has thousands of attitudes on a great many subjects, he cannot wear them all on his sleeve." Certain attitudes become dominant due to situational variables. In a consumer context a convincing salesman, the influence of a friend or an appealing display may stimulate one set of behaviours as opposed to another.

Also, as Wicker has pointed out, situations may offer a "lack of opportunity to behave", for instance the consumer who prefers brand X but finds it unavailable in most shops. And, as Thurstone, (393)

has observed - "people often find it expedient to act in a manner which is not indicative of how they feel". Thus, there may be a need to "keep one's nose clean" due to certain situations like economic insecurity. Similarly certain situations may stimulate the intensity or strength of an attitude which will then activate it - the opportunity to get ahead in one's job may stimulate negative attitudes towards minorities who are seen as threats.

Rabushka, (295) conducted a study among Malaysians regarding inter-racial attitudes and found that behaviour was highly correlated with situations ; that is, the situations in which they worked, neighbourhood contacts , intermarriage, offered opportunities to behave which were not necessarily correlated with attitudes.

e. Cultural Values - Individuals adopt the values of their society which in turn exert an influence on behaviour as well as attitude formation. Lin, (214) found that students' liberal attitudes towards integration reflected the prevailing norms of the university sub-culture ; however opportunities for behaviour were almost non-existent. Henry, (160) in a study of automobile purchase found a significant correlation between behaviour and cultural values but not with attitudes. He predicted that in future there would be a shift from full size to compact cars as values turned more sharply towards a less materialistic more democratic orientation, and a movement towards harmony and mastery "with respect to man's relations to nature".

In a more extensive study Mueller, (250) found that consumer optimism was more predictive of consumer spending than either consumer attitudes or the rate of discretionary income available for spending.

Ziller, (422) discusses five approaches to personal change which form a hierarchy : attitude change ; value change ; behaviour change ; role change and changes in self concept. Similarly they form a hierarchy of resistance to change such that attitudes are less difficult to change than values or behaviours, although behaviour is more likely to change than self concept or perceived role.

f. Social Pressures - Most social psychologists would tend to agree with Lewin's formula - $B = PE$ (Behaviour = Personality x Environment) and the principal element in the environment is social pressure. For instance Warner and De Fleur, (389) found that in a community opposing integration, low-prejudiced subjects behaved more consistently when their overt behaviours were to be kept confidential while high-prejudiced subjects behaved more consistently when their behaviours were to be made known. Dollard, (88) found that when employees were interviewed in the States regarding attitudes towards labour unions, they always gave negative opinions because they

feared that the investigators represented the employers.

In a longitudinal study Hartlage, (146) found that employers yielded to social pressure over a ten year period. During 1960 attitudes towards the physically handicapped, mentally retarded, former mental patients and juvenile delinquents were ascertained. In 1970 he found that employers' attitudes towards hiring the physically handicapped and their actual hiring were significantly more positive but not towards delinquents or mental patients. He put these results down to social pressures.

Social pressure may come from certain people, key people ; Krech and Crutchfield, (204) report of a study conducted among mothers of new babies who had been advised to treat child feeding problems permissively by a "doctor". Those who made an attempt had their husband's approval, those who did not make an attempt to change their approach had husband who disapproved.

Gross and Nimon, (130) point out that society has norms of proper behaviour but more importantly everyone is aware of the "pressure of the expected consequences of various acts". As Thurstone has indicated, in order to determine an individual's attitudes it is probably "better to know what he says to his friends when he isn't in danger of being quoted", thus, maximising the effects of social pressure.

Snyder and Swann, (350) showed how social environments differ in the extent to which they provide "attitudinal and situational guides to action" with a simulated jury situation concerning sex discrimination. Respondents were men and their first verdicts were generally unfavourable; however when attitudes towards positive actions were made salient and the respondents were led to expect to discuss their verdicts with someone who disagreed, there were significantly more moderate and non-committal verdicts.

The environment is such a powerful force that Festinger, (107) advises that following an opinion change it is essential that an environmental change be produced to support the new opinion and behaviour.

g. The Decision Making Process - Over the past decade a major interest in decision theory, game theory and trade-off models among consumer psychologists has focused interest on investigating the nature of the variables in the decision making process. The complexity of the decision making process presents a major obstacle to a meaningful attitude-behaviour relationship.

For instance, researchers have looked closely at information-seeking behaviour among consumers and specifically which sources they use, in what proportion and under what circumstances : The role of the media, visits to shops, word-of-mouth. Steilen, (355) found in a study of new residents that they used personal information obtained from their own search behaviour as well as specific media as sources for making decisions about new retail outlets. Berning and Jacoby, (33) found for example that innovators seek information from friends, media was low as a source. Walters and Paul, (386) state that search behaviour is influenced by experience and personality variables, e.g., a sense of adventure. Davet and Rother, (76) developed a

and will ultimately "solidify and perpetuate itself" with attitudes changing as well. Psychodrama and role playing techniques which ask the individual to play his opposite, e.g., his mother, boss or spouse have created dramatic behaviour and attitude changes. Such techniques have been useful in marketing research as well, respondents asked to play the sales clerk or the actual product being sold have discovered hidden values. Asked to play "seat-belts" for example many respondents discovered that they trusted them.

On a more everyday level Kiesler, (192) discusses decisions as behaviours :

"A decision is a form of behaviour that is often irrevocable ; it freezes one's cognitive world ; attitudes are more pliable and must be fitted around this frozen part".

What most people would call ex post facto rationalisation also fits into the Self Perception paradigm. Therefore Kiesler advises that in order to get people to change their attitudes they must participate in the decision. In one study in a factory setting the group decision to increase productivity was extremely effective.

2. Forced Compliance Situations

The research literature is well saturated with experiments in which the subjects are required to perform certain acts in order to meet the experimenter's requirements. Providing that the subjects have never engaged in this activity before, measurements of attitudes after the performance tend to give clear evidence of attitude changes resulting from the behaviours.

a. In the Laboratory

In a typical laboratory setting, Bandler et al, (20) asked respondents to press a button in order to escape electric shock. They were told in effect that if they found the shock not at all uncomfortable they need not escape it, but that the experimenter would really prefer it if they did escape. Under these conditions the subjects rated the shocks as being more painful than when they were not allowed to escape the shocks at all. The authors interpreted this to mean that people inferred that the shocks were especially painful when they "chose" to escape them ; thus attitudes were self descriptions of behaviour.

In another "shocking" experiment subjects were only threatened with shock,

"Bargain Interest Scale" to predict bargain-seeking behaviour ; interestingly, bargain seekers were not impulsive. The role of "opinion leaders" as sources has been extensively studied by market researchers.

Claxton et al, (65) determined a "taxonomic analysis" in order to classify pre-purchase shopping behaviour and found three general clusters based on : number of information sources used ; total visits to stores, and deliberation time.

Researchers have also looked at Influence in the decision-making process. For instance, the relative influence of husband and wife concerning a major item of furniture or a car has been examined in terms of class, age and personality type. The influence of children particularly in the supermarket shopping situation has been studied.

In order to better understand the dynamics of the in-store decision making process especially as concerns influence, researchers have made use of the technique of Observation ; Wells and Lo Scuito, (401) conducted a major observation study in a supermarket which revealed among other things the influence of children in certain product categories.

In order to determine the importance of various decision-making factors and particularly the strength of wants, various techniques have been employed. On the subject of political issues Schufletowski and Reed, (327) obtained attitudes towards each of 18 issues as well as value ratings ; that is respondents rated each issue as to whether it was "very", "quite", "a little" important or "didn't matter". In many cases a form of trade-off model has been employed to determine the strength of various wants based on the theory as described by Audi, (18) that it is not enough to know how the individual feels about an attitude object but one must also know "what he wants to do about it, his beliefs about how he can or might affect the object of his attitude and the relative strength of his wants and whether he wants to concern himself with other objects more than with this one and thus believes he cannot do both".

Attempts at applying trade-offs or other measures of values have brought in other research factors such as "perceived risk". Respondents are often asked to evaluate the risk - financial, performance, social, emotional or physical - of making a particular purchasing decision. Kaplan et al, (184) investigated 12 consumer product categories in terms of perceived risk and found it was highest for deodorants and lowest for playing cards. This has lead to studies of value importance and "perceived instrumentality" (perceived value and usefulness of X over Y) of various product categories and brands.

The examination of perceived risk has also led researchers to conclude as Bogart, (40) that there are some special categories of products which are low in ego-involvement. These products are generally

inexpensive ; not pleasant to use ; there is little interest in reading or talking about them and the brands lack differences.

All in all, the decision-making process has emerged as a very complex and even contradictory one and is certainly an obstacle to high correlations between attitudes and behaviour.

Summary

Attitudes which are not correlated with underlying MOTIVES or EMOTIONAL components are probably rather shallow and therefore unlikely to lead to appropriate or expected behaviour. Similarly, attitudes are attached to individual personalities - people with a variety of I.Q's., perceptions, abilities to act, knowledge of alternatives, personality traits and demographic variables ; the most potent intervening variable between attitudes and behaviour is PEOPLE. In order to be properly understood attitudes need to be associated with individual personality types in order to give a better indication of behaviour potential than attitudes on their own are capable of giving.

SITUATIONS stimulate some attitudes and repress others, offer possibilities for some behaviours but not others. CULTURAL and SOCIAL pressures create restraints on behaviour in particular. There is a further need to place attitudes in a social context before predicting the possibility of behaviour.

Finally, the DECISION MAKING PROCESS has been shown to be such a complex one as an intervening variable between attitudes and behaviour that it is surprising that there is as much correlation between attitudes and behaviour as there is.

As Krech and Crutchfield, (204) have concluded attitudes do not function in a psychological vacuum :

"It is not enough to know the relevant beliefs and attitudes appertaining to that situation, we must also take into account the specific needs and perceptions existing at the moment ... beliefs and attitudes are used by the individual to achieve other goals - need for group acceptance, solving practical problems, achieving economic security and to give continuity to the individual personality".

Therefore, as Mark Twain would have it, the individual needs time to change his shape so that his words and deeds are consistent, in fact modifying his shape is the work of a lifetime.

Research Implications

All of the seven areas described above as influences on behaviour and impediments to the attitude-behaviour relationship : motivations ;

emotions ; individual differences ; cultural values ; social pressures and the decision-making process are the object of intense research among psychologists. Market researchers manage to keep very well abreast of the issues arising from these studies and to utilise the research paradigms and techniques in a consumer context. However, many of the studies purporting to find similarities between : basic motivations and buyer behaviour ; game theory and buyer behaviour ; "significant others" and buyer behaviour, etc., are frequently conducted on an ad-hoc basis with a limited sample and without theoretical foundation. Only rarely are such studies verified by an independent researcher. Thus, the consumer psychologist is frequently applying academic principles, said to have been tested, and advising advertisers to take certain steps with very weak evidence which may in fact be misleading.

There is a crying need for a responsible organisation to monitor and catalogue the applied psychological research of importance to market researchers, to rate these studies for reliability and validity and to encourage the verification of findings as they emerge.

F. Behaviour as a Predictor of Attitudes

"Overt behaviour is attitude turned inside out" - Day, (78). There are many researchers who believe that without some form of behaviour attitudes cannot be measured because measurement techniques cannot reveal the REAL attitude or mental event. They reason that attitudes only emerge when the individual is required or has the opportunity to do something about them.

In addition, over the years psychologists interested in persuasion/propaganda and its effects have noted that - "The greater the conflict between what a man thinks and what he says, the more likely are his opinions to change in the direction of what he says", Abelson, (2).

These sorts of observations led many theorists to take a fresh look at the attitude behaviour-relationship and to postulate :

"Indeed what little evidence there is to support any relationship between attitude and behaviour comes from studies showing that a person tends to bring his attitude into line with his behaviour rather than from studies demonstrating that behaviour is a function of attitude". Fishbein, (110).

This reformulation of the attitude-behaviour relationship was quite revolutionary at the time (mid-sixties) and still is to many theorists embedded as we all are in Western, Cartesian thinking with its rational emphasis - "I think therefore I am". Now we were being asked to accept the possibility of - I am therefore I must think !

As McLuhan once proclaimed - "Instead of asking what came first the chicken or the egg, it suddenly seemed that a chicken was an egg's idea for getting more eggs".

One of the foremost proponents of this approach was Bem the theorist behind Self Perception Theory as described in Chapter III. Simply stated he proposed that attitudes were self descriptions of one's own behaviour ; he cites everyday examples in support of this viewpoint :

"When an individual is asked if he likes brown bread, he will respond, 'I guess so, I'm always eating it' ".

Bem, (29) relates his theory to the way in which children learn from their parents ; "children internalise the directives of their parents - 'You like brown bread'. In fact, to prove his point he conducted an experiment in a boys' home where he manipulated the types of bread offered, and he obtained the expected result from brown bread eaters : "Do you like brown bread ? " "I guess so I'm always eating it", and from observers - "Does he like brown bread ?" - "I guess so he's always eating it."

Not only are attitudes developed by observing one's own overt behaviour, according to Bem, but they are also developed when the individual observes his affective state. To demonstrate Bem describes a study in which males looking at photos of semi-nude women were given false feedback of what could be interpreted to be their own heartbeat ; attitudes were formed in accordance with their "observations" (the heartbeat) of their affective state.

In another experiment using bogus heartrate feedback Detweiler and Zanna, (84) found that attitudes towards various nations were physiologically mediated. That is, when the feedback indicated interest, respondents observed and accepted these attitudes more so than any verbal labels accompanying the stimuli. And, Hendrick and Giesn, (157) used a "belief meter" for feedback; while listening to a persuasive speech respondents observed their reactions on the meter. In half of the cases the meter showed strong disbelief, for the rest strong belief. The meter feedback affected self-attributions of attitudes ; those in the belief condition were more persuaded than those in the disbelief condition.

Research supporting the behaviour precedes attitude paradigm and the idea that an observation of behaviour predicts attitudes has been conducted in four areas :

- Real Life Situations
- Forced Compliance Situations
- Consumer Behaviour
- Induced Fear

1. Real Life Situations

In any type of social research it is difficult to find instances of the particular phenomenon in real life situations. Bem's Self Perception theory is unusual in that it has frequently been examined in real situations. In two rather simple experiments conducted with students, Mills, (241) found that those who engaged in cheating in the classroom during an exam developed tolerant attitudes towards cheating, and Leventhal and Mace, (210) found that when girls were led into laughter while watching a film "there was a high correlation between judgments of funniness and mirthful behaviour".

In a more complicated study Salancik, (317) asked students to report their classroom behaviours along such dimensions as doing most/all or additional reading ; visits to the instructors ; making notes on readings and lectures ; doing assignments ; using the material from the course in discussions with friends ; etc. They were then asked their attitudes towards the course in terms of liking, interest, enjoyment ; opinion of instructor, etc. The author found a very high correlation between behaviour and attitudes and concluded that "subjects derive their attitudes from processing information about related behaviours".

Kiesler, (193) gives an example from industry in which men from the shop floor were promoted to either shop stewards or foreman. It was observed that their behaviour changed to fit their roles followed by appropriate attitudes to fit their position. If the men reverted back to their old positions as ordinary workers their attitudes and behaviours reverted as well.

It is reported in Macoby et al, (220) that when people with the same attitudes towards negroes have been moved into segregated or integrated housing, the latter group show significant behaviour changes followed by appropriate attitude changes, e.g., there was frequent interaction with negroes followed by more positive attitudes in terms of cleanliness, intelligence, honesty, friendliness, attractiveness, etc. In another housing experiment, Carp, (59) reports that when elderly people were selected to move into an old people's home their attitudes towards their current housing became significantly more negative. And these results 'held up' nine years later.

The theory that behaviour precipitates attitude change forms the basis for many types of therapy as Kiesler, (192) reports because they are based on the idea that once the individual behaves in a certain way as if he had "different attitudes" both attitudes and behaviour change together and in harmony. T groups conducted among employees in the same firm require participants to express a new openness on the assumption that the new more honest behaviour will be difficult to undo

and will ultimately "solidify and perpetuate itself" with attitudes changing as well. Psychodrama and role playing techniques which ask the individual to play his opposite, e.g., his mother, boss or spouse have created dramatic behaviour and attitude changes. Such techniques have been useful in marketing research as well, respondents asked to play the sales clerk or the actual product being sold have discovered hidden values. Asked to play "seat-belts" for example many respondents discovered that they trusted them.

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In another "shocking" experiment subjects were only threatened with shock, however, half of them were requested to publicly argue that they were not apprehensive about the situation. Physiological measures showed that this group did in fact experience less apprehension and they reported less anxiety towards the experiment afterwards, i.e., they interpreted their attitudes from their behaviours.

Some very interesting studies have been conducted in the States among an unusual experimental group of policemen. In one study reported by Singer, (343) 300 police officers and 150 civilians representing

community organisations ranging from militant to conservative participated in a special course and forum for a six week period. During this time cases from the press and the various social agencies were discussed and used to provoke analysis and discussion. For example, blacks and Puerto Ricans, housing groups, drug rehabilitation groups and human rights leaders discussed their problems and the police discussed theirs. These dialogues produced greater understanding on the part of the police towards community problems but more importantly there was a dramatic and favourable change in the policeman's attitudes towards himself, youth and the Puerto Ricans, but interestingly not towards blacks.

b. In the Field

In a more dramatic study Tenzel and Cizanckas, (369) report of an experiment in which policemen were "defrocked" ; they were issued with leisure clothes instead of uniforms - an olive blazer, dark trousers, dress shirt and tie. The night stick and booking notebooks were dispensed with, and where necessary guns worn under the blazer. The authors hypothesized that "the uniform acted as a filter which screens the wearer from ideas and opinions that could potentially broaden his conceptual framework. To an extent the policeman's behaviour was being shaped by his uniform". Since at that time 90% of recruits were from lower socioeconomic groups, it was assumed that many of the undesirable characteristics such as aggressiveness and prejudice were inherent in the selection process. As a result of this enforced experiment the attitudes of the police towards minority groups changed dramatically as they had to learn to relate to the community other than on the basis of authority. Interestingly, the policemen eventually decided to eliminate rank altogether as authority became less important. Attitudes towards education became significantly more positive as reflected by an increase in college units and Police Training certificates earned. The most profound attitude change concerned their belief that the community was much less critical of their performance.

There are also the inevitable experiments using students, of which the most well known are those of Kelman, (189) in which he asked students who disliked comic books to give a talk to a group of children on the merits of comics. Half of the students were paid for doing the task, the other half were not. Interestingly, he found that those who were NOT paid experienced more attitude change than those who were paid. He reasoned that those who were not paid had a greater NEED to rationalise their discrepant behaviour and bring it into line with their attitudes whereas those who were paid already had sufficient rationalisations, (although their attitudes changed as well), in other words as paid "mercenaries" they had less of a need to believe in what they were doing.

In a refinement of Kelman's research paradigm Sherman, (336) showed that when the students were given a choice of whether or not to engage in counter-attitudinal behaviour the money incentive did not influence attitude change ; however when they had no choice, the greater the financial reward the greater the attitude change. Therefore, the more the behaviour is inconsistent with one's own views and beliefs the greater the pressure to bring attitudes into line with it as would be predicted according to Consistency Theory.

In another classical study reported by Kiesler et al, (195) two students were asked to deliver a persuasive communication to a passer-by on : a) air pollution, or b) car safety. Students assigned to the latter condition were confederates ; half of whom announced that they would do it because they believed in it, that is they were "proselytisers", the rest said they would do it because it was a good topic for research, There was also a naive witness present while the briefing sessions were going on. Before setting out, all of the students were assessed on their opinions towards various social issues including air pollution. The subjects (those asked to speak on air pollution) who had been exposed to the "proselytising" condition changed their attitudes dramatically towards the evils of air pollution. They also indicated an intention to work hard on their arguments. The authors concluded that "a commitment to proselytising was used to infer a stronger belief".

In an interesting experiment in which students with moderate views on the Vietnam War were asked to communicate their opinions accurately to both hawks and doves Newton and Czerlinsky, (260) showed that both behaviour and attitudes were effected in the expected direction. The shifts were "automatic and spontaneous in the situation" but "gave meaning to the communicator of his attitude expressions."

Research and Marketing Implications

Induced behaviour has not been lost on marketing people who have used free samples and reduced price trial offers to change consumer behaviours (temporarily) and ultimately attitudes and consumer habits. A free sample convinced men that there might be some value in a hairspray for men as reported earlier. However, there appears to have been little attempt to monitor the long-term effects of free samples and trial offers in re-establishing consumer behaviour patterns.

3. Consumer Research

Despite the fact that many well known market researchers have taken the stand that behaviour probably does precede attitude there is a noticeable lack of research to support this viewpoint. For instance, in addition to Fishbein and Ehrenberg, Henry, (160) has supported the concept :

"I am not aware that anybody has as yet succeeded in showing beyond dispute that attitude shift is not a consequence of behaviour shift..... It is not inconceivable that what are being measured as attitudes are simply reflections of behaviour and, insofar as they are accurate reflections they may provide a powerful predictive tool for advertising research".

However, on the whole most market researchers seem to have a preference for the attitudes = behaviour theory, as expressed by Walters and Paul, (386).

"There can be no doubt that most consumer behaviour conforms to

individual attitudes. Consumers generally act according to their predispositions."

Despite this emphasis, studies continue to appear in the journals which clearly show the opposite effect. Atkins, (17) demonstrated that consumers' attitudes towards various shops changed significantly after they had shopped in them. Winter, (412) conducted a study among housewives concerning scouring pads. He found that trial of a new product did not lead to attitude change ; however, once the housewife had adopted the product her attitude towards it changed significantly and the more familiar she became with it the more her attitude changed. In another study, Mazis et al, (226) found that when Miami housewives were forced to switch to anti-phosphate detergents because of a new law, their attitudes became less favourable towards the product in terms of effectiveness, cost and added ingredients. A matched group of housewives who were not coerced to use the product had significantly more positive attitudes towards it. In addition to showing the influence of behaviour on attitudes this is a clear case of reactance as discussed in Chapter V. Fishbein and Ajzen, (112) have recommended that in a consumer setting the performance of a behaviour will influence attitudes and beliefs in a positive direction if the individual feels he has "decision freedom".

In a study with children Bem, (30) had them rate their toys each week in terms of favourites ; however when they were asked to select one item and then to answer the questionnaire they rated that item as much more likeable than the week before.

On a more practical level some market researchers have pointed out that in product research it is more sensible to look at behaviour (brand usage) first, for that will predict attitudes :

"Once you know a brand's penetration it is easy to predict answers to attitude questions". Ehrenberg, (97).

Fothergill, (113) agrees for he has found that when researchers set out to measure attitudes "they may really just be measuring current and past usage".

In his studies he has found that positive attitudes towards a brand form a predictable profile :

<u>Percentage of respondents with positive attitudes</u>	<u>Usage Patterns</u>
%	
70	Users
50	Former users
25	Never used

Assael and Day (16) looked at market share and attitudes towards various brands of instant coffee and deodorant and found a significant

correlation between market share and attitudes.

In an attempt to make sense of the two emerging schools of thought among market researchers Krugman, (206) has offered the following solution from his observations of various research findings :

"When the individual is highly involved with an object the precedence of attitude over behaviour holds. When there is low involvement behaviour precedes attitude change".

Winter, in his study of scouring pads previously mentioned, would disagree for he found that even with a low interest product where ego-involvement should be low "there is psychological commitment".

Research and Marketing Implications

The question of whether or not attitudes merely reflect product usage, i.e., are ex post facto rationalisations, is one which research should attempt to answer. Do attitudes towards the various dimensions of the product form and grow in intensity and strength as the product is used or are existing attitudes only changed with product experience ?

4. Induced Fear

One subject area of importance to social and marketing psychologists is that of induced fear ; it is included as a behaviour on the basis that it is first of all experienced by the individual as an emotion with accompanying bodily changes - sweating, increased heart-rate, paling, etc., i.e. as a behaviour. Based on the Lange-James theory (1880's) of emotions which stated that the experience of an emotion was really the experience of bodily changes "following on the perception of an existing fact", they concluded that it is nearer the truth to say that we are afraid because we run away than that we run away because we are afraid. Going one step further, one has an attitude because of the way in which one has behaved.

According to Weiner, (395) "fear is conceptualised as a drive providing the motor for behaviour" it is therefore automatic and involuntary. Therefore, treating fear as another experiential behaviour which affects attitude formation and change, researchers have found that induced fear may lead to both attitude change in the direction being advocated and to attitude change in the opposite direction.

One thing is certain, the experience of fear has an affect on attitudes ; as Sternthal and Craig, (356) have commented - "The most prevalent finding in recent studies is that fear is positively related to persuasion". The classical study of the effects of fear was conducted by Janis and Feshbach, (170) in the early fifties on the subject of dental hygiene. They found to their surprise that there was an inverse relationship

between attitude change and the intensity of fear. Respondents were exposed to one of three levels of intensity in lectures with accompanying visuals, on the subject of dental hygiene : Extreme - threats of cancer and blindness ; Moderate - mouth infections and sore gums ; Mild - cavities, decay and ugly teeth. They found that there was more attitude change, and reported behaviour change in the mild condition than the other two conditions : 36% in the mild condition changed in the expected direction while only 8% in the extreme condition.

It was hypothesised that the extreme condition produced too much anxiety for respondents to cope with. Janis, (170) therefore conducted a similar study on the subject of cigarette smoking with a strong and mild fear-arousing appeal. He also found that respondents in the high fear condition appeared to be the least likely to be persuaded ; they became defensive and called the communicator "an alarmist" who lacked sincerity. Further probing indicated that respondents had been deeply disturbed by what was said. The author concluded that strong fear appeals do create intense anxiety which is too much to handle, thus he reduces his dissonance by either resisting or reactance or by denying the validity of the message or communicator.

Evans et al (103), found in a study of fear appeals and dental hygiene that the high fear appeals did create intense anxiety, and that the low fear appeals created more anxiety than positive appeals to social acceptability.

Looking more closely at the phenomenon of anxiety Haraoka, (138) monitored the GSR rate of subjects as they listened to a fear-arousing message and found that attitude change was positively associated with high anxiety in the middle stage of the communication but low anxiety in the beginning and end stages. Thus in order for a high fear-arousing message to have maximum impact it should appear in the middle of a communication buffered at the beginning and end with reduced fear appeals.

In summary, given that fear induces anxiety and that when the anxiety is very high because of a strong fear appeal the individual is likely to turn off ; what is the solution ? Perhaps an examination of the most pertinent research findings will answer the question. There has been a great deal of interest in "fear research" among applied social psychologists, resultingly studies have been conducted in four areas of which the most heavily researched is that of health and hygiene.

a. Health and Hygiene

Two of the most dramatic studies were conducted with a view to persuading respondents to get preventative injections. Krisher et al, (205) conducted a study with two groups of men who were being urged to get injections against mumps ; both groups heard a fear-provoking message, but one group heard heartbeat noises at the same time. This latter group reported feeling more fearful and were least likely to believe

the communication or to indicate an intention to go and get an injection from the clinic. Those in the moderate condition were more likely to have positive attitudes and to go and get the injection. It was postulated that those in the high fear condition wanted to avoid thinking about the fear-arousing experience including the frightening heartbeat sound and therefore avoided the situation. Thus, the fear experience changed their attitudes towards the value of injections. And, Leventhal et al, (211) asked respondents to evaluate one of four health pamphlets on tetanus ; there were four pamphlets in all - high and low fear, specific and non-specific recommendations. The high fear pamphlet had vivid photographs and made readers feel that they were constantly in danger ; subjects reported intense anxiety in the high fear condition - feelings of nausea, tension, perspiration. Respondents were later asked to fill out an attitude questionnaire regarding the importance of tetanus injections ; in this experiment the high fear condition led to increased positive attitudes towards injections while the specific recommendations were more likely to encourage respondents to get the injections.

Cigarette smoking dangers have been an obvious source of study as regards fear ; Rogers and Deckner (304) found that the higher levels of fear strengthened intentions to give up smoking ; however, reassurance was more effective in actually reducing smoking behaviour.

In a different study Rogers and Mewborn, (305) exposed respondents to films of varying fear intensity regarding smoking ; intentions were positively related to the severity of the threat when respondents felt that action (quitting or cutting down on smoking) could avert a danger ; those who were not convinced by the arguments were also not moved by the fear and took a defensive attitude towards action. Thus, persuasion plus fear arousal were the most effective in getting the desired action.

A more unique experimental paradigm on the subject of smoking was that of Miller and Burgoon, (239) in which they asked smokers to react to three types of confrontations in a type of role play situation. In the first they were confronted with a doctor telling them of the perils of smoking - the fear condition ; in the second they were confronted with a doctor lecturing them on their lack of self-discipline and control - the shame condition ; and, in the third condition they were to prepare a speech with one other person concerning why people should stop smoking - the cognitive condition. There was more attitude change in the fear condition ! for females there was a "boomerang" reaction or reactance in the shame condition.

Smart and Fejer, (347) on the subject of drugs conducted a study with 2,412 students who were exposed to high or low fear threats concerning a non-existent drug - MOT. They found the high fear condition was the most effective and concluded that with a new threat high fear will discourage interest and use more than low fear.

In an experiment regarding mental health, Kollat et al (199) report that in the high fear/anxiety condition there was more acceptance of the persuasive message when specific solutions were offered.

Harris and Jellison, (143) examined the effects of fear-arousing messages on the subject of insecticides ; they used electrodes attached to the hand as measures of anxiety but gave respondents false feedback. They found that with arousal (real) alone there was no attitude change. However, if they were told they had high arousal during the moderate fear-arousing message followed by a low arousal plus recommendations for coping were given, there was significantly more attitude change. Giesen and Hendrick, (120) repeated the experiment, only the experimenter not only offered feedback but labelled respondents' reactions - "pleasant", "unpleasant" ; they found that respondents treated the meter readings as direct indicators of their attitudes. Thus, high arousal feedback enhanced acceptance and low arousal feedback depressed it.

b. Safety

Berkowitz and Cottingham, (32) found that there was greater opinion change with high fear arousal concerning the wearing of seat-belts.

Thayer, (370) reviews the research into the use of fear to change attitudes towards road safety in the U.K. ; in one study changes in attitudes towards drinking and driving occurred when respondents were shown horrific material in a film. In a controlled experiment in which Tyne Tees was selected as a test market the effects of a TV campaign designed to frighten people into wearing seat-belts was evaluated against a control area. The commercials featured a dummy crashing through a windscreen, a noted surgeon telling of the dangers of not wearing seat belts and Jimmy Saville talking to accident victims in hospital. Results indicate that the public's predictions that real people and horrific scenes would be most effective was in fact the case ; these two factors seemed to create more attitude change in terms of the value of seat-belts. And both reported and observed seat-belt wearing improved significantly. (Police are used to obtain the observation information).

c. Government Propaganda

On the subject of the energy crisis Hass et al, (148) tested two approaches ; the first featuring the "probability of occurrence" and the second "the magnitude of noxiousness". They found that the latter fear appeal was the most effective in changing attitudes.

In a more light-hearted vein Pennebaker and Sanders (279) found that threats which appeared on placards in university lavatories concerning graffiti tended to create a "boomerang" effect when the threat of prosecution was from the police, e.g., even more graffiti appeared.

However, when the threat was from the custodial staff there was less graffiti. Thus, it was concluded that fear of prosecution was ineffective if the crime did not fit the punishment.

d. Consumer Research

Fear appeals have been used mostly in the life insurance field ; Berekson, (31) found that high fear appeals shown to highly anxious subjects, as measured by the IPAT Anxiety Scale, led to more attitude change but that highly anxious people were less likely to purchase life insurance ; this was explained on the basis of a defensive-avoidance theory. Wheatley, (405) reported that a fear-arousing appeal created positive attitudes among non-owners but negative reactions among owners of life insurance, although respondents who were both owners and low on anxiety had positive attitudes towards the message. It was concluded that lack of ownership meant that the tendency towards defensive avoidance was overcome.

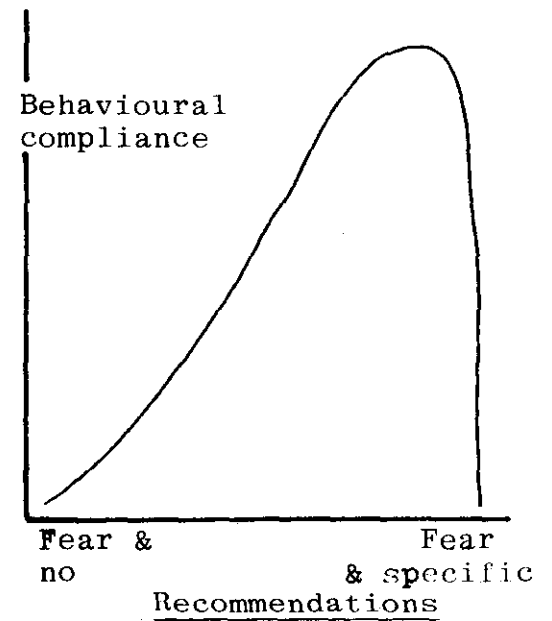
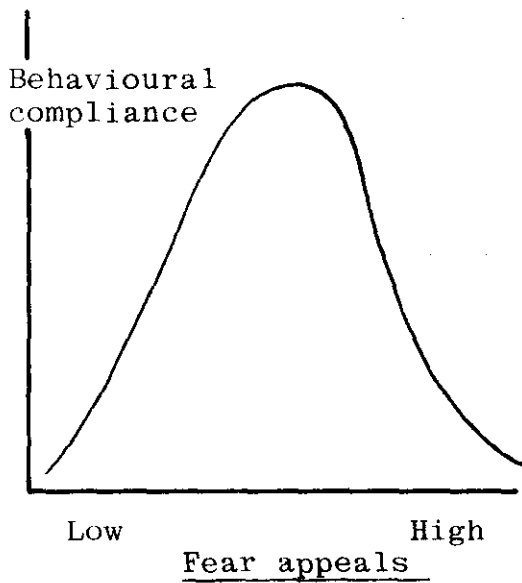
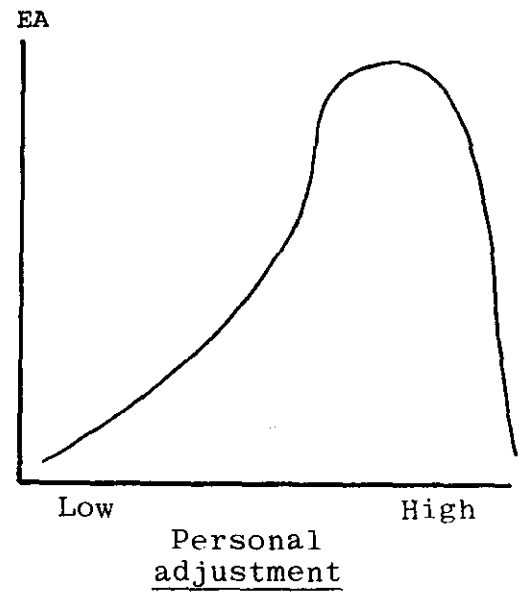
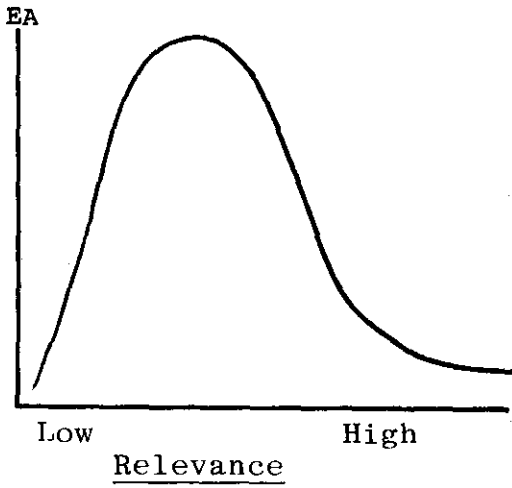
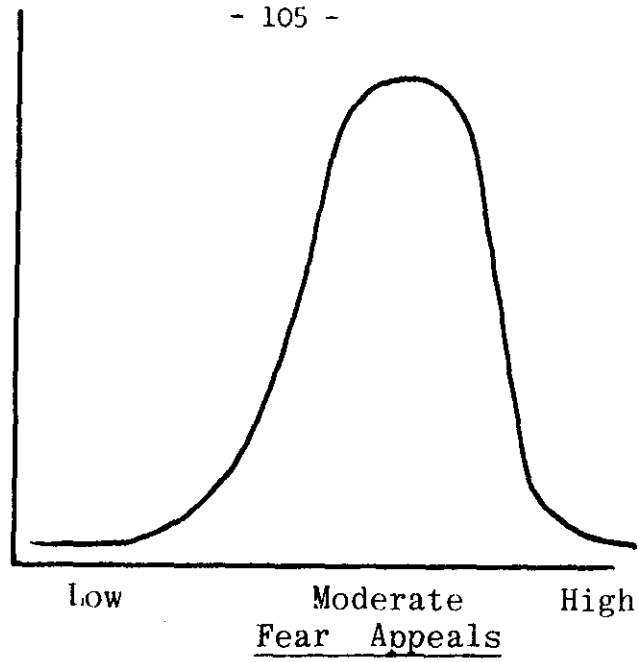
In a review of the use of fear in marketing, Ray and Wilkie, (297) have concluded that "appeals at a somewhat moderate level of fear are best" ; whether the subject is cutting down on smoking, safety, diet foods, deodorants or toothpaste. They argue that while a strong fear appeal might lead to acceptance of the message at first there is always the risk of stimulating defensive avoidance of the advertisement, denial of the threat or other inhibiting behaviour.

Research and Marketing Implications

As Ray and Wilkie have stated "It is clear that marketing can no longer ignore fear appeals." But how to make sense out of all the conflicting evidence ? In the above examples where high and low fear-arousing appeals were tested, the results frequently showed that high fear appeals changed attitudes; however where moderate appeals were included as well they proved to be even more effective because there is less risk of a "backlash". High fear has also been shown to influence behaviour in the desired direction; however specific recommendations and reassurance have been shown to be more effective.

Therefore, it is safe to make the following recommendations about the effect of fear-arousing appeals on both attitude change and behaviour:

Effectiveness
in forming or
changing
Attitudes(EA)



Thus, in summary, fear arousing appeals are most effective in changing attitudes and behaviour if they are moderate, that is not too low as to go unnoticed and not too high to stimulate defensiveness. Fear appeals are also more effective if the subject matter is low in relevance to the receiver ; thus Ray and Wilkie report that non-smokers are more influenced by fear appeals and infrequent drivers by fear appeals to wear seat-belts.

In addition, Ray and Wilkie report that individuals who are high in personal adjustment are more influenced by fear appeals ; these individuals are characterised as being : low in anxiety ; high in self esteem and good at coping with situations. Furthermore, behavioural compliance is more likely to occur when a fear appeal is accompanied by "specific recommendations which the audience perceives to be effective in reducing physical threat", Sternthal and Craig, (356).

As an example, the ideal way to make the maximum use of fear to effect attitude change and eventual behavioural change among smokers is to :

- . . . appeal to light smokers for whom the subject has low relevance
- . . . use moderate fear appeals
- . . . appeal to types who are well adjusted, perhaps by featuring a model high in self esteem, low in anxiety and a "coper".
- . . . make specific recommendations as to how to go about it and give reassurance that it works.

In addition, Ray and Wilkie recommend that fear appeals could be used to open up new marketing segments among people who currently do not see the product as relevant to them. They also recommend that in situations where consumers have heard all the positive arguments it is likely that negative fear appeals "will generate interest".

G. Summary

The controversy over directionality of attitudes and behaviour will probably never be resolved, no doubt because there is no either or answer possible, both chance and enforced behaviours help in the creation of attitudes ; and, mental states ranging from values, beliefs, attitudes to opinions frequently dictate behaviours. Therefore a chicken is not only an egg's way of getting more eggs, but an egg may be a chicken's way of getting more chickens.

Even if the researcher is willing to accept the ambiguity of the attitude behaviour relationship , there are serious problems in interpreting even such a seemingly simple event as overt behaviour. As Jones et al, (180) have pointed out " overt behaviour is not a

simple reflection of the internal state but a reflection of the individual's attempt to validate influences about that state. Thus, some behaviour will express attitudes and some hypotheses testing.

Similarly, attitudes may be definite, intense and sharp, or vague, temporarily dormant or an attitude in the making. However, as Bem has pointed out a lack of memory of an attitude doesn't mean there isn't one.

Moreover, in order to infer attitudes from behaviour it is essential to know if the individual believes that his behaviour is produced by his attitudes towards it.

And as a final warning Lin, (214) has stated :

"It is a serious error to assume that a man's attitudes are closely indicated by what he says, merely because that agrees with what he does. Both might be wrong."

The attitude-behaviour relationship is one of the eternal questions.

VII - BEHAVIOUR AND BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

"A measure of what you really want in life is what happens to you".
C.P. Snow.

"Behaviour is necessary for personal growth as well as biological maintenance because in behaving the individual is 'asking questions of his world' " advises Kelly, (191) who further adds that unless the researcher understands these questions he will never understand the meaning behind the behaviour.

In more phenomenological terms "behaviour locks the individual's personal history and the external situation into a symbolic unity", Romanyszha, (307).

The significance of this symbolic unity is that it "freezes the individual according to Kiesler, (192) whereas attitudes are more fluid, not as explicit and can be changed.

Behaviour is therefore that certain something that comes from within and is therefore an integral part of the age-old nature-nurture argument. At least two marketing researchers have attempted to examine these two broad issues. Perry, (282) used a sample of fraternal and identical twins (the latter are identical genetically, the former are not), exposed them to tests of anxiety and studied their consumption of alcohol, cigarettes and coffee. He found that there was a significant correlation between the consumption of all three and the genetic component, that is identical twins showed similar consumption patterns. And, there was a significant relationship between cigarette consumption, anxiety and genetic composition.

Lin, (214) on the other hand looked at personality and demographic variables which correlate with the ability to change behaviour more easily ; they tend to be types who are less bound by social norms, have more sources of information, younger, higher in social status and in better financial situations. In other words the more affluent, adaptable and secure social types.

The research that has been conducted into behaviour change falls into two distinct categories - focused and unfocused experiments. In the former the respondents are aware of the purpose of the experimental events around them and thus can yield to or resist the suggested behaviour. In the latter case, respondents are not made aware of or focused on any manipulative event although they might notice a change in the environment.

A. Focused Experiments

In a very simple behavioural manipulation Giller, (122) distributed handbills in a cinema and at a supermarket. There were three types of bills : plain ; with a message "please dispose of properly" ; and, the message to dispose of properly with a prompt concerning where to find the bin. With the request to dispose properly there was 20% more use of the bins which was enhanced with the prompt.

The "follow-the-leader" approach to behaviour change is described by Biderman and Zimmer, (36). Subjects have been shown for example to : cross against the lights if they are following a lead car ; volunteer in the classroom or claim to perceive an odour in an odourless bottle if the acknowledged leader does so ; cross the street in the middle of the road or against the lights if a well dressed model does so, or refuse to help someone shabbily dressed asking for directions if a respectable model refuses.

In a unique "consumer" experiment, Battalio et al, (23) established a "Token Economy" in the female ward of a mental hospital in order to study the effects of the changing prices of commodities on consumer behaviour. They were able to get consistently reliable results despite the volatile subjects. (In a Token Economy patients are encouraged to do socially useful tasks or perform socially acceptable behaviours by holding out tokens to be exchanged for services or goods as the carrot). It is a good example of overt as opposed to covert conditioning.

In a real life experiment, the energy crisis of 1973 and 1974, Becker et al, (26) found that 30% of drivers in one city changed from cars to other modes of transport and 18% used their cars less frequently ; of these (48% of the sample) 37% made permanent changes. Drivers who changed behaviours were more likely to be older, urban, in the higher occupational groups ; however, those who stayed with the new behaviours were more likely to be lower income families.

Some of the more interesting "compliance without pressure" experiments have come to be known as the-foot-in-the-door approach. The idea is to get the individual to agree to a small innocuous request ; then they are more likely to comply with a larger request which involves a more committed behavioural change.

Lowman, (218) showed that small requests led to bigger requests when subjects were asked to save their refuse for the recycling people ; original compliance was the same whether it was made in person or with handouts. When subjects were subsequently asked to sort their own refuse for recycling into various bags for collection the majority of them did AND they indicated more positive attitudes towards recycling in keeping with dissonance theory. Cann, (56) reported the same effect for a behaviour which required that the individual give some help to a local community project ; e.g., he had to go outside his home. When the larger, more time consuming request was made the individual was more likely to comply and to develop significantly more positive attitudes towards the project. However, in this experiment the researcher included a control group who were contacted regarding the larger request only. Interestingly, they were as likely to comply as the experimental group but their attitudes towards the project did not improve, indicating that their behaviour change would be more short term.

Freedman and Fraser, (115) report of a study in which subjects were asked to place a small sign in their window on behalf of the Community Committee for Traffic Safety which urged others to "Drive Safely". Two weeks later another experimenter called to request that the subjects agree to post a very large sign on their front lawn which had the same message. A control group was contacted for the first time with the large sign request ; 55% of the experimental group and 20% of the control group agreed. However, as an added wrinkle to the experiment some of the subjects had been initially asked to post a small sign which read "Keep California Beautiful" ; they were equally likely or unlikely to accept the larger "Drive Carefully" sign as the group who had posted the smaller "Drive Carefully" sign. Thus, the validity of the foot-in-the-door technique was shown.

The same authors report a more consumer oriented project in which the initial contact merely required that the housewife answer a few questions about household soaps. Three days later they were contacted and asked to comply with the larger request which was to allow a team of five or six men to come into their homes for two hours to classify the household products they used ; 50% agreed while only 25% contacted for the first time agreed.

Probably best summarised as the "give them an inch and they will take a mile" behavioural syndrome, the foot-in-the-door technique clearly indicates how people can be slowly weaned into a new behaviour and more importantly that despite the inherent inertia of human behaviour they can use a small behaviour to gain a concept of themselves as "doers" which can then be used to rationalise participating in the larger request.

Research and Marketing Implications

Habit is the greatest enemy of marketing activity ; while the free sample and the trial offer may encourage people to change habits there

are many products which do not lend themselves to this approach. It would be advantageous if demonstrators and sales people could be trained to help people experience a new product or service. For example, if there were booths where the housewife could try new cooking gadgets or appliances, or empty rooms where they could experiment with different furniture and household appliance designs, colours, fabrics, etc. In addition, when new types of shops are opened or a current shop remodelled "helpers" should be there to introduce the shopper to the new environment, check out system, etc. Habits can be slowly changed but the consumer frequently needs the opportunity, a push and encouragement. Too many manufacturers and designers assume that their job ends with the creative input and the consumer's job is to recognise the value of the innovation ; this is naive thinking.

B. Unfocused Experiments

Frequently the experimenter is able to manipulate variables without the subjects being consciously aware of them. For instance, Smith and Curnow, (349) report on some of the effects of noise and light. For instance it has been shown that people eat more rapidly in brightly lit restaurants.

An experiment conducted in supermarkets was based on the theory that a certain degree of noise will increase activity. In some supermarkets music was played on Fridays and Saturdays which varied from loud to soft ; a total of 1,100 shoppers were involved in the study. The results showed that shoppers spent 5% less time in the shop during the loud sessions but there was no difference in the amount of money spent. Consumers didn't buy more or less they just did it faster, which in peak periods could be advantageous.

In a study of driving behaviour in Canada, Wilson et al, (411) sent half of the drivers who had nine (of a limit of ten) penalty points a Drivers Improvement Handbook aimed only at improving skills. Three months later those who had received the handbook had a significantly lower collision rate although nothing had been mentioned about careless or fast driving.

A rather unpleasant experiment for the experimenters was conducted by Auger et al, (19) and concerned a captive group of smokers in the staff lounge of a hospital. Before and after the experiment the research team counted the number of cigarette butts and weighed them. During one week they inundated the lounge with mobiles, signs and posters with anti-smoking propaganda. They were disappointed to find no difference in smoking behaviour and little attention to the propaganda. Smokers will blank out what they do not wish to see. The lounge frequently had mobile and poster displays on various issues.

An experiment which caused more of a reaction was conducted by Worche1 et al, (416) in which they showed that when a violent film either staged or realistic was interrupted by commercials, respondents' responses to verbal questions were significantly more aggressive than if the film was non-violent. This experiment showed the possibility of conditioning aggression. Such studies are classical in the creation of behaviour

change.

1. Conditioning

Macoby et al, (220) report a basic study of conditioning in which students were engaged in conversations with one other person for half an hour ; they were unaware that they were subjects of an experiment. The experimenters either reinforced or failed to reinforce opinions when they were expressed ; the expected results occurred, every subject increased his rate of verbalising opinions when he was reinforced by paraphrase or agreement ; moreover subjects in the non-reinforcement condition decreased their rate of expressing opinions.

In another study conducted with students, reported by Sarbin and Allen, (323), group discussion behaviour was the focus. Once verbalisation rate was determined for the group two professors in the seminar gave the two lowest participators positive reinforcement - attention, nodding the head, agreement ; they also gave the two highest participators negative reinforcement - ignoring them and acting bored. They achieved the expected results ; low participators increased and the high participators decreased during all the conditioning sessions.

On the subject of elections Schaffner and Wandersman, (325) examined the following variables ; the number of posters ; incumbency ; and amount of information on the posters. They found that the election result correlated with the number of times the candidate's name was presented to the electorate.

There are of course many examples of conditioning experiments which come into the category of "brainwashing" and will not be discussed here. There are also many communication psychologists who (as revealed in Chapter VI) believe that repetition of a persuasive message is a potent form of conditioning which causes the suggested behaviour.

2. Subliminal Perception

Another form of conditioning of importance to communication psychologists are subliminal effects. Although only used in experimental situations these days, as they are disallowed in the media, the subject has a long and distinguished history. In 1884 experimenters showed that subjects could discriminate between different weights better than chance even if they were so small people could not be confident about them. Subjects could also distinguish letters from numbers even if they were too far away ; whispers could be heard at a great distance ; and, subjects could discriminate between geometric figures at four levels of intensity. Tachistoscopes have been useful in exploring subliminal effects, see Mostyn, (249).

More importantly however, what types of behaviour can be influenced by subliminal stimulation ? The first experiment to explore this relationship according to Myers and Reynolds (253) was conducted by Vicary in the 1950's in which the subliminal messages - "Eat Popcorn" and "Drink Coca-Cola" were flashed on a cinema screen at 1 of a second. Popcorn consumption increased by 57% and Coke by 18% ; 3000 however since it was a very hot day the results were declared insubstantial. In 1956 BBC-TV subliminally transmitted a message - "Pirie Breaks

World Record" - many people called to say they had seen it.

In terms of physiological measures McGinnies, (230) has shown that GSR measures were obtained before there was a verbal report of awareness of a stimulus - thus clearly the subliminal response is due to an unconscious physiological awareness. Krugman, (206) has stated that TV can be considered a subliminal stimulus medium :

"Under low involvement conditions behaviour change can occur without noticeable intervening attitude change. If repeatedly exposed to information on TV about a product or brand, structures of perception alter and shift towards the salience of attributes suggested by ads."

Many researchers believe that subliminal perception and correlated behaviours occur only by chance ; George and Jennings, (119) set up a controlled shop situation to measure purchase. Using students they showed a series of slides ; half of the students saw one slide with the words "Hershey's Chocolate" written over it but not one of the students bought this chocolate bar although 20% bought another chocolate. Several in the control condition did buy Hersey's ! They concluded that subliminal perception does not affect behaviour.

Research and Marketing Implications

There is much work to be done on the subliminal and conditioning effects of environmental variables in the media and retailing fields ; such factors as colours ; shapes ; smells ; sounds ; tone of voice ; volume ; intensity ; body language, have only been vaguely researched, the surface has barely been scratched.

In many cases most of what the communicator or retailer presents to the consumer is both unplanned and unknown.

C. Summary

One of the problems of research into behaviour change is that it rarely goes beyond the immediate effects in an attempt to estimate the long term effects of behaviour change.

It is important for researchers to remember that there is a natural resistance to behaviour change on the part of the individual because of the social reinforcement of "habits". For instance Greenwald et al, (128) was able to get students to change their beliefs about the importance of learning vocabulary but not their behaviour. Similarly the housewife might buy brand X because it is 2p off but still think that it is second best.

Behaviour is also difficult to measure ; one gets an affect but why ? In a unique experiment conducted by Evans et al, (103) it was shown that the behavioural measurement itself was capable of maintaining a specific behaviour once it was established. The subject was dental hygiene, measurement was a tooth photographic technique and while persuasive messages and feedback did not effect behavioural change, all contacts for measurement purposes effected behavioural change which remained over a ten week period. The authors concluded that "repeated contacts in themselves may be the key to such change."

VIII - MODELS - AN ANSWER TO THE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR
RELATIONSHIP PROBLEM

As "other intervening variables" became the accepted reason for low attitude-behaviour relationships (see Chapter VI) researchers began to focus their attention on ways to incorporate intervening variables so as to improve correlations. Models were an obvious answer ; after all they had proved effective in other disciplines - Physics, Zoology, Chemistry, Economics (Keynes), Clinical Psychology (Freud) and Evolution (Darwin), why not in social behaviour.

As models have grown and the arrows on the diagrams multiplied to account for all of the relevant variables, researchers have become seduced by the "science" of it all into thinking that models were surely the panacea for the attitude-behaviour relationship problem. While models have been used to predict voting and other social behaviours it is probably in the consumer behaviour field that models have proliferated most, ranging from simple trade-offs to complex decision-making models featuring such complexities as Monte Carlo simulations of the market.

A Trade-Off Models

On the simplest level there are trade-off models borrowed from decision theory which are still a popular tool for attempting to predict consumer behaviour as reported by Sampson, (320) at a recent Esomar conference. He has used them to get respondents to trade-off TV screen size and price and then computed the utility value of each level of each attribute, i.e., the value in terms of how prone it is to being traded-off. It was found that a 24" screen at £75 and £85 had the most value.

Shirland and Inoue, (340) were able to predict market share by manipulating the variables of time and price with "consumers" of computer time and long distance telephone calls ; essentially the question was how much extra were they willing to pay to use the service sooner.

Sandell, (322) conducted a study concerning the situational variance of drinks. Respondents were asked to match up/or trade off drinks ranging from water to tea, beer and brandy with various home and none-home situations, occasions, time of the year and day. He found that drinks choice was very specific to the situation. Similarly,

Belk , (28) studied the situational influence in consumer food preferences with the help of the Behavioural Differential Inventory. He developed an analytic model from the findings.

Moinpour (245), developed a multi-dimensional scaling procedure to predict purchasing behaviour in the headache remedy market. Respondents were presented stimuli as points in a Euclidean space of up to two dimensions. He then constructed a joint space of the individuals and the stimuli via Coombsian unfolding algorithms. Brands were ranked according to their proximity to the "ideal". The ranking of actual market shares predicted brand market shares.

B. Types of Models

Within the attitude-behaviour field, and more specifically in the consumer behaviour area, there are a range of models currently in use. Hansen, (137) describes and discusses twenty-eight basic models of consumer behaviour under such headings as - perceived risk models ; image models ; personal influence models ; decision process models ; innovation models ; life cycle models and cultural-anthropological models. There have also been attempts to develop models to predict the role of advertising although very few have emerged because of the complexity of the subject. In addition, models have been developed to study decision-making "under uncertainty", (the Bayesian models) and brand switching behaviour particularly by Markov, who attempts to establish the probability of a consumer's passing from his last brand to any other brand in the next purchase period.

While the most influential model in the entire applied psychology field is that of Fishbein, it is Rosenberg who is usually regarded as the "father" of the Fishbein and other models. Referred to as the Linear Additive Model it was an attempt to relate beliefs to evaluations with the following formula :

$$A_x = \sum_{i=1}^n B_{xi} C_i$$

A_x is the respondent's evaluation of or attitude toward the object ; B_{xi} the respondent's belief about object x in terms of characteristics or outcome i, and C_i the importance for the respondent of outcome i. In the case of consumer research outcome "i" would be brand purchase.

C. The Fishbein Model

The author has stated that the model was created as "an attempt to resolve the attitude-behaviour problem by expanding the definition of attitude". Thus, he has restated the research situation :

"Thus the problem is not simply to investigate relationships between attitude and behaviour, rather one must be concerned with at least four things : attitudes, beliefs, behavioural intentions, and behaviour. The problem then is to investigate the interrelations among all four of these concepts. "(110)

The theory/model summarised symbolically is :

$$B \sim BI = A_{act} W_0 + (NB_p) (MC_p) W_1 + (NB_s) (MC_s) W_2$$

That is, Behavioural Intention (BI) which mediates overt behaviour (B) is assumed to be a function of attitude towards the behavioural act (A_{act}), personal normative beliefs (how the person thinks they should act NB_p) multiplied by motivation to comply with them (MC_p) plus social normative beliefs (how the person believes others think he should act NB_s) multiplied by motivation to comply (MC_s). Furthermore, Fishbein goes on to restate the attitude-behaviour relationship : "I do not think a change in a behavioural intention leads necessarily to a change in attitude unless the change in behavioural intention is accompanied by a change in behaviour".

Ajzen and Fishbein, (7) reviewed studies concerning a variety of behaviours ranging from pre-marital sex to prejudice and compliance and found that accurate behavioural prediction was possible if BI was obtained. This is because BI is more specific to the act than attitudes towards the object, although the authors concede that "other variables" such as attitudes towards the object should be in the formula because they influence the variables of A_{act} , NB or MC .

Ajzen and Fishbein have also applied their model to choice situations in a social setting. In an experiment with students there were eight possible choices of activities for a Friday night and it was found that by combining these variables in a multiple regression equation highly accurate predictions of specific behavioural intentions could be made. As the author predicted NB accounted for much of the variance.

Since its introduction there have been numerous attempts to apply, test or add to the theory.

1. Using the Fishbein Model

The model has generated a great deal of research interest. Some researchers have sought to test out the underlying assumptions. Using students as subjects Inone and Tanaka, (173) studied the relationship of attitudes to behaviour ; behaviours included blood donation, smoking, cheating in university, riding a train without a ticket and premarital sex.

They found that A_{act} and NB were effective as predictors of behaviour

and that the relative importance of Aact and NB's in predicting BI and B varied with the kind of behaviour and sex. Females were more influenced by NB's on the subjects of smoking and sex.

Correlations between BI and B varied, .79 for smoking and .31 on blood donation.

Albrecht and Carpenter, (9) also used students to test the Fishbein model and found that attitudes and NB were able to predict behavioural intention and that there was a strong correlation between BI and B.

On a more basic level Milord and Perry, (243) showed that there was a close linear relationship between salient attitudes and corresponding beliefs when students rated professors and the manner of administering the college.

Bettman et al, (35) compared the Fishbein model with the adequacy-importance model in a consumer study and found that the Fishbein Model represents "the cognitive algebra" of subjects relatively better because there is a greater homogeneity of response. The adequacy-importance model was ambiguous.

Wilson, (110) found that the model predicted overt consumer behaviour of housewives better than any other model. Bass et al, (21) found the model sensitive enough to predict choice behaviour in the soft drink market where "choice behaviour is not necessarily constant". Moreover, brand switching was to similar drinks and they concluded that "choice is influenced by attitudes derived from beliefs and values".

Harrell, (142) tested the model with physicians and obtained rich predictions in prescribing a brand with r's from .43 to .54 at the .01 and .001 levels of significance. Normative beliefs included risk perception and confidence. Furthermore BI and B were highly related at the .01 level of significance. In addition, general confidence in the brand was significantly related to evaluative belief structures.

2. Criticisms of The Fishbein Model

Other researchers have found fault with the model. Singer-Nocks, (344) found that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour seems to depend on prior experience with the behaviour when students were put into prisoner-dilemma situations. They also concluded that the association between normative beliefs (NB) and behaviour (B) depends on the consistency between personal motivations and perceived social expectations. Fishbein and Ajzen retaliated in the next issue of the same journal by pointing out that the model is primarily concerned with predicting behavioural intention and does not guarantee to predict behaviour in its own right.

Brislin and Olmstead, (47) concluded that the problem with the Fishbein model is that it is designed for laboratory situations and therefore does not predict behaviour accurately in a field situation. They tested the Fishbein model and the Wicker model which provides an "extraneous events" measure such as free offers, plus a measure of the consequences of using the product and a rating of the product. The subject was detergents and the research was conducted in laundromats. The Wicker model proved more reliable in the field situation.

Ehrenberg, (97) has commented that the BI measure is a misnomer in consumer research for it does not measure people's buying intentions but rather their usage, thus the term should be BU, (behavioural usage).

3. Variations on the Fishbein Model

Still other researchers have found the Fishbein model useful if they add to or vary the model in some way. Bettman, (34) used decision nets as well as the Fishbein model on the subject of toothpaste purchase because he felt there was a need to understand the processing of information. This improved prediction.

Bearder and Woodside, (25) found that by adding a situational variable the relationship between attitude toward the object and behavioural intentions increased ; 50% of all interactions were significant.

Rokeach and Kliejunas, (306b) created a formula to deal with the situational variable because they assumed that the individual always encounters an attitude object in the context of some situation "about which he also has an attitude". Thus, the formula - $B_{OS} = f(A_O A_S)$ - wherein Behaviour with respect to an Object is always a function of Attitude-toward-the-Object and Attitude-toward-the-Situation. They conducted a study among students concerning class attendance where A_O was attitude towards the instructor and A_S was attitude toward attending classes in general, correlations between the two weighted attitudes and (reported) behaviour was - .61 which was significant at the .001 level of significance.

Ahtola, (6) has created what he calls the Vector Model which is more detailed than the Fishbein because it separates the strength of the belief from the content of the belief. He contends that the Fishbein model frequently gives incorrect predictions because content is not considered; for instance in his study of soft drinks "very sweet" would get a positive rating with the Fishbein model when in fact it was a negative evaluation.

Magura, (221) recommends the addition of the social support variable which he has written into his equation. It is said to give better predictions of attitude-behaviour consistencies.

In a study of intentions regarding six kinds of medical transplant donations Schwartz and Tessler, (329) found that personal normative

beliefs were the strongest contributor to behavioural intentions. However, the model was found to be insufficient without further sampling from other antecedents of behaviour such as - ascription of responsibility. This factor plus personal normative beliefs gave a significant interaction of .455.

Bettman, (34) studied private brand purchase and found choice was significantly related to lower risks and greater information processing. He suggested that there was a need to build into the Fishbein model "perceived risk, informational and perceived product quality variables which are part of the information processing that in conjunction with attitude content influence behaviour".

D. The Howard-Sheth Theory/Model

The other influential model in the consumer behaviour field is that of Howard and Sheth, although many would prefer to call it a theory since it is essentially more of a verbal description than an equation. However, there have been attempts to test it mathematically. One of Sheth's working formulas according to De Jonge and Oppedijk Van Veen, (83) is :

$$B_{ijt} = b_1 (A_{ij, t - n}) + b_2 (BI_{jt, t - n}) + b_3 (UE_{ijt})$$

With this equation behaviour is equal to affect towards the object plus the individual's plan to behave in a certain way plus unexpected events.

As a theory/model it covers consumer and industrial decisions, new and established products and has recently been applied to public policy decisions.

The most unique feature about the theory is that it emphasises information processing, e.g., the consumer's learning process. According to Kotler's (202) description there are four main elements to the theory.

- Hypothetical Constructs - buyer's internal state, the perceptual and learning variables.
- Stimulus Inputs which emanate from the marketing and social environments.
- Exogenous Variables, such things as social class, personality, culture, etc.
- Response Outputs - a hierarchical set of possible responses from attention to purchase behaviour.

The theory/model has been of interest to many researchers ; for instance San Agustin, (321) tested it with housewives and found that store commitment was significantly related to confidence but not to the sum of evaluative beliefs ; and they found a high correlation between behaviour and intention.

Bass and Wilkie, (22) used the model to test brand preferences ;

four univariate regressions were used : belief only; belief X importance ; beliefs normalised ; beliefs-importance both normalised. There were 120 regressions for six product categories ; it was found that importance weights improve "the diagnosis of attitude structure when the data are normalised".

E. Other Models which Relate to the Attitude-Behaviour Relationship

I. St. James

Another popular model has been the St. James, which features the concepts of the ideal brand and the respondent's perceived psychological distance from that ideal. According to Marchant, (222) this model has been both valid and useful in consumer research into brand choice as well as broader areas of behaviour. The St. James model contains an equation for measuring the amount of satisfaction which any brand can impart assuming that only the magnitude of the deviation from the ideal is relevant. The dimensions for perceiving brands are usually determined by Kelly Grids subjected to factor analysis and a complicated weighting which Marchant claims does not take into account the possibility that individuals will vary in the importance they accord to different factors.

In addition to its use in calculating the problem of purchase, the model has been used to aid advertisers in altering consumers' perceptions of the brand in order to bring it into line with consumers' reported attitudes and needs. It has also been used to design new brands for minority markets.

The model, however, fails to take into consideration how brands compete in the market place because it tends to look at brands in isolation.

2. Dulaney

The Dulaney model, based on his theory of Propositional Control is concerned with concept learning and verbal conditioning. Influenced by stimulus-response theory Dulaney has shown how important social psychological influences are on consumer behaviour and that they vary according to the situation.

In Dulaney's (94), equation one sees the influence of conditioning theory :

$$BI = \beta_1 \left[(RHd)(RSv) \right] + \beta_2 \left[(BH) (MC) \right]$$

That is, Behavioural Intention = the hypothesis of the distribution of reinforcement (RHd), the subjective value of a reinforcer (RSv) plus behavioural hypothesis (BH), or the influence of other people's expectations, and the motivation to comply (MC), e.g., to live up to certain people's expectations.

Bonfield, (416) has tested the theory with a diary panel concerning a new low calorie soft drink product and found that all of the variables - attitudes, social influence, personal norms and intentions were situation bound and that the theory was an accurate predictor of BI. He concluded as a result of this study that where a segment of users have a high coefficient associated with Personal Norm, promotional appeals should suggest that the brand is for people who value their individuality.

3. Woodside and Clokey

In an attempt to more accurately predict purchase behaviour Woodside and Clokey, (414) proposed that accuracy would be improved if attitudes towards other brands were also considered. They accordingly developed a formula in which :

$$BI_{\ell} \approx A_{\ell}^{\ell} \sum_{j=1}^m \sum_{k=1}^n (B_{kj} a_k)$$

In this model, Behavioural Intention (BI) and Attitudes (A) are influenced by : the strength of belief that attribute k is possessed by brand j (B_{kj}) ; the degree to which attribute k is desired (a_k) ; the number of attributes (n) ; and the number of brands (m) . The ℓ = the brand of interest. In a study of beer brand purchasing the authors were able to show that by investigating six beliefs for five brands and applying the multi-attribute/multi-brand attitude model there were more correct predictions than the typical multi-attribute models.

4. Nicosia

Nicosia's model is generally referred to as "an encompassing cognitive theory of consumer behaviour" because it looks at consumer behaviour as a decision-making sequence. Nicosia, (261) has described his model in flow chart terms starting and ending with : "the firm, its advertisement, the consumer's possible exposure to it, the interaction between the advertisement and the consumer's predispositions, operating or evoked at the time of exposure, the possible formation of an attitude, the possible transformation of this attitude into a motivation, the possible conversion of this motivation into an act of purchase, and then back to the consumer's predispositions and to the firm". It has been used among other things to predict the impact of television advertising.

5. A Proposed Micro Model

A "Micro Model" of purchasing behaviour was created by De Jonge and Oppedijk van Veen, (83) in order to more accurately study durable goods purchasing in which $P = f(S, A, C)$; that is, purchase is a function of the individual's current situation (S) ; his/her anticipations (A)

and the change (C) in his/her situation and anticipations occurring in that particular time interval. The authors have outlined the use of the model to predict TV purchase but as yet the selection of the variables and a determination of the functional relationships between variables is at a preliminary stage.

There are, of course, numerous models available to the consumer researcher which have not been reviewed in this chapter but are referenced and reviewed in Hansen, (137) as previously mentioned.

F. The Case FOR Models

There are indeed many researchers who feel that with the development of consumer models there has been a real step forward in the development of a consistent theory of consumer behaviour. Models are seen as ~~embodying theories~~ which explain how consumers go about their business on a more comprehensive and structural basis.

Researchers such as Myers, (251) for instance feel that models have at last offered the market researcher the chance to be scientific, that is the possibility of prediction is offered. He points out that when one applies the scientific method one gets "probabilities of action - if you do this chances are that will happen"; this is seen as a vast improvement over the previous years of ad hoc consumer research resulting in ad hoc correlations.

In addition, the very presence of models has given guidance to researchers, forced them to be explicit, to look for gaps in their thinking, e.g., for instance to include as Sheth has done considerations of social environment and unexpected events such as special offers. Models offer not only a "check list" of variables and relationships to look for but they provide a framework and therefore a discipline as well.

Also, models have been particularly useful in helping researchers understand the decision-making process and all of the forces working to influence it. Furthermore, models help the researcher place the problem in better perspective - is it a communication problem, a problem concerning consumer habits or motivations, a social problem or a retailing and distribution problem that is being investigated?

On the other hand, models have not been the panacea they were supposed to be.

G. The Case AGAINST Models

The major criticisms of models is that they are frequently oversold because as Kuehn, (207) has described they "offer the precise language of mathematics". However, often the model builder is completely unaware of the significance of the mathematical values he is using and furthermore as he points out - "The use of mathematical precision does not guarantee

the validity of the assumptions" ; even the computer cannot improve validity.

Thus, one of the biggest mistakes made by those impressed with the precision of models is to use it regardless of whether it is consistent with the problem or not.

Secondly, researchers seem to conveniently forget that even models have subjective inputs in terms of the answer choices or scaling items presented to respondents, the types of variables included and excluded from the model as well as the interpretation of the results.

Third, in addition models tend to treat all consumers alike - as Blattberg and Sen, (39) point out all stochastic brand choice models assume that a single model using a single set of parameters represents the buying behaviour of all consumers. They have shown that it is wiser to use several different models to test various segments of consumers while also allowing "consumers within a segment to have different model parameters". In an investigation of consumer behaviour concerning three types of paper products they found nine major segments for which they used simple five-state multinomial and Markov models and a Bayesian Model Discrimination Procedure to determine which model best describes the purchasing behaviour of the consumer. This proved to be very successful in predicting brand choice.

Fourthly, models tend to produce what Beckwith and Lehman, (27) call a "halo" effect ; that is the models often perform well "because individuals bias their beliefs by their overall attitudes individuals who favour an alternative tend to rate it high on all desirable attributes, while individuals who dislike the alternative tend to rate it low on all attributes". They tested multi-attribute models on the subject of television shows and found that the halo-effect accounted for the good descriptive results.

Fifthly, models are criticised by researchers because they are never replicated ; the model builder tests out his/her own model, constantly changes and adjusts it and finally puts it into print. The next researcher comes along with the new and improved version which has latched on to something "essential" but not previously considered and so it snowballs. Few researchers are willing to accept the more scientific approach and attempt to replicate the existing models. However, as Kollat et al, (199) point out this problem is true with so many facets of consumer research; there is never enough replication.

Sixthly, when researchers have attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of a model they usually compare it with other more simplistic techniques, thus models perform badly. It has been found for instance, that even the most complicated models do not give better answers than the simple question - "How satisfied are you with the product and with its attributes ? " . Perry, (281) has claimed that this straightforward form of questioning "may save a lot of confusion and work and will give results not worse and sometimes better than all the complicated and sophisticated models".

Cooper and Crano, (69) found that a pre-test measure was as effective in predicting post-test results as any of the formal models ; they expressed doubts about the efficiency and validity of popular models, which are too complex. There are too many measures to obtain cognitive inter-relationships and the analytic techniques used are often too simple to represent these complex relationships.

On a more global level as Mills, (242) has described, models are developed by theorists who "regard the world as a world of conceptions to be manipulated ". To the theorist, "methodology determines the problem" ; this leads to bureaucratic social science which attempts to gain its scientific stamp by adhering to the so-called scientific method.

However, according to Mills, social science has increasingly become a mere storehouse for bureaucratic techniques which in fact "inhibit social inquiry" because of methodological pretensions.

In what he calls the problems of the Grand Theorists he mentions the following :

- "they are drunk on syntax, blind to semantics,
in defining a word we are only inviting others to use
it the same way".
- "they are so rigidly confined to such high levels of
abstraction that the 'typologies' they make up -
and the work they do to make them up - seem more
often an arid game of Concepts than an effort to define
systematically the problems at hand and to guide our
efforts to solve them."

Model builders as Grand Theorists have also become drunk on their own terminology and blazed fresh trails into the esoteric in a field that cries out for pragmatic thinking.

H. Summary

Models offer a disciplined approach to the study of attitudes and behaviour in that they offer a framework as guidance and a check list of variables and possible correlations, but as yet they do not offer a scientific formula that can be successfully applied to the complicated subject of consumer behaviour. As Bass and Wilkie, (22) have pointed out "models cannot test attitude theories since they both cause and result from behaviour, models only give correlations". In many cases the correlations have proved to be powerfully predictive in one or two research studies but more replication is needed to test both their reliability and validity.

Systematic research effort is needed to test the models we now have, less emphasis on creating new models to attach one's name to. If consumer psychologists wish to be as scientific as they have always claimed, they must not be content with just the creation of a scientific sounding melange of jargon and symbols and mathematical formulae. They must be prepared to go through the hard slog of replicating and testing which the natural and medical sciences have been willing to do, thereby verifying such scientific 'facts' as DNA, bacterium, migratory patterns, electricity, aerodynamics, etc.

IX - ADVERTISING AND ITS EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

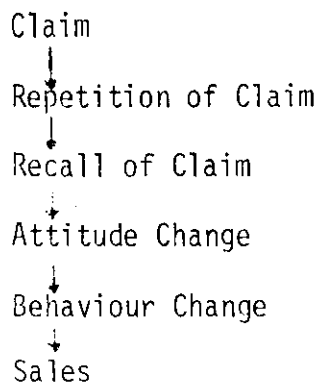
"The historians and archaeologists will one day discover that the ads of our time are the richest and most faithful reflections that our society ever made of its entire range of activities". McLuhan, (237)

Indeed advertisements reveal not only the interests, habits and activities of a culture but its values, beliefs and prejudices. As far back as 1917 a publicity man, Norman Douglas, stated - "You can tell the ideals of a nation from its advertisements".

A. The Role of Advertising

The purpose of advertising is to sell products ; this is sometimes forgotten by advertisers who get caught up in the popularity game, e.g., does the ad win friends and influence people, is it friendly and lovable ? humorous ? memorable ? does it win awards among the advertising fraternity ?

A typical description of the way in which advertising is supposed to work is outlined by Wight, (408) :



This is the ideal situation, most advertisers not only accept it as the way things should happen but do so as an act of faith with little or no experimental evidence to support their view as pointed out by Plummer, (290).

. . . . "the true effect of advertising on sales is not known. Advertising helps, but in what ways and to what degrees have not been demonstrated empirically, except that advertising can increase brand awareness through manipulation of spending levels and that there is some correlation between basic measures of advertising - such as recall or pre-post scores - and sales. "

In fact when experiments have been conducted to study the effects of persuasion on buying behaviour they are usually conducted in some type of laboratory situation which tends to exaggerate effects. Crane,

(92) has reported for instance that in the laboratory one frequently gets results which show that between one-third and one-half of respondents have been influenced by advertising whereas in real life only 5% of people are influenced.

Resultingly, many researchers have concluded that the role of advertising is simply to communicate facts - it is therefore a source of information and not a tool of persuasion. Bucklin, (49) has examined the informative role of advertising in a series of studies and concluded that consumers use advertising to the extent that they feel a need for information; that is when he/she is unfamiliar with the product, has not shopped for it for some time, or it is expensive, then he/she will be more likely to use advertising. He concluded that "the further along the learning curve the buyer is, the less inclined he is to seek information".

B. How Advertising Works

The truth of the matter is that researchers, advertisers etc., simply do not really know how advertising works :

. . . . "one should start by acknowledging that not much is known at present about how advertising works - which means of course, how it influences sales".
Treasure, (397).

He goes on to point out that the criteria of whether or not advertising works is usually whether sales are going up, but it may still be working even when sales are not currently going up. In other words advertising works on the drip effect, the consumer may eventually buy the product or more of the product if he/she hears and sees it often enough. In this sense advertising works as a method of reinforcing ideas and attitudes rather than as a form of persuasion.

Furthermore, while advertising is often accused of setting trends and creating needs and demands, particularly for products that are deemed unessential or even harmful, such as cosmetics and children's cereals, most researchers who have studied the role of advertising would tend to agree with Ehrenberg, (97) that advertising does not lead fashion or innovation trends but rather follows it - "anything else would be bad marketing - spending millions to convince people to buy something just because someone can produce it". He points out that it has been the broader mass media which has been responsible for developing and educating tastes and fashion plus advances in education and mobility, that in the long run eliminating advertising would not eliminate consumer demand. And, he too concludes that the role of advertising is to re-inforce feelings of satisfaction with brands already being used and secondarily slowly reawakening interest in another brand and perhaps stimulating conversion over a period of time by first creating awareness of the brand and stimulating trial by offering something - new price, package, size, etc.

The above conclusion has been reached by many advertisers and researchers who further point out that there is a general reluctance to examine the whole process of advertising because there are so many other factors influencing sales, factors such as the marketing situation, environmental and social factors as well as the competition. Ehrenberg, (96) for instance reports a study which showed that Fairy Liquid advertising was considered to be irritating and unrealistic - "Children don't act like that" and furthermore housewives resented the song and dance surrounding a mundane job like washing-up. Still it remained brand-leader for two reasons - it was 20% more effective in dissolving grease than the competition and there was a tough sales force.

The other problem with examining how advertising works is that the research that is available has revealed that advertising is relatively unimportant to people particularly compared with other topical issues. The advertising association sponsored a study reported by Treasure, (397) in which ten broad topics were evaluated in terms of their importance to people ; such items as family life, big business, bringing up children, clothing and fashions were explored. Advertising scored lowest for almost all dimensions, e.g., it was least likely to be discussed with friends and least likely to evoke strong feelings and opinions. Moreover, 53% felt that advertising makes people buy things they don't want, 62% felt advertising failed to present a true picture of products and 74% felt that advertising failed to bring down the cost of goods. Interestingly, 46% could agree that advertising helped to keep the country prosperous.

Equally worrying are the many reports that young people have outright hostile feelings toward advertising ; Haller, (135) reports that advertisers should be worried with the results of his survey which revealed that young people regarded advertising as insulting to the intelligence, annoying invalid, misleading, unnecessary and irritating. Whether the respondents were merely playing back stereotyped criticisms or true feelings is not clear, however.

While advertising may be a precise expression of the culture in which it occurs as well as a boring, unimportant irritant for those to whom it is directed it basically exists in order to create and stimulate sales. Is there any evidence that it does this job well ; that advertising does work the way Wight outlined it ? Essentially practitioners advertise in order to change attitudes/behaviour. The majority believe that attitude change precedes behaviour change and therefore that any indication of more positive attitudes clearly indicates that the advertising is working.

C. Advertising's Effects on Attitudes

There are essentially three ways in which advertising effects attitudes and attitude change ; the mere repetition of advertising has an effect if for no other reason than that it eventually becomes familiar and therefore at least superficially acceptable. Secondly, advertising which taps a basic need or an emotional or motivational chord in the consumer has been shown to change attitudes, and thirdly, advertising which reduces dissonance creates attitude change.

1. Repetition

One of the easiest experiments to conduct is the effect of repetitive advertising on attitude change since it merely requires a before and after research paradigm.

Crane, (72) reports that when respondents were given two one-day exposures to the Reader's Digest as opposed to a one-day exposure their high quality ratings for the brands increased from 11 to 17% and willingness to buy from 15 to 26%, while belief in the claims tripled. Engel et al, (102) report that two exposures to an advertisement in Post magazine increased positive attitudes towards the product from 9 to 14%.

McCullough and Ostrom, (228) showed that message repetition increased positive attitudes when very similar but not identical ads were used. There were five presentations of each ad for both cosmetics and a charity ; respondents were to write down their reactions after each slide presentation, not only did positive attitudes increase but negative attitudes decreased.

Similarly, Sawyer, (324) reports of a study in which nonsense names were exposed to respondents, they were then linked to brands ; it was found that liking for the brand was positively related to the number of exposures of the nonsense name.

As reported and described in Chapter V repetition can work wonders, it can change attitudes ; repetition in the form of advertising is just as effective as classroom repetition in producing attitude change. McLuhan, (237) has commented - "Ads push the principle of noise all the way to the plateau of persuasion".

Years of repetition on one theme eventually take their toll according to a study with 5,000 respondents by Wilkie, (410) which showed that attitudes towards cigarette smoking changed as the effects of anti-smoking advertising campaigns slowly eroded attitudes.

In six years positive attitudes towards cigarette smoking deteriorated : pleasureableness from 90 to 78%, relaxingness 88 to 75%. Conversely negative attitudes increased : "annoying to be near" from 19 to 34% ; cause of disease from 0 to 65% ; and those intending to continue smoking changed from 75 to 51% in the six years. Desires for a health warning on packets changed from 51 to 83% and desires to stop advertising from 23 to 50%.

However, there are also limits to repetition which have been demonstrated experimentally. Winter, (412) studied brand attitude change in four product categories with two to five brands in each. There were four advertising exposures for each product ; it was concluded that "there are limits of advertising persuasibility" because he found no significant

level of attitude change after the second repetition. Krugman, (206) also postulated that "three exposures may be enough" ; with the first exposure the reaction is curiosity, with the second, recognition, and with the third decision. He claims that fourth, fifth, etc., exposures are really just thirds and therefore unnecessary.

While in some cases repetition may not change or enhance attitudes it has another function of preventing "memory decay". The recall of advertising like the recall of most material learned follows a standard Ebbinghaus forgetting curve ; thus typically three-quarters of material is forgotten after six days. Engel et al, (102) report a study in which it was found that one exposure to an advertisement induced a retention of the message by only 14% of housewives ; once the advertising schedule was extended to 13 weeks, 63% could recall the advertisement. While attitudes may not always change, repetition enhances awareness, the first step in the AIDA chain, i.e., Awareness, Interest, Desire and Action.

In addition as Treasure, (397) has pointed out repetition makes it possible for the current user of a brand to continue his habit ; it reinforces his usage. Thus, advertising has an "enabling" function for the regular user.

2. Motivational or Emotional Desires and Needs are Tapped

As Newman, (259) describes the consumer's approach to advertising and products it is clear that the advertiser has a difficult job.

"Coming from their own worlds of experience with their own identities consumers bring more values to products and ads than they take away from them".

It has been found that ads which hit a motivational nerve can effectively change attitudes in the desired direction ; thus appeals to masculinity, motherhood, creativity, power, prestige, status, tastiness, refreshingness, peaceful tranquillity, adventure, etc., have been shown to change attitudes effectively. Numerous examples can be found in Mostyn, (248).

Smith, (348) reports of a study for a sweet manufacturer which showed that adults use them to treat themselves for a job well done ; using two test towns this appeal was featured - "makes a tough job easier". Attitudes towards the product improved and sales were "promising".

And in another area, Szybillo and Jacoby, (363) asked blacks and whites to evaluate six ads in terms of attractiveness and likelihood of purchasing the product advertised. The ads differed in terms of the degree of integration from no whites and four blacks to four whites and no blacks. Blacks reacted negatively to tokenism - three whites and one black and positively to equality - two of each. Whites felt that tokenism - three whites and one black was appealing. Thus, their hidden desires were being appealed to and they reacted positively to the ads.

In addition, consumers have deeply embedded habits built upon basic needs which can be enhanced by advertising thus creating more favourable attitudes. On the other hand if the advertisements challenge basic habits too strongly they will be rejected thus creating negative attitudes. For instance, in a study of anti-smoking advertisements Olshavsky and Summers, (268) found that the advertising was used by smokers who were trying to give it up as a way of rationalising attitude change and therefore habit change. However, confirmed smokers rejected the ads stating that they were simple-minded and frivolous. Similarly, O'Keefe, (266) found that among 900 smokers in Florida who were exposed to 80 to 100 advertisements per week, smokers in the process of giving it up found the ads impressive and were significantly more likely to have seen and believed them. Among confirmed smokers only 50% could recall one ad and 10% stated that they had never seen one. Habit stimulates selective perception.

In the French study O'Keefe (269) found that non-smokers tended to believe the anti-smoking advertisements while smokers did not believe them and furthermore felt that they would have no effect on the public.

Basic habits, cultural values, motivations and basic needs can be tapped by advertising and influence attitude change.

3. Reducing Dissonance

Advertising also helps the consumer change attitudes after the act of buying ; as Martineau, (224) described - "A person reads a Ford ad to find out why he bought a Ford". Not only is he trying to convince himself but he is seeking acceptable reasons to explain to others.

Furthermore, Oshikawa, (270) has stated that an advertisement reassures the consumer about the wisdom of the purchase by emphasising the desirable features and therefore reduces post-purchase dissonance and reinforces his purchase. In addition, it enhances his positive attitudes towards the product and increases the probability of his purchasing it the next time. He has found that seat belt users are significantly more impressed with seat belt advertising than non-users. Because of the above Narayana, (254) has recommended that there is a greater need for manufacturers of infrequently bought products to advertise more frequently than advertisers of frequently bought products because in the latter instance the perceptions are stable whereas with less frequently bought products the perceptions are not stable and need to be reinforced.

4. Summary

Advertising can be shown to influence attitude formation and change and thus to support the model and rationale behind advertising which is to stimulate attitude change which it is then hypothesised will lead to behaviour change, e.g., sales. While it can be shown that repetitive or motivationally pertinent advertising can lead to attitude change it is equally true that advertising may merely lead to behaviour change without attitude change.

D. Advertising's Effects on Behaviour

Because it is easier to measure there have been significantly more studies of advertising's effects on behaviour, not only purchasing behaviour but other types of behaviour both overt and covert. For instance, Krugman, (206) studied brain waves in response to both TV and print advertising; brain waves were slower for TV, subjects' responses were more passive and allowed for an easier form of learning. The response to print was more active, faster brain waves, creating a more tense learning situation requiring more concentration. Thus television advertisements would appear to have more chance of being remembered.

1. Social Behaviour

In a rather unique study Hewett, (162) showed that advertising stimulated search behaviour; outdoor posters asked "Who was the 23rd President of the United States?" Before the campaign only $\frac{1}{2}\%$ knew the answer; after the campaign 8%. All of them said they had looked it up after seeing the poster.

Lin, (214) reports of a study in which the Planned Parenthood Clinic was advertised on television; during this time all the clinics reported an increase in the number of new patients who listed public information as the factor influencing their decision to come to the clinic.

In a study of voting behaviour Rothschild, (314) showed that advertising had a strong effect on voting intention in a low involvement race but not in a high involvement race such as a presidential race; this was due to the fact that party elections below the important ones are unstable and susceptible to political advertising, he concluded.

In a survey of youth and drugs Rubens, (315) found that the more drug advertising they were exposed to on television the more proprietary drugs they used.

2. Purchase Behaviour

Not only does repetition influence attitude formation and change but behaviour has been shown to yield to repeated advertising.

Helps, (156) for example studied 3,270 consumers, half of whom had television and half of whom did not; he found that owners who were also viewers bought more of the advertised brands even if they didn't like the commercials. He looked at twelve product categories including coffee, cigarettes, petrol, etc. Furthermore, as non-owners subsequently bought television they followed the same purchasing patterns.

In another experiment reported by Engel et al, (102) with print ads it was shown that by increasing the number from four ads to eight customers doubled, with 20 ads there was an enormous increase, but fifteen ads were more cost effective. Experiments with coupons have shown that a half page ad produces only 70% as many coupon returns as a full page ad; the experiment produced similar results in 1936 and 1969.

Bogart et al, (41a) have shown that people seeing an ad bought slightly more in the product field next day and significantly more of the advertised brand against the non-advertised brand.

In a study of the influence of newspaper advertising on the consumer Peretti and Lucas, (280) found that the lower class American consumer tended to buy more of the advertised items than the middle class consumers.

Ring, (300) reports that a hard sell approach was more effective in stimulating buyer behaviour than soft sell although respondents had stated a preference for the soft sell approach.

Further evidence of the importance of advertising on consumer behaviour comes from experiments in which advertising is cut back or stopped and "sales decay" sets in.

Engel et al, (102) report that experiments in which there was a failure to advertise for a year showed a 6% decrease in sales whereas 13 pages in a magazine over the year yields a 7% increase. Adler and Crespi, (5) report of a study in which two advertising approaches were compared with each other. One approach was clearly superior in producing awareness and usage. When the two advertising approaches were withdrawn there was not as much sales decay for the better advertisement, although eventually sales in both test markets declined.

3. Summary

It is clear that advertising can be shown to affect attitude formation and change and to affect behaviour as well : thus it would be logical and simple to draw the conclusion that :

ADVERTISING —→ ATTITUDE FORMATION/CHANGE —→ BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

This, however, does not appear to be the case as will be described.

E. Advertising's Effects on The Attitude-Behaviour Relationship

Studies which have attempted to study the total effect of advertising rather than just its effect on attitudes or behaviour, which have in other words attempted to look at advertising in the context of the attitude-behaviour relationship have produced disappointing results. In some cases attitudes have changed promisingly but behaviour has not followed suit ; in other cases behaviour has changed while attitudes have not budged an inch. In other cases attitudes and behaviour have changed in a related manner but there has been no correlation with advertising exposure.

Ginter, (123) used a laboratory situation with 453 housewives who came along each week in order to see programmes containing commercials for products as well as answer questionnaires and purchase products in a simulated shop. He found that attitudes changed in direct proportion to the number of times she chose the product. However, neither attitudes nor product choice was associated with the

number of times she saw the commercial.

O'Brien, (265) also found that neither advertising nor word-of-mouth had an effect on intention to buy convenience foods although attitudes directly affected purchase as well as intention.

1. Attitude Change without Behaviour Change

In a study of the effects of family planning publicity Udry and Clark, (380) found that both awareness and positive attitudes increased in proportion to the amount of advertising ; however, the increase in new patients was exactly at the same level as that for cities which were not exposed to the advertising campaign featured on TV, radio and print. Similarly, sales of contraceptives showed no measurable effect of the ad campaign. Thus it was concluded that behaviour was not affected during the six months of the test.

Twyman, (379) has found that consumers' positive evaluation of advertisements has no effect on intention to buy ; conversely intention to buy has increased after respondents have seen advertisements which they do not have positive attitudes towards.

Newman, (249) also reports that frequently the ads which are positively evaluated as completely believable and appealing do not trigger the desired response of purchase or intention to buy.

2. Behaviour Change without Attitude Change

In the political field Rothschild, (314) has found that with an advertising campaign it was possible to "effect a change in behavioural intent without affecting attitude formation" ; particularly in low involvement elections he has found that it is possible for the individual to behave without developing a prior attitude.

Adler and Crespi, (5) report that in a test market the advertising produced significant behaviour change in terms of products bought but that there was no perceptible attitude change.

"If we had depended upon the measured attitudes towards the brand, we would have concluded that the advertising was ineffective. The fact is that the advertising was effective, since it caused a measurable increase in usage".

Bogart, (40) has also found that newspaper advertisements for cookware were successful in increasing sales without affecting attitudes.

Twyman, (379) states "that you can apparently achieve advertising effectiveness without attitude or belief change".

And, Newman, (259) reports that advertisements which trigger "disbelief" or negative attitudes can be significantly more effective in increasing sales than the ad which receives positive attitudes. "If disbelief" is redefined as "news" and engenders curiosity this would explain the phenomenon, he concludes.

Krugman, (206) has attempted to explain why advertising can affect sales without affecting attitude change ; he puts it down to the fact that while there is attitude change it is not detectable. What has happened is that the individual has picked up knowledge about a product so that when he is confronted with it "he is sufficiently changed to buy it". Furthermore, he explains that the confrontation with the product then crystallises events which have laid latent in his mind so that attitude change follows behaviour change.

3. Successful Correlations of Advertising, Attitudes and Behaviour

While a fair amount of research has gone into the study of the relationship between the three components of advertising-attitudes and behaviour there have been few reports of successful findings. Corey, (70) tested four types of commercials for a canned meat spread and found that the one that created the most positive attitudes also had the most sales impact.

In a large scale investigation Aaker and Day, (1) attempted to correlate advertising, attitudes and purchase behaviour in a study of 1200 households over the course of a year. The product was instant coffee. Using three multiple regression equations regarding brand behaviour they found that advertising significantly influenced both awareness and attitudes and that attitudes influenced behaviour directly. They concluded that attitude change preceded behaviour change and that the influence of advertising went directly from awareness and attitudes to behaviour. As previously described in Chapter V, longitudinal studies have frequently provided some of the best correlations between attitudes and behaviour and therefore were more likely to produce significant correlations for the advertising-attitude-behaviour relationship.

P. The "Other Variable"-Word-of-Mouth

No exploration of the advertising-attitude-behaviour relationship would be complete without acknowledging the role of "word-of-mouth" influences.

While many studies have been conducted to explore the effect of "innovators" and key "influencers" as people who exert a pressure on other consumers, particularly in the decision-making process, very little research has been conducted to determine the effects of media advertising vs word-of-mouth advertising on attitudes/behaviour.

However, many advertisers, researchers and copy writers feel intuitively that word-of-mouth is a potent source of attitude and behaviour change.

There is some research to support these intuitions. Rao, (302) found that both attitudes and behaviour toward ecology were more significantly influenced by word-of-mouth sources ; the mass media had a minimal and non-significant influence.

Lin, (214) reports that in a study of attitude change in the political field those who changed their attitudes did so due to the influence of family, friends and co-workers not the mass media, while in a study of drug trial behaviour among doctors it was found that their behaviour was influenced by personal sources not the media.

Looking at various consumer subjects Engel et al, (102) concluded that word-of-mouth is more effective in changing attitudes towards new brands, spreading bad news about a known brand or where there is a risk in using the product, such as medicines. It is also effective in changing behaviour concerning supermarket usage and stimulating the continual purchase of the usual brand.

Similarly, O'Brien, (264) found that advertising had no effect on attitudes or purchase of a new convenience food product whereas word-of-mouth sources influenced both. He also found that attitudes did not affect purchase and advised that advertising should be designed to stimulate word-of-mouth effects.

G. Research Implications

There is clearly a need for more research into the advertising-attitude relationship ; the advertising-behaviour relationship ; the advertising-attitude-behaviour relationship as well as the word-of-mouth effect.

Research which fails to show attitude change as a result of advertising may be using an insensitive measure to gauge attitudes or examining attitude change too early in the communication process.

Similarly, research which fails to show behaviour change as a result of advertising is no doubt failing to measure whether other behaviours than purchase have been affected - influencing others by word-of-mouth for instance. Measures may be taken too early in the communication process as well.

If the gestalt of advertising-attitudes-behaviour is meaningful then it needs to be studied as a whole phenomenon -

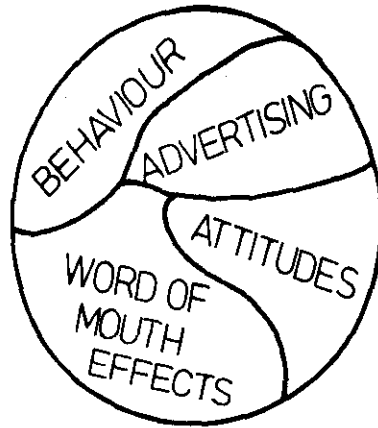


rather than as a series of steps in a flow-chart.

For instance if a correlation is found between advertising and behaviour then perhaps the behaviour was about to occur anyway with an attitude shift to follow such as has been found in studies from the political and family planning fields .

Only Longitudinal Research, which periodically dips into the behaviour, attitude and advertising awareness elements will really be able to shed light on the dilemma of this complex relationship.

Furthermore, the word-of-mouth effect needs to be added to the gestalt, since as suggested by O'Brien above, advertising's primary goal should probably be to stimulate word-of-mouth effects.



H. Summary

Perhaps it is naive to assume that advertising can influence attitudes/behaviour when in fact advertising only mirrors and reflects society's interests and values rather than create them. If advertising is a follower of social trends, as suggested by Ehrenberg, then it cannot be expected to be the source of attitude formation or even attitude change, it can only reinforce social and cultural trends which are already going on.

From the research results available it would appear that the phenomena of advertising, attitude change and behaviour change are independent and therefore only loosely related. Advertising as a piece of communication can be shown to affect both attitudes and behaviour especially if it is repeated often enough. No doubt repetition makes the brand name and promises familiar, and this familiarity instead of breeding contempt engenders feelings of acceptability regarding the product and message. Certainly withdrawal of advertising has convincingly been shown to lead to "sales decay".

As has been discussed in previous chapters, attitudes may influence behaviour under certain circumstances and behaviour may influence attitudes in others. However, both attitudes and behaviour seem to have an independent nature and operate autonomously.

Moreover, with a few notable exceptions a correlation between advertising attitudes and behaviour has not been shown to exist in any convincing way. Advertisers must still assume that the relationship exists as an act of faith in order to convince themselves, clients, colleagues and the business community at large that their "goal-directed" behaviour

makes sense. That is that the creation and use of a good ad which taps some basic needs and is repeated often enough will lead to attitude change in the desired direction with resultant behaviour changes. Perhaps with enough faith in their theory advertisers will live long enough to realise the ultimate goal as described by McLuhan :

"When all production and all consumption are brought into a pre-established harmony with all desire and all effort, then advertising will have liquidated itself by its own success."

X SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This book has attempted to expose and explore the many facets of the attitude-behaviour relationship dilemma. It is hoped that the issues have at least been made clearer despite the fact that no real solution has been offered. The essential question posed by applied research psychologists is - Do attitudes predict behaviour or only mirror behaviour? The "common sense" assumption among most researchers is that the mental event - attitudes - precedes the overt or physical event - behaviour. This is particularly true among consumer psychologists who reason that people would not buy products which they did not like, e.g., have positive attitudes towards.

For nearly fifty years social psychologists, convinced of the logic of the attitude = behaviour argument have sought to demonstrate its validity via the scientific application of the experimental method.

Increasingly, the evidence has indicated that the attitude-behaviour relationship is not a simple cause and effect one, instead there is proof that it may be just as valid to say that behaviour precedes and predicts attitude formation and change, e.g. that the individual tends to bring his attitudes into line with his behaviour as it is to assume that attitudes lead to behaviour and behaviour change.

At the heart of the problem - understanding the attitude-behaviour relationship - is the fact that the concept "attitude" does not have one single agreed upon meaning among psychologists and researchers. Attitudes have always been easier to measure than to define which has led many researchers to the conclusion that - Attitudes are what attitude scales measure. And certainly with the advent of attitude measuring tools in the thirties and forties more attitudes were "discovered". McLuhan has more colourfully described such proliferating situations.

"Instead of asking what came first the chicken or the egg, it suddenly seemed that a chicken was an egg's idea for getting more eggs".

Similarly, attitude measurements were a psychologists way of creating more attitudes to measure.

What is the status of the attitude-behaviour relationship? This book has tried to give a comprehensive review of the theories and experimental evidence on the subject.

A. Summary

1. Historical Perspective

Attitudes were first studied in a laboratory setting in 1888 ; it wasn't until 1918 however, that the concept of attitude as a field of study came into its own with the monumental work of Thomas and Znaniecki on Polish peasants.

The first attitude measurement techniques appeared in 1928 in the form of Thurstone's scales.

The Second World War accelerated research activity into the study of the attitude-behaviour relationship in an effort to understand and explain the phenomena of prejudice, patriotism and mass persuasion.

2. Definitions

Coming originally from the Latin "aptus" meaning fitness or adaptedness the term attitude has never been clearly and concisely defined, as evidenced by the fact that it has been used to connote both mental states and motor concepts. It is not surprising that the attitude-behaviour controversy has yet to be resolved. Even to the present day psychologists and researchers have continued to debate the true nature and definition of attitudes ; are they :

- Permanent or tentative ?
- Physiologically or sociologically based ?
- Unconscious or cognitive ?
- Learned or emotional drives ?
- Mental states or observable motor states ?

Researchers have yet to agree, although most would be willing to accept the psychological dictionary definition - "A more or less stable set or disposition of opinion, interest or purpose, involving expectancy of a certain kind of experience and readiness with an appropriate response".

Furthermore, the majority of researchers would also accept that attitudes operate on an intermediary level between beliefs and opinions ; first there are beliefs which are more deeply felt and enduring. They exert a direct influence on attitudes which in turn influence the more peripheral opinions. Attitudes are therefore more stable than opinions and more elastic than beliefs.

Behaviour is less controversial as a concept and therefore easier to define ; it is a change in the physical state of the individual such that he responds physically/emotionally as well as intellectually to a perceived situation. Behaviour is either overt - observable, or covert - an implicit response of muscles and glands requiring very sensitive instruments for observation.

3. Theories

Theorising in the area of attitude research has produced at least three dozen theories ; foremost among these are :

Learning Theory : based on a simple S-R paradigm in which attitudes produce a tension which can only be resolved behaviourally.

Functional Theory : based on a motivational paradigm in which attitudes are founded on the basic needs of the individual - love, self esteem, protection, etc.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory : based on an equilibrium maintaining paradigm in which attitudes are formed or behaviour is changed to conform with attitudes as the individual seeks to reduce dissonance.

Self Perception Theory : based on a self analysis paradigm in which the individual forms and changes his attitudes as he observes his own behaviour - "I must like coffee, I'm always drinking it".

Social Judgment Theory : based on an information flow paradigm in which the individual evaluates incoming information in terms of acceptance, rejection or neutral categories.

Attribution Theory : based on a self-discovery paradigm in which the individual does not change or form attitudes but rather discovers what they are.

The majority of these theories are based on the assumption that attitudes precede and cause behaviour ; the exceptions are Cognitive Dissonance and Self Perception Theory, which emphasise the predominance of behaviour over attitudes.

4. Attitude Formation

Attitudes are formed out of the residue of feelings, beliefs and patterns of response which occur as the individual is exposed to stimuli. These traces are repeatedly evoked and stored in the memory in some type of related fashion ; it is these memory elements which somehow get formed into mental dispositions, tendencies or propensities and psychologists label attitudes.

In general, attitudes can be shown to be formed when :

- there is information overload - the more times the stimuli are presented the more likely is an attitude to be formed.
- meaningful associations with an attitude object are created - the conditioning effects of associating one idea with a positive or negative evaluation, e.g., good quality, poor quality.
- the attitude object is reinforced - a more manipulated form of conditioning in which respondents are rewarded if they engage in certain attitude forming responses.
- the sources of the message about the attitude object are credible, trustworthy, likeable and similar to the listener.

- the style of presenting the message is right in terms of speech-style, grammar, accent, appeal (emotional or serious) body language and volume.
- the main persuasive point is presented at the beginning and end of the message.
- both sides of a persuasive argument are presented.
- the listener is allowed to draw his/her own conclusions.
- the listener is given forewarning of persuasive intent unless the issue is very ego-involving in which case forewarning causes a "boomerang" effect.
- there are moderate distractions during the learning process including visual stimuli, eating, drawing, listening to music or doing figures. Distractions inhibit counterarguing on the part of the listener and therefore make the persuasive message more acceptable.

While essentially most people are capable of being persuaded to consider or even accept a new attitude, some people are either more rigid or persuasible than others due to variations in personality, motivations, emotional make-up, belief systems and group affiliations which tend to lead to "selective perception" on the part of that individual.

5. Attitude Change

While attitudes may be changed without the individual's awareness via subliminal stimuli, other more easily controlled methods of attitude change include : repetition of the persuasive message ; offering solutions to enable dissonance to be resolved ; creating the feeling of free choice for the individual ; creating a feeling of being on the winning side if one attaches one's self to a particular concept ; providing the final push or last straw to push individuals from one attitude to another ; providing an opportunity to experience the "other" viewpoint ; "innoculating" the individual against dramatic attacks which may create a reversal of opinion.

Similarly the human being has many techniques for resisting attitude change :

- Counterarguing with the persuasive arguments, thus immunising their attitudes from attack.
- Anchoring attitudes to central values.
- Moving away from or avoiding perceived pressure and persuasive intent which rings of manipulation; i.e. reactance.
- Repressing the unpleasant or threatening ;
- Discrediting the source of a discrepant message ;

- Getting sidetracked by humour
- Blending the new with the old and therefore resisting attitude change.

6. The Attitude-Behaviour Relationship

The essential question for today's persuader is - What is the best way to make a persuasive impact ; attempt to change attitudes, behavioural habits or both ? Theories of attitude and behaviour change have long ago outstripped performance. There is nearly as much research evidence that behaviour shapes attitudes as there is that attitudes shape/cause behaviour.

One of the essential problems is that when the attitude-behaviour relationship is studied the results are given in terms of correlations which rarely exceed .4. A review of attitude-behaviour research indicates that at best only 50% of studies show a positive relationship and that most frequently it is a negative or neutral one. However, when a significant correlation is achieved researchers tend to state the findings in terms of "because" rather than in terms of correlations - "People buy X because". This tends to add to the confusion, "because" implies cause and effect while a correlation only implies that there may be some relationship.

a. Enhancing the Relationship

Researchers can, however, increase the reliability of the attitude-behaviour relationship when they design their research if they make sure that :

- there is a situational sameness for the attitude and behavioural measure.
- attitudes and behaviour are measured at the same level of generality or specificity.
- attitudes which are central, important and ego-involving are examined.
- homogenous behaviour groups are investigated.
- the "right" types of people are studied ; that is people who are consistent.
- the behavioural measure is an assured one, one which is ritualised and routine, and not self report of behaviour.
- more than one attitude or belief is examined - prediction increases with the number of attitudes included.

- a longitudinal study is conducted if possible ;
thus there is less reliance on one measure of attitude
and behaviour.
- a more sensitive research technique is employed to
measure attitudes and thus obtain a better fit ;
Thurstone Scales are often better than Likert ;
projective techniques and intention to buy are more
sensitive to salient attitudes.

Most researchers feel that the weak link in the attitude-behaviour relationship dilemma is the measurement technique used. They point out that there is a need for instruments which do not destroy the natural form of the attitude in the process of describing it ; e.g., a question which does not affect the answer. They point out further that the interviewing and REAL world MAY be totally different ; as a result researchers have been increasingly turning towards other types of measures - physiological techniques, or naturalistic experiments in order to avoid the disadvantages of the questionnaire. Others have embraced sophisticated statistical methods to increase the validity of attitude scale construction and analysis.

b. Intervening Variables

The majority of researchers do assume a correspondence between attitudes and behaviour, they further feel that it is not just the measuring tools which are preventing meaningful correlations but that other "intervening variables" also militate against meaningful correlations. The most important of these intervening variables is the human being who compounds the simple attitude-behaviour paradigm because of motivations, emotional, personality and demographic variables. Society further complicates the relationship with cultural values, social pressures and situational variables such as lack of opportunity to act. Furthermore, the complexity of the decision making process, which has recently been explored by researchers using complex perceived risk and game theory as well as trade-off models, adds another complication to the attitude-behaviour relationship. While both the individual and society are capable of flexibility it would be as well for researchers and advertisers alike to heed the advice of Mark Twain - "A round man cannot be expected to fit in a square hole right away, he must have time to modify his shape".

c. Behaviour may Precede Attitudes

Over the last decade there has emerged fairly convincing research evidence that behaviour precedes and therefore creates attitude change. To the Western Cartesian mind, convinced of the soundness of the axiom - "I think therefore I am", the possibility that "I am therefore I must think", is almost unthinkable. Fishbein is one of the foremost theorists to propose that there is a relationship between attitudes and behaviour and that "a person tends to bring his attitudes into line with his behaviour".

Research conducted in four areas has tended to confirm the behaviour = attitudes theory :

Real Life class-room, shop floor and integrated housing situations have shown that behaviour has preceded attitude formation and change.

Forced-Compliance experiments, in which respondents are asked to meet the experimenter's requirements in performing an act, attending group discussions, wearing particular clothing, speaking out on a particular issue have also shown the same effect.

Consumer Research clearly indicates that usership will predict attitudes such that heavy, light and non-users will have significantly different attitudes after becoming users.

Induced Fear as a behavioural event can be shown to correlate with attitude change and ultimately behavioural change showing that there is indeed a symbiotic relationship between emotions/behaviour and attitudes. This is because fear induces anxiety and the individual seeks to dissipate this anxiety via changes in attitudes, unless the level of fear and anxiety is too high, in which case the individual will turn off and "freeze" both his attitudes and behaviour.

Induced fear on issues of health, safety, environment and life insurance for instance have been shown to change attitudes as long as ; fear appeals are at a moderate as opposed to intense level ; the recipients of the message are well adjusted and high in self esteem and not too ego-involved such as heavy smokers exposed to an anti-smoking commercial.

7. Behaviour and Behaviour Change

Research conducted into behaviour change falls into two general categories :

Focused Experiments - Respondents are aware of the purpose and may choose to yield or resist the suggested behaviour. Experiments in which behavioural manipulation has been successful have used such situations as : requests to throw waste paper into bins ; an opinion leader ; a Token Economy ; the real life petrol crisis and the foot-in-the-door technique.

Unfocused Experiments - Environmental variables are manipulated without the subject's awareness ; such factors as light, sound, posters and hoardings ; verbal and gestural conditioning in a group setting and subliminal stimuli have been successfully used to change behaviour.

8. Models - An Answer to the Attitude-Behaviour Relationship Problem

Models were an attempt to control the "intervening variables" and to place social psychology in a more scientific mould along with the other serious sciences such as physics, chemistry and economics. Of the various types of models used by social psychologists Trade-Offs are the simplest and most versatile, but have yet to be standardised.

The advantages of models is that they offer the possibility of prediction, but more importantly they guide researchers into more systematic ways of approaching a problem by offering a check list of variables and relationships, as well as a framework and discipline for their research problem. The disadvantages are that because models are couched in the precise language of mathematics they are seductive ; this precision does not guarantee validity since models are frequently used when they are not relevant to the problem. Moreover, model builders are frequently unaware of the meaning of the mathematical inter-relationships they achieve and they tend to treat all individuals alike.

There are as many as 28 basic models of consumer behaviour of which the most well known, used, tested, modified and respected is that of Fishbein in which he attempts to account for the four principal factors of : attitudes, beliefs, behavioural intentions and behaviour, as well as the other variables of attitudes towards the act and motivation to comply.

The model has many variations; as researchers have sought to apply it to their problems they have added such factors as : situational variables ; attitudes towards the situation ; content of the belief ; social support ; ascription of responsibility and perceived risks.

The other influential model of consumer behaviour is that of Howard and Sheth which features and emphasises the learning process of the individual. Other popular models include :

St.James - emphasising the concept of the ideal brand and the respondent's perceived psychological distance from it.

Dulany - based on a verbal conditioning paradigm.

Woodside and Clokey - which includes attitudes towards other brands .

Nicosia - which looks at consumer behaviour as a decision-making sequence.

Unfortunately most research involving models is rarely replicated ; instead models are often compared to other simpler techniques which win out because they are easier to understand and apply and give consistent results.

Model builders have so far been too much like Grand Theorists ; they allow methodology to determine the problem and get drunk on their own terminology thus inhibiting insightful social inquiry.

9. Advertising and its Effects on Attitudes and Behaviour

While some advertisers are content to assume that advertising's role is to supply information about products, most advertisers and market researchers would concur that advertising's role is to stimulate sales.

However, they would further agree with Plummer that "the true effect of advertising on sales is not known".

Moreover, they would also agree that advertising for the most part does not establish but rather follows social, cultural and fashion trends ; therefore advertising's essential role as described by Ehrenberg, is to reinforce feelings of satisfaction with brands and products already being used.

Most advertising practitioners make the further assumption that attitudes precede behaviour and that advertising's primary role is to influence attitudes ; thus there has been an attempt among researchers to demonstrate the effects of advertising on attitudes and behaviour.

- Advertising effects attitude formation and change when there is considerable repetition of the advertising ; the advertising taps a basic need, motivational or emotional state ; or, the advertisement helps to reduce dissonance, e.g., provides a rationale for the consumer who has just purchased.
- Advertising's effects on behaviour are even better documented ; voting and attendance at clinics have been stimulated via advertising as well as purchase behaviour ; in fact when advertising has been stopped sales have decayed.

Since advertising can be shown to affect both attitude formation/change and behaviour then the logical extension is that advertising effects attitudes which in turn effect behaviour on the same issue. This does NOT appear to happen. In some cases attitudes have been shown to change as a result of advertising but behaviour has not followed suit ; in other cases behaviour has changed but attitudes have not budged an inch. And, even more surprisingly attitudes and behaviour may change in concert but be totally unrelated to the advertising.

There are only a few notable exceptions in which advertising has been shown to affect attitudes which have then been shown to affect behaviour and these instances have required a longitudinal study to show this effect.

On the other hand, if word-of-mouth effects are substituted for advertising there are, interestingly, more significant correlations between the three factors.

These findings are probably not so surprising if one makes the assumption that advertising does not create social and cultural trends but merely mirrors them ; in which case advertising should not be expected to form and change attitudes but rather to stimulate culturally induced behaviour.

advertisers have yet to use to their advantage :

- ... evaluating and monitoring the body language conveyed in a presentation, as well as devising and writing down appropriate body language for a particular advertisement as choreographers do for dancers.

Thus, it would appear that if advertising, attitudes and behaviour are inter-related it is not in a strict cause and effect manner but rather as independent variables which under certain conditions interact with one another. If the interaction were a perfectly predictable one then manipulation by persuaders would be inevitable ; the imperfect relationship is the human safeguard against this occurrence. That is the good news in this book ; the bad news is that there is still a great deal of basic research and rethinking which needs to be done.

- ... more willingness to present the two sides of an issue so that consumers do not feel that they are being pressurised
- ... leaving the intelligent consumer to draw his or her own conclusions instead of doing all of the deducting for him/her. It has been shown that when the viewer participates in the message there is more learning and persuasion.
- ... using visual or audio distractions to eliminate counter-arguments while the essential persuasive message is contained in the opposite medium.

There are additional factors which have been shown to influence attitude change which advertisers should also consider :

- creating a permissive, selling atmosphere in which the consumer can feel that he has free choice ; that it was really his idea.
- "innoculating" one's regular consumers against counter-attacks by preparing them for the competition's message.
- providing opportunities for the consumer to experience the product or service.
- more thorough evaluation of the spokesmen and women used in advertising in terms of speech style, personality, credibility and trustworthiness.

Furthermore, researchers should recognise that before the individual can change one attitude for another there must exist at some level of the individual's awareness feelings of dissatisfaction with the old attitude. Research should not only attempt to study attitudes but should include a gauge of the strength, intensity, direction, degree, consistency, saliency and satisfaction with the attitude, as suggested by Klineberg.

3. In order to prevent resistance to persuasion advertisers should attempt to :

- prevent counterarguing ; distractions and two-sided presentations are very effective.
- avoid attacking central beliefs and values.
- avoid high pressure techniques which appear to usurp the individual's right to decide for himself and thus create reactance.
- avoid arousing unpleasant associations which may lead to repression of the entire message.

B. Conclusions and Recommendations

1. We all have them, but what exactly are they - what are attitudes? If they are mental events which operate on the sub-conscious and unconscious level then it may be that the very act of measuring an attitude destroys its original form because the individual is asked to verbalise a mental event. The act of verbalising puts certain pressures on the individual to be logical and coherent; explaining one's self demands a certain amount of convergent and linear thinking, while mental events on the other hand are often divergent and non-linear. This it could be that when the individual is asked to explain his attitude toward driving a car it is a bit like asking him to explain how it feels to go on an LSD trip; only the most poetic respondent would be able to give any real response. In fact the best "explanations" of LSD trips have been done in paintings, and no doubt this would be true of driving a car as well.

If attitudes are indeed mental events, which do not lend themselves to verbal descriptions and may even be destroyed by them, then the "thing" which social psychologists call attitudes are merely a research artifact created by psychologists to describe something which ought to exist so that mental thoughts and related behaviours can appear logical and purposeful.

Throughout the history of scientific inquiry the principles of measurement have been applied to something with structure, since attitudes do not have structure there is an inherent danger that by measuring them psychologists are imposing a structure that does not exist.

On the other hand, perhaps attitudes are the result of the conscious evaluation and processing of the information at the individual's disposal, such that he/she becomes programmed with his own set of attitudes with which to deal with the world around him. With his/her attitudes thus programmed the individual need not re-evaluate and make a fresh decision each time he is face to face with a specific situation, his attitudes tell him what he "thinks" about it. If this is the way attitudes exist then the research method of asking people to describe their attitudes is indeed a valid one.

At this stage in the development of attitude theory each researcher must take a stand and design his/her research techniques accordingly; in depth projective, research techniques are inappropriate if attitudes are a result of conscious evaluation. Similarly, attitude scales will be insensitive to subconscious mental events.

2. There are numerous factors which appear, experimentally at least, to influence the learning and formation of attitudes, many of which advertisers have yet to use to their advantage:

- ... evaluating and monitoring the body language conveyed in a presentation, as well as devising and writing down appropriate body language for a particular advertisement as choreographers do for dancers.

- ... more willingness to present the two sides of an issue so that consumers do not feel that they are being pressurised
- ... leaving the intelligent consumer to draw his or her own conclusions instead of doing all of the deducting for him/her. It has been shown that when the viewer participates in the message there is more learning and persuasion.
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There are additional factors which have been shown to influence attitude change which advertisers should also consider :

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Furthermore, researchers should recognise that before the individual can change one attitude for another there must exist at some level of the individual's awareness feelings of dissatisfaction with the old attitude. Research should not only attempt to study attitudes but should include a gauge of the strength, intensity, direction, degree, consistency, saliency and satisfaction with the attitude, as suggested by Klineberg.

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- prevent counterarguing ; distractions and two-sided presentations are very effective.
- avoid attacking central beliefs and values.
- avoid high pressure techniques which appear to usurp the individual's right to decide for himself and thus create reactance.
- avoid arousing unpleasant associations which may lead to repression of the entire message.

- select communicators carefully, in terms of personality, demographics and ability to communicate appropriately in terms of body language.
- determine whether the use of humour in a persuasive message contributes or detracts from consumer attitudes.

There is also a need for some basic research into the effects of humour on the persuasive message in a consumer context and a need to develop sensitive research tools which are capable of distinguishing the central values and beliefs of the individual from the peripheral.

4. Certain types of individuals are exceptionally vulnerable to persuasion ; they tend to be authoritarian, dogmatic, low in self esteem, unimaginative, field dependent, subjective and anxious. They are on the whole identifiable and need to be better understood and protected by advertisers so that the advertising industry is not accused of preying on the weak, powerless and incapable among the population.

5. Instead of trying to improve the attitude-behaviour relationship with existing techniques or new, improved, more "powerful" and sensitive techniques it would be more meaningful for researchers to attempt to re-think the entire assumptive philosophy underlying the attitude-behaviour relationship, since it cannot be denied that under certain circumstances attitudes and behaviour could be unrelated. It is perfectly possible for two people with the same attitude to behave differently.

Currently the study of the attitude-behaviour relationship consists of an attempt to relate significantly, i.e., to find correlations between two forms of behaviour - Response Behaviour (responding to questions) and Overt Behaviour. With this approach it is assumed that Response Behaviour is an accurate mirror image of the mental event attitude ; this may or may not be the case.

Furthermore, too many research investigations into the attitude-behaviour relationship are conducted outside of a meaningful socio-psychological context. Researchers need to remember that attitudes are attached to personalities and these personalities are attached to underlying motives and emotional components. In addition, behaviour occurs in a social setting where there are certain restraints and encouragements concerning such behaviour. All of these factors need to be considered in the re-thinking process proposed.

6. "Nothing is as practical as a good theory", Lewin. This is what the attitude-behaviour relationship problem urgently requires, but before this is possible there is a need to collect and index all of the findings, including an analysis and evaluation of the samples, research techniques and situational variables used in each research project. This should be done on a large scale, international basis wherein each study would also be rated for reliability and validity, in a manner similar to the Yale Index of Anthropological Research.

7. Experiments in which a behavioural change has been forced upon people in their living, work or social situation have shown a significant effect on attitude change. Forced compliance marketing situations, aside from the free sample, are rare and even they are poorly monitored and understood.

The frequent finding that usership predicts attitudes may be much more than mere ex-post facto rationalisation on the part of the consumer. It most probably indicates that the consumer brings his/her attitudes into line with his/her behaviour. Since habit is the greatest enemy of marketing activity there is a need for advertisers to explore new ways of breaking down habits, to encourage the "trial" of new behaviours, such as experimental booths in shops.

Furthermore, studies of behaviour change rarely go beyond the immediate ; that is an environmental variable may be presented such as music in a supermarket, the immediate behaviour is then monitored - but what effect will this experience have on the shopper the next time ? Is there a wear-out index ? There is a need for a study of the long-term effects of manipulated behaviour change while at the same time avoiding the measurement effect on behaviour change, e.g., the Hawthorne Effect.

8. Models have been presented as the answer to the attitude-behaviour relationship problem and more specifically as giving insight into consumer behaviour. However, while models have helped researchers become more disciplined in their thinking, in the end they merely offer a more expensive, time consuming and complicated method of getting correlations which are frequently no better than that obtained by other methods. Models may prove to hold the key to the attitude-behaviour relationship problem, but until there are more scientific attempts to replicate existing models, rather than create the new and improved version, researchers will never know.

9. Advertising and other external environmental events such as light, colours, sounds, etc., appear to reliably affect behaviour while at the same time short-circuiting attitudes. This may be because advertising in following social and cultural trends as opposed to setting them, does not operate on a deep enough level to affect attitudes. Repetitive advertising for instance has proved to be one of the most reliable mediators of behaviour change because repetition makes the unfamiliar, familiar ; it makes the threatening acceptable. It would appear that the Behaviourists were right after all, S-R is the proper paradigm for advertising. If so the dynamics of repetition need to be more thoroughly researched and understood ; such as how to reclothe a persuasive message in order to retain and repeat the familiar but offer it up in a fresh manner. When should an old familiar campaign be brought back - after six months, one year, five ? How far can mere repetition be effective if the advertising is not based on any emotional or motivational need ?

10. How can advertising best influence the attitude-behaviour relationship ? This was the original question which spawned this book. A review of the literature has shown disappointing results in attempting

to correlate the three variables ; in fact word-of-mouth effects appear to offer a more promising possibility of correlating with attitudes and behaviour in a meaningful way. This is a very under-researched area and should be more thoroughly and properly investigated with particular emphasis on answering the question - what types of advertising are more likely to stimulate the desired word-of-mouth effects ?

Since Longitudinal Studies have shown more significant correlations between attitudes and behaviour and even in a few instances between advertising, attitudes and behaviour there is a real need for market and advertising researchers to sponsor longitudinal studies into these areas. In other fields of psychology such as the developmental and educational the longitudinal study has been invaluable in providing insights into the inter-relationship of variables and ultimately resulting in meaningful correlations between variables.

As yet, no final solution to the attitude-behaviour relationship problem can be offered to the researcher or advertiser. This book has been an attempt to condense what is known and to establish guidelines concerning what needs to be learned. The length of this discourse is not only indicative of the complexity of the problem but of the proclivity of psychologists to analyse problems in depth, no doubt in the hope as McAllister has said, that "If you talk long enough, you will say something intelligent".

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