NORMATIVE SELF-DEFINITIONAL MINORITY INFLUENCE:

WHEN INNOVATION IS VALUED

A Thesis

by

DENETTE RAE BABCOCK

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

May 1998

Major Subject: Psychology

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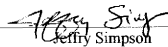
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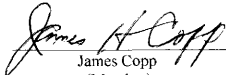for the degree of

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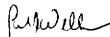
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ABSTRACT

Normative Self-Definitional Influence:

When Innovation Is Valued. (May 1998)

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The goal of this study was to test a prediction of the normative self-definitional model of social influence: when a norm of innovation is salient and self-relevant to a person, a minority is more likely to attain influence compared to when a norm valuing the status quo or no norm is invoked, and that based on the salience and self-relevance of the innovative norm, the influence will occur through a relatively thoughtful cognitive process on the part of the recipient. Furthermore, when cued to think in an innovative versus a status quo fashion, these effects will be emphasized. Finally, based on group decision-making research, it was also expected that those valuing innovation would exhibit the most divergent and creative thought. An experiment using four different social issues was conducted in which participants were exposed to an innovative versus a status quo versus no norm, then presented with a minority source who held a counterattitudinal position, then given the opportunity to reinterpret the issue in an either innovative or status quo fashion that would justify the minority source's stance, and then were given an assessment of attitude change. Results were marginally supportive of the hypotheses with only one issue. As expected, participants valuing a norm of innovation reinterpreted the issue in an innovative, but not a status quo, fashion that allowed

alignment with the minority source. Attitude change also followed this pattern, but was not significant. A qualitative analysis revealed that most divergent and creative thought was expressed by participants in this condition as well. This study does provide direction for additional investigation into the type of processing leading to social influence that arises from normative, self-definitional pressures; however, due to the lack of robustness of the findings, further research will need to be conducted before any convincing conclusions can be drawn. Problems with the study are discussed and another study is proposed that addresses these issues.

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INTRODUCTION

Research on social influence originated in a quest to understand human beings'
often surprising compliance with others; conformity appears to predominate even in
situations in which it would seem detrimental to do so. Consider, for example, the mass
compliance of the general public to the tenets of the Nazi regime in Germany during the
Second World War, or the mass suicide at Jonestown under the leadership of the
Reverend Jim Jones.

Research demonstrating a majority opinion impact stimulated questions about
opinion minority influence (e.g. Moscovici, Lage, & Naffrachoux, 1969). Proponents of
minority influence point to a number of real-world examples of the power of minorities
to influence, including the gradual movement in mainstream society toward gender
equality, and movement toward race equality with the civil rights movement. A number
of laboratory experiments have established that minorities can indeed influence
majorities under controlled conditions (e.g., Maass, Clark, & Haberkorn, 1982;
Moscovici & Lage, 1976; Nemeth & Wachtler, 1983). The underlying mechanism of this
change, especially whether majorities and minorities induce change through the same, or
different, processes is a long-debated issue.

A Dual-Process Model of Social Influence

According to Moscovici, majorities and minorities attain influence through dual
processes (1980, 1985a, 1985b). Majority influence reflects compliance; people agree

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Psychology.

with the majority because of the social pressure to uphold the norms it represents. Based on the desire to avoid a conflict with a unanimous majority, people agree publicly. Once majority pressure is reduced, however, the apparent influence dissipates as well. Thus, it is suggested that normative pressures induce a relatively thoughtless agreement, or compliance, with the majority that is apparent on public, but not private, measures of opinion.

Minority influence, on the other hand, is thought to reflect conversion (Moscovici, 1985a). Recipients initially resist agreement with minorities because of the fear of losing face, of speaking and acting in a deviant manner, and of recognizing themselves as deviant (Moscovici, 1985a, 1985b). That is, people want to avoid the conflict that aligning with a minority would create between the self and the majority. When the minority consistently states its case, and thereby gains credibility, recipients undertake a validation process and critically evaluate the viewpoint of the minority. Due to this deeper reflection, any attitude change that occurs is likely to be real change, or conversion. However, because of the negative pressures of aligning with the minority, the conversion is not likely to appear on public measures, but is more likely to be evident on private measures.

Moscovici's theory thus suggests that two separate processes underlie social influence. Majorities' influence is public compliance stemming from normative pressures; minorities' influence is private conversion resulting from effortful consideration of a consistently stated counterattitudinal position. Alternative, single-process theories have since been developed to account for the impact of both majorities and minorities.

A Single-Process Model of Social Influence

      According to self-categorization theory, compliance and conversion are part of the same influence process (Turner, 1991). Supporters of self-categorization postulate that people categorize themselves into particular groups and are subsequently influenced by prototypical members of these ingroups (e.g., Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg & Turner, 1990; Hogg & Turner, 1987). Similar others (i.e., those in the ingroup) are presumed to have a more valid view of reality than members of outgroups. Therefore, when members of the ingroup espouse counterattitudinal stances, people experience uncertainty. The resulting reduction in the subjective validity of their attitudes creates a vulnerability to influence.

      It is relatively easy to imagine the majority as the influential ingroup in this process. However, it is postulated that minority influence is a result of the same process. It is suggested that although a minority of the ingroup may be different from its other members, when compared to outgroup members, it is perceived as more like the ingroup than the outgroup. Therefore, the minority has the same ability as the majority to reduce certainty and generate influence upon suggesting opinions counter to group norms. Empirical research has garnered some support for these ideas. In one study, male participants were presented with a pro-attitudinal argument by an ingroup (male) minority and by an outgroup (female) minority (Maass, Clark, Haberkorn, 1982). The male, or ingroup, minority was more influential. In another study, the number of similarities, specifically social categories, between the minority and the participant was manipulated from one to five (Mugny & Papastamou, 1982). When five versus one categories were shared by the minority and the participant, the minority was

significantly more influential.

These studies, and self-categorization in general, raise questions about the value of a dual-process model of social influence and suggest instead that the same process leads to both majority and minority influence. However, self-categorization theory does not address the very real possibility that systematic thought (the basis of enduring attitude change or conversion) and heuristic strategies (the basis of transitory attitude change or compliance) can both occur within majority and minority influence.

A Meta-Analysis of Social Influence Processes

Minority influence has been empirically studied from different perspectives and using different paradigms, making a simple comparison of the results across studies a challenging task. Moscovici expressed a similar sentiment when he said "The time has come to order and compare [the findings] systematically, to bring out the regularities" (1985a, p.45). A meta-analytic synthesis of 97 influence experiments addressed this issue by examining the effects of opinion minorities under controlled, laboratory conditions (Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme, & Blackstone, 1994). One important finding was that recipients appear to have been normatively motivated to differentiate themselves from minorities and to align themselves with majorities.

Apparently, to differentiate themselves from the "deviant" minority, recipients exposed to minority source appeals (as compared to no-message controls) agreed less with that source on measures directly related to the appeal and more when the measures were less obviously related to the appeal. Those exposed to majority source appeals (vs. minority source appeals), on the other hand, appeared to be motivated to align with the source. On measures of agreement directly related to the appeal, majorities were more

influential than minorities. However, when the measures were less direct, no differences were found between majorities' and minorities' influence. The authors suggested that the greater impact of minorities on indirect than direct measures emerged because recipients were apparently not aware that their judgments could potentially align them with the undesirable minority.

The above findings suggest that the negative normative pressures that reduce the direct influence of minorities are related to the minority's deviant social identity. Further underscoring this idea is the pattern that emerged when the method of operationalizing the minority was analyzed (Wood, et al., 1994). Specifically, the more salient was the minority's social group identity, and, presumably, therefore its social deviancy, the less was recipients' direct private agreement with that group. These results seem to indicate that the more negatively a minority is viewed, the less influence it will have when influence is measured on direct, private measures.

The meta-analysis also revealed that majority opinions not only prevailed when recipients were asked to indicate their opinions publicly, but that the majority was also more influential than the minority when opinions were indicated on direct, <u>private</u> measures; that is, it is not just the <u>public</u> recognition of deviancy that inhibits minority influence. Thus, the normative pressures controlling direct agreement do not stem solely from the recipients' desire to convey a positive public impression to others; the pressures must come, in part, from the negative implications of aligning with a negatively-valued minority source for the recipient's <u>own self</u>-<u>definition</u>.

Heuristic and Systematic Thought

In a recent chapter, Wood (in press) suggested that the desire to align with positively valued groups and differentiate from negatively valued groups in the name of maintaining a positive self-definition can be thought of as a defensive motivation to hold attitudes and beliefs that are congruent with existing self-definitional attitudes and beliefs (Chaiken, Giner-Sorolla, & Chen, 1996; Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly, 1989). Implications for self-definition should be greater as the relevance of the group to the self increases.

As discussed earlier, self-categorization theory (Turner, 1991) proposed that when people categorize themselves with positively valued groups, they perceive group members as similar to the self, and accept the groups' opinions. Although the motivation to adopt a valued group identity and reject a derogated group is common to both Turner's (1991) and to Wood's (in press) interpretation of minority and majority social influence, self-categorization theory ties group influence to one particular process, involving cognitive categorization. In contrast, Wood (in press) has argued that self-definitional normative pressures generate influence through a variety of processes. When people are not highly motivated by group identity they may use simple decision rules, as represented in categorization, to decide what opinion to state (e.g., the heuristic, "consensus is correct"). When highly motivated by group identity, however, people may carefully and systematically evaluate the source's position and base agreement on this more thoughtful process (see Chaiken et al., 1989).

One such thoughtful process is defensive reinterpretation of a highly self-relevant ingroup's initially counterattitudinal stance in order to make it seem reasonable and

acceptable (Allen & Wilder, 1980; Asch, 1940). This serves to justify agreement with that group and thereby maintain a positive self-definition. Conversely, when a highly self-relevant, deviant group member puts forth a *pro*attitudinal stance, the self-defining normative pressure would cause one to want to move away from the group's position. The ensuing defensive reinterpretation would make the group's stance seem unreasonable and unacceptable, allowing the recipient to disagree with the group and maintain a positive self-definition.

Most of the time, majorities are viewed positively, and minorities are judged more negatively or as deviant. Therefore, normative pressures usually instill a desire to align with majorities. A person may agree with the majority group's stances through relatively effortless processes (e.g., "I see the majority as positive, therefore I will agree with its stances") or through a more effortful process, in which case a defensive motivation to align with the majority biases cognitive processing, allowing the person to maintain alignment with the majority. If, however, the norms are such that the minority is viewed especially positively, the minority group should be the one that is influential. Furthermore, as with the majority, agreement with the minority should not always be a simple heuristic process; more systematic processing should sometimes occur in order to allow the self to align with the minority.

In essence, Wood's conceptualization of self-definitional normative social influence has integrated the heretofore incompatible single- versus dual-process models. Reflecting a single-process perspective, it is suggested that the process of influence cannot be broken down by majority versus minority influence. However, the dual aspect of social influence is retained in that it is said to occur through systematic processing or

heuristic processing; majorities and minorities can elicit compliance or conversion.

Empirical Evidence for Systematic Thought

With a focus on the systematic process, two studies by Wood, Pool, Leck, and Purvis (1996) were conducted to demonstrate that the normative pressure leading to alignment with majority groups and differentiation from minority groups can result from a relatively effortful thought process when the source group is highly relevant to the recipients' own self-definitions. The authors assessed the defensive motivation established by the self-definitional implications of majority and minority source groups and documented the informational processes by which these motivations affect influence.

The first study concerned movement toward the majority group. The predictions were that the normative pressures to align with the majority group would instigate interpretation shifts and attitude change only for recipients who judged the majority group to be self-relevant.

Participants were told that a previous survey had measured student attitudes on a number of social issues, and that their job was to interpret the meaning of those responses. To manipulate source identity, the students in the survey were described as either "American Aggies" (majority group) or the neutrally evaluated "foreign A&M students" (comparison condition). Participants then learned that the earlier survey positions opposed their own initial opinions. To ensure that the source identity and positions were correctly recalled, participants were asked to indicate what they remembered. They were then asked to indicate their inferences about the source's interpretation of the issue and to give their own interpretations.

Interpretations were indicated on nine-point scales with anchors being two opposing interpretations. One interpretation supported the participant's pre-experimental stance and the other supported the source's counterattitudinal stance. For example, the majority was said to endorse the following statement: "Sex of employees should be considered in promotion." The interpretation supporting the pre-experimental stance of participants was that this indicated sex discrimination, and the interpretation supporting the source's stance was that it meant that the best person should be given the promotion unless the job requires physical skills like strength. The latter interpretation allowed the (ingroup) source's initially counterattitudinal position to be perceived as acceptable. Indeed, for those individuals who rated the majority group self-relevant, completing the interpretation measures gave participants the opportunity to change the meaning of the attitude statement to make it seem reasonable. The new interpretation of the issue then rendered the majority source's deviant attitudes acceptable, and participants changed their views to be consistent with the source position.

The second study extended the model of influence to include minority group sources. Deviant minority groups (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan) were presented as holding positions that the recipients endorsed. This allowed assessment of the extent to which individuals would differentiate from the minority group by shifting their own position away from the minority view. An example of an attitude statement used in this study is, "In the US, anyone who is willing and able to work hard has a good chance of succeeding." For the anchors of the scales in this study, the interpretation supporting participants' pre-experimental stance was that success is attainable by anyone, regardless of sex or race, and the interpretation devaluing the deviant source's initially

pro-attitudinal stance was that although most people can succeed if they work hard, some minorities have a harder time because of discrimination.

Participants who judged the minority group source self-relevant, and learned that the group held a position that corresponded to their own views, shifted their own interpretation of the attitude issue to one that devalued the source's stance; they reinterpreted the issue in a way that allowed them to hold a different opinion than the deviant group. As in the first study, for the self-relevant participants, being able to choose an interpretation served as a cue on which to base their own defensive reinterpretation of the issue and allowed for attitude change. The attitude measures indicated that participants moved away from the minority source, providing further evidence that participants were motivated to effortfully differentiate from the deviant minority.

The theory on which the conclusions of these two studies are based suggests that the above pattern would be reversed under circumstances in which the minority group is valued. Recall from the minority influence meta-analysis that the more salient the minority group's deviance, the less influential it was (Wood et al., 1994). It therefore stands to reason that if a minority source is not perceived as deviant, its persuasive powers should increase. The minorities might even be more influential than majority sources to the extent that the minority represents a positively-valued group with which recipients wish to align. For example, minorities would be expected to prevail in contexts of innovation, in which recipients may try to align with a creative, original minority source and to differentiate from a commonplace, conventional majority.

Minority Advocacy When Norms Value Innovation

An example of a context in which difference is likely to reflect innovation is in the realm of group decision-making wherein the solutions proposed by opinion minorities are more likely to be perceived as creative rather than deviant and unacceptable. Indeed, past research in this area has provided some of the best examples of minority impact (e.g. Nemeth, 1986; Nemeth & Rogers, 1996). In these contexts, the solutions proposed by opinion minorities are more likely to be viewed as creative and innovative rather than as deviant and unacceptable. In a typical study in Nemeth's research, group members are given a perceptual task to perform and then a minority versus a majority number of members of the group (actually experimental confederates) give the correct versus the incorrect response to the judgment problem. The participant then responds, indicating her or his own choice. For example, in one study (Nemeth & Wachtler, 1983), the group was shown a series of slides that displayed a standard figure and a number of comparison figures. The participants were asked to choose those comparison figures that contained the standard figure. One comparison figure was very easy to locate and the others were more difficult. In the minority condition, two (confederates) of the six group members said the figure was contained within the easy figure and within one other figure; in the majority condition, four of the six members said this. Participants in the majority condition tended to follow the majority regardless of whether or not it was correct. Those in the minority condition, however, modeled the divergent thinking of the minority and found more new, and correct, solutions (see also Nemeth & Kwan, 1985).

In a recent study extending her findings, Nemeth and Rogers (1996) specifically tested the hypothesis that a search for information would be less biased under conditions of minority dissent than under conditions of majority dissent. This study also extended the research from the realm of perceptual choices (wherein a correct choice objectively exists) into the more subjective area of attitudes. The influence appeal advocated stricter dormitory rules on campus, a subject about which there is clearly no "correct" stance. The results supported Nemeth's contention; participants' searches for information were less biased when provoked by minority dissent than majority dissent.

Not all minority positions are likely to be equally persuasive. In a situation valuing innovation, original minority suggestions, but not conventional solutions, are likely to evoke original responses from message recipients (Mucchi-Faina, Maass, & Volpato, 1991). Indeed, in a decision-making situation wherein innovative responses were valued, participants generated more original proposals when a minority advocated an original proposal than when it advocated a conventional proposal or than when a majority advocated an innovative proposal.

The importance of innovation for minority influence is not only true in group decision-making. Moscovici and Lage (1978) conducted an earlier study to test the effects of a norm of originality on social influence. In the portion of the study relevant to the present research, participants were brought into the lab one day before the actual experiment, ostensibly to familiarize themselves with the goals of the experiment. They were led to believe that the study was going to examine originality in color perception. The purpose of the day delay was to allow participants an interval of time before the experiment to "better assimilate the originality norm and think about their behavior

before taking part in the experiment" (p. 353). These instructions served to instill the norm of originality.

In the actual experiment, participants were to judge the color of blue slides. In the experimental condition, they participated with two confederates and three other naive subjects. The confederates consistently stated that they saw the blue slides as green. The control condition was identical to the experimental group except that a norm of originality had not been established in the preliminary session. Thus, minority influence was compared under conditions involving a norm of originality versus those under which no norm was salient. Participants' color choices were later coded as: (a) objective (i.e., blue), (b) following the minority (i.e., green), or (c) divergent (i.e., any defensible color choice other than blue or green). Results revealed that minorities evoked more divergent color perception responses and more responses that conformed to the minority judgment when a norm of originality had been imposed versus when it had not.

The research by Moscovici and Lage (1978) can best be summarized as demonstrating a change in participants' perceptual judgments due to minority presence. The research by Nemeth and her colleagues focused on the problem-solving or decision-making strategies used in the presence of a minority. The present research examined change in evaluative judgments under circumstances favoring innovation, in the presence of a minority. It compared minority influence under a normative context of originality to that obtained in a situation with no salient norm, and to that obtained in a context in which norms favored status quo responses.

PRESENT RESEARCH

The present research was designed to test if attitudes can change toward minorities through a normatively-driven, defensively-guided, systematic process as occurs with self-relevant majorities (Wood et al., 1996). A norm valuing innovation or one valuing status quo responses was instilled at the beginning of the experiment. A control group of participants were not primed with a norm. A minority source was described and he was said to hold a counterattitudinal stance to the participants' on a given issue. The innovative norm, being especially salient to participants and congruent with the minority source, was expected to increase the relevance of the minority group. The positive identification with the minority was, in turn, expected to induce a relatively effortful process of alignment with him. To assess how positively the minority source was indeed perceived to be, participants listed their thoughts about him.

Participants in the innovative norm condition were expected to experience a moment of angst upon learning that the minority holds a position on an issue that differs from their own. In order to retain a positive self-definition, they were expected to be motivated to find a way to reconcile their own view with that of the minority. Their willingness to defensively reinterpret the source's counterattitudinal stance in a way that justifies agreement with him was therefore assessed. Furthermore, half of the participants were given the opportunity to reconstrue the source's stance with an innovative interpretation and half with an interpretation that represented the status quo. Following the logic of Mucchi-Faina et al. (1991), innovative norm participants were expected to accept an innovative interpretation of the minority stance more than a conventional (status quo) interpretation.

The reinterpretation of the stance is the expected process through which attitude change will occur. Therefore, participants in the innovative norm situation, particularly those given the opportunity to reconceptualize the minority source's stance with an innovative interpretation, were expected to show marked attitude change toward the minority on the issue of interest.

In addition, the norm of innovation was expected to increase the divergent and creative thought provoked by the minority. Moreover, participants wanting to comply with the innovative norm may not do so by directly aligning with the minority source stance, but rather by generating an alternative (i.e., creative/divergent) interpretation in line with that stance. Participants were therefore given the opportunity to express a variety of ways of thinking about the issue of interest.

Minorities should be less valued in the condition with the status quo norm, and in the condition with no salient norm. The minority in these conditions was expected to have little impact on participants' responses. In the status quo norm condition, it was also possible that the minority would be viewed as a referent group from which to differentiate. Thus, in this condition, participants' thoughts, interpretations, and attitudes might reveal movement away from the minority source.

METHOD

Participants

Four-hundred forty-four male and female undergraduate students at Texas A&M University participated as part of a requirement for their introductory psychology course.

Issues

The particular issues used in the experiment were chosen based on pretesting of a separate sample of 60 individuals who reported their attitudes regarding a number of socially relevant issues on 11-point scales. Participants expressed strong agreement with two of the issues selected, tougher environmental rules for pollution ($M = 8.82$) and welfare reform ($M = 8.48$); and opposition to the other two, decreasing the voting age to 16 years ($M = 3.50$), and tuition increases at public universities ($M = 3.80$).

Pretest

A separate pretest was conducted to establish the link between innovation and the minority source. A sample of 41 pretest participants was asked to take the perspective of a person who values either an innovative approach or a status quo approach to dealing with social issues. The description of the minority source was presented to them (see below), and they were subsequently asked to give their impression of the source on three 7-point semantic differential scales with anchors good/bad, favorable/unfavorable, and positive/negative. Summing the means of the scales, results revealed that the minority source was rated significantly more favorably by those who took the innovative perspective ($M = 17.73$) than by those who took the status quo perspective ($M = 9.00$), $F(1, 40) = 35.01$, $p < .001$.

Procedure

  Individuals participated in groups of 20 to 30 in an experiment that they believed was two different studies; one on voting attitudes and one on marketing strategies. Participants were told that the purpose of the first study was to identify ways in which 18-24 year olds think about politicians and political issues as a means to ascertain reasons for low voter turn-out of people this age. They were asked to fill out a brief pre-experimental questionnaire on the premise of attaining demographic information and opinions on a variety of issues "because this information may help us understand your answers to later questions." Embedded in this questionnaire was an item asking for the participants' opinion on the issue of interest. This question served as the time-one measure of attitude for that issue (Appendix A).

  Upon collecting this information from participants, the experimenter expressed regret at having forgotten the questionnaires for the main part of her experiment in her office. For the innovative norm and status quo norm conditions, the experimenter for the "other study" offered to run his "marketing" experiment while she went to get the questionnaires so that the participants would not have to wait. Positioning of the "marketing" experiment at this point allowed for separation of time-one and time-two attitude measures. Of equal importance, it allowed for the norm to be primed immediately before the minority was presented and attitudes were measured.

  The norms of innovation or status quo were primed in the ostensibly separate study on "marketing psychology" by having participants read a synopsis of a business venture. It described a man who opened a successful restaurant that was either innovative, or that followed the status quo. The description was followed by four

questions regarding reasons for his success (Appendices B and C). These questions were designed to increase the positive self-relevance of the primed norm, and to provide a manipulation check for acceptance of the primed norm. After the questions had been answered, the experimenter retrieved the questionnaires, was thanked by the then-waiting first experimenter, and exited the room. In the no-norm condition, participants did not take part in the "marketing" study. Instead, the first experimenter, using the excuse of having forgotten her questionnaires, left the room for an amount of time approximately equal to the amount of time the "marketing" study would have taken (five to ten minutes).

The experiment supposedly studying political attitudes of 18-24 year olds was resumed as the experimenter handed out the questionnaires and began reading the descriptions ostensibly given by affiliates of a politician for an article written about him. The quotes actually described a prototypical opinion minority group member: "He is known for holding political views that challenge accepted, traditional ways of governing"; "On important issues, he is not afraid to take positions held by a minority number of citizens"; and "His views represent original perspectives that have led to new ways of solving problems."

The information participants read next was an excerpt taken from an interview with this politician for the same (fictitious) article, in which they learned of his stance on one of four political issues. The stance was counterattitudinal to the majority of recipients. To ensure that the minority status of the politician and his stance on the issue were understood and retained, participants completed a brief questionnaire in which they described each.

After completing those two questions, participants were told that students in prior studies had been asked how they thought of the issue. Two "ways of thinking about the source's stance," or interpretations of the stance, were provided; one always supported participants' pre-experimental opinions (i.e., it countered the source's stance), and the other supported the source's stance (pro-source interpretation). The interpretation that supported the source's stance was also manipulated such that half of the participants received an innovative conceptualization of the source's stance, and the other half received a status-quo conceptualization of his stance. (Appendices D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K). Each innovative interpretation expressed a way of viewing the issue that differed from traditional conceptualizations; each status quo interpretation expressed a way of viewing the issue that conformed to established norms.

Participants were then asked to indicate how *they* interpreted the counterattitudinal stance presented by the politician (Appendices D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K). Their options were the above-mentioned interpretations that had supposedly been provided by previous students. Thus, the interpretation countering the source's stance was always the same; one that would have likely been accepted by the participants pre-experimentally, given their stance on the issue. The interpretation supporting the stance of the politician was varied. In one condition, it was the innovative interpretation; in the other, it was the status quo interpretation. For example, when participants were given the opportunity for a status quo reinterpretation of source stance on the issue of lowering the voting age to 16 years, the interpretation countering the source's stance was "giving too much responsibility to those who are too young" and the interpretation supporting the source's stance was "standardizing the age of maturity in our society;

people drive and work at age 16". Note that the connotation of the word "standardizing" is to maintain the status quo. When participants were given the opportunity for an innovative interpretation of source stance, the interpretation countering the source's stance was again "giving too much responsibility to those who are too young", and the interpretation supporting the source's stance was "increasing our youths' sense of contribution, commitment and service to society". Note that the connotation of the word "increasing" is to impart change; to move away from established norms.

Next, the source's influence on participants' attitudes toward the issue was measured. This was the time-two measure of attitude toward the issue (Appendices D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K).

In order to obtain information on the role that thoughts about the minority source played in the process of influence, participants were given two minutes to write any and all that had occurred to them upon reading the descriptions of Stephen Campbell. They were explicitly instructed only to write thoughts that occurred while initially reading the descriptions, not to create thoughts to list on the spot. After the two minutes, participants indicated the valence of each thought they had written about the politician (Appendix L).

As the last measure, participants were given the opportunity to write any interpretations of the source's stance that they may have that differed from the ones offered earlier in the experiment (Appendix M). Presumably, participants who had been primed with an innovative norm would be most likely to have the most divergent and creative interpretations of the stance. Furthermore, these participants could use this opportunity to be divergent and creative, *and* agree with the source, by coming to hold the same stance as the minority source (the politician) through a new interpretation of

that stance. Finally, participants were debriefed and excused.

<u>Questionnaire Measures</u>

<u>Interpretations</u>. Participants rated their interpretations on a nine-point scale with one anchor supporting the participants' pre-experimental opinion (countering the minority source stance), and the other (either innovative or status quo) supporting the minority source's stance.

<u>Attitudes</u>. The time-one measure of participants' attitudes was measured on a five-point scale with anchors "disagree" and "agree." The time-two measure of attitudes used a 13-point scale with anchors ranging from "strongly against" to "strongly in favor." Attitude change was calculated by standardizing the two attitude measures and subtracting the first value from the second. The scales were also standardized so that higher numbers indicated movement toward the minority.

<u>Source-related thoughts</u>. Participants listed source-related thoughts in boxes with each box to hold one and only one thought. For each thought they had listed, participants indicated its valence regarding the source on nine-point scale, anchored by "good" and "bad."

<u>Divergent/creative thought</u>. Participants were given the opportunity to write, in an open-ended format, their own interpretations of the source's stance on the issue. These interpretations were coded by two independent raters for divergence and creativity (see Mucchi-Faina, Maass, & Volpato, 1991). The first coded dimension, labeled "quantity," assumes that a greater *number of responses* reflects greater creativity. The two components of quantity were (a) the proportion of people in each condition who offered at least one interpretation and (b) the number of interpretations given in each

condition, calculated as a proportion of the number of individuals in that condition. Replicating Mucchi-Faina et al.'s (1991) findings, neither quantity measure proved to discriminate between the conditions in the present study in a meaningful way. Therefore, these results will not be discussed further.

The second coded dimension, labeled "flexibility," reflected the number of unique interpretations, that is *non-overlapping responses*, reported by individuals in each condition; responses that referred to the same idea were only counted once. This measure was calculated as a proportion of the total number of new interpretations given by all persons in that condition. The third coded dimension, labeled "idiosyncratic items," was a measure of the number of *responses given by one and only one person* in each condition, calculated as a proportion of the total number of new interpretations given in that condition. For these indicators as well, greater numbers reflect more creative and diverse thought.

The fourth coded dimension was the number of interpretations in support of the minority source. It was anticipated that, because of the innovative prime, participants who wanted to agree with the minority source may have done so by reinterpreting his stance in a way other than the given pro-minority stance; that is, it was expected that they may agree, but in a creative or divergent manner. In order to measure this, the number of interpretations that were supportive of the minority's stance in each condition was calculated as a proportion of the total number of new interpretations in that condition. A greater proportion of pro-source responses would be an indication of greater acceptance of the minority source's stance.

Two independent raters listed all categories (independent interpretations) they identified in each condition and then tallied how many times each interpretation was expressed within the condition. Interrater agreement for the number of independent interpretations, calculated separately for each condition and then averaged across conditions, was 95.5%. For the categorization of the interpretations into those categories, again calculated for each condition and averaged, interrater agreement was 84.2%[i].

RESULTS

For each of the four issues, the data were analyzed with a Type of Norm Primed (innovative versus status quo versus no norm) X Type of Source-Supportive Interpretation [norm/source-congruent (innovative) versus not norm/source-congruent (status quo)] analysis of variance design. Initial analyses revealed that the expected interpretation shifts and attitude change did not emerge for three of the issues (environmental standards concerning pollution, tuition levels at public universities, and welfare reform). For two of these issues, the only significant effect was a main effect in the analysis on the type of source-supportive interpretation provided. That is, for the environmental issue, the innovative interpretation ($\underline{M} = 4.02$) was rated more favorably than the status quo interpretation ($\underline{M} = 3.10$), $\underline{F}(1, 100) = 8.10$, $\underline{p} < .01$. The issue regarding welfare reform revealed the same pattern, with the innovative interpretation ($\underline{M} = 4.15$) gleaning more support than the status quo interpretation ($\underline{M} = 2.25$), $\underline{F}(1, 122) = 51.97$, $\underline{p} < .01$. These effects reflect differences in the absolute appeal of the interpretations and thus are not especially meaningful. The third issue, regarding tuition levels revealed no significant results on any of the measures. Additional analyses were not conducted for these three issues, and they will not be discussed further.

The fourth issue, to which 110 participants responded, concerned changing the voting age of American citizens. More promising results emerged with this issue. Data from seven participants were discarded because the participants did not construe the primed norm in the intended manner as indicated by answers to the questions following the manipulation of the norm in the "marketing" study. The numbers of discarded cases were evenly distributed across conditions. The final sample size was 103.

Interpretations

The primed norm by type of source-supportive interpretation interaction was significant, $F(1, 104) = 3.78$, $p < .05$. When the alternative interpretation was innovative, simple effects test revealed a difference among type of prime, $F(2,104) = 3.35$, $p < .05$, and follow-up t-test comparisons revealed that participants primed with an innovative context chose significantly closer to the source-supportive interpretation than did those primed with a status-quo context $t(31) = 2.43$, $p < .05$; however, the participants not primed with a context did not differ in their interpretations of the issue from the status quo-primed participants or from the innovative-primed participants. When the source-supportive interpretation followed a status-quo line of reasoning, that is, when it was incongruent with the source's minority identity, the type of prime did not make a difference to participants' interpretations of the issue (Table 1).

Attitude Change

Although no effects were significant in the analysis on attitude change, $F(1, 104) = 0.83$, n.s., the pattern of means followed the pattern obtained with interpretations. Within the innovative source-supportive interpretation condition, those primed with a norm of innovation ($M = 0.06$), agreed more with the minority position than those primed with a norm to value a status quo approach ($M = -0.52$). Those given no norm ($M = 0.08$) were similar to innovative norm conditions.

Favorability of Thoughts About Source

No significant results emerged in the analysis on thought favorability regarding the source.

Table 1.

Interpretations of the Minority Source's Stance

	Pro-Source Interpretations	
Norm	Innovative	Status Quo
Innovative	2.77$_a$ n = 13	1.83 n = 18
Status Quo	1.65$_b$ n = 20	2.43 n = 14
None (Control)	2.38$_{ab}$ n = 21	2.00 n = 24

Note. Numbers indicate mean interpretation with higher numbers indicating a score closer to the minority source-supportive interpretation. Numbers with differing subscripts are different from each other based on t-test comparisons.

Divergence and Creativity of Participant-Provided Interpretations

      Chi-square analyses were used to analyze the creativity data. However, due to the small sample size (number of interpretations provided by participants) in each cell, none of the comparisons were significant. Therefore, instead of losing the insight into the participants' thought processes that this data provides, the patterns revealed are described below.

      As can be seen in Table 2, the innovative norm/innovative interpretation condition yielded the greatest flexibility or non-overlapping responses. The condition with the next greatest flexibility was again with an innovative norm, this time with a

Table 2.

Measures of Divergence and Creativity

		Pro-Source Interpretations	
Norm	Measure	Innovative	Status Quo
Innovative	Fluency	0.60	0.43
	Idiosyncratic responses	0.30	0.22
	Pro-minority stance	0.40	0.17
Status Quo	Fluency	0.24	0.42
	Idiosyncratic responses	0.12	0.08
	Pro-minority stance	0.08	0.08
None (Control)	Fluency	0.26	0.22
	Idiosyncratic responses	0.11	0.09
	Pro-minority stance	0.07	0.06

Note. Values are proportions of the total number of responses given in that condition.

status quo interpretation. When the norm supported a status quo approach and the interpretation was status quo, the flexibility did not differ from the innovative norm/status quo condition. The remaining three conditions, the status quo norm with the innovative interpretation and the two conditions without norms, revealed less flexibility

than all other conditions, but were not different from each other.

The measure of idiosyncratic responses, those given by one and only one person, revealed the expected pattern of results. Individuals in the innovative norm/innovative interpretation condition had the greatest number of idiosyncratic responses, followed by those in the innovative norm/status quo interpretation condition. Individuals in the remaining conditions suggested fewer idiosyncratic items, and were not different from each other.

Finally, the results of the pro-source interpretations, those that supported the originally counterattitudinal stance expressed by the minority source, provided insight into the combined impact of the norm and the source on participants' attitudes. Almost half of the participants given the innovative prime and the innovative pro-minority source interpretation provided an interpretation of the source's stance that allowed for agreement with him. For example, one person who was in the innovative norm/innovative pro-source interpretation condition agreed with the minority's stance of lowering the voting age to 16 with the following interpretation: "I feel that if the age was lowered, the majority of people voting in that age group would have taken the time and effort to know where the politicians stand on the issue, therefore they are acting as responsible citizens." In other words, they changed their attitude to match that of the valued minority, but they did so in a creative and divergent way; they provided a new way to interpret, and therefore agree with, his stance. The next highest proportion of pro-minority stance interpretations came from those in the innovative norm, status quo interpretation group. Those in the remaining conditions displayed only minimal reinterpretation in the direction of the minority position.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Can minorities influence attitudes through a normatively-driven, defensively-guided systematic process as majorities have been shown to do? The results would indicate some support for this postulation. However, the promising support for this thesis revealed with the issue of lowering the voting age to 16 must be qualified with the fact that the other three issues tested did not reveal any shifts on the interpretation or attitude measures. Given that, the study nevertheless provides direction for additional investigation into the type of processing leading to social influence that arises from normative, self-definitional pressures.

Participants primed with an innovative context were expected to have a positive perception of the minority source that should have been expressed in the thoughts they listed about him. However, participants did not indicate more positive thoughts about the minority source in the innovative norm condition compared to status quo norm or to the no norm conditions. The placement of the thought-listing task may have contributed to this outcome; because it was anticipated that articulating thoughts about the source may change the natural thought-process, participants were asked to complete the task after indicating their interpretations and attitudes. Perhaps the delay between the time these thoughts actually occurred, and the time they were expressed, attenuated our ability to assess the thoughts experienced.

Although differing perceptions of the minority source across condition were not apparent in participants' thought-listings about him, those primed with an innovative norm shifted their own interpretation of the issue closer to an (innovative) interpretation that supported the minority source stance than did individuals primed with a status-quo

norm. At first glance, this appears to provide support for the notion that minorities in the context of innovation do evoke a motivation to align with them, and that this is apparent by these individuals' tendencies to reinterpret the minority stance in a way that aligns them with that stance. However, what the pattern actually displayed is that participants primed with a norm valuing status quo approaches moved <u>away</u> from the minority source interpretation; those primed with the innovative norm did not differ in their interpretation of the issue from those who were not primed with an issue.

A plausible explanation for the obtained pattern was suggested by Mucchi-Faina, Maass, and Volpato (1991), in that "a viewpoint is new or innovative only with respect to something 'old' that serves as comparison criterion and that conventional thoughts provide the basis on which divergent thoughts develop" (p. 185). In their study, a minority stance was always paired with a majority stance in order to provide a comparison for the participants. In the present work, the minority was contrasted with an old norm in the condition imposing a norm that valued the status quo. However, in the condition imposing a norm of innovation, a contrasting norm was not available. In fact, relative to the standard set by the innovative norm, the minority may not have appeared especially innovative. Perhaps if participants had been presented with a relatively mundane norm in the norm-priming task, the innovative norm would have seemed more innovative, and participants would have been motivated to align with the minority.

Although the pattern of attitude change did mirror that of the interpretations, the differences between conditions were not significant. It may be that having participants indicate both time-one and time-two attitudes within the same experimental session lessened the likelihood that they would indicate a change in that attitude; the

preassessment may have committed participants to their initial positions.

The measures of divergence and creativity of participants' own interpretations may be a better indicator of source impact than the rating scale responses. Participants primed with an innovative context (especially those given an innovative interpretation of the minority's stance) offered more creative and divergent interpretations than those in the conditions with a norm valuing status quo responses and those in the no norm conditions. This was apparent in their greater number of unique interpretations of lowering the voting age to 16 and their greater number of idiosyncratic responses. Evidently, participants who were motivated to be innovative like the minority source wanted to do so in a divergent and creative way. Those primed with an innovative norm, and again, especially those given an innovative pro-minority-stance interpretation, provided new interpretations of lowering the voting age to 16 that supported the minority stance; they were motivated to engage in the cognitively challenging process of providing their own minority source supportive interpretations of lowering the voting age to 16. Perhaps participants were not satisfied with simply indicating agreement with the minority, or perhaps they were expressing indirect agreement without being aware of it.

It appears that minorities in an innovative context elicit a combination of alignment and divergence; people want to agree, but only if they can do so in a creative manner. To know if this is truly the case, replication and extension of this study are necessary. Another experiment has been designed that follows the same basic procedure as the present one, with the exceptions that (a) the time-one measure of attitudes will be given pre-experimentally, to avoid the possibility of consistency pressures, (b) the

innovative norm will be presented in a format that provides a comparison to a more status quo norm, and c) the source-thoughts will be measured as they occur (instead of later in the experiment). The study will include, in addition to the conditions in the present study, a majority source condition that will be paired with an innovative norm, a status-quo norm, or with no norm. This will provide a complex set of comparison conditions with which to more fully test normative self-definitional social influence.

ENDNOTES

1. Due to the categorical nature of the creativity data, Kappa, which takes into account chance agreement between the raters, would have been the ideal method of calculating interrater reliability. However, because it was possible (and did occur) that raters could report unequal numbers of categories (independent interpretations) within a category, it was impossible to calculate Kappa. Therefore, percent agreement was used as the indication of interrater reliability.

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APPENDIX A

TIME-ONE ATTITUDE MEASURE

YOUR ANSWERS TO THE FIRST SET OF QUESTIONS BELOW WILL GIVE US GENERAL
INFORMATION ABOUT THE POPULATION OF INTEREST (PEOPLE WITHIN OR NEAR 18-24
YEARS). THE ANSWERS TO THE SECOND SET OF QUESTIONS WILL HELP US TO GET A BETTER
IDEA OF YOUR OPINIONS ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES. YOU WILL SEE ONE OF THESE ISSUES
AGAIN LATER IN THE EXPERIMENT. WE NEED TO KNOW THIS GENERAL INFORMATION AND
YOUR INITIAL OPINIONS BEFORE WE BEGIN BECAUSE IT MAY HELP US TO UNDERSTAND HOW
YOU ANSWER LATER QUESTIONS.

1. AGE _____

2. GENDER _____

3. RACE/ETHNICITY (HOW YOU SEE YOURSELF)

_____

4. DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST ELECTION YOU WERE ELIGIBLE TO
VOTE IN?
     Yes   No   Don't Know   Not Eligible

5. I AM FROM _____

_____
INDICATE YOUR OPINIONS ON THE FOLLOWING ISSUES BY CIRCLING
A NUMBER ON THE SCALE BELOW EACH.

1. THERE SHOULD BE TOUGHER ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS
CONCERNING POLLUTION

          DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   AGREE

2. THE WELFARE SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE REFORMED

          DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   AGREE

3. TUITION SHOULD BE RAISED AT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

          DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   AGREE

4. THE VOTING AGE SHOULD BE DECREASED TO 16

          DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   AGREE

APPENDIX B

INNOVATIVE NORM PRIME

IDENTIFYING REASONS FOR SUCCESS

"Movie with Your Meal" - Jacob Green's Story

Jacob Green was in the restaurant business in the city of Polona. The east section of Polona had been expanding rapidly over the previous couple of years and Jacob decided to open a restaurant in that area of the city.

He did some investigating and found results of a recent survey that identified some of the reasons people eat out. The reason most often given by people was that they were too tired to cook dinner after a busy day at work.

Jacob also heard about a new experimental type of restaurant that had recently opened in a nearby city. This new type of restaurant was a place where patrons could eat dinner, and while doing so, watch a movie. The idea was based on the fact that a lot of people go out to dinner, and from there, go to a movie. This type of restaurant was meant to appeal to movie-goers who just wanted to relax after eating dinner rather than feeling like they had to rush through their meal, and then get up to drive somewhere else to see a movie.

Jacob spent some time considering different options of styles and themes for his restaurant, while keeping in mind the needs of the people.

The idea of the restaurant that showed movies caught his interest. He thought the idea sounded like fun, and that it would be a success. After some thought, Jacob decided this was the type of restaurant he would open. If people eat out because they are tired, and don't feel like cooking, he figured that they would respond positively to a new type of entertainment that reduced life's hassles even more. To be able to see a movie after dinner without having to get up and drive to another place would make for a much less stressful evening out. He figured that if convenience was what people were looking for, dinner *and* a movie in *one* place was the answer.

Jacob was willing to take a chance to try a different type of restaurant that would better meet the new needs of people today. It was an inventive way to fit the reality that people are busier than they used to be, and that they want to make the most of what little free time they have.

FOLLOW-UP OF SUCCESS

First Year Follow-Up:

Jacob's business started up somewhat slowly, but gradually increased over the first year.

Second Year Follow-Up:

After the first year, business at Jacob 's "dinner & a movie" restaurant was still growing.

Third Year Follow-Up:

At the end of the third year of business, Jacob 's restaurant had begun to attract so many customer's that he couldn't keep up. He was considering opening another "Dinner & a Movie" in the South part of Polona. He had found a unique and innovative way to better serve people's needs.

Student Number _____

Consider the information you read about Jacob's business ventures.
Answer each of the following questions below.

1) In your opinion, what was it about Jacob's approach that led to a
successful restaurant?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) What does this tell you about succeeding in business in general?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3) How do you think this applies to succeeding in life in general?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4) Can you think of situation in your life when you used an approach similar to Jacob's that led to a good outcome?

If not, try to think of a situation in your own life that *could* benefit from an approach similar to Jacob's.

What is the situation, and <u>how</u> does this approach apply?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX C

STATUS-QUO NORM PRIME

IDENTIFYING REASONS FOR SUCCESS

Just Like Mom's - Vincent Jones' Story

Vincent Jones was in the restaurant business in the city of Polona. The east section of Polona had been expanding rapidly over the previous couple of years and so he decided to open a restaurant in that area.

He did some investigating and found results of a recent survey that identified some of the reasons people eat out. The reason most often given by people was that they were too tired to cook dinner after a busy day at work.

Vincent also heard about a new experimental type of restaurant that had recently opened in a nearby city. This new type of restaurant was a place where patrons could eat dinner, and while doing so, watch a movie. The idea was based on the fact that a lot of people go out to dinner, and from there, go to a movie. This type of restaurant was meant to appeal to movie-goers who just wanted to relax after eating dinner rather than feeling like they had to rush through their meal, and then get up to drive somewhere else to see a movie.

Vincent spent some time considering different options of styles and themes for his restaurant, while keeping in mind the needs of the people.

The idea of the restaurant that showed movies caught his interest. He thought that the idea sounded fun, but that people would probably just think it was a trendy gimmick. He thought about it and decided that it was too different from what people expected in a restaurant. He decided to open a more conventional type of restaurant, sticking to what people were used to. After all, people had always gone out to dinner, and then to the theater to see a movie. "Why try to change something people are happy with?" he thought. He concluded that he could appeal to people's needs by offering down-home cooking with fast, friendly service.

Vincent decided to appeal to what people had always known and what they were obviously happy with. He figured that if people really wanted a place to eat dinner *and* watch a movie, it would have happened long ago.

<u>FOLLOW-UP OF SUCCESS</u>

First Year Follow-Up:

Vincent's business started up somewhat slowly, but gradually increased over the first year.

Second Year Follow-Up:

After the first year, business at Vincent's "down-home cookin'" restaurant was still growing.

Third Year Follow-Up:

At the end of the third year of business, Vincent's restaurant had begun to attract so many customer's that he couldn't keep up. He was considering opening another "down-home cooking" restaurant in the South part of Polona. Apparently, people *were* happy eating dinner at one place, and watching a movie at another place, like they always had.

*Student Number*_____

Consider the information you read about Vincent's business ventures.
Answer each of the following questions below.

1) In your opinion, what was it about Vincent's approach that led to a successful restaurant?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) What does this tell you about succeeding in business in general?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3) How do you think this applies to succeeding in life in general?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4) Can you think of situation in your life when you used an approach similar to Vincent's that led to a good outcome?

If not, try to think of a situation in your own life that *could* benefit from an approach similar to Vincent's.

What is the situation, and how does this approach apply to the situation?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX D

STATUS QUO PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: ENVIRONMENT)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past we have asked other students to tell us the way they thought of "tougher environmental rules". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I think of tougher rules as overly restrictive; the established rules are a workable standard that balances the economy and the environment."

> (2) "I think of tougher rules as an effective way to help protect the environment."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do *you* think of "tougher environmental rules concerning pollution"?

as overly restrictive;   as an effective
established rules   way to help
are a workable standard   protect the
that balances the economy   environment
and the environment

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on "tougher environmental rules for pollution" by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you want tougher environmental rules, and the higher the number you choose, the more you want tougher environmental rules.

```
      1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13
    Strongly              Neutral                  Strongly
    against                                        in favor
    tougher                                        of tougher
    rules                                          rules
```

APPENDIX E

INNOVATIVE PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: ENVIRONMENT)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past we have asked other students to tell us the way they thought of "tougher environmental rules". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I think of tougher rules as pointless because they are too difficult to enforce; instead the problem should be dealt with by developing new, environmentally friendly technology."

> (2) "I think of tougher rules as an effective way to help protect the environment."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do *you* think of "tougher environmental rules concerning pollution"?

Please indicate your opinion on "tougher environmental rules for pollution" by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you want tougher environmental rules, and the higher the number you choose, the more you want tougher environmental rules.

```
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13
   Strongly                Neutral                 Strongly
   against                                          in favor
   tougher                                          of tougher
   rules                                            rules
```

APPENDIX F

STATUS QUO PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND ATTITUDE

MEASURE (ISSUE: TUITION)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past we have asked other students to tell us how they thought of "an increase in tuition". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I think of it as a way for the universities to keep up with inflation and maintain current funding levels for education."

> (2) "I think of it as an increased financial burden for students to bear."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to <u>your</u> thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do *you* think of "an increase in tuition"?

```
or or increased financial          1    2    3    4    5    6    7       or a way for maintenance of
burden for students to bear                                             keep up with inflation and
                                                                        maintain current funding levels
                                                                        for education
```

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on "raising tuition at public universities" by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you are in favor of a raise in tuition, and the higher the number you choose, the more you are in favor of a raise in tuition.

```
        1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13
    Strongly              Neutral                    Strongly
    against                                           in favor
    raise                                             of raise
```

APPENDIX G

INNOVATIVE PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: TUITION)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past we have asked other students to tell us how they thought of "an increase in tuition". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

    (1) "I think of it as a way for the universities to incorporate new programs into education to meet the diverse needs of an ever-changing student body."

    (2) "I think of it as an increased financial burden for students to bear."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do *you* think of "an increase in tuition"?

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on "raising tuition at public universities" by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you are in favor of a raise in tuition, and the higher the number you choose, the more you are in favor of a raise in tuition.

```
        1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13
     Strongly               Neutral                    Strongly
     against                                            in favor
     raise                                              of raise
```

APPENDIX H

STATUS QUO PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: VOTING AGE)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past, we have asked other students to tell us the way they thought of "lowering the voting age to 16". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I just think of it as a way to standardize the age of maturity in our society; people drive and work at age 16."

> (2) "I think of it as giving too much responsibility to those who are too young."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do you think of "a decrease in the voting age to 16"?

is giving too much   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   Just as a way to standardize
responsibility to those   the age of maturity in our
who are too young   society; people drive and
                                                                       work at age 16

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on "decreasing the voting age to 16" by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you are in favor of lowering the voting age to 16, and the higher the number you choose, the more you are in favor of lowering the voting age to 16.

            1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13
       Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
       against   in favor
       lowering   of lowering

APPENDIX I

INNOVATIVE PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: VOTING AGE)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past, we have asked other students to tell us the way they thought of "lowering the voting age to 16". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I think of it as a way to increase our youths' sense of contribution, commitment, and service to society."

> (2) "I think of it as giving too much responsibility to those who are too young."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do you think of "a decrease in the voting age to 16"?

| giving too much responsibility to those who are too young | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | | a way to increase our youths' sense of contribution, commitment, and service to society |

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on "decreasing the voting age to 16" by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you are in favor of lowering the voting age to 16, and the higher the number you choose, the more you are in favor of lowering the voting age to 16.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	

Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
against   in favor
lowering   of lowering

APPENDIX J

STATUS QUO PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: WELFARE REFORM)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past, we have asked other students to tell us the way they thought of "reforming the welfare system". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I think of welfare reform as change that could mess up a long-standing, established system that cares for the less fortunate."

> (2) "I think of welfare reform as a way to try to fix a system that has a lot of problems."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into. If anything is unclear, feel free to ask questions.

In what way do *you* think of "welfare reform"?

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on welfare reform by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you are in favor of welfare reform, and the higher the number you choose, the more you are in favor of welfare reform.

```
         1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12   13
      Strongly              Neutral                Strongly
      against                                      in favor
      reform                                       of reform
```

APPENDIX K

INNOVATIVE PRO-SOURCE INTERPRETATIONS AND

ATTITUDE MEASURE (ISSUE: WELFARE REFORM)

Recall that we are interested in learning how people think about political issues brought to their attention. In the past, we have asked other students to tell us the way they thought of "reforming the welfare system". A couple of common responses different people gave were:

> (1) "I think of welfare reform as pointless; we should just get rid of it completely and create new, *effective* ways to help the less fortunate."

> (2) "I think of welfare reform as a way to try to fix a system that has a lot of problems."

. . . .

The remaining questions refer to your thoughts and opinions. Please think carefully before answering each question. There is plenty of time, so you do not need to feel pressure to answer quickly. It is more important that you give an answer that you put some thought into.

In what way do *you* think of "welfare reform"?

as a way to try to fix a   1 2 3 4 5 6 7   as pointless; we should just
system that has a lot of   get rid of it completely and
problems   create new, effective ways to
                                               help the less fortunate

. . . .

Please indicate your opinion on welfare reform by circling one number on the scale below. The lower the number you choose, the less you are in favor of welfare reform, and the higher the number you choose, the more you are in favor of welfare reform.

      1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12 13

Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
against   in favor
reform   of reform

APPENDIX L

SOURCE-RELATED THOUGHT-LISTING TASK

Recall the descriptions other people gave of Stephen Campbell:

> "He is known for holding political views that challenge accepted, traditional ways of governing."

> "On important issues, he is not afraid to take positions held by a minority number of citizens."

> "His views represent original perspectives that have, in the past, led to new ways of solving problems."

When you first read these descriptions, what were you thinking? What thoughts did you have about Stephen Campbell? We are interested in knowing those thoughts. Simply write down the first thought that came to your mind in the first box, the second in the second box, and so on. Write on the back of the page if you need to. (If you had no thoughts about him, don't write anything). You will have 2 minutes to write these thoughts. Don't worry about the scales underneath of the boxes at this point.

negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   positive

negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   positive

negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   positive

negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   positive

negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   positive

negative   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   positive

APPENDIX M

EXAMPLE OF MEASURE OF DIVERGENT/CREATIVE THOUGHT

Recall the different ways in which students thought of "an increase in tuition":

(1) "I think of it as a way for the universities to incorporate new programs into education to meet the diverse needs of an ever-changing student body."

(2) "I think of it as an increased financial burden for students to bear."

When you read these, did you think of "an increase in tuition" in a different way, a way not listed above? If so, what was is? Take as much time and space as you need.

_____

_____

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_____

_____

_____

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