

CHAPTER  
**20**

# Attitudes and Social Influence



## PSYCHOLOGY JOURNAL

Write a definition of prejudice in your journal. In addition, list at least four examples of prejudiced thinking. ■

### PSYCHOLOGY *Online*

#### Chapter Overview

Visit the *Understanding Psychology* Web site at [psychology.glencoe.com](http://psychology.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 20—Chapter Overviews** to preview the chapter.

## Reader's Guide

## ■ Main Idea

Our attitudes are the result of conditioning, observational learning, and cognitive evaluation. Our attitudes help us define ourselves and our place in society, evaluate people and events, and guide our behavior.

## ■ Vocabulary

- attitude
- self-concept

## ■ Objectives

- Trace the origin of attitudes.
- Describe the functions of attitudes.

## EXPLORING PSYCHOLOGY

## An Attitude of Disbelief

On July 20, 1969, Astronaut Neil Armstrong emerged from a space capsule some 250,000 miles from Earth and, while millions of television viewers watched, became the first man to set foot upon the moon. Since that time other astronauts have experienced that same monumental unique experience in space, yet there are in existence today numerous relatively intelligent, otherwise normal humans who insist it never happened—that the masses have been completely deluded by some weird government hoax—a conspiracy of monumental proportions! There is even a well-publicized organization in England named “The Flat Earth Society,” which seriously challenges with interesting logic all such claims of space travel and evidence that the earth is round.

—from *Story of Attitudes and Emotions* by Edgar Cayce, 1972

What do you accept as fact? What do you call products of fantasy? Your attitudes can lead you to believe that something is fact when it is really imaginary or that something is not real when it really is fact. An **attitude** is a predisposition to respond in particular ways toward specific things. It has three main elements: (1) a belief or opinion about something, (2) feelings about that thing, and (3) a tendency to act toward that thing in certain ways. For example, what is your attitude toward the senators from your state? Do you *believe* they are doing a good job? Do you *feel* you trust or distrust them? Would you *act* to vote for them?

**attitude:** predisposition to act, think, and feel in particular ways toward a class of people, objects, or an idea

## WHERE ATTITUDES COME FROM

We have very definite beliefs, feelings, and responses to things about which we have no firsthand knowledge. Where do these attitudes come from? Attitudes are formed through conditioning, observational learning, and cognitive evaluation.

### Conditioning

Classical conditioning (discussed in Chapter 9) can help you learn attitudes in different situations (see Figure 20.1). When a new stimulus (the conditioned stimulus) is paired with a stimulus that already causes a certain reaction (the unconditioned stimulus), the new stimulus begins to cause a reaction similar to the one caused by the original stimulus. For instance, scientist Ivan Pavlov's dog had a positive attitude toward meat (he liked to eat it). When Pavlov paired the meat with the ringing of the tuning fork, the dog formed a positive attitude toward the sound of the tuning fork. So when Pavlov's dog heard the sound of the tuning fork, he wagged his tail and salivated. We also acquire attitudes through operant conditioning; we receive praise, approval, or acceptance for expressing certain attitudes or we may be punished for expressing other attitudes.

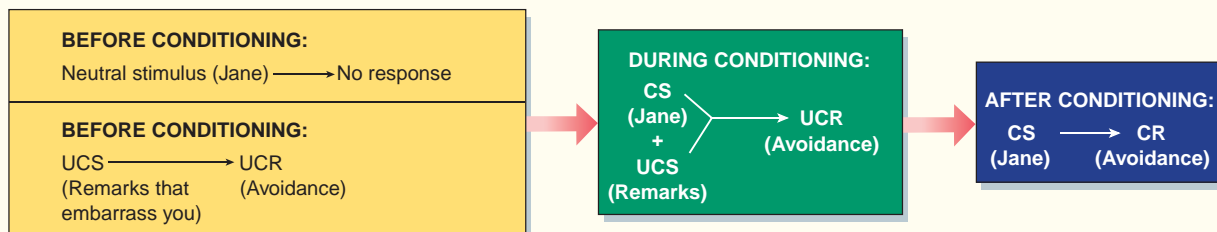
### Cognitive Evaluation

Sometimes we develop attitudes toward something without stopping to think about it. For example, if our friend feels strongly about politics and uses many statistics or big words when speaking about a specific political issue, we may agree with her simply because she sounds like she knows what she is talking about. If we do this, we have used a *heuristic*, a mental shortcut, to form an attitude.

However, we may sit down and systematically think about an issue that affects us directly. For example, if your friend speaks strongly about State College and its credentials, you may not simply accept her

**Figure 20.1** Attitude Formation Through Classical Conditioning

Suppose you meet Jane. Jane seems to enjoy making comments that embarrass you. After a few encounters with Jane, even the sound of her voice upsets you. So you learn to avoid her. **What factors were paired to produce your avoidance response?**



argument. You may list and evaluate the pros and cons of State College versus State University when you are selecting the college to attend. This matter is important, and you do not want to rely on shortcuts.

## Other Sources

Your attitudes are also shaped by other forces. You may develop your attitudes by watching and imitating others—through observational learning. These forces are at work when you interact with others. For example, you may adopt your parents' political views or dress very much like your friends do. The culture in which you grew up, the people who raised you, and those with whom you associate all shape your attitudes. You also learn many of your attitudes through direct experience. For instance, once you drive the new BMW, you may develop a favorable attitude toward it.

**Culture** Culture influences everything from our taste in food to our attitudes toward human relationships and our political opinions. For example, most (if not all) Americans would consider eating grubs, curdled milk spiced with cattle blood, or monkey meat disgusting. Yet in some parts of the world these are considered delicacies.

The list of culturally derived attitudes is endless. Indeed, it is only by traveling and reading about other ways of life that we discover how many of the things we take for granted are *attitudes*, not facts.

**Parents** There is abundant evidence that all of us acquire many basic attitudes from our parents (see Figure 20.2). How else would you account for the finding that a high percentage of elementary schoolchildren favor the same political party as their parents? As adults, more than two-thirds of all voters continue to favor the political party their parents supported. Parental influence wanes as children get older, of course.

**Peers** It is not surprising that parental influence declines as children get older and are exposed to many other sources of influence. In a now classic study, Theodore Newcomb (1943) questioned and requestioned students at Bennington College in Vermont about their political attitudes over a period of four years. Most of the young women came from wealthy, staunchly conservative families. In contrast, most Bennington faculty members were outspoken liberals. Newcomb found that many of the students adopted the liberal point of view of the faculty. In 1936, 54 percent of the juniors and seniors supported Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal over the conservative Republican candidate Alf Landon. Newcomb contacted the participants of his study 25 years after they had graduated and found that most had maintained the attitudes

## Did You Know?

**The Exposure Effect** One determinant of attitudes is the mere exposure effect—the more frequently people encounter an object or idea, the more favorably they evaluate it. You may have experienced this by listening to a song over and over again and growing to like that song. Candidates for political office use this effect by constantly advertising during political campaigns.



Figure 20.2

### Learning Attitudes

Children are skilled at detecting their parents' attitudes. Often children learn to react in the same way as their parents to various events or things. *How do we develop attitudes through observational learning?*

## How similar are your views to your parents' views?

Studies have shown that parents are an important source of many of our basic attitudes and beliefs. What is the degree of similarity between your parents' views and your views on selected issues?

### Procedure

1. Generate a list of 10 statements about social issues, such as political affiliation, nuclear energy, mandatory retirement, equal pay, and paternity leave.
2. Develop a questionnaire based on these issues in which a person can respond by agreeing or disagreeing with the statements. Use a five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) to rate your opinions.
3. Complete the questionnaire and ask your parents to do the same.

### Analysis

1. Analyze your parents' responses. On what issues did you agree and disagree?
2. Why do you think your parents have been influential in shaping some of your attitudes and not others?



See the **Skills Handbook**, page 622, for an explanation of designing an experiment.

**self-concept:** how we see or describe ourselves; our total perception of ourselves

they had acquired in college. One reason was that they had chosen friends, spouses, and careers that supported liberal values (Newcomb et al., 1967). People tend to adopt the likes and dislikes of groups whose approval and acceptance they seek.

## FUNCTIONS OF ATTITUDES

Why do we have attitudes? How do they help us in everyday functions and interactions with others? Attitudes reflect our beliefs and values as we define ourselves, interpret the objects and events we encounter, and determine how we may act in given situations.

### Attitudes as a Self-Defining Mechanism

Ask a friend to describe herself. How does she do it? Along with a physical description, she may include her attitudes, or values, about certain things. For example, she may claim that she likes helping others, tries to be a good student, or is a strong supporter of equal rights. These attitudes help her define who she is. They refer to what she considers right or wrong and establish her goals. These attitudes make up her self-concept. Our **self-concept** refers to how we see or describe ourselves. If you have a positive self-concept, you will tend to act and feel optimistically and constructively; whereas if you have a negative self-concept, you will tend to act and feel pessimistically or self-destructively.

Social groups as well as individuals hold attitudes. People living in the same conditions and who frequently communicate with one another have attitudes in common because they are exposed to the same information and may have formed as a group partly because of their similar attitudes.

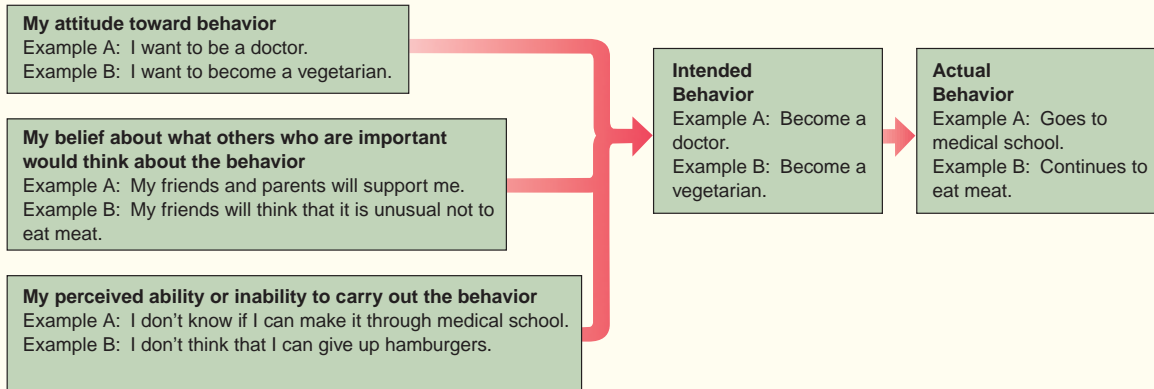
### Attitudes as Cognitive Guidelines and Guides to Action

Our attitudes serve as guidelines for interpreting and categorizing people, objects, and events. Attitudes also guide us to behave in certain ways (see Figure 20.3). In effect, attitudes guide us toward or away from particular people, objects, and events. For instance, we may link negative feelings with walking in unlit and dirty alleyways or we may link positive feelings with friendly and happy people. These attitudes tell us to avoid the former and approach the latter.

Sometimes, though, our attitudes are not consistent with our behaviors. For example, although we may disagree with littering, we may throw a candy wrapper on the ground. Your behavior may reflect your attitudes

**Figure 20.3****A Theory of Planned Behavior**

Psychologists have proposed a theory that three factors determine a person's behavior. The strength or weakness of each of these three factors explains why certain people behave differently despite shared attitudes (Ajzen, 1991; Sheppard, Hartwick, & Warshaw, 1988). *What factors other than attitude determine a person's behavior?*



more strongly, though, depending on why you have formed a certain attitude. Many psychologists argue that the attitudes that most strongly predict behavior are those that are acquired through direct experience. For example, if you do not eat meat because in the past you have become sick after eating it, the smell and sight of meat may automatically remind you of being sick. In this case, you are unlikely to eat meat. If you disagree with eating meat because of strictly moral reasons, however, you may not automatically remember your attitude when you smell and see meat. So, attitudes do play a role in determining behavior, but this role varies in different circumstances.

 **Reading Check**  
How do our attitudes help us organize our reality?

**SECTION I****Assessment**

- 1. Review the Vocabulary** What are the three elements of an attitude?
- 2. Visualize the Main Idea** Using a diagram similar to the one below, list and describe the functions of attitudes.
- 3. Recall Information** How do family and peers affect our attitudes?
- 4. Think Critically** How can attitudes help keep us out of dangerous situations?



**5. Application Activity** Investigate how advertisers use classical conditioning to influence our attitudes. Bring an example of such an advertisement to class and, in a brief report, analyze the advertiser's technique.

# Attitude Change and Prejudice

## Reader's Guide

### ■ Main Idea

Attitudes are formed through compliance, identification, and internalization. Attitudes may be changed as a result of cognitive dissonance.

### ■ Vocabulary

- compliance
- identification
- internalization
- cognitive dissonance
- counterattitudinal behavior
- self-justification
- self-fulfilling prophecy
- prejudice
- discrimination

### ■ Objectives

- Cite the sources of attitude change.
- Describe prejudice and its relationship to stereotypes and roles.

## EXPLORING PSYCHOLOGY

### Can You Figure It Out?

I met my friend the test pilot, who had just completed an around-the-world flight by balloon. With the pilot was a little girl of about two.

“What’s her name?” I asked my friend, whom I hadn’t seen in five years and who had married in that time.

“Same as her mother,” the pilot replied.

“Hello, Susan,” I said to the little girl.

How did I know her name if I never saw the wedding announcement?

—from “Steve’s Primer of Practical Persuasion and Influence” [Web site], 1996

**D**id you figure out the answer to the thought problem above? You see, the author knew the name of the little girl because the test pilot was a woman—the little girl’s mother. Thus the mother and daughter share the same first name. You may have had trouble coming up with the answer because you assumed that the test pilot was male. Also, we usually do not expect women to name their daughters after themselves. If you had trouble with this thought problem, you were the victim of cognitive consistency—that is, you tried to fit this new situation into your existing assumptions. You made a prejudgment about the situation that prevented you from considering all the possibilities.

## ATTITUDE CHANGE

Having suggested where attitudes come from, we can now look at how they develop. The three main processes involved in forming or changing attitudes are compliance, identification, and internalization (Kelman, 1961).

If you praise a certain film director because everyone else does, you are complying. If you find yourself agreeing with everything a friend you particularly admire says about the director, you are identifying with your friend's attitudes. If you genuinely like the director's work and, regardless of what other people think, consider it brilliant, you are expressing an internalized attitude.

## Compliance

One of the best measures of attitude is behavior. If a man settles back into his chair after dinner, launches into a discussion of his support of the women's rights movement, then shouts to his wife—who is in the kitchen washing the dishes—to bring more coffee, you probably would not believe what he had been saying. His actions speak louder than his words. Yet the same man might hire women for jobs he has always considered “men's work” because the law requires him to do so. He also might finally accept his wife's going to work because he knows that she, their children, and many of their friends would consider him old-fashioned if he did not. People often adapt their actions to the wishes of others to avoid discomfort or rejection and to gain support. This is called **compliance**. Under such circumstances, social pressure often results in only temporary compliance, and attitudes do not really change. Later in this chapter, however, we shall see that compliance can sometimes affect one's beliefs.

**compliance:** a change of behavior to avoid discomfort or rejection and to gain approval

## Identification

One way in which attitudes may be formed or changed is through the process of **identification**. Suppose you have a favorite uncle who is everything you hope to be. He is a successful musician, has many famous friends, and seems to know a great deal about everything. In many ways you identify with him and copy his behavior. One night, during an intense conversation, your uncle asks you why you do not vote. At first, you feel defensive and argumentative. You contend that it does not matter, that your vote would not make a difference. As you listen to your uncle, however, you find yourself starting to agree with him. If a person as knowledgeable and respectable as your uncle believes it is important to vote, then perhaps you should, too. Later you find yourself eager to take part in the political process. You have adopted a new attitude because of your identification with your uncle.

**identification:** seeing oneself as similar to another person or group and accepting the attitudes of another person or group as one's own

Identification occurs when a person wants to define himself or herself in terms of a person or group and therefore adopts the person's or group's attitudes and ways of behaving. Identification is different from compliance because the individual actually believes the newly adopted views. Yet because these attitudes are based on emotional attachment to another person or group rather than the person's own assessment of the issues, they are fragile. If the person's attachment to that person or group fades, the attitudes may also weaken.

Previously, you read that adolescents move away from peer groups and toward independence as they grow older. If this is true, do attitudes stabilize with age? Two psychologists (Krosnick & Alwin, 1989) studied





the political and social attitudes of groups of people of various ages over an extended period. Those in the 18 to 25 age group were the most likely to change their attitudes; those age 34 and older held attitudes that were essentially stable. As self-critiquing and self-analysis decline through late adolescence and into adulthood, attitudes become more stable.


## Internalization

**internalization:** incorporating the values, ideas, and standards of others as a part of oneself

The wholehearted acceptance of an attitude is **internalization**. The attitude becomes an integral part of the person. Internalization is most likely to occur when an attitude is consistent with a person's basic beliefs and values and supports his or her self-image. The person adopts a new attitude because he or she believes it is right to do so, not because he or she wants to be like someone else.

Internalization is the most lasting of the three sources of attitude formation or change. Your internalized attitudes will be more resistant to pressure from other people because your reasons for holding these views have nothing to do with other people. They are based on your own evaluation of the merits of the issue. A Bennington student put it this way: "I became liberal at first because of its prestige value; I remain so because the problems around which my liberalism centers are important. What I want now is to be effective in solving problems" (Newcomb, 1943).

As this example suggests, compliance or identification may lead to the internalization of an attitude. Often the three overlap. You may support a political candidate in part because you know your friends will approve, in part because someone you admire speaks highly of the candidate, and in part because you believe his or her ideals are consistent with your own.

 **Reading Check**  
Which attitudes are the most stable and long-lasting—those formed by compliance, identification, or internalization?

## COGNITIVE CONSISTENCY

Many social psychologists have theorized that people's attitudes change because they are always trying to get things to fit together logically inside their heads. This is called *cognitive consistency* (see Figure 20.4). Holding two opposing attitudes can create great conflict in an individual, throwing him or her off balance. A doctor who smokes and a parent who is uncomfortable with children have one thing in common: they are in conflict.

According to Leon Festinger (1957), people in such situations experience cognitive dissonance. **Cognitive dissonance** is the uncomfortable feeling that arises when a person's behavior conflicts with thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, or behaviors. To reduce dissonance, it is necessary to change either the behavior or the conflicting attitudes.

People reduce dissonance in several ways. First, some people just deny the dissonance. They pretend it did not happen. When faced with information on the health hazards of smoking, a smoker simply treats the information as nonsense or propaganda by antismoking groups. Some people attempt to evade dissonance by avoiding situations or exposure to information that would create conflict. For example, they may make a point of subscribing to newspapers and magazines that uphold their political

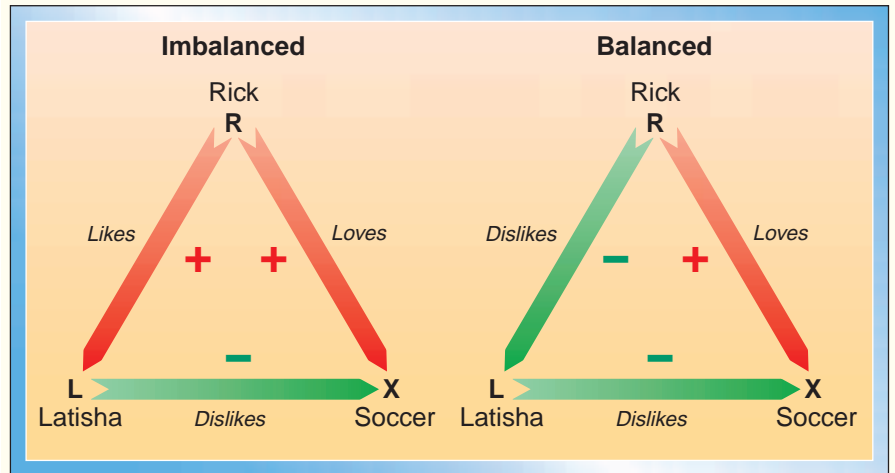
**cognitive dissonance:** the uncomfortable feeling when a person experiences contradictory or conflicting thoughts, attitudes, beliefs, or feelings

attitudes, of surrounding themselves with people who share the same ideas, and of attending only those speeches and lectures that support their views. It is not surprising that such people get quite upset when a piece of conflicting information finally does get through. Some people change their attitude and/or reevaluate the event. Because the new information they received does not agree with their old attitude, they revise their attitude. The smoker might consider the research on the dangers of smoking and make an attempt to quit smoking. The process of dissonance reduction does not always take place consciously, but it is a frequent and powerful occurrence.

**Figure 20.4**

## Balance Theory

According to the balance theory, people are inclined to achieve consistency in their attitudes by balancing their beliefs and feelings about an object, person, or event against their attitudes about other people. When someone we care about strongly disagrees with us, an uncomfortable state of imbalance occurs. *What do you think we do when we become involved in a state of imbalance?*



## ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS

Social psychologists have discovered several interesting relationships between attitudes and actions. Obviously, your attitudes affect your actions: if you like Fords, you will buy a Ford. Some of the other relationships are not so obvious.

### Doing Is Believing

It turns out, for example, that if you like Fords but buy a Chevrolet for some reason (perhaps you can get a better deal on a Chevy), you will end up liking Fords less. In other words, actions affect attitudes.

In many instances, if you act and speak as though you have certain beliefs and feelings, you may begin to *really* feel and believe this way. This phenomenon is called **counterattitudinal behavior**, and it is a method of reducing cognitive dissonance. For example, people accused of a crime have confessed to crimes they did not commit. They confessed to relieve the pressure; but having said that they did the deed, they begin to believe that they really *are* guilty.

One explanation for this phenomenon comes from the theory of cognitive dissonance. If a person acts one way but thinks another, he or she will experience dissonance. To reduce the dissonance, the person will

**counterattitudinal behavior:** the process of taking a public position that contradicts one's private attitude

## More About...

### The Just-World Bias

When watching some movies, we expect the evil character to get punished. Sometimes we may even hear ourselves saying, “He’ll get what he deserves.” Psychologists label this tendency the *just-world bias* (Lerner, 1980). We need to believe that life is fair, that the world is orderly, and that we have control over our environment, because to think otherwise would cause too much cognitive dissonance. For instance, if we believe life is unfair, then no matter what we do, something terrible could happen to us. That thought is an extremely uncomfortable notion. The just-world hypothesis, then, motivates us to work hard and be good to ensure our survival and well-being. However, the just-world hypothesis may cause us to develop prejudice against those who suffer misfortunes or mistreatment.

To maintain our belief that life is fair, we reason that those who are worse off than we are somehow deserve their lot. We blame the victim. For example, we may say that the woman who was robbed last night should not have been walking alone at night.

**self-justification:** the need to rationalize one’s attitude and behavior

**self-fulfilling prophecy:** a belief, prediction, or expectation that operates to bring about its own fulfillment

have to change either the behavior or the attitude. A similar explanation is that people have a need for **self-justification**—a need to justify their behavior.

In an experiment that demonstrated these principles, participants were paid either \$1 or \$20 (roughly \$5 and \$100 in today’s currency) to tell another person that a boring experiment in which they both had to participate was really a lot of fun. Afterward, the experimenters asked the participants how they felt about the experiment. They found that the participants who had been paid \$20 to lie about the experiment continued to believe that it had been boring. Those who had been paid \$1, however, came to believe that the experiment had actually been fairly enjoyable. These people had less reason to tell the lie, so they experienced more dissonance when they did so. To justify their lie, they had to believe that they had actually enjoyed the experiment (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959).

The phenomenon of self-justification has serious implications. For example, how would you justify to yourself that you had intentionally injured another human being? In another psychological experiment, participants were led to believe that they had injured or hurt other participants in some way (Glass, 1964). The aggressors were then asked how they felt about the victims they had just harmed. It was found that the aggressors had convinced themselves that they did not like the victims of their cruelty. In other words, the aggressors talked themselves into believing that their defenseless victims had deserved their

injury. The aggressors also considered their victims to be less attractive after the experiment than before—their self-justification for hurting another person was something like “Oh, well, this person doesn’t amount to much, anyway.”

### Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

Another relationship between attitudes and actions is rather subtle but extremely widespread. It is possible, it seems, for a person to act in such a way as to make his or her beliefs come true. This phenomenon is called a **self-fulfilling prophecy**. Self-fulfilling prophecies can influence all kinds of human activity. Suppose you believe that people are basically friendly and generous. Whenever you approach other people, you are friendly and open. Because of your smile and positive attitude toward yourself and the world, people like you. Thus your belief that people are friendly produces your friendly behavior, which in turn causes people to respond favorably toward you. Suppose you turn this example around. Imagine that you believe people are selfish and cold. Because of your negative attitude, you tend to avert your eyes from other people, to act gloomy, and to appear

rather unfriendly. People think your actions are strange, and consequently, they act coldly toward you. Your belief produced the behavior that made the belief come true.

## PREJUDICE


**Prejudice** means, literally, prejudgment. Prejudice means deciding beforehand what a person will be like instead of withholding judgment until it can be based on his or her individual qualities or behavior. To hold stereotypes about a group of people is to be prejudiced about them. Prejudice is not necessarily negative—men who are prejudiced against women are often equally prejudiced in favor of men, for example.

**prejudice:** preconceived attitudes toward a person or group that have been formed without sufficient evidence and are not easily changed

## Stereotypes and Roles

Prejudice is strengthened and maintained by the existence of stereotypes and roles. A *stereotype* is an oversimplified, hard-to-change way of seeing people who belong to some group or category. Racial groups, scientists, women, and the rich, for example, often have been seen in certain rigid ways rather than as individuals. A *role* is an oversimplified, hard-to-change way of acting. Stereotypes and roles can act together in a way that makes them difficult to break down. For example, many whites once had a stereotype of minority racial groups, believing them to be irresponsible, superstitious, or unintelligent. Whites who believed this expected members of the racial group to act out a role that was consistent with a stereotype. Members of the targeted racial group were expected to be submissive, deferential, and respectful toward whites, who acted out the role of the superior, condescending parent. In the past, many people accepted these roles and looked at themselves and each other according to these stereotypes. In the past several decades, however, many people have worked to step out of these roles and drop these stereotypes, and many have been successful.

Patricia Devine (1989) proposed a model to explain the relationships between stereotypes and prejudice. She theorizes that if a specific stimulus is encountered, it automatically activates your stereotype mechanism. For example, if you see an old man or woman, it activates your stereotype of old people. Devine suggests that what separates prejudiced from nonprejudiced people is their ability to inhibit negative attitudes. If you can do so, your response will be nonprejudiced; if you cannot restrain your negative beliefs, you will behave in a prejudiced manner.



### Illusory Correlation

An illusory correlation occurs when we see a relationship between variables that aren't really related. Philip Zimbardo, recent president of the American Psychological Association, gives an excellent example of illusory correlation. Many years ago a failure in a mid-Atlantic power station caused a blackout to sweep the East Coast one evening. A Little Leaguer in Boston was on his way home from a game, swinging his bat at everything as he walked. He swung at a lamppost, and just as his bat hit the post, the lights of all Boston blinked out before his disbelieving eyes. It was an illusory correlation.

Another psychologist, Thomas Pettigrew, suggests that in situations where a dominant group and a deferential group can be identified, members of each group may play roles that foster and maintain their respective positions. A member of a dominating group, for example, will speak first, interrupt more often, and talk louder and longer. A member of the deferential group will show courtesy and concern for the dominant member and do more listening and less interrupting.

## Prejudice and Discrimination

There are many possible causes for prejudice. Prejudice can be based on social, economic, or physical factors. Psychologists have found that people may be prejudiced against those less well-off than themselves—these people seem to justify being on top by assuming that anyone of lower status or income must be inferior. People who have suffered economic setbacks also tend to be prejudiced; they blame others for their misfortune. Prejudice also arises from “guilt by association.” People who dislike cities and urban living, for example, tend to distrust people associated with cities. Also, people may be prejudiced in favor of those they see as similar to themselves and against those who seem different. Whatever the original cause, prejudice seems to persist. One reason is that children who grow up in an atmosphere of prejudice conform to the prejudicial norm. That is, they are encouraged to conform to the thoughts and practices of their parents and other teachers.

Prejudice, which is an attitude, should be distinguished from **discrimination**, the unequal treatment of members of certain groups. It is possible for a prejudiced person not to discriminate. He or she may recognize his or her prejudice and try not to act on it. Similarly, a person may discriminate, not out of prejudice, but in compliance with social or economic pressures.

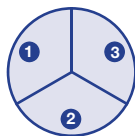
**discrimination:** the unequal treatment of individuals on the basis of their race, ethnic group, age, gender, or membership in another category rather than on the basis of individual characteristics

## SECTION 2

# Assessment

- 1. Review the Vocabulary** Describe the relationship between attitudes and behavior in counterattitudinal behavior, self-justification, and self-fulfilling prophecy.
- 2. Visualize the Main Idea** Using a diagram similar to the one below, list and describe the three main processes involved in forming or changing attitudes.

Processes of  
Forming/Changing  
Attitudes



- 3. Recall Information** How do stereotypes and roles strengthen prejudice?
- 4. Think Critically** How do theories of cognitive dissonance explain why certain people may be attracted to some information while they avoid other information? Explain.

**5. Application Activity** List 10 makes and models of cars (such as Saturn SL2, Honda Civic) and ask 15 people to choose from a wide range of adjectives (such as serious, reliable, dishonest) that best describes someone who drives that type of car. Analyze the results of your survey to see if people are stereotyped by the cars they drive.

# Case Studies

## Feelings vs. Actions

**Period of Study:** 1934

**Introduction:** In the early days of psychology, researchers assumed that people's behavior could be predicted by measuring their attitudes and opinions. In 1934, researcher Richard LaPiere conducted a study designed to evaluate a person's attitudes and actions with situations regarding race. He studied the social attitudes of individuals and examined the connection between an individual's real behavior and an individual's symbolic behavior. *Symbolic behavior* refers to a

person's statements regarding his or her actions in a hypothetical situation. With this idea in mind, LaPiere set out to test individuals' symbolic racial responses compared with their actual racial responses.

**Hypothesis:** LaPiere came up with the idea of studying racial behavior when he traveled across the United States with a young Chinese couple to conduct research on a different topic. During the 1930s, much racial prejudice targeted Asian Americans. LaPiere wondered if his companions would encounter racism in the form of compromised or denied service.

**Method:** LaPiere and the couple visited various restaurants, attempted to check in to hotels, and frequented other public service businesses. LaPiere recorded significant data, such as how the couple was treated, if they were served, if they were asked to leave, and other important information. He noted that only

one of the 251 establishments they visited refused service to his friends.

Given the climate of prejudice against people from Asia, LaPiere was curious about this observation. He decided to investigate the issue by sending questionnaires to the establishments that the Chinese couple had visited. The questionnaires simply asked if that establishment would provide services to a Chinese husband and wife. He received 128 completed questionnaires, or 51 percent of the total mailed.

**Results:** Only one of the 128 responding businesses said that it would serve a Chinese couple. The vast majority (90 percent) said that they would not serve the couple. Yet during the trip, only one establishment actually denied LaPiere's companions service. Thus, the attitudes reported by the

business owners (symbolic behavior) did not seem to match their actual behaviors.

Even though mailing questionnaires is not an ideal way to measure the relationship between symbolic and actual behavior, this study suggested that the attitudes people report do not necessarily predict behavior. Conversely, people's behavior may reflect attitudes that are different than what they report. Later studies confirmed and refined this general conclusion. The relationship between attitudes and behavior has proven to be a rich topic of study for social psychologists.



### Analyzing the Case Study

1. What is the difference between symbolic behavior and actual behavior? Explain.
2. What was LaPiere's hypothesis?
3. **Critical Thinking** If LaPiere performed this experiment today, do you think that his results would be the same? Why or why not?

## Reader's Guide

## ■ Main Idea

Persuasion is a direct attempt to influence attitudes. We evaluate when, where, and how a message is presented, as well as the message itself, when determining the credibility of the message.

## ■ Vocabulary

- persuasion
- boomerang effect
- sleeper effect
- inoculation effect
- brainwashing

## ■ Objectives

- Describe the factors involved in the communication process.
- Explain the different types of persuasion processes.

## EXPLORING PSYCHOLOGY

## Why Do Kids Love McDonald's?

By switching the channel on a Saturday morning, a child can watch “Ronald McDonald” in up to a dozen, colorful, fast-paced commercials *each hour*; perhaps this is one reason why the chain sells so many billions of hamburgers.

—from *The Social Animal* by Elliot Aronson, 1995

Advertisers use persuasion to encourage consumers to buy their products. McDonald's uses at least one method of persuasion—familiarity. Most American kids know what McDonald's is; most American kids have seen a McDonald's commercial or advertisement. What methods of persuasion lure you?

## PERSUASION

**persuasion:** the direct attempt to influence attitudes

**Persuasion** is a direct attempt to influence attitudes. At one time or another everyone engages in persuasion. When a smiling student who is working her way through college by selling magazine subscriptions comes to the door, she attempts to persuade you that reading *Newsweek* or *Sports Illustrated* will make you better informed and give you lots to talk about at parties. Parents often attempt to persuade a son or daughter to conform to their values about life. Similarly, some young people try to persuade their parents that all their friends' parents are buying them home computers. In each case, the persuader's main hope is that by changing the other person's attitudes, he or she can change that person's behavior as well.

## The Communication Process

Enormous amounts of time, money, and effort go into campaigns to persuade people to change their attitudes and behavior. Some succeed on a grand scale, while others seem to have no effect. Discovering the elements of an effective persuasive communication is one of the most difficult problems confronted by social psychologists.

The communication process can be broken down into four parts. The *message* itself is only one part. It is also important to consider the *source* of the message, the *channel* through which it is delivered, and the *audience* that receives it.

**The Source** How a person sees the source of a message may be a critical factor in his or her acceptance of it. The person receiving the message asks himself or herself three basic questions: Is the person giving the message trustworthy and sincere? Does he or she know anything about the subject? Is he or she likable (Pratkanis & Aronson, 2001)? If the answers are yes, the message is more likely to be accepted (see Figure 20.5).

Suppose, for example, that you wrote a paper criticizing a short story for your English class. A friend who reads the paper tells you about an article that praises the story and asks you to reconsider your view. The article was written by Agnes Stearn, a college student. You might change your opinion, or you might not. Suppose your friend tells you the same critique was written by Stephen King. Chances are that you would begin to doubt your own judgment. Three psychologists tried this experiment. Not surprisingly, many more students changed their minds about a piece of writing when they thought the criticism was written by a famous writer (Aronson, Turner, & Carlsmith, 1963).

A person receiving the message also asks, “Do I like the source?” If the communicator is respected and admired, people will tend to go along with the message, either because they believe in his or her judgment or because they want to be like him or her. This identification phenomenon explains the frequent use of athletes in advertisements. Football players and Olympic champions are not (in most cases) experts on deodorants, electric razors, or milk. Indeed, when an athlete endorses a particular brand of deodorant on television, we all know he or she is doing it for the money. Nevertheless, the process of identification makes these sales pitches highly effective (Wu & Shaffer, 1987).

However, attempts to be friendly and personal can backfire. When people dislike the individual or group delivering a message, they are likely to respond by taking the opposite point of view. This

Figure 20.5

### The Source

National newscasters, such as Peter Jennings, appear attractive, honest, and credible. We are likely to believe sources that seem trustworthy and are attractive. *What is the identification phenomenon?*





**boomerang effect:** a change in attitude or behavior opposite of the one desired by the persuader

is known as the **boomerang effect**. For example, the sales of a product may go down after the well-known spokesperson for the product is arrested for breaking the law, or the well-intentioned comments of a politician may offend certain groups and, thereby, damage his popular appeal.

**The Message** Suppose two people with opposing viewpoints are trying to persuade you to agree with them. Suppose further that you like and trust both of them. In this situation, the message becomes more important than the source. The persuasiveness of a message depends on the way in which it is composed and organized as well as on the actual content.

There are two ways to deliver a message. The *central route for persuasion* focuses on presenting information consisting of strong arguments and facts—it is a focus on logic. The *peripheral route for persuasion* relies on emotional appeals, emphasizing personal traits or positive feelings.

Should the message arouse emotion? Are people more likely to change their attitudes if they are afraid or angry or pleased? The answer is yes, but the most effective messages combine emotional appeal with factual information and argument. A moderately arousing message typically causes the largest shift of opinion. Similarly, a message that deviates moderately from the attitudes of the target audience will tend to move that audience furthest. A communication that overemphasizes the emotional side of an issue may boomerang. The peripheral route sometimes arouses fear (see Figure 20.6). If the message is too upsetting, people may reject it. For example, showing pictures of accident victims to people who have been arrested for drunken driving may convince them not to drive when they have been drinking. Yet if the film is so bloody that people are frightened or disgusted, they may

also stop listening to the message. On the other hand, a communication that includes only logic and information may miss its mark because the audience does not relate the facts to their personal lives.

In addition to considering the route of the appeal, communicators must also decide whether or not to present both sides of an issue. For the most part, a two-sided communication is more effective because the audience tends to believe that the speaker is objective and fair-minded. A slight hazard of presenting opposing arguments is that they might undercut the message or suggest that the whole issue is too controversial to warrant a decision.

People usually respond positively to a message that is structured and delivered in a dynamic way. A communication that is forceful to the point of being pushy, however, may produce negative results. People generally resent being pressured. If listeners infer from a message that they are being left with no choice but to agree with the speaker's viewpoint, they may reject an opinion for this reason alone.

### Figure 20.6 Appealing to Your Fears

Advertisements, such as this, are effective only if you believe the danger is real and if you believe that you can do something to reduce the danger. *Is this an example of a central or peripheral route for persuasion?*



**The Channel** Where, when, and how a message is presented also influences the audience's response. In general, personal contact is the most effective approach to an audience. For example, in one study in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 75 percent of voters who had been contacted personally voted in favor of a change in the city charter. Only 45 percent of those who had received the message in the mail and 19 percent of those who had seen only ads in the media voted for the change (Eldersveld & Dodge, 1954).

As we saw earlier, however, personal contact may boomerang: people may dislike the communicator or feel that they are being pressured. Besides, you can reach a great many more people through mailings and radio and television broadcasts than you can in person.

There is some evidence that television and films are more effective media of persuasion than printed matter. People tend to believe what they see and hear with their own senses (even if they know the information has been edited before it is broadcast). In one experiment, 51 percent of people who had watched a film could answer factual questions about the issue in question—compared to 29 percent of those who had seen only printed material. In addition, more of the people who had viewed the film altered their viewpoints than did people who had read about the issue (Hovland, Lumsdaine, & Sheffield, 1949).

**The Audience** Finally, the most effective channel also depends in part on the audience. The audience includes all those people whose attitudes the communicator is trying to change. Persuading people to alter their views depends on knowing who the audience is and why they hold the attitudes they do. Despite the power of persuasion, most people accept information about things they find interesting, and they avoid information that does not support their beliefs (Pratkanis & Aronson, 2001). Suppose, for example, you are involved in a program to reduce the birthrate in a heavily populated area. The first step would be to inform people of various methods of birth control as well as how and where to obtain them—but will they do so? To persuade them to use available contraceptives, you need to know why they value large families. In some areas of the world, people have as many children as they can because they do not expect most to survive. In this case, you might want to tie the family-planning campaign to programs of infant care. In some areas, children work to bring in needed income. In this case, you might want to promote an incentive system for families who limit themselves to two or three children.

If the people are not taking advantage of available means of birth control, you will want to know who is resisting. Perhaps men believe fathering a child is a sign of virility. Perhaps women consider motherhood an essential element of femininity. Perhaps both sexes see parenthood as a symbol of maturity and adulthood (Coale, 1973). Knowing who your audience is and what motivates its members are crucial.

Several strategies effectively involve the audience. One strategy that has been studied extensively is the *foot-in-the-door technique*, which involves first making a very small request that someone is almost sure to agree to and then making a much more demanding request (Dillard, 1991). In one



### Student Web Activity

Visit the *Understanding Psychology* Web site at [psychology.glencoe.com](http://psychology.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 20—Student Web Activities** for an activity on attitudes and influence.



### Reading Check

How does the foot-in-the-door technique differ from the door-in-the-face technique?

experiment, two researchers (Freedman & Fraser, 1966) asked residents of Palo Alto, California, for permission to place a small sign reading “Be a Safe Driver” in a window of their homes. Two weeks later, another person asked residents for permission to stake a large “Drive Carefully” sign in the front yard. Nearly 56 percent of those who had agreed to the first request also agreed to the second request. However, only 17 percent of the residents who heard only the second request but not the first agreed to put the sign in their yard.

Another strategy is sometimes called the *door-in-the-face technique*. It works like this: To encourage people to agree to a moderate request that might otherwise be rejected, you make a major request—likely to be rejected. When it is, you follow up immediately with a more minor request. For example, you might ask a friend, “I’m helping my parents move this weekend. Would you come over and help us Saturday and Sunday until we’re done?” “No? Well, then, could you come over Saturday morning and just help me move our grand piano?” You have a much higher likelihood of success on the second request following the first than if you had made only the second request.

## Models of Persuasion

As discussed earlier, a message leads to thinking, but how much and at what depth are determined both by the message and the needs of the person receiving it. Two different levels of activity are possible—central route processing (when the recipient thoughtfully considers the issues and arguments) and peripheral route processing (characterized by considering other cues rather than the message itself). Another model of persuasion is the heuristic model (Chaiken, 1987). A *heuristic* is a rule of thumb or a shortcut that may lead to but does not guarantee a solution (see Figure 20.7).

The heuristic model proposes two ways in which attitudes may be changed. If an individual is not interested in an issue under discussion, he or she is likely to rely on heuristic processing, a very casual, low-attention form of analyzing evidence. In this kind of processing, the recipient tunes in to the peripheral aspects of the message—the likability of the source, the number of arguments, and the tone of voice.

On the other hand, if the recipient is deeply interested or curious about the topic of a message, the likely result is sometimes called systematic processing, or central route processing. Advertisers use heuristics to get you to buy their products. For instance, they may sprinkle their ads with numbers and nice-sounding words such as *integrity*, employ celebrities to endorse their products, or state that their product is the most popular one.

**The Sleeper Effect** Changes in attitudes are not always permanent. In fact, efforts at persuasion usually have their greatest impact immediately and then fade away. However, sometimes people seem to reach different conclusions about a message after a period of time has elapsed. This curious **sleeper effect** has been explained in several ways.

One explanation of the delayed-action impact depends on the tendency to retain the message but forget the source. As time goes by, a positive source no longer holds power to persuade nor does a negative

**sleeper effect:** the delayed impact on attitude change of a persuasive communication

source undercut the message. When the memory of the source fades, the message then stands on its own merit, and more people may accept it (Kelman & Hovland, 1953).

The problem is that this requires forgetting one thing and retaining another, with no obvious reason why that should occur. Researchers (Pratkanis et al., 1988) conducted experiments to verify their differential decay hypothesis. They argued that if the message is heard first, followed by a discounting cue (such as a low-credibility source), the two balance each other out—no effect is observed. Over time, however, the negative aspects of the cue dissipate more rapidly than the impact of the highly elaborated message. It is easier to remember your own position than the details of an argument. If the cue decays rapidly and the argument more slowly, what remains is the effect on an attitude. It may also be that it simply takes time for people to change their minds. As the message sinks in, attitudes change more.

## The Inoculation Effect

What can you do to resist persuasion? Research has shown that people can be educated to resist attitude change. This technique can be compared to an inoculation (McGuire, 1970). Inoculation against persuasion works in much the same way as inoculation against certain diseases. When a person is vaccinated, he is given a weakened or dead form of the disease-causing agent, which stimulates his body to manufacture defenses. If an inoculated person is attacked by a more potent form of the agent, he is immune to infection. Similarly, a person who has resisted a mild attack on his beliefs is ready to defend them against an onslaught that might otherwise have been overwhelming.

The **inoculation effect** can be explained in two ways: it motivates individuals to defend their beliefs more strongly, and it gives them some practice in defending those beliefs. The most vulnerable attitudes you have, therefore, are the ones that you have never had to defend. For example, you might find yourself hard put to defend your faith in democracy or in the healthfulness of vegetables if you have never had these beliefs questioned.

## Brainwashing

The most extreme means of changing attitudes involves a combination of psychological gamesmanship and physical torture, aptly called **brainwashing**. The most extensive studies of brainwashing have been done on

## Figure 20.7 Using Heuristics

We use heuristics, or shortcuts, to evaluate many messages. This saves us time and energy. **Which heuristic is this advertiser using?**



1. If the message contains many numbers and large words, it must be based on facts.
2. If the message focuses on values I have, it is probably right.
3. Famous or successful people conveying the message are probably right.
4. If most people support this product or believe this, it is probably true.

**inoculation effect:** developing resistance to persuasion by exposing a person to arguments that challenge his or her beliefs so that he or she can practice defending them

**brainwashing:** extreme form of attitude change; uses peer pressure, physical suffering, threats, rewards, guilt, and intensive indoctrination

Westerners who had been captured by the Chinese during the Korean War and subjected to “thought reform.” Psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton (1963) interviewed several dozen prisoners released by the Chinese, and from their accounts, he outlined the methods used to break down people’s convictions and introduce new patterns of belief, feeling, and behavior.

The aim in brainwashing is as much to create a new person as to change attitudes. So the first step is to strip away all identity and then subject the person to intense social pressure and physical stress. Prison is a perfect setting for this process. The person is isolated from social support, is a number not a name, is clothed like everyone else, and can be surrounded by people who have had their thoughts “reformed” and are contemptuous of “reactionaries.” So long as the prisoner holds out, he is treated with contempt or exhorted to confess by his fellow prisoners. He is interrogated past the point of exhaustion and is humiliated and discomfited by being bound at all times, even during meals or elimination. The prisoner is rewarded for cooperating. Cooperation involves confessing to crimes against the people in his former way of life. With every act of compliance, prison life is made a little more pleasant. Finally, by a combination of threat, peer pressure, systematic rewards, and other psychological means, the prisoner comes to believe his confession.

It is difficult to say where persuasion ends and brainwashing begins. Some researchers believe that brainwashing is just a very intense form of persuasion. Drawing this line has become particularly important to the courts—especially in cases such as lawsuits regarding the deprogramming of members of religious cults. A cult is a group of people who organize around a strong authority figure. Cults use influence techniques and deception to attain psychological control over members and new recruits.

## SECTION 3

# Assessment

- 1. Review the Vocabulary** Explain how the boomerang, sleeper, and inoculation effects influence your attitudes.
- 2. Visualize the Main Idea** Use a diagram similar to the one below to outline the parts of the communication process.
- 3. Recall Information** How does brainwashing work? Why is it used?
- 4. Think Critically** When evaluating a message that is very important to you, do you rely on systematic processing or heuristics? Explain.

The Communication Process Involves:



- 5. Application Activity** Pretend that you are a car dealer and you are persuading a young couple to purchase an automobile from your dealership. Write a brief script between the dealer and the couple that incorporates aspects of persuasion techniques both might use.

Everyone has a variety of opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. Psychologists study where they come from and how they change.

## Section 1 Attitude Formation

**Main Idea:** Our attitudes are the result of conditioning, observational learning, and cognitive evaluation. Our attitudes help us define ourselves and our place in society, evaluate people and events, and guide our behavior.

- Attitudes may be formed through classical conditioning.
- The culture in which you grew up, the people who raised you, and those with whom you associate all shape your attitudes.
- People living in the same conditions and who frequently communicate with one another tend to have attitudes in common because they are exposed to the same information.
- Our attitudes serve as guidelines for interpreting and categorizing people, objects, and events.

## Section 2 Attitude Change and Prejudice

**Main Idea:** Attitudes are formed through compliance, identification, and internalization. Attitudes may be changed as a result of cognitive dissonance.

- People often adapt their actions to the wishes of others to avoid discomfort or rejection and to gain support.
- Identification occurs when a person wants to define himself or herself in terms of a person or group and therefore adopts the person's or group's attitudes and ways of behaving.
- Internalization is the most lasting of the three sources of attitude formation or change.
- People's attitudes change because they are always trying to get things to fit together logically.
- A person's actions can affect his or her attitudes.
- Prejudice means deciding beforehand what a person will be like instead of withholding judgment until it can be based on a person's individual qualities.

## Section 3 Persuasion

**Main Idea:** Persuasion is a direct attempt to influence attitudes. We evaluate when, where, and how a message is presented, as well as the message itself, when determining the credibility of the message.

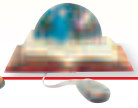
- The process of communication involves four elements: the message itself, the source of the message, the channel through which it is delivered, and the audience that receives it.
- The audience may process a message by systematically thinking about it or by using heuristics.
- The most effective messages combine moderate emotional appeal with factual information and argument.

## Chapter Vocabulary

attitude (p. 577)  
 self-concept (p. 580)  
 compliance (p. 583)  
 identification (p. 583)  
 internalization (p. 584)  
 cognitive dissonance (p. 584)  
 counterattitudinal behavior (p. 585)  
 self-justification (p. 586)  
 self-fulfilling prophecy (p. 586)  
 prejudice (p. 587)  
 discrimination (p. 588)  
 persuasion (p. 590)  
 boomerang effect (p. 592)  
 sleeper effect (p. 594)  
 inoculation effect (p. 595)  
 brainwashing (p. 595)

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### Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *Understanding Psychology* Web site at [psychology.glencoe.com](http://psychology.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 20—Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the Chapter Test.

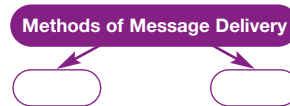
## Reviewing Vocabulary

Choose the letter of the correct term or concept below to complete the sentence.

- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| a. attitude           | f. discrimination   |
| b. compliance         | g. self-concept     |
| c. identification     | h. boomerang effect |
| d. internalization    | i. sleeper effect   |
| e. self-justification | j. brainwashing     |
- A(n) \_\_\_\_\_ is a predisposition to respond in particular ways toward specific things.
  - A(n) \_\_\_\_\_ occurs when people seem to reach different conclusions about a message after a period of time has elapsed.
  - Trying to explain one's behavior to reduce cognitive dissonance is called \_\_\_\_\_.
  - \_\_\_\_\_ occurs when a person wants to define himself or herself in terms of a person or group and therefore adopts the person's or group's attitudes.
  - Your \_\_\_\_\_ is how you see or describe yourself.
  - The most extreme means of changing attitudes is called \_\_\_\_\_.
  - \_\_\_\_\_ occurs when a person yields to the desires or demands of others to avoid discomfort or to gain approval.
  - A(n) \_\_\_\_\_ occurs when people dislike the individual delivering a message and respond by taking the opposite point of view.
  - The unequal treatment of members of certain groups is called \_\_\_\_\_.
  - \_\_\_\_\_ occurs when a person wholeheartedly accepts an attitude, and the attitude becomes an integral part of the person.

## Recalling Facts

- In what three ways are attitudes formed?
- Using a diagram similar to the one below, identify and describe two methods of delivering a persuasive message.



- Which cognitive act are people engaging in when they convince themselves that they did not like the victim of their aggressive act?
- What will be the effect on listeners if you use a very emotional appeal or if you pressure them to adopt your point of view?
- What is the goal of brainwashing? How does brainwashing work?

## Critical Thinking

- Evaluating Information** Attitudes come from a variety of sources. Using the information in the chapter, what source do you think was most influential in establishing your attitudes? Why do you think so?
- Analyzing Information** There are three processes involved in changing attitudes. Provide examples of an attitude being changed in each of the three ways. Explain which process is the most lasting process for changing attitudes and why.
- Applying Concepts** What are two ways that you can help reduce prejudice in your school or community?
- Making Inferences** One of the primary objectives of advertising is to get the viewers or listeners to remember the product. To what extent do you think familiarity with brand names influences your choices in the market?
- Synthesizing Information** Think of a recent local or national political campaign. Focus on the kinds of persuasion techniques used by the candidates. How did they use central route processing? Peripheral route processing?

## Psychology Projects

- 1. Attitude Formation** Use a variety of sources to find examples of the ways in which culture influences attitudes. Find out about attitudes in other places of the world and compare those attitudes to ones in this country. Present your findings in an illustrated, captioned poster.
- 2. Prejudice** Use magazine and newspaper articles to find out about common stereotypes toward groups such as teenagers and the elderly. Create a cartoon illustrating these stereotypes and provide suggestions for eliminating them.
- 3. Persuasion** Choose some issue on which you have a strong opinion. If you were given an unlimited budget, how would you go about persuading people to agree with you? In a written report, describe the sources you would employ, the channels you would use, the content of your message, and the audience you would try to reach.
- 4. Attitude Change** Study a recent or ongoing political campaign. What attitudinal change and persuasive strategies are being used? Collect examples of the strategies and report your findings in a brief presentation.



## Technology Activity

Locate examples of persuasion techniques used by advertisers on the Internet. Print out pages of the advertisements and explain the techniques used to influence consumers. How effective do you think these advertisements are in changing people's attitudes?



## Psychology Journal

After reading the chapter and class discussions, would you revise the definition of prejudice that you wrote at the beginning of this chapter's study? In your journal, write a one-page paper explaining whether or not prejudice is unavoidable.

## Building Skills

**Identifying Cause-and-Effect Relationships** Review the advertisement below, then answer the questions that follow.

**"I won a million dollars just by dialing 10-10-345. I can't believe it!"**

*You could be next! Dial 10-10-345 today.*

- No charge for long distance anytime
- Every call is an entry in the \$1,000,000 sweepstakes
- 240 minutes a day with prices that fit & call
- No switching, minimum call length or monthly fee
- Dial 10-10-345 x 7 + area code + number

10-10-345

1. Which function of attitudes does this advertisement illustrate?
2. Do you think this advertisement is an effective persuasive communication tool? Explain your answer.



Practice and assess key social studies skills with **Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2.**



See the **Skills Handbook**, page 624, for an explanation of identifying cause-and-effect relationships.



# TIME

## REPORTS

# Coloring the Campus

It's like the 1960s in reverse: the schools are trying to integrate, and the courts won't let them

By ADAM COHEN

**Y**OU MIGHT THINK THAT THE president of a major university would show some contrition after being slapped down by a panel of federal judges. But when an appeals court ruled last month that the University of Georgia had discriminated against white applicants in favor of blacks—and had systematically violated the 14th Amendment—UGA president Michael Adams calmly turned the other cheek. “Sometimes,” he said, “you are defined by the battles in which you engage rather than by those you win.”

“Our policy is fully constitutional,” echoed Lee Bollinger, president of the University of Michigan, whose law school is fighting a similar lawsuit charging it with discriminating against whites. “This is not the moment to back away.”

In other words, buzz off.

That's right: courts and universities are at each other's throats, and once again the issue is race. If you are old enough to remember black-and-white TV, you saw the footage the last go-round: federal judges ordering all-white universities in the South to open their doors to blacks. But in the new millennium, the sides have flipped. Now the schools are the ones trying to usher in minority students with broad affirmative-action policies. And the courts—and, in California, voters and the regents—have been striking down those policies.

Each side in this legal tug-of-war is fighting for a deeply held principle. Backers of the recent rulings say the courts are ushering in a laudable “post-affirmative action” era—when people will be judged as individuals, not as members of groups. But opponents argue—as did many reparations advocates at the recently concluded U.N. racism conference in South Africa—that the slave trade's effects have not yet been erased, and it is far too soon to dismantle programs designed to increase minorities' access to higher education.

What has academic administrators around the country so worried is that they know rulings like the UGA decision could dramatically change the racial makeup of their campuses. The Berkeley campus of the University of California saw this firsthand when it was forced by California's Proposition 209 to switch to race-blind admissions. Underrepresented minorities in the student body dropped sharply, from 25% to 11%. At the University of Texas School of Law, the number of black first-years fell to just four the year after the school was ordered to adopt race-blind admissions—from 38 the year before.

Universities are not openly defying the courts. In states where they have been ordered—as UGA was—to stop using formulas that give extra points to minority applicants, they have complied. But what they can do—and have done—is fight back with a range of new programs and policies designed to



maintain minority enrollment while walking the new legal lines set by the courts. No school has worked harder to do this than U.T.'s law school, which in 1996 was hit by a suit, *Hopwood v. Texas*; the ruling in that case removed race as a consideration in admissions.

The law school has since enlisted high-profile alumni such as Dallas mayor Ron Kirk and Texas secretary of state Henry Cuellar to write to minority applicants to encourage them to come. A Texas state senator talked airlines into donating tickets so out-of-state blacks can visit the campus. And although the school itself is prohibited from offering race-based scholarships, U.T. alumni have stepped in to help. Last year U.T.'s alumni association, the Texas Exes, gave nearly \$400,000 in aid to 31 Hispanics,



RON SHERMAN-STONE

28 blacks and one Native American. The payoff: black enrollment is up—to 16 this fall from the low of four the year after *Hopwood*.

The state of Texas responded to *Hopwood* with the now-famous “top 10%” law that guarantees a place in the state university system to any student who graduates in the top 10% of his or her class. Because many Texas high schools are not well integrated, the top 10% in some schools is almost all minorities. U.T. officials have boosted the program by offering scholarships to top percenters at 70 high schools in Dallas, Houston, San Antonio and other underrepresented—and heavily black and Latino—areas. Minority enrollment in the U.T. undergraduate program is actually higher today than

before *Hopwood* rewrote the rules.

These programs and policies are generating a new debate. To supporters of affirmative action, they work to keep higher education inclusive while staying within the letter of the law. But opponents of affirmative action are crying foul. Ward Connerly, the regent who wrote California’s Proposition 209, argues that many of the ideas being proposed in California, like reducing the academic track, are “designed to

be proxies for points”—ways of tipping the scales without engaging in the kind of blatant favoritism struck down in Georgia.

Both sides of this debate claim to be working for diversity. The Georgia appeals court said UGA’s inflexible formula, which assigned extra points to blacks, made the mistake of assuming that groups, rather than individuals, add diversity to a campus. “A white applicant from a disadvantaged rural area in Appalachia may well have more to offer a Georgia public university such as UGA—from the standpoint of diversity—than a nonwhite applicant from an affluent family and a suburban Atlanta high school,” the court wrote.

But supporters of more traditional approaches to affirmative action say race remains key. “You can be diverse and not have affirmative action,” says Richard Black, U.C. Berkeley’s associate vice chancellor for admissions and enrollment. “But the kind of diversity that you get from bringing oboe players and stamp collectors together is different.”

The Georgia, Michigan and Texas suits all focused on admissions formulas and the extra points given to minority applicants. But if those decisions hold up, expect to see affirmative-action critics turn their attention to the newer, subtler affirmative-action policies. The same week the court issued the UGA ruling, the University of Florida announced, in response to an Office of Civil Rights directive, that it was changing its scholarship criteria to reduce the role of race. The move was a reminder that in the ongoing assault on affirmative action, these secondary forms of assistance—including outreach programs, new admissions criteria and targeted scholarships—may be the next battleground. ■

—For the complete text of this article and related articles from TIME, please visit [www.time.com/teach](http://www.time.com/teach)

## ANALYZING THE ARTICLE

1. Describe the two sides of today’s affirmative-action debate.
2. **CRITICAL THINKING** Do you think U.S. society is ready to move into a “post-affirmative action” era? Why or why not?