An Experimental Study of the Effects Upon Persuasion of Sex-Related Expectancy Disconfirmation

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AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE EFFECTS
UPON PERSUASION OF SEX-RELATED EXPECTANCY DISCONFIRMATION

BY

KATHLEEN MULVEY DENNISON
B.A., Florida Technological University, 1972

THESIS

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To my husband, Denny,
I dedicate this thesis
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One's perceptions and behaviors in a situation may be determined as much by his expectancies as by the situation itself. A noted authority on interpersonal relations, Goffman (1959), stated that people evaluate strangers on the basis of their actions and appearances and then, through the application of stereotypes and experiences, they formulate expectancies regarding the strangers. Subsequent confirmation or disconfirmation of expectancies will influence future perceptions and behaviors (Riemer, 1975). Disconfirmation, in this context, refers to the contradiction of that which was anticipated. People often approach a situation with expectancies which in the course of events may be confirmed or disconfirmed.

Expectancy disconfirmation occurs in social interactions where events do not transpire as presupposed. Examples of this are present in our daily lives. Humorists often use expectancy disconfirmation to furnish the "punch line." Kant (cited in Lindzey and Aronson, 1969, p. 800) describes laughter as "an affection arising from a sudden transformation of strained expectation into nothing." Here, expectancy disconfirmation results in surprise or incongruity. In other situations this disconfirmation may produce different effects. For example, Aronson and others (cited in Himmelfarb and Eagly, 1974, p. 23) state that
"dissonance occurs when a firm expectancy, especially one relating to a person's self-concept, is disconfirmed."

This study is concerned with those situations which disconfirm sex-related expectancies. Social sex-role refers to a pattern of behavior which is specific to a particular gender. Behavior which confirms sex-related expectancies would likely reinforce our sex-role stereotypes. Conversely, disconfirmation of sex-related expectancies might unsettle our firm expectancies about roles and behaviors for men and women.

Sex-related expectancies are formed by a combination of one's self-concept and one's frame of reference regarding male and female roles. Cultural anthropology has provided many illustrations of the limitations and flexibilities of social sex-role behavior and expectancies. These preconceptions of sex-roles have an important effect on our daily lives. Lindzey and Aronson (1969, p. 364) assert that behavior in every society is determined by social sex-roles. These prescriptions for behavior are culturally influenced and therefore are not universally standard. In Western society, the differences in the roles of men and women are attributed to sharp and contrasting differences in temperament. In turn, these differences in temperament have been associated with the dominance of one and the submission of the other. Women are regarded as typically non-aggressive and passive, while men are purportedly aggressive and active (Broom and Selznick, 1968, p. 114). Therefore, when a source-
message relationship fails to conform to the stereotyped sex-role expectations, sex-related expectancy disconfirmation results. As cultural perceptions of social sex roles evolve, these expectancies will change accordingly. At present, it seems fair to say that behaviors of predominantly male orientation occur wherein female participation would be considered unusual. The female Russian cosmonaut is an example. Conversely, since males have been traditionally portrayed as rugged and tough, it is also disconfirming to one's sex-related expectancies to behold a former professional football player, the quintessence of masculinity, displaying his needlepoint as is currently depicted in a contemporary television commercial.

Among the consistency theorists, only Tannenbaum (1956) and Rokeach (1968) have directly examined source-message "incongruity." Essentially both research programs studied the effects of attributing evaluative positions to sources on attitude change toward source and concept. Source-concept congruity was varied by associating or disassociating positively, neutrally and negatively valued concepts. Generally, results indicated that attitude change toward source and concept is positively related to the degree of incongruity. Incongruity arising from sex-related expectancies of source-message relationships has not yet been investigated. Accordingly, the primary purpose of the present study was to investigate the effects upon persuasion of disconfirmed receiver expectations.
of the source's sex.

Source characteristics in general have been the subject of extensive investigation. Cohen (1964) asserted that the message source is as important as content in understanding the communication effect on receiver attitude. Lindzey and Aronson (1969) summarized studies on source characteristics by postulating that three components comprise source influence: credibility, attractiveness, and power. Of the three, credibility has historically received the most attention. Aristotle maintained that credibility, or ethos as he termed it, is the most potent means of persuasion (Cooper, 1932). There have been numerous attempts to quantify levels of source credibility (Andersen and Clevenger, 1963). General consensus exists that highly credible sources produce greater attitude change than sources of lower credibility (Eagly and Himmelfarb, 1974).

In turn, source credibility has been found to interact with other variables including the source's intent to persuade (Walster and Festinger, 1962) and the receiver ego-involvement with the topic (Sereno, 1968 and Himmelfarb and Eagly, 1974). Here, ego-involvement refers to the importance or relevance of the topic to an individual. The results of the Walster and Festinger Study (1962) indicated that receivers tend to experience greater attitude change when they "accidentally overhear" sources presenting messages with which they, the receivers, are involved and find acceptable. The rationale
offered for the greater effectiveness of the "overheard" source was that the receivers did not perceive an intent to persuade and therefore did not raise resistances to the message content. However, the "overheard" sources were less persuasive when the message was belief-discrepant for the topic-involved subjects. Hence, persuasiveness of the source was contingent on: the receivers' perceptions about the source (in this case his intent to persuade); the direction advocated by the message and the receivers' ego-involvement with the topic. This interaction of variables in a persuasive communication was also explored by Sereno (1968). His results indicated that the effects of high source credibility upon attitude change toward the belief discrepant topic was greater among low-involved than high-involved subjects. There was partial support for the hypothesis that high-involved subjects lowered their evaluations of the source more than low-involved subjects as a result of receiving belief-discrepant messages. Here, the persuasive effectiveness of the source was contingent on: the receiver's perceptions of the source; the direction advocated by the message and the receivers' involvement with the topic (high or low). These studies suggest an interaction between ego-involvement and amount of discrepancy with the message. Involved subjects experienced greater attitude change when the message was acceptable to them (i.e., little if any discrepancy), while low involved subjects were influenced more when the message
was belief-discrepant.

The results of the Sereno study further indicated that the interaction of message discrepancy with the level of involvement with the topic influenced the receivers' perceptions of credibility of the source of the message. As previously indicated, Sereno's investigation indicated that high-involved subjects lowered their opinions of the source when the message was belief-discrepant, while high-involved subjects rated the source higher when the message was consonant with their precommunication attitudes. Since ego-involvement with the topic interacts with the message discrepancy to affect attitude change, it would seem that ego-involvement is an interacting variable that is worthy of scrutiny. Since ego-involvement is a potentially confounding variable in any study of message effects, it was included as an independent variable in the current study.

In summary, the present research attempted to examine the possible relationship between sex-related expectancy disconfirmation and persuasion. Goffman (1959) and Riemer (1975) have illustrated that one's expectancies are influenced in part by stereotypes and past experiences. In turn, these expectancies affect one's perceptions and behaviors. A question worthy of investigation is how disconfirmation of social sex-role influenced expectancies affect one's perceptions and behaviors. The current study attempted to
investigate the question by disconfirming receiver expectancies about the gender of the source and measuring the effect of the experimental manipulation in terms of attitude change and source credibility. The experimental manipulations were designed and executed to test the possible differences between various levels of related expectancy disconfirmation. This was accomplished by presenting each subject with a message that was either traditionally masculine or feminine in message content and orientation.

**Contributory Studies**

The relationship between expectancy and attitude change has been studied in a variety of approaches. Many of the studies measured the effect of expectancy disconfirmation. For the purposes of the present investigation, expectancy disconfirmation is defined as confronting a subject with a situation contrary to that anticipated. Conversely, expectancy confirmation would be an affirmation of that which is expected.

The increased effectiveness of an unanticipated communication was studied in 1961 by Allyn and Festinger. They found that subjects who had not been forewarned about the message content showed greater change toward the position advocated by the source. Furthermore, the group that had been forewarned regarding the message content perceived the source as more biased. The implication here is that the source was more effective and judged less biased when the receivers had no prior information about him or his message content.
In contrast, resistance to persuasion was examined by McGuire and Papageorgis in 1962. The results of the study indicated that forewarning subjects of an impending attack on their attitude enhanced resistance to persuasion under conditions where subjects were also provided belief-bolstering information. While the McGuire and Papageorgis study dealt with resistance to persuasion based on forewarning, Allyn and Festinger's findings dealt with attitude change due to the unanticipated. Both results are relevant to the present research as they indicate that events which do not occur as expected could result in greater attitude change and more positive receiver evaluative responses toward the communication source. The most popular explanation for the increased message effectiveness when the communication is unanticipated is that the receiver is ill-prepared to construct defenses. A similar interpretation was employed by Walster and Festinger (1962) who found that receivers experienced greater attitude change when they "accidentally overheard" the speaker than did subjects that had been forewarned of the purpose of the persuasive communication. Presumably, the "accidentally overheard" source had less intent to persuade which led subjects to view him as objective and unbiased.

Persuasion as a function of listener expectancies has also been examined in terms of interpersonal relations. Goffman (1959) stated that, "information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know what he will expect of him." The influence expectancies have on perception and behavior is
therefore quite strong. This relationship is further discussed by Byrne, McDonald, and Mikawa (1963). They offer an explanation of the role expectancy plays in terms of interpersonal behavior.

It seems reasonable to propose that experiences throughout life with other individuals lead to a generalized expectancy concerning people as sources of reward or punishment. If the former expectancy is high relative to the latter, other people should be sought as comparisons, trusted, and highly valued. If the reverse is true, other people should be avoided, mistrusted, and devalued. An individual with mixed experiences, and hence one high in both types of expectancy, should be in a state of relatively continuous conflict about interpersonal relationships. An individual low in both types of experiences should be indifferent and unconcerned where other individuals are involved.

This relationship was illustrated in a study by Byrne and Andres in 1964 which probed the relationship between expectations and rewards in interpersonal relations. The authors found that individuals high in antiblack prejudice would tend to expect punishment, or negative reinforcement from a stranger identified as black, while conversely, a black stranger would be expected to provide rewards or positive reinforcement for individuals low in antiblack prejudice. Here, prejudices or stereotypes about race influenced expectancies. Race-related expectancies were further investigated by Burgoon (1970). The results indicated that subjects of both races perceived a non-militant set of names of leaders to be significantly less militant than a militant name of black leaders.

The findings also indicated that expectancies about the black leaders, which were induced by the name sets, significantly affected
the interpretation of the message. Clearly, expectancies induced by one event influenced perceptions and attitudes toward another. While the Byrne and Andres, and Burgoon studies examined the effects of race-related expectancies, the current investigation focused on the effects of sex-related expectancies on receiver perceptions about the source and attitudes toward the topic.

As the previous discussion indicated, expectancies influence subsequent perceptions and behaviors. A next line of inquiry would logically be to examine what happens when these expectancies are not fulfilled. Carlsmith and Aronson (1963) addressed this question. They hypothesized that events which disconfirm expectancies would be perceived as unpleasant or dissonance producing (Festinger, 1957). The authors predicted that if subjects expected a bitter tasting drink, but were given a sweet one instead, they would perceive the sweet drink as less sweet than it actually was. Theoretically, subjects would reduce the dissonance incurred by expectancy disconfirmation by distorting their perceptions of the sweetness of the drink. The findings were inconclusive. Mace and Enzie (1970) replicated the Carlsmith and Aronson methodology, but attempted to explain expectancy in a different manner. Mace and Enzie examined ego involvement as a possible predictor of attitude change during expectancy disconfirmation. The results were interpreted in terms of a contrast effect. The authors summarized as follows:
if the subject expects an experience to be pleasant but it is unpleasant, the experience would be rated as more unpleasant than if he had no expectancy. If the experience is expected to be unpleasant but is pleasant, it would be rated as more pleasant than if he had no expectancy (Mace and Enzie, 1970, p. 108).

The degree of the contrast effect was dependent on the level of involvement. High ego involvement subjects experienced a significantly greater contrast effect than did low ego involved subjects. Mace and Enzie suggested that levels of involvement could possibly explain results which were contrary to dissonance predictions for expectancy disconfirmation. It is evident from the foregoing review of research that the effects of disconfirming one's expectancies are complex and also interdependent on many variables.

Efforts to explain expectancy disconfirmation in terms of source characteristics were undertaken by McPeek and Edwards (1975). The authors hypothesized that subjects whose expectancies were disconfirmed would change their attitudes more than subjects whose expectancies were confirmed. The subjects were expected to feel nonplussed and deem the out-of-role behavior as a manifestation of the performer's true nature. The results indicated that the unexpected source was more persuasive than the expected communicator. The unexpected sources were rated as more sincere and more honest than the expected speakers, as predicted. The present research was similar to the McPeek and Edwards paradigm in that expectancy disconfirmation was explored in terms of source characteristics which induced the receiver expectancies. Unlike the previous study,
the current investigation disconfirmed the receiver expectancies after the message had been read.

Another attempt to understand the effect of unexpected sources in the expectancy disconfirmation paradigm was conducted by McPeek and Gross in 1975. The authors hypothesized that unexpected sources would be perceived as more sincere, credible, or effective. Although only partial support was found for the hypothesis, the results indicated that the source who delivered a belief-consonant message was rated significantly more positive than the source who presented a belief-consonant message. These studies reveal that the receivers' evaluative responses about the source are dependent on other variables within the communication process, such as expectancies and the position a source takes on an issue.

Brooks and Sheidel (1968) examined the audience's evaluative responses to a source during a message. In their study, the source's credibility was measured during intervals within the message. The results indicated that the source's (Malcolm X) ethos declined over time. However, significant differences between time-interval measurements were also present. This study indicated that measurements obtained in the message (which were high) might have been caused by source-related expectancy disconfirmation. The authors suggested that the relatively innocuous early portions of the message might have disconfirmed negative source evaluations, and resulted in an initial increase in source ratings. The study also supports the
view that source credibility is a dynamic variable which is subject to change during a message as well as before or after one.

Touhey (1975) examined the relationship between prior information about the source and source credibility. Prior information about a source influences the expectancies the receiver formulates. If the source appears as expected, the expectancies are confirmed. Conversely, if the source contradicts the receiver's expectancies, disconfirmation occurs. The results of the Touhey study indicated that expectancy confirmation increased attitude change when the source was highly credible, but prior information tended to decrease attitude change in the less credible source condition. These findings are in line with similar studies which indicate that sources perceived to be credible are generally more persuasive than are those perceived to be of low credibility (Andersen and Clevenger, 1963).

Another investigation of the effect of prior information about the source was conducted by Johnson and Izzett (1972). In their study, the effects of source credibility were examined in relation to the communication evidence (plausible, unplausible, or unsubstantiated) and source identification (high credible, low credible, or unidentified). All manipulations were conducted with subjects who had low involvement with the topics. In the plausible evidence condition, attitude change was less in the low source credibility condition than that in either the high credibility or unidentified source condition. The high source credibility condition and the unidentified source
condition did not differ from one another. It is interesting to note that the unidentified source was as persuasive as the highly credible source. This supports an earlier cited study (Walster and Festinger, 1962) which indicated that the unidentified source did not elicit motivations in the receivers to resist the message.

Attempts have been made to examine the interaction of source credibility and one's perception of his own qualifications (Basehart and Bostrom, 1972) on attitude change. As might be expected, the persuasiveness of a source is dependent, at least in part, upon the receiver's perception of his own level of qualification as compared with the source.

Mills and Harvey (1972) sought to explore the interaction of time of source identification and certain source characteristics on attitude change. The subjects read the same message under four conditions. Information indicating the source was either attractive or expert was presented either before or after the message was read. Confirmation was obtained for the prediction that prior information about a source contributes significantly more to the persuasiveness of an expert source than to an attractive source. However, agreement with the attractive source was the same regardless of when information about him was given.

The effect of the sex of the source upon receivers was studied by Miller and McReynolds (1973). Subjects read identical messages favoring an expanded Anti-Ballistic Missile system. In each case the source was identified as "a Ph.D. in nuclear physics." The
only difference was that one source was identified as "Dr. Robert Stapleton" and in the introduction, the masculine pronoun "he" was used. In the female source condition, the source was identified as "Dr. Gretchen Stapleton," with the female pronoun "she" used in the introduction. The results indicated that both male and female receivers rated the male source as more competent. Female receivers rated the male source as significantly more competent than the female source. The authors concluded that females discriminate against other females more than males. A question worthy of further investigation is how male and female sources would be rated if the topic were more feminine oriented. It would also be of interest to see how evaluations of the source were affected when the source's sex is given after the message. The variable of communicator sex is clearly relevant to explanations of communication effects.

**Statement of the Problem**

The preceding review of research indicates that disconfirmation of one's expectancies often results in change. This may occur in the receiver's evaluative responses toward either the topic (Carlsmith and Aronson, 1963; Mace and Enzie, 1970) or toward the source (Brooks and Sheidel, 1968). Messages which were unanticipated or those which disconfirmed expectancies have been shown to result in attitude change (Allyn and Festinger, 1961; McPeek and Edwards, 1975). These changes have been discussed in terms of ego-
involvement with the topic (Mace and Enzie, 1970), dissonance theory (Carlsmith and Aronson, 1963), incentive theory (Gerard, 1967; McGinnes and Ferster, 1971) and other consistency theorists (Tannenbaum, 1956 and Rokeach, 1968).

The various approaches and explanations seem to be best synthesized by a theory of contingency offered by Eagly and Himmelfarb (1974). They maintain that recent research provides support for the premise that the empirical generalizations of earlier attitudinal research are not general, but contingent on conditions not originally apparent. Research has shown that the attitudinal effect of expectancy disconfirmation was dependent upon a number of interacting factors, foremost of which appear to be receiver ego involvement and source credibility. While various interpretations of attitude change resulting from expectancy disconfirmation have flourished simultaneously, a consistent characteristic of the research is that attitude change has, in fact, occurred. Accordingly, the following hypothesis was formulated:

Sex-related expectancy disconfirmation will produce more attitude change than will sex-related expectancy confirmation.

The design of the current study facilitated tests of the contributions of receiver ego-involvement and source credibility to attitude change resulting from the sex-related disconfirmation. Accordingly, the following research questions were formulated:

Will highly ego-involved subjects respond differently to sex-related expectancy disconfirmation than low involved subjects?
Will expectancy disconfirmation affect the subject's ratings of source credibility?
METHOD

The following chapter describes the experimental design and manipulations utilized to test the hypothesis and answer the research questions for the present study. The first section of this chapter delineates the choice and assignment of subjects to the various treatment conditions. Also included are brief definitions of the treatments employed in this investigation.

The second part of this chapter describes the messages used, their intended purpose, and the scales utilized. This section was termed "apparatus" as it details the items that were employed to execute and measure the "treatment" effects.

The third and final portion of this chapter explains the procedures used in this investigation. Here, the independent and dependent variables are defined and discussed. Refinement of the methodology was achieved through pilot testing. Among the alterations was the length of the attitude scales. In the pilot study, the scales measuring attitude toward the topics were contained within a 56-item questionnaire. The questionnaire was disguised as a "Survey of Current Issues." As a result of discussions with
subjects at the completion of the pilot study, it was concluded that subjects were able to detect those 20 questions which pertained to the treatment topics. Since the mask did not work, it was decided to omit the disguise of the scales. Another change resulting from prestudy experience was the inclusion of source credibility and ego-involvement scales. These variables were included for two reasons. First, previous research has shown these variables to be potentially relevant to expectancy disconfirmation findings; and second, pilot study results were uninterpretable without them.

Subjects

The experimental subjects for this study included 104 male and female students enrolled in introductory level courses in political science, sociology, and speech at Florida Technological University during the summer of 1976. In order to prevent a replication by some individuals enrolled in more than one of the courses, students were excused from class if present in other courses utilized for this investigation. Assignment of the subjects to one of the three levels of expectancy disconfirmation was random. Data from four subjects were not used for analysis (two did not record their expectancies about the source's gender, and two failed to correctly complete the attitude and source credibility scales).

Apparatus

Two messages were used in this study: one generally thought to be "masculine" in topic and content ("Weakness Invites Conflict,"
Schlesinger, 1975) and another which would normally be considered of "feminine" orientation ("The Working Woman," Pogrebin, 1968). These topics were selected on the basis of prestudy results which indicated over 95% agreement that the topics were perceived as intended (i.e., "Working Woman"--feminine and "Weakness Invites Conflict"--masculine). To assure random assignment of the messages in each condition, an equal number of each communication were "shuffled" before each experimental session. Accordingly, each message was read by an equal number of subjects. The topic and attitudinal stance of the anonymous messages were the basis for the subjects' perceptions regarding the sex of the sources. The subjects recorded their expectancies regarding perceived sex of the author at the end of the messages (see Appendices A and B). The subjects then completed a questionnaire which contained measurement devices for attitude change (Appendix C), source credibility (Appendix D), and the subjects' ego-involvement with the topic (Appendix E).

Attitude toward the topic was operationally defined by scores obtained on a series of seven-point bipolar scales included in a 14-item questionnaire (Appendix C). Possible scores ranged from seven (strongly disagree) to 49 (strongly agree). Since each student answered 14 questions (seven for the topic he read and seven for the other message topic), the scores obtained from the seven questions which did not deal with the topic read serve as a "no message" control. The "no message" control scores were used to determine the efficacy of the persuasive messages.
Source credibility was operationally defined by scores obtained on twelve seven-point bipolar scales (McCroskey, 1966) administered to the subjects after the message was read and expectancies were recorded. The scales (Appendix D) measured the two dimensions of source credibility which were isolated by McCroskey as the component parts of the ethos construct: "Authoritativeness" and "Character." Possible scores on each dimension ranged from seven (low) to 42 (high).

The subjects' ego-involvement with the topic read was operationally defined by latitudes of rejection obtained on a set of scales containing nine statements (Appendix E). Measurement of the subjects' latitudes of rejection was accomplished through the use of the "Social Judgment-Involvement Approach" (Sherif, Sherif, and Nerbergall, 1965). Latitude of rejection, in this context, referred to the number of statements each subject found to be objectionable in terms of the topic read. Sherif and Sherif (1967) maintain that a highly involved individual will exhibit small latitudes of acceptance (e.g., those statements he finds agreeable) and noncommitment (e.g., those statements the subject finds neither acceptable nor objectionable), and large latitudes of rejection. Levels of involvement with the topic were determined by a median-split of latitudes of rejection for all subjects.

Design

The experimental manipulation consisted of 100 subjects in one
of three treatment conditions: (1) 37 participated in the male condition. This condition refers to the session where the experimenter advised the subjects that the source was a man. There were two possibilities within this treatment condition: male confirmed (here, the subjects perceived that that the source was masculine and the "treatment" affirmed their sex-related expectancies); female disconfirmed (the subjects thought the source was female, but the "treatment" contradicted their sex-related expectancies). In the male treatment session, there were 15 male confirmed and 27 female disconfirmed subjects.

(2) There were 27 subjects in the female treatment session. Here, the experimenter instructed the subjects that the source was female. Within this treatment session, there were two possibilities: female confirmed (which referred to the condition where subjects that perceived the source to be a woman were advised by the experimenter that their sex-related expectancies were correct); male disconfirmed (here, the subjects that perceived the gender of the source to be male were advised by the experimenter that their sex-related expectancies were incorrect). There were 15 female confirmed and 12 male disconfirmed subjects within the female treatment condition.

(3) The third experimental session was termed the "no treatment" control session. Here 36 subjects participated. The "no treatment" control session referred to the session where no
information about the source was given to the subjects. Therefore, the 14 subjects who perceived the source to be masculine and the 22 subjects who thought the source was a female, never received confirmation or disconfirmation of their sex-related expectancies about the source.

In summary, three independent variables were manipulated. These included levels of expectancy, perceived sex of source, and ego-involvement. There were three levels of expectancy: (1) confirmation, which referred to an affirmation of the individual's sex-related expectancies with regard to the source of the message, (2) disconfirmation, which pertained to a contradiction of the subject's anticipations about the gender of the author of the topic read, and (3) a "no treatment" control which meant that the experimenter made no statement about the source, therefore neither confirming nor disconfirming sex-related expectancies. The perceived sex of the source of the message, which was formulated by the subjects based on the content of the anonymous message, was another independent variable. The subjects recorded what sex they thought the author was at the end of the communication they read. The subjects' ego-involvement with the topic read was an assigned independent variable in this study. Two levels of involvement were used in the analysis. The levels of ego-involvement were: (1) low, which was operationally defined as a latitude of rejection which was in the zero to five range, (2) high, which was operationally defined as a
latitude of rejection in the range of six to 18.

The selection of the dependent variables for this study was predicated on two considerations: (1) the ability to operationally define those concepts under examination which were anticipated to be influenced by the manipulation of the independent variables (Crano and Brewer, 1964), (2) the necessity to establish quantifiable elements through which the effect upon persuasion of sex-related expectancy disconfirmation could be evaluated. In this context, attitude change was selected as a dependent variable and was operationally defined by scores obtained on a series of seven-point bi-polar scales. There were seven items per topic included in a 14-item questionnaire (Appendix C). Possible scores ranged from seven (strongly disagree) to 49 (strongly agree) for each subject on each topic. Since each subject answered questions on both topics, the scores obtained for the topic not read served as a "no message" control score. Source credibility, which was formulated by the subjects on the basis of exposure to the message, was another dependent measure. Source credibility was measured in terms of two dimensions, authoritativeness and character. These credibility components were operationally defined by scores obtained on the McCroskey (1968) scales for the measurement of ethos (Appendix D). Possible scores ranged from seven (low) to 42 (high) for each dimension.
**Procedure**

The experimental procedure was identical for all conditions, except for the indication or nonindication of source sex by the experimenter (male, female, no mention of source). For all conditions the actual course instructor introduced the experimenter as, "Mrs. Dennison from the Communication Department." The experimenter proceeded to say, "We in the Communication Department are conducting a Reading Comprehension Skills Test in order to determine if reading comprehension skills are sex-linked. Please read the message I am about to give you and underline what you consider to be the main points. When you have completed the message, I will give you further instructions." The experimenter then gave each student a message to read. To assure random distribution of the messages, an equal number of each message was "shuffled" before each session. Therefore, each subject had an equal chance of getting message A or B. A total of 50 subjects read each message. After 20-25 minutes when most subjects had read their message, the experimenter asked everyone to complete the questions at the end of their message. One question recorded the subject's expectancies with regard to the source's sex. The other disguised the purpose of the study by asking the subject's sex. If any students had not finished reading their message, they were asked to complete the questions based on the material read. The few who had not finished were invariably on the last page, and had read a sufficient amount to form expectancies about the sex of the source. Before passing out the "questionnaire"
which contained the aforementioned scales for: (1) attitude change, (2) source credibility, (3) ego-involvement (see appendices C, D, and E), the experimenter administered the "treatment." In the "no treatment" control condition this step was omitted. The "treatment" consisted of the experimenter saying, "someone has asked me about the author of your topics. Dr. Robert/Barbara (male or female substituted for corresponding treatment condition) Peterson wrote your messages. He/she is a professor of Social Sciences at Michigan State University and he/she is an out-spoken advocate in the field." The attitude change, ego-involvement, and source credibility measuring instruments were then administered. As the students finished their questionnaires the experimenter stapled the completed forms and the message read together. This was done to insure that the correct messages, recorded expectancies, and completed scales remained together. The subjects were thanked and allowed to leave.
RESULTS

Tests of the Hypothesis

Analyses of variance were conducted to determine if the experimental manipulations yielded the predicted relationships. The results partially supported the hypothesis that sex-related expectancy disconfirmation would increase attitude change. The means for each treatment are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Overall Means Produced by all Treatments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>&quot;Weakness Invites Conflict&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;The Working Woman&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>Character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmed</td>
<td>41.58(n=12)</td>
<td>19.33(n=12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconfirmed</td>
<td>39.30(n=20)</td>
<td>19.20(n=20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Treatment Control</td>
<td>39.72(n=18)</td>
<td>22.72(n=18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Message Control</td>
<td>37.92(n=50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

maximum score = 49  bmaximum score = 42  cmaximum score = 42
The "Weakness Invites Conflict" topic yielded no statistically significant results for the attitude data. However, the corresponding ANOVA for the "Working Woman" topic produced results which are consistent with the hypothesis. The "Working Woman" data are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance of Attitude Data for "The Working Woman" Topic Across Levels of Disconfirmation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>242.6875</td>
<td>80.8958</td>
<td>4.355</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1783.4375</td>
<td>18.5775</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2026.1250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individual t-tests performed between the attitude means for the various treatment conditions produced t-ratios significant for the disconfirmed and no message comparison (p < .01, t = 5.84, two-tailed test) and for the confirmed-disconfirmed contrast (p < .01, t = 5.07, two-tailed test). The no treatment control mean attitude scores did not differ significantly from the mean of the disconfirmed condition. The results support the prediction that attitude change increases when sex-related expectancies are disconfirmed.
Table 3 summarizes the mean attitude for the "Weakness Invites Conflict" topic.

Table 3

Mean Post-treatment Attitude Scores For "Weakness Invites Conflict" Message

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment Condition (Status)</th>
<th>Levels of Ego-Involvement</th>
<th>Expected (perceived) Sex of Source</th>
<th>No Message Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Male 41.25(n=4) Female 39.33(n=3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmed</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Male 43.33(n=4) Female 43.00(n=2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Male 43.00(n=4) Female 36.63(n=8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconfirmation</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Male 40.60(n=5) Female 42.67(n=3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Treatment Control</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Male 41.33(n=3) Female 28.50(n=2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Male 40.50(n=8) Female 42.00(n=5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Message Control</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.22(n=27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td>37.61(n=23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Maximum score = 49
Tests of Research Question on Ego-Involvement

To test the effects of ego-involvement on attitude change, the data were collapsed across levels of disconfirmation. In addition, the results of t-tests indicated that the high involvement group with female expectations experienced significantly ($p < .01$, $t = 6.47$, two-tailed test, $\bar{X} = 42.4$, $n = 10$) more attitude change than did low involvement subjects with female expectations about the source ($\bar{X} = 36$, $n = 13$). No difference was observed in the amount of attitude change between high and low ego-involved subjects with male expectancies. Significance tests employing all levels of all treatments were not possible since the ego-involvement variable did not distribute itself equally across all conditions. The consequent low n's in some cells limited the number of factors which could be treated in any one analysis.

A 2 (high and low ego-involvement) X 2 (confirmation and disconfirmation) ANOVA was conducted to test main and interaction effects on attitude change. No significant differences were found. Therefore, ego-involvement level did not affect attitude change for subjects in the confirmed-disconfirmed contrast of the "Weakness Invites Conflict" topic.

The mean attitude scores of all treatment for the "Working Woman" topic are summarized in Table 4.
Table 4

Mean Post-treatment Attitude Scores For "The Working Woman" Message

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment Condition (Status)</th>
<th>Levels of Ego-Involvement</th>
<th>Expected (perceived) Sex of Source</th>
<th>No Message Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmed</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>39.68(n=8)</td>
<td>38.20(n=5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>39.60(n=5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disconfirmed</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>40.40(n=5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>43.67(n=3)</td>
<td>43.83(n=6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Treatment Control</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>41.50(n=2)</td>
<td>39.86(n=7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>39.00(n=1)</td>
<td>45.13(n=8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Message Control</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.96(n=24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td>39.15(n=26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Maximum score = 49
A t-test between levels of ego-involvement revealed that the group mean attitude score for those subjects who were highly involved with the topic ($\bar{X} = 43.13, n = 23$) was significantly higher than the group mean score ($\bar{X} = 39.70, n = 27; p < .01, t = 3.13$, two-tailed test) for subjects who were in the low involvement group. Again, the significance tests for contrasts between individual cells was prohibited by the low n's. More will be said about the contribution of ego-involvement to attitude change in the discussion section.
Tests of Research Question on Source Credibility

The second research question dealt with the effects of expectancy disconfirmation on source credibility. The ANOVA for the character dimension of source credibility is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5
Analysis of Variance of Topic and Expectancy on Character Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Topic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>166.20</td>
<td>166.120</td>
<td>6.016</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Expectancy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>115.658</td>
<td>57.829</td>
<td>2.094</td>
<td>.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34.727</td>
<td>17.364</td>
<td>.629</td>
<td>.999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2595.783</td>
<td>27.615</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2912.578</td>
<td>29.420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated by Table 5, significant differences between topics were found on the character dimension of source credibility \( p < .05 \). The mean rating for the character dimension for topic 1 - pro military strength \( (\bar{X} = 20.50) \) was higher than that for topic 2 - pro ERA \( (\bar{X} = 17.92) \). There was a slight trend for the expectancy main effect. The interaction between topic and expectancy produced significant difference upon character.
The ANOVA for authoritativeness dimension of source credibility is presented in Table 6.

### Table 6

**Analysis of Variance of Topic and Expectancy on Authoritativeness Ratings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Topic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.298</td>
<td>2.298</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Expectancy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>516.515</td>
<td>258.257</td>
<td>7.093</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 X 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32.057</td>
<td>16.028</td>
<td>.440</td>
<td>.999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3422.619</td>
<td>36.411</td>
<td>3.040</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>3976.030</td>
<td>40.162</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show that levels of confirmation significantly affected ratings of the authoritativeness dimension of source credibility. Here, disconfirmation produced higher authoritativeness scores in both topic conditions. A non-significant interaction between topic and expectancy occurred for the authoritativeness dimension. The mean scores for character and authoritativeness for both topics are presented in Table 1. The mean authoritativeness rating for topic 1 ($\bar{X} = 15.08$) was slightly higher than for topic 2 ($\bar{X} = 14.64$). The mean character rating was also higher for topic 1 ($\bar{X} = 20.50$) than it was for topic 2 ($\bar{X} = 17.92$). In summary, the
authoritativeness dimension of source credibility was slightly higher under disconfirmation than expectancy confirmation. The character dimension of source credibility was not significantly affected by expectancy disconfirmation. Topic did significantly affect the character of source credibility.
DISCUSSION

The attitudinal findings for the pro-ERA topic support the hypothesis that sex-related expectancy disconfirmation would increase attitude change. This finding did not hold true for the military strength topic where confirmation produced nonsignificantly more change. These apparent topic-bound findings are further evidenced by analysis of variance for attitude change which revealed a trend ($p = .088$) for the interaction of topics and levels of disconfirmation. Disconfirmation produced more attitude change for "The Working Woman" topic, but confirmation produced the greater amount of change for the "Weakness Invites Conflict" topic. Similar topic-bound data was found in the prestudy and in other work dealing with expectancy disconfirmation (McPeek and Edwards, 1975). The source credibility data showed no significant differences in the character dimension ($p < .05$). The authoritativeness dimension was significantly affected by levels of disconfirmation ($p < .001$); the no treatment control condition produced the highest ratings for both topics.

Since levels of ego-involvement did not distribute equally
across treatments, an analysis of ego-involvement by topic by disconfirmation was not possible.

The levels of ego-involvement with the topic were determined by a median-split of latitudes of rejection for all subjects. The possible range was zero to 18, but the highest latitude of rejection for this study was 12. Therefore, the low and high levels of ego-involvement discussed in this research may actually represent low and moderate levels of involvement with the topic.

However, the findings on ego-involvement are of interest. An analysis of variance which collapsed data across topics and levels of disconfirmation indicated that the highly involved subjects change attitudes significantly more than low involved subjects (p<.005). This finding can be explained in terms of "assimilation" as defined by social judgment theory (Sherif, 1961). The issues of the Equal Rights Amendment are current and its tenants are fairly well accepted (no message control scores in Table 1). Levels of involvement with the topic only increased acceptance for those already in favor of the attitudinal issue.

The interactions between the dimensions of source credibility and ego-involvement were not significant for the "Working Woman" message, but were for the "Weakness Invites Conflict" topic. The subjects who perceived the source to have been male, rated the communicator significantly (p<.05) higher in authoritativeness when highly involved with the topic. McCroskey (1966) maintained
that "authoritiveness" corresponds to the "competence" dimension of source credibility reported by Berlo and Lemert (cited in McCroskey, 1966). The "competence" factor included qualities such as: experienced, expert, trained, and competent. It is not surprising that the perceived male sources were rated as highly competent, as Miller and McReynolds (1973) found that male sources were rated as significantly (p<.05) more competent than female sources in their investigation. The finding that highly involved subjects in this study rated perceived male sources as significantly more competent is also in line with a study by Sereno (1968) which indicated that highly involved subjects reacted more strongly toward the source than did subjects who were lowly involved. In Sereno's investigation, the messages were belief-discrepant and the highly involved subjects significantly lowered their evaluations of the source. The topic in the present study was belief-consonant, and highly involved subjects rated the source significantly higher than did lowly involved subjects.

The finding that the subjects in the ambiguous "no treatment" control condition rated the source as significantly (p<.01) higher on the "authoritativenss" dimension than did the subjects in the confirmed or disconfirmed conditions was most interesting. Since the subjects were not given any information about the source, their evaluative responses were based solely on the cues given off by the topic ("Weakness Invites Conflict"). Since there were no absolutes
about the expectancies that the subjects formulated in terms of the gender of the source, it seems plausible that the uncertain, ambiguous condition distracted the receivers from producing defenses against the credibility of the source. The subjects had to rely on the message content for their evaluations and could not use information about the source's sex to reduce the level of perceived competence. This is similar to a study by Festinger and McCaby (1964) wherein a distracting film accompanying a persuasive presentation resulted in greater attitude change than when a plausible film was shown with the message as a soundtrack. It seems possible that the uncertainty regarding the source lessened the audience's resources for devaluing the source. In addition, perceptions or expectations about the sex of an unseen author were shown to be influenced by levels of ego-involvement. The results indicated that highly involved subjects who perceived the author to be female were more persuaded, but highly involved subjects who perceived the source to be male rated the source as more competent. High ego-involved individuals who never found out whether their sex-related expectancies were confirmed or disconfirmed. In fact, the highly involved subjects in the ambiguous, no treatment control condition rated the source higher on the authoritativeness dimension than did subjects who were highly involved and perceived the source to be male.

In summary, the present study partially supported the hypothesis
that sex-related expectancy disconfirmation would increase attitude change. Also, it was found that highly involved subjects respond more favorably to belief-consonant messages than do subjects who are less involved. The results demonstrate the usefulness of the concept of ego-involvement in examining the relationship between variables in the communication situation. The findings also support the contingency theory by Hummelfarb and Eagly (1974), that the effect of any one variable may have to be discussed in terms of interacting variables, and that the effects of one variable may be contingent on that interaction.

Limitations

Although the findings of the prestudy confirmed the hypothesis, they were topic-bound and a reversal of those for the current research; expectancy disconfirmation increased attitude change in the military strength topic and not in the pro-ERA topic. In defense of this apparent contradiction, experimental methods were not as controlled in the prestudy as they were in the present investigation. The source of the message was identified as a male or female in the pilot study with no mention of title or position. In contrast, the source was clearly identified as "Dr. _______ Stapleton, a professor of Social Sciences at M.S.U., and an authority and outspoken advocate in the field." In retrospect, it is questionable how the identification of the author's title and position affected this particular audience. Possibly more traits
than merely the source's sex were being considered by the receiver. Measures were taken in the current research to assure that the source was clearly identified to all subjects. It is questionable if the casual mention of the author's sex in the pilot study was enough to make subjects aware of the gender of the source. In addition, measures of source credibility and the subjects' ego-involvement were not taken in the pilot study, hence a complete explanation of the divergent results is not possible.

Implications for Future Research

Future research in this area could uncover the reasons for the inconsistent findings. A potentially useful replication study would be to manipulate disconfirmation such that it affords more concrete or clearly defined expectancies and subsequent disconfirmation. Expectancies are formulated in terms of stereotypes and preconceptions and can deal with numerous possibilities: age, race, religion, education, and occupation, to name a few. Additionally, expectancies could be formulated through cues given off by the source or the communication situation and then the message would provide subsequent confirmation or disconfirmation.

Since the no treatment control condition yielded as much attitude change as the disconfirmed sessions and resulted in the highest source credibility ratings in most cases, further investigation in this area would be interesting and informative. The data implies that an unidentified source is more credible than an
identified one. This is consistent with previous findings (Johnson and Izzett, 1972; Mills and Harvey, 1972).

Finally, as mentioned previously, both topics utilized in the current study were belief consonant. Future work in this area could include belief-discrepant messages or possibly manipulations of levels of discrepancy with the message and the subject's beliefs.

Conclusion

The effectiveness of expectancy disconfirmation has been shown to be contingent on many variables. The sex of the author was not as relevant to the results of this study as the disconfirmation of receiver expectancies. Of course, the subjects for this research were college students and, therefore, exposed to members of both sexes in positions of authority than the average citizen. This exposure, of course, influenced the predispositions and stereotypes of the subjects and may have influenced reactions to expectancy disconfirmation that might have been different among laborers or retirees.

The current study provided partial support for the prediction that disconfirmation of a source's sex results in increased attitude change in the direction advocated. Further investigation is needed to determine the conditions under which this effect occurs.

The applications of the principle of expectancy disconfirmation is currently depicted on several contemporary television commercials for beer, soft drinks, and soup. Another possible application:
women could employ sex-related disconfirmation to surmount the receiver prejudice found in the Miller and McReynolds study (1971) by presenting the message first before identifying themselves. This would be helpful in political situations where unknown candidates could gain credibility on topics generally thought to be atypical of their position. An example would be an unknown Democratic candidate who wishes to gain credence in an area thought to be of Republican domain. The candidate could detail the stand before supplying the disconfirmation (which would be the party affiliation). Of course, as previously noted, further investigation in this area is needed to determine which topics and which situations avail themselves best to the various levels of disconfirmation.
APPENDIX A

Feminine Topic
What do Betty Ford, Alan Alda, Rubin Askew, the YWCA, the National Welfare Rights Organization, United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock and the United Church of Christ have in common?

These disparate people and groups are unanimous on one of the key issues of our generation: they support the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States -- an amendment that will affect the everyday lives of all Americans, particularly the working women.

The wording of the ERA is eloquently short and simple: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." This one sentence will invalidate all Federal, State, and Local laws that require or allow women and men to be treated differently. Where present law confers a benefit or privilege to one sex only, that benefit or privilege will be extended to the other sex as well. Where current law denies a benefit or restricts a privilege, the ERA will render that law unconstitutional.

Here are a few examples of areas in your life that may be effected by passage of the amendment.

1. State protective labor laws. Laws covering the number of hours a woman may work, the number of pounds she may lift on a job and the kinds of work she may perform are supposedly intended to protect women from harsh conditions of employment, but in fact they "protect" women from landing higher paying jobs and from entering occupations that offer good advancement. For many employers these laws offer adequate excuse for refusing work to a woman. After all, it's easier to hire a man and not have to worry about special rest periods, weightlifting and night-work restrictions, etc.

Protective labor laws vary from state to state, and many have already been struck down by challenges filed under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which prohibits sex discrimination in private industry). The courts have generally ruled that Title VII supersedes state labor laws. But it has taken years of expensive court actions to chip away at these discriminatory statutes one by one. Those who say that the ERA is not necessary because of Title
VII is an adequate remedy are simply naive about the slow and
capricious grinding of the wheels of justice.

The Equal Rights Amendment would make unconstitutional all
limitations on, and generalization about, women's working capabilities.
It would allow a strong, healthy young woman to compete with men for
a job requiring physical effort. It would open all occupations that
are now off limits to women -- from bartender to bowling alley
pinsetter. It would leave the question of job competence up to the
individual and the employer. It would not force women to operate a
crane -- but neither would it prohibit women from doing so if they
are interested and able. (And those who fear that the ERA will lead
to sex integration of rest rooms can relax. The constitution rights
of privacy will keep men out of powder rooms).

2. Education. The amendment would require equality of
opportunity at, and of access to tax-supported schools, colleges, and
universities and government-sponsored training programs. We have all
lived with the statement: "Sure, I'd hire a woman -- if I could find
one who's qualified." This sounds fair enough, but it ignores the
vicious cycle syndrome: policies that discriminate against women
at the level of educational opportunity come home to roost when
women go job-hunting.

The Equal Rights Amendment would make it unconstitutional for
schools to deny girls technical training provided for boys -- such as
woodworking, mechanics, or metal working. It would prohibit colleges
from requiring higher IQ scores and grade point averages from female
students. It would eliminate male favoritism in grants and
scholarship aid; open specialized boys' high schools of science and
technology to girls; do away with all sex quotas in colleges, medical
schools, and state training programs; and assure equal pay to women
faculty and staff members in all public and state schools and colleges.
It would reform our Federal government's sorry record of recruiting
99 boys for every one girl in its apprenticeship programs, and would
alter the Administration's White House Fellows program, in which
more than 90 per cent of those being treated for government leadership
are male.

3. Social Security. Both sexes have a legitimate beef here.
You pay into the Social-Security fund all during your work years, but
when you die your husband receives nothing from your account -- unless
he has been dependent on you for more than half of the family's income.
But any wife, no matter how wealthy, is entitled to collect her
husband's accumulated benefits. At present, widows can collect a
partial benefit when they are 60. The ERA would allow widowers to
do the same.
Today, a married woman who retires can draw Social Security either as a worker (her own input) or as a wife (her benefits under her husband's input). Most often she chooses the wife's rate. Because men tend to earn 40 per cent more than women, her benefits under her husband's input are higher. (In that case, her own contribution to the fund is forgotten, but that's another story). The point here is that male workers do not have the option to draw Social Security as "husbands" in cases where the wife's overall earnings have been greater. The ERA would correct this.

4. Government employees. Though the amendment would not affect conditions of employment in private industry, it would guarantee equality in pay, pension and retirement to workers employed by Federal, State and Municipal governments.

5. Married women's rights. Right now, in 1976, there are states that restrict the property rights of married women (she can't sell property without the consent of her husband) and states in which a married woman is not permitted to engage in business as freely as a man (she may need her husband's signature on a lease, loan, or credit application and she may require court approval to buy a store or business).

Right now, it is considered "desertion" -- and therefore, grounds for a divorce -- if a married woman refuses to follow her husband wherever he chooses to move. If she does not take her husband's domicile (place of residence), she may be denied the right to vote, run for office or take advantage of lower tuitions at state schools in places where she established her own domicile. The ERA would nullify such lows of domicile and would give a married woman the same independent right to domicile as married men. One need only consider the plight of the career woman with an excellent job whose husband announces that "they" are moving to another city; she does not now wish to leave her job, but the state law supports his demand that she follow him. The resolution of that problem should be achieved on the merits of both partners' individual interests -- and not under threat of a state law that would deny the wife her civil rights if she refused to follow her husband.

Men will also benefit from the ERA's sweeping equalization. Husbands will not automatically have to shoulder the burden of alimony and child support. The ERA will bring law up to date realistically. In millions of homes, family income is brought in by both husband and wife. Though our myths tell us that man is head of the household, in truth, more and more households have two heads and are much better off for it.
Under the ERA, alimony and child-support payments will be determined according to need and ability to pay. The man will not automatically pay the wife's legal fees. The wife will not automatically get child custody; each case will be decided on its merits with the welfare of the child paramount.

Is all this destructive to the fabric of American life? I think not. If we are honest, we will admit that in some cases the mother is not the best parent to take major responsibility for a child. If we are realistic we will recognize that only 2 per cent of all divorces now settle permanent alimony on the wife. If we look at the studies, we see that one year from the divorce decree only 38 per cent of fathers are still making full alimony and child payments, and that men are not now held criminally liable for default in payments unless their ex-wives are destitute.

The ERA will not affect maternity benefits to working mothers nor will it change the criminal offense of rape; both of these are results of the reproductive differences between men and women, and neither can be reversed to apply similarly to the opposite sex.

6. The Military question. Here's where tempers flare and reason falters. During the Congressional debate on the ERA we heard incredible testimony about how women can't throw grenades or tote machine guns, how, if the ERA passes, women will be bombed and napalmed, how they will give up the home for the barracks. It's true that equal rights means equal responsibilities, and that as long as draft exists, the ERA would make women eligible for it. However, it is also true that we now have an all-volunteer army, that women have been permitted to volunteer before and to consider the army a job, and that the objections cited above are sexist hogwash.

Women who can't throw grenades or carry machine guns will not be assigned front-line duty -- just as frailer men are often given noncombat duty. Since Section 456 of the Selective Service Act already allows exemptions and deferments in special circumstances, women will also be exempted under those existing classifications.

Second, those who attempt to peddle apocalyptic visions of bombed and napalmed women reveal a sad prejudice; namely that dead and wounded men are less tragic than dead and wounded women would be.

Third, if a woman prefers the barracks to the backyard, she has the right to make that choice. Minority groups such as blacks have long valued the armed services for job opportunities, veteran's
benefits, in-service training, housing loans, medical care and travel they afford. Under the ERA women could avail themselves of these same opportunities.

7. Jury service. While jury duty can be tedious, it is an obligation of citizenship. Women are citizens, yet merely because they are women, they are excused from juries in some states and exempted altogether in others. A jury of peers should include female peers.

Advocates claim that the ERA will be as far reaching in its impact as the 14th Amendment has been for black men. (Let's not forget that black women endure a double stigma. While their status as a race may have been improved by the 14th Amendment their sex has exempted them from many of the privileges of citizenship now enjoyed by their husbands and brothers. Where civil rights are concerned, chivalry vanishes, and "ladies last" is the rule).

Opponents of the ERA claim that women are already covered under the 5th and, most importantly, under the 14th Amendment, which declares that no state "shall deprive any person of life, or property without due process of law; nor deny any person within its jurisdiction, equal protection of law."

The word "person" should of course cover females -- but it has not been construed as such by the Supreme Court. The Court has considered sex discrimination cases only twice, and its rulings have been so narrowly confined to the facts of those particular cases that the classification of people on the basis of sex has never been declared unconstitutional. The 14th Amendment has not yet been held to include women as persons enjoying "life, liberty, and property" and "equal protection of law."

The Equal Rights Amendment will close all the loopholes. It will be an emblem of America's commitment to a nonracist and nonsexist rule of law. It will be an act of national conscience and a guarantee against second-class citizenship for any woman or man.

After 49 years of trying, proponents of the ERA celebrated its passage by the Senate on March 22, 1972. (The House had approved the measure five months before). But before the ERA becomes the 27th Amendment to the Constitution, it must be ratified by three-quarters (38) of the state legislatures. Many states have approved the amendment, some have defeated it but many reconsider within the seven year time limit and a portion of the states have not yet acted upon the ERA.
We now depend on the "yes" vote of several states to make justice and equal protection of the law a reality for both sexes. If, as a person, you favor these concepts, the Equal Rights Amendment is your business.

What do you think the sex of the author of this speech is? ________

What is your sex? ________
APPENDIX B

Masculine Topic
I would like to talk to you today about some fundamentals of the world's order and the kind of international society in which I believe the United States would prefer to live. From these basic precepts, we should be able to draw some conclusions about the appropriate military establishment for the United States and about the role and responsibility that we must continue to assume on the international stage.

Political stability, which provides the basis for all hopes -- or at least all realistic hopes -- for detente depends, like military stability, upon the maintenance of an equilibrium of force, a worldwide military balance, which precludes the opportunities for adventure, particularly in the Eastern hemisphere. This underlying requirement for the preservation of international political stability eventually determines what role and responsibility the United States must continue as the mainstay of what we call, somewhat generously on occasion, the Free World. United States military power enjoyed by the other superpower namely, the Soviet Union. These are the fundamental realities of world power.

From the necessity to preserve a worldwide military equilibrium, we can infer certain conclusions. First, the world increasingly has become a set of interlocking regions which relate to one another and constitute a single strategic theater. Second, I think that all of us understand the importance of preserving a free Europe to the well-being of the United States and to the kind of open society that we enjoy here. Third, it seems that throughout the United States, although not too much so here on the West coast, there is less recognition of the importance of maintaining independence for Japan and South Korea in Northeast Asia.

The United States does not live in a world where it can wipe the slate clean of obligation merely as a result of changes in public mood. We live, as all societies have lived, emmeshed in the web of history, and we have taken steps in the past which now bind us in a variety of ways to the well-being of other societies. In the case of Western Europe, when the United States took the lead in establishing the NATO organization, we effectively proposed that we would provide the nuclear umbrella for our Allies in Western
Europe. By that action, the United States diminished the incentives, not only in Europe but elsewhere around the world, for the acquisition of nuclear weapons. To this day, a major objective of American foreign policy is to prevent nuclear proliferation -- an objective which I believe to be in the interest of all mankind. Similarly, in Asia, the United States has assumed obligations that it cannot rapidly shed. It is responsible for the emergence of a democratic Japan subsequent to World War II. It is also bound up inextricably in the affairs of the Republic of Korea, first by the events of 1945 when we agreed more or less accidentally, to the division of Korea along the 38th Parallel; second, by our subsequent declaration that Korea would not be a place to station American forces; and third, by their withdrawal and the devastating effects of the Korean War that followed.

To repeat, the United States remains bound to these various countries by our prior actions. To reject the accumulated web of obligations means to reject a part of our own history and a part of our own responsibility.

All of this has significance for our ability to alter our commitments, to decommit ourselves, as it were, or to reduce the very large role that we have played in the construction of the post-war world. The role itself, I should point out, is one of which all Americans should rightfully be proud. In the last 30 years there has been an unprecedented period of overall stability, of rapid economic expansion, and I might add, a growth of civil liberties in more states than have previously enjoyed them. Our position now, however, is one in which there are pressures for the reduction of American commitments before they can be judiciously reviewed. Indeed there is irony in the fact that the renewed American desire for withdrawal from responsibility has arisen just as the world is becoming irreversibly interdependent. There will be consequences, accordingly, from any attempt by the United States to decommit. To some extent we have already faced those consequences as a result of the debacle in Southeast Asia. Inevitably, that alteration in the worldwide perception of American will and American power shook the confidence of a number of nations which have felt dependent to some degree upon us.

In the circumstances, I wonder whether we want to go any farther down the road. I doubt it. The American role, as I see it, continues to be that of underwriting a pluralistic coalition of nations -- a coalition which resists the imposition of a totalitarian structure upon the international society. There is, indeed, great diversity within this coalition of nations. In the view of some Americans, several of its members are too much characterized by the
ways of social democracy and display what is perceived to be the weakness of too much liberty and too little discipline. Other members show less respect for civil liberties than we and the bulk of our Allies do, and excite resentment in the United States for that very reason. The ways of diversity are hard, but if we are to preserve pluralism in the world, only the United States today has the power to achieve that result.

There is a weakness in pluralism in that the sharing of burdens by individual states depend upon what each one determines it should do. This self-determination of individual contributions by this wide diversity of states loosely or closely allied to the United States places a greater burden upon the United States than would be the case under an authoritarian system. Voluntary cooperation is all well and good, but on occasion we are bound to wonder about its equity.

Despite the frustrations, our coalition is characterized for the most part by what has been the hallmark of the western world: the love of liberty. It represents the values dearest to the heart of civilized man, and we must treasure it accordingly. In all our discussions of the international order that we want to develop, we must keep firmly in mind that the preservation of these values of Western society is of fundamental importance.

We are in a time when western morale is not at its highest point. Our moral stamina, the cohesion among the members of our coalition, the political consensus within individual states: all are low. We are witnessing a tendency for pressure group politics to push aside the dominant view of the national interest that has prevailed for so many years. We face a condition which can only be described as a Balkanization of the domestic politics of the various nations with which we are allied. We are undergoing the same process in our own nation to some degree.

Differences notwithstanding, the United States must remain the mainstay of our coalition and lead the way in the preservation of a worldwide military balance. The necessities of mutual security in an uncertain world demand no less of us. The coalition is essential, and we are essential to the coalition.

Our defense requirements in these circumstances are complex and costly. First and most fundamental, we must recognize and emphasize that the principal mission of American military power is one of deterrence. Through deterrence we prevent conflict and preserve peace.
The need to maintain military power for the purpose of deterrence implies that the United States and its Allies cannot depend on the forebearance or good will of other powers in the world. In this connection, we would do well to keep in mind that, the United States aside, only the Soviet Union disposes of a vast array of military power and the full panoply of nuclear and non-nuclear forces.

If we are to maintain a military equilibrium, we must not only recognize the existence of these forces; we must also face the stark fact that they continue to grow. They grow in the atmosphere of detente as they did in the spirit of Geneva and in the spirit of Camp David and in the spirit of Glassboro.

We should not be surprised by all of this. The survival of the Soviet State is considered to depend upon a continued growth in military power. Even detente, in the Soviet perspective, is viewed as something that reflects the improved military posture of the Soviet Union relative to the West.

In these circumstances, deterrence, detente, and liberty cannot be preserved by the United States alone. The necessary balance can only come from a collaborative effort. Our Allies must do their share. That is why our own destiny is so inextricably linked with that of our friends.

Progress is occurring in Western Europe. The forces deployed there by the United States represent but a small fraction of the total capability of the NATO Alliance. Without the contributions of those Allies -- including, may I say, Turkey -- we would not be in a position to maintain a balance of power on the European continent. The situation is similar in Korea and all of Northeast Asia. The coalition is essential to deterrence.

In emphasizing deterrence, we must recognize that it is a seamless web, that we are attempting to put together military forces which will deter across the entire spectrum of risk; of conventional or nuclear attack, whether local or worldwide. These forces must be real; deterrence cannot depend upon an empty shell. We must have the will and the capability to respond effectively in the event that difficulties arise.

We have placed major emphasis on preserving and improving the conventional elements of our deterrent posture. The conventional forces are essential. Indeed, those who rightly question undue dependence on, or early employment of, nuclear weapons, should also
recognize the implications of their position. It is that we should preserve sufficient capabilities in the conventional realm so that the President of the United States will not be driven to contemplate the employment of nuclear weapons.

Major land and tactical air forces are essential to credible non-nuclear deterrence; so are powerful naval forces. With a world economy that is increasingly interdependent and an alliance which is based upon transportation by sea, we must be able to maintain essential lines of communication as well as project our power ashore.

Not only must portions of these forces be deployed forward; they must also be combat ready. Only ready forces represent an effective deterrent. If there are not munitions, if there is inadequate training, if there is too much personnel turbulence, these forces simply cannot fulfill their deterrent role. Despite appearance, they become a sham instead of a solid capability.

Finally, we need to recognize the requirement for mobility forces including long-range airlift. The ability of the United States rapidly to deploy its forces to reinforce in Western Europe and elsewhere, in itself constitutes a major element in the preservation of a worldwide military balance, and hence incredible deterrence.

The emphasis on non-nuclear deterrence does not mean that we can ignore our nuclear capabilities. Among other things, they play an important psychological role in our commitment to hold the nuclear umbrella over the heads of our Allies in Western Europe and Northeast Asia as well as elsewhere. Indeed, the nuclear umbrella continues to be indispensable in avoiding incentives to other countries for the further acquisition of nuclear capabilities. But to be credible in its protection, the nuclear umbrella must rest on nuclear forces designed for more than massive retaliation. Even where our strategic capabilities are concerned, flexibility in both strategy and force structure requires that we go well beyond the computation of target destruction based on a simple set of aiming points such as urban centers.

Strategic options are essential. The Government of the United States has also stated that it will maintain essential equivalence with the Soviet Union in strategic offensive forces. Through negotiations between the Soviet Union and ourselves, we trust that we will be able to achieve a framework within which the pledges at Vladivostok can be fulfilled; an appropriate SALT II agreement can be achieved; and we can maintain essential equivalence with a degree of arms restraint. But in any event, we will insist on equivalence.
Satisfaction of all these requirements necessitates costly activities for the United States. But security has never come cheap, and it cannot become cheap, particularly as the United States fulfills its worldwide responsibilities. On the other hand, we cannot meet those responsibilities or maintain military power second to none, as the phrase goes, if American forces continue to shrink, in terms of all the statistical measures except current dollars, if they continue to shrink in relation to the Gross National Product, if they continue to shrink in relation to total public expenditures and the like. We cannot maintain military power second to none if trends in Allied expenditures keep heading down toward four percent of the Gross National Product.

As long as we are prepared to fulfill our international responsibilities, we must avoid cutting corners, because cutting corners will increase the risk to peace and ultimately result in such an unbalancing of the worldwide military equilibrium that many adverse political ramifications will surely follow.

In writing "Triumph and Tragedy," Winston Churchill stated as his theme, "And so the great democracies triumphed, and thereby were able to resume the follies that had so nearly cost them their lives." Ever since Fiscal Year 1968, and even compared with our posture prior to the war in Vietnam, our defense establishment has suffered from a steady erosion of manpower and constant dollar expenditures on the forces themselves. We have not suffered a collapse of the sort that occurred in the period immediately after World War II when the United States went through a pell-mell demobilization. But we should avoid any self-deception. Each year for the last eight, expenditures by all the major measures have declined. Military manpower has declined. So have our budgets. The consequence is that our forces in terms of manning and real dollar expenditures are 20 to 25 percent smaller than they were immediately before the buildup for Vietnam.

What President Ford has stated, I can only reiterate; namely, that weakness invites conflict. One of the problems that we shall have to face as a nation in the years ahead is to unlearn some of the false lessons of Vietnam. Because we went into Vietnam on the premise that we must maintain a position of strength, there is a real danger that many will conclude from the dissatisfaction with the experience in Vietnam that somehow or other, a position of weakness for the United States is a satisfactory substitute for a position of strength. Somewhere along that road, I believe, lies a gradual deterioration in the world political order, a decline in the number of countries which enjoy true freedom, and a growing tendency for the United States to become isolated and beleaguered
in the North American Continent. We need to start down a different route.

What do you think the sex of the author of this speech is? _________
What is your sex? _________
APPENDIX C

Attitude Change Scales

Questions 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, pertains to the "Working Woman" topic

Questions 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, pertains to the "Weakness Invites Conflict" topic
Questionnaire

I. Below are a series of statements. Indicate how you feel about each by entering the appropriate number in the space provided in the left margin. Please be sure to mark each item. Use the point system described below to evaluate your feelings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral or Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 = I strongly agree</td>
<td>4 = I have neutral feelings or am undecided</td>
<td>1 = I strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 = I agree on the whole</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 = I disagree on the whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 = I mildly agree</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 = I mildly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

___ 1. Women should be allowed to compete with men for a job requiring physical effort.

___ 2. The emphasis of non-nuclear deterrence does not mean that we can ignore our nuclear capabilities.

___ 3. Tax-supported schools, colleges and universities should be required to supply equality of opportunity to females.


___ 5. Equality of access to government supported training programs should be required by law.

___ 6. A major objective of American foreign policy is to prevent nuclear proliferation.

___ 7. Widowers should be allowed to collect a partial Social Security benefit at the age of sixty.

___ 8. Major land and tactical air forces are essential to credible non-nuclear deterrence.

___ 9. A jury of peers should include female peers.
10. Political stability depends upon the maintenance of an equilibrium of military force.

11. When a draft exists, women should be eligible for it.

12. Preserving a free Europe is important to the well-being of the United States.

13. Male workers should have the option to draw Social Security as "husbands" when the wife's overall earnings have been greater.

14. The United States must lead the way in the preservation of a world wide military balance.
APPENDIX D

Source Credibility Scales

Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, measured the "character" dimensions of ethos.

Items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, measured the "authoritativeness" dimension of source credibility.
II. Instructions: Below are a series of descriptions. Please indicate how you feel by circling the position on the line that best reflects your opinion of the author of the speech you've just read.

1. Honest
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Dishonest

2. Friendly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Unfriendly

3. Pleasant
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Unpleasant

4. Unselfish
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Selfish

5. Nice
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Awful

6. Virtuous
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Sinful

7. Reliable
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Unreliable

8. Informed
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Uninformed

9. Qualified
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Unqualified

10. Intelligent
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Unintelligent

11. Valuable
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Worthless

12. Expert
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Inexpert
APPENDIX E

Social Judgment - Involvement Approach

These scales were used to measure the subject's ego-involvement with the topic read. III and V dealt with the military strength message. IV and VI measured the subjects' involvement with the pro-Equal Rights Amendment topic.
III. Instructions: Below are a series of statements. Indicate which statement you find most agreeable by underlining it. Circle the letters of all other statements that you find agreeable.

A. The emphasis of strong military power is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests.

B. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best by the emphasis of strong military power.

C. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if strong military power is emphasized.

D. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if strong military power is emphasized.

E. From the point of view of the country's interests, it is hard to decide whether it is preferable to emphasize strong military power or to de-emphasize it.

F. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if strong military power is de-emphasized.

G. It seems the country's interests would be better served if strong military power is de-emphasized.

H. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best if strong military power is de-emphasized.

I. The de-emphasis of strong military power is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests.

* WHICH OF THE ABOVE STATEMENTS DO YOU FIND MOST OBJECTIONABLE? ____________________________

* WHICH OF THE OTHER STATEMENTS ABOVE ARE OBJECTIONABLE TO YOU? ____________________________
IV. Instructions: Below are a series of statements. Indicate which statement you find most agreeable by underlining it. Circle the letters of all other statements that you find agreeable.

A. The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests.

B. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best by the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

C. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if the Equal Rights Amendment is passed.

D. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if the Equal Rights Amendment is passed.

E. From the point of view of the country's interests, it is hard to decide whether or not it is preferable to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

F. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if the Equal Rights Amendment does not pass.

G. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if there is no Equal Rights Amendment.

H. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best if the Equal Rights Amendment is defeated.

I. The defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests.

* WHICH OF THE ABOVE STATEMENTS DO YOU FIND MOST OBJECTIONABLE? ______________________

* WHICH OF THE OTHER STATEMENTS ABOVE ARE OBJECTIONABLE TO YOU? ____________________
V. Instructions: Below are a series of statements. Indicate which statement you find most agreeable by underlining it. Circle the letters of all other statements that you find agreeable.

A. The preservation of world wide military balance is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interest.

B. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best by the preservation of world wide military balance.

C. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if world wide military power is preserved.

D. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if world wide military power balance is preserved.

E. From the point of view of the country's interests, it is hard to decide whether or not it is preferable to preserve world wide military balance.

F. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if world wide military balance were not preserved.

G. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if world wide military balance is not preserved.

H. On the whole the interests of the country will not be served best if world wide military balance is preserved.

I. The preservation of world wide military balance is absolutely not essential from all angles in the country's interests.

* WHICH OF THE ABOVE STATEMENTS DO YOU FIND MOST OBJECTION?

* WHICH OF THE OTHER STATEMENTS ABOVE ARE OBJECTIONABLE TO YOU?
VI. Instructions: Below are a series of statements. Indicate which statement you find most agreeable by underlining it. Circle the letters of all other statements that you find agreeable.

A. Equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests.

B. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best by the equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women.

C. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if there were equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women.

D. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if equality of opportunity and responsibility exists for men and women.

E. From the point of view of the country's interests, it is hard to decide whether or not it is preferable to have equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women.

F. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if there is no equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women.

G. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if there is no equality and opportunity and responsibility for men and women.

H. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best if there is no equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women.

I. Equality of opportunity and responsibility for men and women is absolutely not essential from all angles in the country's interests.

* WHICH OF THE ABOVE STATEMENTS DO YOU FIND MOST OBJECTIONABLE? __________________________

* WHICH OF THE OTHER STATEMENTS ABOVE ARE OBJECTIONABLE TO YOU? __________________________
References


Mills, J., & Harvey, J. Opinion change as a function of when information about the communicator is received and whether he is attractive or expert. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 21, 52-55.


