1973

An application of social psychological theory to role playing in a counseling analogue

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An application of social psychological theory
to role playing in a counseling analogue

by

Christine Marie Nowacki

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of
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INTRODUCTION

A major period of revisionism in counseling practice and research has been occurring over the past decade and a half. The beginnings of this revisionism can be traced back to the Boulder Conference (Raimy, 1950) which defined the role of the clinical psychologist to be a specialist whose training and orientation would allow him to function as both clinician and scientist. Prior to this time the counselor or clinical psychologist was seen mostly as a practitioner, with little research orientation and little empirical foundation for his practice. The Boulder Conference also proposed that the clinical psychologist was to be familiar not only with counseling theory and practice but also with theory and empirical findings from all branches of psychology.

In this period of revisionism the first branch of psychology which had an effect on counseling was that branch which is concerned with learning and conditioning. Theory and research from that branch of psychology formed the basis of the behavior therapies. With the spread of the behavior therapies came a more accepting attitude among counseling and clinical psychologists toward empirical studies of counseling and theory and research in other branches of psychology.

The number of empirical studies of counseling has substantially increased in the last decade and a half. Many of these investigations (e.g., Van der Veen, 1965; Sapolsky, 1965)
focus on the interaction between the counselor and the client, emphasizing concepts which are very similar to those appearing in social psychological investigations, e.g., attraction (Strong, 1968), degree of effort (Goldstein & Simonson, 1971).

Because of this focus, and in accordance with the Boulder Conference recommendations, Goldstein and Simonson (1971) encourage a greater exchange between counseling psychologists and social psychologists. One area in which Goldstein and Simonson propose there can be such an exchange is that of role playing since both counseling psychologists and social psychologists are interested in this behavior.

The present investigation was an attempt at an exchange between counseling psychology and social psychology in the area of role playing. It was an endeavor to seek a better understanding and utilization of therapeutic role playing by basing its hypotheses upon social psychological studies of role playing.

The succeeding discussion is divided into four parts: 1) a discussion of the basis of the relationship between counseling psychology and social psychology, 2) a review of counseling literature leading to the type of research design utilized in the present investigation and of counseling research involving role playing, 3) a review of social psychological research involving role playing, and 4) the integration of the two.
Goldstein and Simonson (1971) encourage a greater exchange between counseling psychologists and social psychologists because the types of variables which these researchers investigate are similar. An inspection of definitions and concerns of counseling psychology and social psychology indicates the basis for the similarity of the variables under investigation by these two branches of psychology. One of the many different ways of conceptualizing the counseling process is as a set of interpersonal events (Strong, 1968; Goldstein & Simonson, 1971). Several definitions of counseling reflect this conceptualization. For example, Lewis (1970) defines counseling as:

a process by which a troubled person (the client) is helped to feel and behave in a more personally satisfying manner through interaction with an uninvolved person (the counselor) who provides information and reactions which stimulate the client to develop behaviors which enable him to deal more effectively with himself and his environment. (p. 10) (Italics my own.)

Grinker, MacGregor, Selan, Klein and Kohrman (1961) view the relationship between the client and the counselor as one in which each acts on the other in a reciprocal and cyclical process of action, response, and feedback. Grinker et al. emphasize the changing mutual and reciprocal system of communications, between the two participants of the transaction.

Furthermore, many investigations (e.g., Phillips, Matarazzo, Matarazzo, Saslow & Kanfer, 1961; Kanfer & Marston, 1964) have been conducted with the focus on the interaction
taking place during counseling. For example, Kanfer and Marston (1964) used an experimental analogue to explore changes in S's interactional behavior as a function of (a) the content of interviewer's comments; (b) the participation of an interviewer as a speaker or listener; (c) the structure of the interviewer's role; and (d) the S's tendency to conform, as measured by the Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The three aspects of the S's interactional behavior which were investigated were (a) S's attitude toward the interviewer; (b) S's tendency to seek information, i.e., invite the interviewer to comment; and (c) S's tendency to continue the flow of communication.

As the preceding discussion indicates, many commentators consider the counseling process as an interactional process. And the topic of human interaction is a major concern of social psychology. In fact, Watson (1966) defines social psychology as the scientific study of human interaction. If an investigator holds such a view of the counseling relationship and of social psychology, i.e., counseling is an interaction process and social psychology is interested in human interaction, this would be the basis for an exchange between the two branches. And such an exchange is beginning to take place. Various investigators (e.g., Goldstein, 1966; Goldstein, Heller & Sechrest, 1966; Strong, 1968) have attempted to look at the counseling relationship through a social psychological perspective and see if any of the social psychological theories and variables have
relevance in a counseling relationship. For example, Strong (1968) examined counseling from the framework of attribution theory, while Goldstein and Simonson (1971) studied the initial phases of counseling using the social psychological construct of personal attraction.

Review of Counseling Literature

The borrowing of concepts from social psychology is not the only example of the revisionism in counseling research. The change is also seen in the emphasis of many commentators (e.g., Bergin & Strupp, 1970; Kiesler, 1971) on the need for specificity in investigations of counseling effectiveness. These commentators argue that research should be directed away from the question "Is psychotherapy effective?" to "What treatment, by whom, is most effective for this individual with that specific problem, and under which set of circumstances?" (Paul, 1967, p. 109). The findings of variability of outcome across diagnoses, criteria, and types of therapies (e.g., Powers & Witmer, 1951; Barron & Leary, 1955; Truax, 1963; Truax & Carkhuff, 1965), along with the evidence on deterioration (e.g., Ling, Zausmer & Hope, 1952; Henry & Shlien, 1958; Feifel & Eells, 1963; Varble & Landfield, 1969) support the notion that psychotherapy is a heterogeneous collection of diverse and conflicting events. It is no wonder that the classical pre-post-control group designs have yielded results that are often ambiguous. Therefore, the therapeutic enterprise
must be broken down into specific sets of measures and operations, i.e., dimensionalized. One example of this type of approach is the isolation of therapist style-of-relating behaviors by the client-centered group (Rogers, Gendlin, Kiesler & Truax, 1967; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Genuineness, respect or warm acceptance, and accurate empathy are the therapist style-of-relating behaviors or facilitative conditions which Rogers believes are basic to bringing about personality change. Much research has been conducted investigating the nature of the facilitative conditions (e.g., Truax, 1962), their interrelatedness (Truax, Wargo, Frank, Imber, Battle, Hoehn-Saric, Nash & Stone, 1966) and their effect on change in the client (Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Another example of the dimensionalizing approach is the development of more precise interventions for specific disorders by the behavior therapists (Ullman & Krasner, 1965; Wolpe & Lazarus, 1966). For example, if a client had an inordinate fear of dogs, a behavior therapist might use the method of systematic desensitization based on relaxation.

Bergin (1971) writes that one of the advantages of extracting and manipulating variables is that entirely new techniques may be invented. The appeal of this approach can be demonstrated in the fact that there is a trend in which researchers have become more concerned with the discovery of factors that mediate change in helping relationships and less concerned with whether the variables studied have a place in
existing clinical practice (Heller, 1971). In fact, current research has attempted to innovate new methods of change, whose practical applicability in clinical settings can then be determined (Heller, 1971). For example, the work of Bandura and his associates (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1965) in the area of imitation learning has prompted clinical researchers (Truax, Wargo, Carkhuff, Kodman & Moles, 1966) to investigate the use of modeling techniques in helping clients to acquire new behavior sequences.

According to Bergin (1971) and Zytowski (1966), one of the promising strategies of inquiry for developing new techniques and for testing their effects is the experimental analogue. Through this method the complex can be simplified and clarified. For example, Heller (1968) investigated the effect of interview ambiguity in experimental analogues. Heller varied the clarity with which the interviewer's response could be heard. He found that, for Ss with a prior set toward the open disclosure of personal concerns, the interviewer condition that provided the least feedback to Ss was most facilitative of S self-disclosure.

So a counseling analogue can be used to investigate, separately or in various combinations, the counseling dimensions proposed by Paul (1967) of types of problems, types of treatment, circumstances of the treatment, counselor and client characteristics. Following is a discussion of the three dimensions that are pertinent to the present investigation.
Type of problem

In reviewing various theories of counseling, one may see that some of the problems which clients present in counseling revolve around attitudes the client holds. Thorne (1950) indicates that one type of client problem is attitudinal disorder. He considers attitudinal disorder as consisting of malignant constellations of unhealthy and untenable attitudes in otherwise normal people. Thorne writes that attitudes include ideas, opinions, beliefs, sets, prejudices, values, etc., and are acquired through experience by learning. Thorne further states that in spite of the recognition of the significance of attitudes in psychotherapy, little consideration has been given to methods of modifying unhealthy attitudes. But since attitudes are learned, they may be unlearned and new ones learned. Thorne's techniques of attitude therapy involve re-education by presenting new attitudes in a way which will lead to their acceptance and substitution for the unhealthy attitudes.

Ellis (1962) bases his rational-emotive psychotherapy on the assumption that human beings normally become emotionally disturbed through acquiring irrational and illogical thoughts, philosophies, or attitudes. Ellis' therapy focuses on ridding the client of these illogical thoughts, philosophies or attitudes.

Kelly's (1955) personal constructs can also be viewed as beliefs or attitudes about the world. The therapist's role is to help the client eliminate obsolete constructs and acquire
new, more appropriate ones.

Attitudes also play a large role in Rogers' (1951) view of the counseling relationship. The goal of counseling, as seen by the client-centered approach, is re-organization of the self. And the re-organization of the self begins with a change in perception of and attitude toward the self.

So one of the dimensions of client problems that could be investigated in an experimental analogue is a problem dealing with attitudes the client holds. Viewed in this way, the objective, either ultimate or intermediate, of counseling is a change in attitude. The criterion of counseling effectiveness in such a situation is attitude change.

Type and circumstances of treatment

The counseling process is comprised of many types of behaviors and techniques--some of these may be more or less effective in bringing about attitude change. Any of these techniques can be studied in an experimental analogue.

One of the techniques which is used in counseling is role playing (Brammer & Shostrum, 1968). The usual role-playing situation is one in which an individual is explicitly asked to take a role not normally his own, or if his own, in a setting not normal for the enactment of the role.

The best known system of role-playing therapy is psychodrama, which was developed primarily by Moreno (1945). This form of role playing appears to place great emphasis on
"acting-out" one's concerns. Another widely known form of role playing is Kelly's (1955) fixed-role therapy. In this form of role playing the therapist provides the patient with a role that is not congruent with his usual manner of behaving and which he must enact outside as well as during the therapy hour.

Both of these forms of role-playing therapy lack even a minimal research foundation. Research has been conducted to evaluate their efficacy. But Krasner (1959) and Goldstein et al. (1966) indicate that research in role playing has barely scratched the surface of investigating role playing as a psychotherapeutic technique.

Most of the studies (e.g., Harrow, 1951; Jones & Peters, 1952) investigating role-playing experience in counseling have been aimed at determining the relationship between role-playing experience and the global concept of interpersonal adjustment. A review of the experimental literature of role playing (Mann, 1956) has indicated that the relationship between role-playing experience and interpersonal adjustment has not been demonstrated conclusively.

The failure to be able to demonstrate a clear relationship between role playing and interpersonal adjustment may be due to the fact that the concept of "interpersonal adjustment" is a complex one and should be dimensionalized. Rather than utilizing the global criterion of interpersonal adjustment, a more specific criterion should be selected for investigation—
which is relevant to the particular problem under investigation. When the problem is an attitude, the criterion for the effectiveness of the role play would be a change in that attitude. Counseling researchers have not investigated the relationship between role playing and the more specific criterion of attitude change.

Another reason for not being able to demonstrate a clear relationship between role playing and interpersonal adjustment may be the fact that role playing itself is a complex process, composed of many different aspects, e.g., the counselor as audience, a prepared script or an improvised part. Counseling investigators have not dimensionalized the role-playing experience to determine which aspects of this experience are or are not effective.

Review of Social Psychological Literature

Both attitude change and role playing are topics of concern to social psychologists. Investigators (e.g., Janis & King, 1954) have attempted to determine the effect of counterattitudinal role playing on attitude change. Counterattitudinal role playing is considered to occur when an individual engages in behavior inconsistent with his beliefs and attitudes (Insko & Schopler, 1972).

Janis and King (1954) compared the effectiveness of counterattitudinal role playing versus exposure to information in bringing about attitude change. In each experimental
situation three controversial issues were presented to three Ss. Each S received an outline of a counterattitudinal talk for one of the three issues and gave an extemporaneous speech based on this outline. Each S listened while the others spoke. So each S was actively exposed to arguments that he presented on one issue and passively exposed to arguments that he listened to on two issues. The results indicated greater attitude change on the issue that the S actively presented and Janis and King concluded that role playing was more effective than mere exposure to information.

Subsequent research has focused upon the variables of the role-playing experience which may have an effect on attitude change. Different mechanisms have been proposed as possible explanations for the effectiveness of role playing in bringing about attitude change. For example, Janis and his associates proposed the concepts of improvisation (King & Janis, 1956) and biased scanning (Janis & Gilmore, 1965; Janis, 1968) as underlying mechanisms causing attitude change by producing greater cognitive contact with the new counterattitudinal information. Festinger (1957) explained the effect of role playing upon attitude change through his theory of cognitive dissonance. In the role-playing situation the person is asked to behave in a manner that does not follow from the attitude he holds. According to dissonance theory, the two cognitions--I believe one thing and I did an opposite thing--result in dissonance which is uncomfortable. Theoretically, this
Festinger (1957) postulates that dissonance may vary in magnitude. The magnitude of dissonance in a role-playing situation is a function of the importance of the private opinion and the magnitude of the incentive or punishment. The more important the opinion, the greater the dissonance; and the smaller the incentive or punishment, the greater the dissonance. This dissonance can be reduced by subsequent change of private opinion or by magnification of the incentive or the punishment.

Festinger and Carlsmith (1959) conducted an investigation to test this dissonance theory interpretation. They induced Ss to tell another S (an experimental accomplice) that a dull task was actually interesting. The Ss were paid either $1.00 or $20.00 for telling this "lie". According to dissonance theory, the S's cognitions that the task was dull and that he said it was interesting are dissonant. The more money an individual received for lying, the more justification he had for lying and the less the dissonance. Therefore, Festinger and Carlsmith hypothesized that the Ss who received $1.00 would experience more dissonance. Festinger and Carlsmith found that in a post rating the Ss who received $1.00 believed the dull task to be more interesting than the Ss who received $20.00. These data support the dissonance theory interpretation.

Although several investigators (e.g., Cohen, Brehm & Fleming, 1958; Cohen, 1962) have found results which support
the dissonance theory interpretation, other investigators (Janis & Gilmore, 1965; Elms & Janis, 1965) have not. For example, Elms and Janis (1965) found greater attitude change in the high incentive condition than in the low incentive condition.

Subsequent research seems to indicate that both a positive (incentive or reinforcement effect) and a negative (dissonance effect) relationship can exist between financial incentive and attitude change. Investigations now focus upon what conditions result in a positive relationship and what conditions in a negative relationship. Many variables have been postulated as having an effect upon these relationships between incentive for counterattitudinal role playing and attitude change, such as evaluation apprehension (Rosenberg, 1965), discombobulation (Janis & Gilmore, 1965), freedom not to comply (Linder, Cooper & Jones, 1967), expectation of reward (Gerard, 1967), consequences of the counterattitudinal statement (Cooper & Worches, 1967), and commitment of the S (Carlsmith, Collins & Helmreich, 1966). The variables which seem to receive support from social psychological studies are commitment of the S (Carlsmith et al., 1966), consequences of the counterattitudinal statement (Cooper & Worches, 1970), and choice (Calder, Ross & Insko, 1973).

The variable of commitment of the S is defined by Carlsmith et al. (1966) according to the amount of anonymity involved in the making of the counterattitudinal statement.
The Carlsmith et al. (1966) experiment employed a 2 X 3 factorial design with anonymity and amount of inducement as the two factors. In the nonanonymous condition the S made a 2-minute counterattitudinal statement to a confederate in a direct face-to-face situation. In the anonymous condition the S wrote a 15-minute counterattitudinal message. The three inducement levels were $.50, $1.50 and $5.00. The results indicated that in the anonymous condition there was a positive relationship between financial inducement and attitude change, while in the nonanonymous condition there was a negative relationship, the dissonance effect. In considering the results of this experiment, the pertinent finding is the differential effect of levels of commitment, defined as an anonymous vs. a nonanonymous counterattitudinal statement.

Helmreich and Collins (1968) also found a differential effect of levels of commitment on attitude change. The Helmreich and Collins experiment employed three levels of commitment: anonymous audio recording, identified video recording with subsequent explanation and identified video recording with no opportunity to recant. Two inducement levels were also used: $.50 and $2.50. The results indicated that at the two higher levels of commitment (identified video recording), there was a negative relationship between attitude change and magnitude of inducement—greater attitude change for Ss who received low inducement. In the low commitment (anonymous audio recording) condition, there was a positive relationship.
But other studies (Ashmore & Collins, 1968; Collins & Helmreich, 1970; Hornbeck, 1971) do not support the commitment explanation, i.e., that nonanonymous conditions produce more attitude change than anonymous ones. For example, Hornbeck (1971) investigated the effects of deception, commitment and incentive on attitude change. In the high commitment condition Ss were asked to write their names on their essay forms and were told that these forms would be displayed in a main corridor of their school. In the low commitment condition Ss did not write their names on their essay forms and were told that only the E's employer would see these forms. The results indicated that commitment did not have any reliable effect upon attitude change nor did its interaction with any of the other variables.

Nel, Helmreich and Aronson (1969) have postulated that it is the persuasibility of the audience rather than the commitment variable which is important in the determination of the magnitude of attitude change. To test this hypothesis Nel et al. used a 2 X 3 factorial design in which the Ss were induced to make a video recording of a counterattitudinal statement (favoring legalization of marijuana). The two factors of the experiment were magnitude of inducement ($0.50 and $5.00) and persuasibility of the audience (concommitted, pro-committed and uncommitted). A significant dissonance effect was found when the audience was not committed on the issue. A slight dissonance effect was also found in the concommitted
audience condition. Nel et al. interpreted these results as supporting a view that dissonance is produced by a discrepancy between one's self-concept and the consequences of one's behavior. This interpretation emphasized the importance of the persuasibility of the audience. Nel et al. felt that when the audience is uncommitted, it is most persuasible and the S's statement can have the greatest effect. Since this statement is counterattitudinal, the S would feel that its effects are harmful. And under these conditions, the greatest damage to the self-concept would take place under levels of minimum justification, leading to greater attitude change. The pertinent finding of the Nel et al. experiment is the effect of the consequences of the counterattitudinal statement on attitude change. Reviewing the Helmreich and Collins (1968) findings, one could speculate that Ss thought that their video tape would have more persuasive power than their anonymous audio tape.

An experiment by Cooper and Worcel (1970) adds further support for the importance of the consequences of the counterattitudinal statement upon attitude change. Ss were to convince another S (actually an accomplice) that a dull task was interesting. The accomplice either appeared convinced (high consequences condition) or unconvinced (low consequences condition). The results indicated that there was greater attitude change in the high consequences condition than in the low consequences condition.
Although these studies seem to support the consequences interpretation, Collins and Hoyt (1972) write that consequences alone cannot explain the varied findings of the social psychological literature on role playing. They propose that it is a combination of the S's feeling personally responsible for his act and the important consequences of his act that produce the effect. Hoyt, Henley and Collins (1972) conducted an experiment to test this proposition. Personal responsibility was defined in terms of the S's choice in performing the counter-attitudinal behavior—high choice or low choice. The high-consequence Ss were told that the audience would read only the Ss' arguments and that these arguments would be very persuasive for this audience. The low-consequence Ss were told that the audience would read arguments for both sides of the issue and that the Ss' arguments would not have much influence upon the audience. The results indicated greatest attitude change in the high-consequences—high-choice condition.

Collins and Hoyt (1972) found further support for the importance of personal responsibility (choice) and consequences upon attitude change. Besides varying responsibility and consequences, Collins and Hoyt varied financial inducement. They hypothesized that the greatest attitude change would occur in the high-responsibility, high-consequence, low-inducement condition. Their results supported this hypothesis.

Calder, Ross and Insko (1973) proposed that the variables of consequences and choice could explain both the direct
(reinforcement) and inverse (dissonance) relationships between incentive and attitude change. Ss were to tell a waiting S (actually an experimental accomplice) that a dull task was interesting. In the high-choice condition the S had a choice whether or not to inform the waiting S that the task was interesting. In the low-choice condition the S was required to tell this "lie". In the high consequences condition, the waiting S appeared convinced; in the low consequences condition he appeared unconvinced. The results indicated that for either a direct or an inverse relationship between incentive and attitude change to occur, the "lie" must have consequences, i.e., convincing the waiting S. The dissonance effect occurred when high consequences were combined with high choice. The reinforcement effect occurred when high consequences were combined with low choice. These results further support the importance of the variables of consequences and choice in bringing about attitude change in a role-playing situation.

The preceding discussion suggests that the variables of commitment of the S, consequences of the counterattitudinal statement, and choice in a role-playing situation have an effect upon attitude change. It appears that when the incentive for making the counterattitudinal statement is low, the greatest amount of attitude change takes place under high levels of commitment, consequences and choice.
Integration

The foregoing discussion of attitude change and role playing in both counseling literature and social psychological literature should suggest the possibility of an exchange between these two branches of psychology. This possibility has not been overlooked by commentators. Goldstein and Simonson (1971) write that the area of role playing is one in which such an exchange can take place. They point to studies such as Janis and Mann (1965) who sought to investigate the utility of role playing in aiding an individual to reduce the extent of his smoking. Janis and Mann found that during an 18-month period following the role-playing experience, the role-playing Ss reported lower cigarette consumption than the control Ss. Janis and Mann suggested that the mediating variable that accounted for the success of the role playing was aroused fear. Goldstein and Simonson suggest that the effectiveness of role playing in dealing with other disorders should be investigated.

Since the previous discussion indicates that some of the disorders which clients bring to a counseling relationship can be viewed as problems dealing with attitudes, the whole social psychological area of counterattitudinal role playing and attitude change is a fertile field of possible variables which may have application to the counseling relationship. To provide an exchange between the branches of counseling psychology and social psychology, a role-playing situation similar to
that found in social psychological investigations may be adapted to a counseling-type situation (counseling analogue) to determine its effectiveness in bringing about a change in an attitude similar to one which may need to be changed in an actual counseling relationship. The particular attitude chosen for the present investigation was one of the 11 irrational ideas which Ellis (1962) says are universally inculcated in Western society and "would seem inevitable to lead to widespread neurosis (p. 61)." The attitude is represented by the statement "Past experiences and events are the determiners of present behavior; the influence of the past cannot be eradicated (Ellis, 1962, p. 40)."

The need for specificity in counseling research is well met by social psychologists' attempt at specifying the limiting conditions of the relationship between role playing and attitude change. The previous review of the social psychological literature indicated that the variables of commitment, consequences and choice in a role-playing situation have an effect upon attitude change.

Consider these variables as they usually appear in a typical role-playing experience in a counseling situation. Regarding the variable of commitment, the client usually has a low commitment to the role play. If a tape is made of the role play, it is usually an unidentified audio tape. Investigations have been conducted comparing the effect of recording on clients but these involved the recording of the entire session and not
a comparison of types of recordings of the role play. Based on the social psychological literature, it appears that greater commitment on the part of the client in the role play is an important variable in bringing about attitude change. Greater commitment may be operationally defined as an identified videotaped counterattitudinal statement in contrast to an unidentified audio-taped counterattitudinal statement.

Concerning the variable of consequences, in the counseling situation when an individual is asked to role play, his role play is usually viewed by the counselor alone. The social psychological literature indicates that role playing of a counterattitudinal position would be more effective if the client felt that his role play would be heard or seen by others who were uncommitted since the consequences of changing the audience's attitude would be greater.

Regarding the variable of choice, the client has the choice of role playing or not role playing. This would be considered a high choice condition and is a necessary condition for attitude change, as indicated by the social psychological literature.

Although the ultimate incentive for role playing for a client engaged in counseling is that it will help the client, an incentive is usually not explicitly stated to the client before the role play. In fact, the role play might not even be viewed by the client as being connected with his ultimate goal
of improvement. With regard to the social psychological studies of counterattitudinal role playing, this circumstance would be considered a condition of low incentive. The social psychological literature indicates that in conditions of low incentive high levels of commitment, consequences and choice lead to the greatest amount of attitude change.

As can be seen, some of the levels of the variables which social psychological investigations indicate are prerequisites for attitude change are not usually operative in a role play in a counseling situation. In accord with the current trend of investigating factors that mediate change but do not yet have a place in existing clinical practice (Heller, 1971) and in accord with Goldstein and Simonson's (1971) recommendation of the merging of findings in counseling psychology and in social psychology, the present investigation was an attempt to adapt the social psychological role-playing situation to a counseling situation. Following Bergin's (1971) and Zytowski's (1966) suggestion, an experimental analogue was used. And in accordance with the call for specificity in investigations of counseling effectiveness (Paul, 1967; Bergin & Strupp, 1970; Kiesler, 1971), the present investigation focused upon a particular type of treatment, a particular type of problem and a particular set of circumstances.

The present investigation was designed to test the effects of high and low levels of commitment and consequences of a role play upon attitude change in a counseling analogue when the
variables of incentive and choice are held constant, i.e., low and high respectively. It was hypothesized that the greatest amount of attitude change would take place when the S identified himself in a video-taped counterattitudinal statement (high commitment), which would be seen by a noncommitted audience (high consequences) than when either of these two variables (commitment and consequences) was low, i.e., unidentified audio tape and heard by counselor only.
METHOD

Subjects

The Ss were 40 undergraduate female students enrolled in psychology courses at Iowa State University.

Experimenters

The attitude inventory which was given as a pretest was administered by two female Es neither of whom was involved in the counseling analogue. The counseling analogue was conducted by one female E who was unaware of the experimental condition until the time of the experimental manipulation.

Design

In the present investigation a 2 X 2 factorial design was employed with commitment and audience as the two factors. The two levels of commitment were anonymous audio recording and identified video recording. The two levels of the audience were counselor only and noncommitted audience.

An analysis of variance was carried out.

Procedure

A 60-item attitude inventory, in 9-point Likert format (see Appendix A), was given to 103 female undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses. The last item in the inventory was the critical item, "Past experiences and events are
the determiners of present behavior; the influence of the past cannot be eradicated." Seventy-four of the 103 students indicated that they "somewhat agreed", "mostly agreed", or "strongly agreed" with the item. Forty-four of these 74 students received a telephone call from the E. The E said the following:

"I'm a counseling student here at Iowa State and we're trying something new in our counselor training program. Before we can counsel real clients, my counseling professor would like us to just practice interviewing regular students. So we're just calling students at random and asking them if they'd help us out by talking with one of us for less than an hour and answering some questions about what they think about some things, like for instance, college. We have permission to give one Psychology extra credit point to anyone who does help us out. Would you mind coming in and talking to one of the counseling students?"

Forty-two students agreed to come in for an interview. Two of these 42 students did not keep their appointments. The 40 Ss were randomly assigned to the four conditions, 10 Ss in each condition. The average interval between the administration of the attitude inventory and the interview was seven days. No S reported that she saw any connection between the attitude inventory and the interview.

When the S arrived at the experimental session (interview), the E said the following:

"I'm a new counseling student and, as you know from the telephone call you received, we're trying out something new in our counselor training program. Before we can counsel real clients, my counseling professor would like us to just practice interviewing regular students. So we're just calling students at random, like we called you, and asking them if they would help us out by talking with one of us and pretending that they are clients. Would you mind doing this? I'll just ask you some questions about how you feel about some things as I
might in the first counseling interview. It'll help me when I am really counseling to know how college students do feel about some of these things. Since I've just sort of started at interviewing students, my supervisor suggested some topics we could talk about (indicating the notes the E is holding). So I'll just ask you questions about yourself and also about a diverse range of topics. You can say as much as you like about each topic.

"We have a variety of techniques that we use in counseling, for example, test interpretations, group counseling, or multiple counselors. My counseling teacher would like us to practice different techniques so we might pretend that you've taken a test and I could interpret it to you. Or sometimes we have the clients role play in counseling—that is, read a short prepared speech. Sometimes the speech is in agreement with what the client believes, sometimes it's not and sometimes the client doesn't have any opinion about the topic of the speech. So I might ask you to role play.

"During this interview, just pretend that you've come in for a counseling interview. And in this interview, just be normal--be yourself.

"O.K.?"

The following is the list of questions which the E asked:

1. Would you like to tell me a little about yourself?
2. What sorts of things do you like to do in your spare time?
3. If you were to rate on a 9-point scale your dependence on your parents (1 being very dependent, 9 being very independent), how would you rate yourself? Would you rather be more or less dependent than you are? Why?
4. How do you feel about college? What were your reasons for coming to college?
5. How did you choose Iowa State?
6. How did you choose your major?
8. Let's say you had a 9-point scale (1 being strongly disagree, 5 neutral, 9 strongly agree) what number from 1 to 9 would you give the following statement—the draft should be abolished? Why do you feel that way? Do you think our defense system would be weakened if the draft were abolished. Do you think there might be some problems with an all-volunteer army?

9. Do you believe that once a woman is married, she should not work? Why do you feel that way?

10. What kind of a student would you say you are—average, above average, below average? (If above average: Do you try to get the highest grade on every test you take? If average or below: Do you wish you could do better than you are doing?)

11. What do you think about the Woman's Lib movement? Why?

12. Do you think students should have a greater voice in the administration of their schools? Why or why not?

13. Is it important to you that you earn a bachelor's degree? Why?

14. Do you think there are valid cultural differences between the sexes?

After 10 minutes of the interview went by, the asked the critical question:

"15. What do you think about this statement: Past experiences and events determine present behavior; the influence of the past can't be removed. (Then a more specific level in the response was elicited.) Why do you feel this way?

PAUSE. "This might be a good spot for us to have a role play. For most of the topics I asked you about, there are two sides to the issue. For example, in the previous question you answered __________________. Some people would answer with an opposite remark, such as __________________. I have some speeches here about some of the topics we've discussed. These speeches contain arguments that a person might use if he were trying to get someone to agree with his viewpoint, whether that be pro or con a particular
statement. And I have a speech that pertains to the topic of past experiences. (E looked through a folder of speeches. Also in the folder was a card which indicated the experimental condition.) This speech contains arguments a person might use if he were trying to persuade someone not to agree with the statement that past experiences and events determine present behavior and that the influence of the past can't be removed. I'd like you to read this speech out loud--that's called a role play. When you read the speech, pretend that you're trying to persuade someone to go along with the arguments in the speech. I'd like to (audio, video) tape your reading of the speech.

Audio condition: "You don't have to identify yourself on the tape, just read the speech."

Video condition: "Before you read the speech for the tape, give your name and your home town."

Counselor only condition: "No one else will hear this tape besides myself."

Noncommitted audience condition: "I would like to have this tape to play for other students who participate and who don't really feel one way or the other about this topic."

"Do you want to do this?" (No S refused.)

The S was given the speech (see Appendix B).

"You can look the speech over for a few minutes and then I'll tape it. It's perfectly fine for you to just read the speech while it's being taped."

E gave the S five minutes. Then E asked the S to move to another chair in the room because this was where the equipment was set up. She then taped the role play.

After the role play, E asked S to move back to the other chair so they could continue the interview. Before asking another question, E noticeably glanced at the clock, paused and, slowly changing tone, said:

"It looks like we're about out of time so we'll have to
end our interview here. But I would like to ask you to do one more thing. My counseling teacher would like to know how the students I have talked with feel about my interviewing behavior and some of the things we've talked about. So would you mind filling out a form for him?"

The S was given the "Counselor Evaluation Sheet" (see Appendix C).

"You can fill the form out here. When you have filled it out, put it in this envelope—it's addressed to my counseling teacher. You can take the envelope downstairs to the reception office. You can give it to one of the secretaries—she'll put it in my counseling teacher's mailbox.

"You can help me in learning how to counsel and you can help my counseling teacher in giving me suggestions by being completely honest in filling out these forms."

After the forms were filled out, the E said:

"Sometimes when students talk with psychologists for any reason, they feel they are in a psychology experiment. Did you think that you were in an experiment? (If yes, what was its purpose? What led you to believe that?)"

No S felt she was in an experiment.
RESULTS

The pretest score was the sum of the Ss' ratings of the critical attitude statement (question #60) on the attitude inventory (Appendix A) and during the interview (question #15).
The reliability of the pretest was computed to be .57, using the Spearman-Brown formula:

\[ r_{tt} = \frac{2 r_{hh}}{1 + r_{hh}} \]  

where 
- \( r_{hh} = \) the split-half reliability coefficient
- \( r_{tt} = \) the estimate of the reliability of the whole test.

The Ss' ratings of the critical attitude statement on the attitude inventory and their ratings of the same statement during the interview were considered the two halves of the pretest.
The split-half reliability was computed by correlating ratings on these two items.

The posttest score was the sum of the Ss' ratings of items 5, 8 (reverse scored) and 13 on the "Counselor Evaluation Sheet" (Appendix C). The reliability of the posttest was computed to be .53, using the following formula:

\[ r_{kk} = \frac{k \bar{r}_{ij}}{1 + (k-1) \bar{r}_{ij}} \]  

where 
- \( \bar{r}_{ij} = \) the average correlation among the items
- \( r_{kk} = \) the estimate of the reliability coefficient for a k-item test.
The Ss' ratings of items 5, 8 (reverse scored) and 13 on the "Counselor Evaluation Sheet" were intercorrelated and the average correlation was used to obtain the reliability of the posttest.

The difference between the pretest and posttest scores was computed. The reliability of these difference scores was .51, using the following formula

\[ r_{dd} = \frac{r_{jj} \text{var}_j + r_{kk} \text{var}_k - 2 r_{jk} \text{sd}_j \text{sd}_k}{\text{var}_j + \text{var}_k - 2 r_{jk} \text{sd}_j \text{sd}_k} \]  

(3)

where

- \( r_{dd} \) = the reliability of the difference \( X_j - X_k \)
- \( r_{jj}, r_{kk} \) = the reliabilities of the pretest and the posttest, respectively
- \( r_{jk} \) = the intercorrelation of the pretest and the posttest
- \( \text{var}_j, \text{var}_k \) = the variances of the pretest and the posttest, respectively
- \( \text{sd}_j, \text{sd}_k \) = the standard deviations of the pretest and the posttest, respectively.

The above formula was used rather than the usual formula for the reliability of differences because the scores used as the basis for computation were not standard scores.

An analysis of variance of the differences scores was conducted for the two factors, commitment and consequences. The difference scores were used as the basis for the analysis of variance because the reliability of the difference scores was not much lower than that of the pretest scores and the
posttest scores and the difference between the two scores was the major point of interest. The linear model underlying the F test for this design is

\[ Y_{ijk} = \alpha + \alpha_i + \beta_j + \alpha \beta_{ij} + \epsilon_{k(ij)} \]  

(4)

where \( Y_{ijk} \) = a difference score for a randomly selected subject \( k \) in treatment population \( ab_{ij} \).

\( \alpha \) = grand mean of treatment populations.

\( \alpha_i \) = effect of treatment \( i \), i.e., commitment.

\( \beta_j \) = effect of treatment \( j \), i.e., consequences.

\( \alpha \beta_{ij} \) = effect, which represents nonadditivity or interaction of effects \( \alpha_i \) and \( \beta_j \).

\( \epsilon_{k(ij)} \) = experimental error.

\( i = 1, 2. \)

\( j = 1, 2. \)

\( k = 1, \ldots, 40. \)

The summary table for the analysis of variance appears below.

Table 1. Analysis of variance of the difference scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27.22</td>
<td>27.22</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27.23</td>
<td>27.23</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>970.90</td>
<td>26.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1,046.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The prediction of a significant interaction was not confirmed. Nor was there a significant main effect for commitment or consequences.

The average rating of the pretest items and of the posttest items was computed. The differences between these averages are found in Table 2.

Table 2. Mean pretest, posttest and differences scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Pretest Mean</th>
<th>Posttest Mean</th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audio-Counselor Only</td>
<td>8.20</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio-Noncommitted Audience</td>
<td>7.65</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video-Counselor Only</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video-Noncommitted Audience</td>
<td>8.05</td>
<td>6.23</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An inspection of the mean scores indicates that the Ss did change their attitudes in the desired direction, i.e., less agreement with the attitude statement. Although the differences were not significant, the video-noncommitted audience condition did result in greater attitude change than the video-counselor only and audio-noncommitted audience conditions, as predicted by the hypothesis. But the audio-counselor only condition resulted in greater attitude change than the video-noncommitted condition which is not in accordance with the hypothesis.

A check on the effectiveness of the commitment manipulation appeared in the "Counselor Evaluation Sheet", item #4, C,
"I felt committed to the speech I read." (See Appendix C.) The item was in a 7-point Likert format; the possible responses ranged from 1=Strongly Disagree, through 4=Neutral to 7=Strongly Agree. The mean ratings and standard deviations for the four conditions appear in Table 3.

Table 3. Mean ratings and standard deviations for commitment manipulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audio-Counselor Only</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio-Noncommitted Audience</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video-Counselor Only</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video-Noncommitted Audience</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of variance of the commitment ratings was conducted. The summary table appears below.

Table 4. Analysis of variance of the commitment ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>122.00</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>124.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The F-ratio was not significant, indicating that the video conditions did not result in greater commitment to the role play.
Besides determining if role playing was more effective under certain conditions, it was of interest to ascertain if role playing across all conditions resulted in a significant difference between pretest and posttest ratings. The mean rating across all conditions for the pretest items and for the posttest items are found in Table 5.

Table 5. Comparison of mean ratings of pretest and posttest items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Posttest</th>
<th></th>
<th>T-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the t-test for the comparison between the mean pretest rating and the mean posttest rating across conditions was not significant.
DISCUSSION

The results of this investigation do not support the hypothesis that there is a significant interaction between the level of commitment of a S in a counterattitudinal role play and the consequences of the counterattitudinal role play when incentive and choice are held constant, i.e., greatest amount of attitude change in the video-noncommitted audience condition under a low incentive level and a high choice level.

These findings are not in accord with previous investigations (Helmreich & Collins, 1968; Nel, Helmreich & Aronson, 1969; Collins & Hoyt, 1972). The discrepant results may be due to two factors: ineffective manipulations or methodological differences between the present investigation and previous one. The possibility that the previous investigators' (Helmreich & Collins, 1968; Nel, Helmreich & Aronson, 1969; Collins & Hoyt, 1972) theoretical formulation may be in error cannot be overlooked.

Manipulation

An inspection of the Ss' ratings of their commitment to the speech appears to indicate that the commitment manipulation was not effective—the Ss in the video condition did not, as a group, report more commitment to the speech than the Ss in the audio condition. Therefore, the video condition would not be viewed as a high commitment condition and the audio condition
as a low commitment condition. If commitment is a necessary condition as Helmreich and Collins (1968) propose, then one would not expect the video condition in the present experiment to result in greater attitude change.

But one would question why the video condition in this investigation did not lead to greater commitment. In previous investigations the emphasis of the experimental session was the role play or the essay (e.g., Helmreich & Collins, 1968). In the present investigation the emphasis of the experimental session was upon the interviewing behavior of the "counselor". This change in methodology may have resulted in less commitment to the speech on the part of the Ss.

A review of past investigations indicates that no check was made of the Ss' commitment to the speech. Therefore, one would not know if there actually was differential commitment in the audio-tape and the video-tape conditions. So commitment may not be the underlying mechanism accounting for the differences found in audio and video conditions.

It must be noted that the effectiveness of the commitment manipulation in the present investigation is based on the S's response to one item only, and one-item scales are of unknown reliability. Perhaps adding more items to this manipulation effectiveness scale and/or rewording the original item would result in a different finding, e.g., differential commitment of the groups to the role play.
Methodological Differences

Without knowing the commitment manipulation effectiveness of previous investigations and since the present investigation's manipulation check was based on a one-item scale, one could not be certain that the ineffectiveness of the commitment manipulation in the present investigation resulted in the discrepant findings. One may also look at the methodological differences between the present investigation and the previous social psychological ones as another factor which may have resulted in the discrepant findings.

Linder, Cooper and Jones (1967) postulated that it is necessary for the individual to feel that he freely chose to deliver the counterattitudinal statement. And subsequent research (Holmes & Strickland, 1970; Sherman, 1970) supports the importance of the choice variable in bringing about attitude change. Although the Ss in the present investigation were asked if they wanted to make the counterattitudinal statement, they may have felt that they had previously committed themselves to anything the "counselor" requested since they had agreed to cooperate at the beginning of the interview. This would be in contrast to the previous investigations (e.g., Cooper & Worchel, 1970; Holmes & Strickland, 1970) in which the E's request was either the main part of the experiment or separated from what the S believed to be the experimental session—-in this way the S would not feel that he had previously
committed himself. It would be informative to know how much freedom the Ss in the present investigation felt they had in choosing to make the counterattitudinal statement.

It was previously mentioned that in contrast to previous investigations the emphasis of the present experimental session was upon the interviewing behavior of the "counselor" rather than upon the role play. When emphasis is placed upon the role play, the S might be cued that something is expected to happen with regard to his attitude. The attitude change may be due to this cueing-in rather than to the experimental manipulations themselves. Such effects have been documented in psychological research (Orne, 1962; Rosenthal, 1966). In the present investigation the S was not cued in since the role play was presented as just one of the different methods used by counselors.

In the present investigation the variable of consequences was manipulated in a slightly different manner than in previous investigations. In accordance with the Nel et al. (1969) investigation, the noncommitted audience was considered a high consequence condition in contrast to the counselor only condition. But the consequences in the noncommitted audience condition may not have been perceived by the Ss to be great. In previous investigations (e.g., Helmreich & Collins, 1968; Collins & Hoyt, 1972) the role play or essay was explicitly presented to the S as a means of changing another's attitude. Therefore, there is a greater possibility for the S to perceive the seriousness of the consequences. Although in the
present investigation the S was informed of the audience which would hear or see his counterattitudinal statement, the possibility of its bringing about a change in the audience's attitude was not explicitly stated.

But if consequences are actually an important variable in bringing about attitude change, one would wonder why the consequences of a counterattitudinal behavior such as convincing another that a dull task is interesting (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959) are serious enough to warrant a change in the S's attitude. And, if such a counterattitudinal behavior can be perceived as having high consequences, why would not a counterattitudinal statement to a noncommitted audience even though the possibility of attitude change is not stressed. It would be informative to know if the Ss in the present investigation considered that there might be any consequences of their role play or if Ss in previous investigations actually thought of the consequences of their behavior.

Overall Attitude Change

An interesting finding of the present investigation was that across conditions role playing did not lead to a significant difference between the pretest attitude rating and the posttest attitude rating. This finding is not in accord with previous findings (e.g., Janis & King, 1954; Goldstein & McGinies, 1964). There are several variables which may account for this result.
In the present investigation the Ss merely read aloud the counterattitudinal statement. This procedure was utilized in order to eliminate differences in degree of effort and in Ss' satisfaction with their performance. Previous investigators (e.g., Helmreich & Collins, 1968) have given their Ss a list of arguments and told them they could add their own arguments. Hovland, Janis & Kelley (1953) suggest that the reformulation of the message into the S's own words "may give rise to a marked gain in comprehension of the content and thereby augment the chances that the persuasive communication will be influential (p.233)." However, other investigators (Goldstein & McGinies, 1964) have had their Ss merely read aloud a counterattitudinal statement and this resulted in a significant difference between the pretest attitude rating and the posttest attitude rating. Also, the explanation that comprehension in the content of the message gained through a reformulation of the message augments its influence does not seem to be able to explain the attitude change in Festinger and Carlsmith's (1959) experiment where there is little content in the message. So it would appear that the lack of reformulation of the message in the present study cannot account for the finding of no difference between pretest and posttest attitude rating.

An examination of the attitude statement used in the present investigation may help to clarify the discrepant findings. The attitude statements used in previous investigations
involved such topics as legalization of marijuana (Nel, Helmreich & Aronson, 1969), governmental regulation of family size (Helmreich & Collins, 1968), and open visitation (Collins & Hoyt, 1972). The attitude statement in the present investigation dealt with the determination of one's own behavior in general and may be a more central component of the client's attitude structure, making it more difficult to change. There may, however, be other attitudes which are brought to counseling which could be changed through the present procedure. Further investigations need to be carried out to determine if other attitudes would change under these experimental conditions.

Counseling Psychology and Social Psychology

The preceding discussion suggests the difficulties involved in taking a theoretical formulation from social psychology or from any branch of psychology and applying it to a counseling relationship. Changes in the procedure must be made in order to adapt it to the counseling relationship and these changes may result in unexpected effects. The changes themselves may alter the situation so much that it no longer meets the basic requirements of the theoretical formulation. Or perhaps there are subtleties in the procedure that are important aspects in bringing about the results. For example, it may be crucial just how remarks and questions to the client are worded. Another example might be that the possible consequences of a counterattitudinal role play must be explicitly stated to
the S. In adapting the procedure to a counseling relationship, these subtleties may be overlooked, resulting in unexpected effects.

If changes in the experimental procedure can result in unexpected effects, this must be known by the researcher and the counselor. And if there are subtleties in the procedure which have an effect upon the results, it would behoove counseling researchers to investigate these subtleties to determine whether or not they can be implemented in a counseling relationship. This suggests the need for programmatic research for determining the limiting conditions, rather than isolated experiments which cannot be expected to arrive at any definitive conclusions.

A consideration of the subtleties of the experimental procedure gives rise to two questions. First, if there are so many subtleties involved in bringing about the desired results, would the general counselor be able to become aware of them. Second, if the general counselor could become aware of the subtleties of the experimental procedure, would it be feasible for him to implement them in a counseling situation. These questions can only be answered after the subtleties have been teased out of the situation and then actually tested in counseling situations.

In conclusion, the results of the present investigation do not support the hypothesis that there is a significant interaction between the level of commitment of a S in a
counterattitudinal role play and the consequences of the counterattitudinal role play when incentive and choice are held constant, i.e., greatest amount of attitude change in the video-noncommitted audience condition under a low incentive level and a high choice level. The discrepancy between these results and those of previous investigations may be due to two factors: ineffective manipulations or methodological differences between the present investigation and previous ones. Further counseling research is needed to determine the effect of the methodological differences.
SUMMARY

The objective of the present investigation was to apply variables of a role-playing situation proposed by social psychologists as being prerequisites for attitude change to role playing in a counseling analogue to determine their effectiveness in bringing about change in a problem attitude which might be brought to a counseling relationship. The present investigation was designed to test the effects of high and low levels of commitment and consequences of a role play upon attitude change when the variables of incentive and choice are held constant, i.e., low and high, respectively. The Ss, 40 female undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses, known to have positive attitudes toward the attitude statement, were induced to read a counterattitudinal statement. The counterattitudinal communication of one-half of the Ss was video-taped (high commitment) while the counterattitudinal communication of the other one-half was audio-taped (low commitment). The Ss were told that their tape would be seen and/or heard by a) other students who were noncommitted on the attitude (high consequences) or b) the counselor only (low consequences). It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction between commitment and consequences, i.e., the greatest amount of attitude change occurring when the levels of both variables were high. The results did not support the hypothesis. Two factors--ineffective manipulations and methodological
differences—were offered as possible explanations for the discrepancy between the results of the present investigation and previous ones. The difficulties involved in taking a theoretical formulation from social psychology and applying it to a counseling relationship were discussed.


Elms, A. C., & Janis, I. L. Counter-norm attitudes induced by consonant versus dissonant conditions of role-playing. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality, 1965, 1*, 50-60.


Janis, I., & Mann, L. Effectiveness of emotional role playing in modifying smoking habits and attitudes. Journal of Experimental Research in Personality, 1965, 1, 84-90.


King, B., & Janis, I. L. Comparison of the effectiveness of improvised vs. non-improvised role-playing in producing opinion changes. Human Relations, 1956, 9, 177-186.


ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to extend my sincerest thanks to my adviser, Dr. Donald G. Zytowski, for all the assistance he has given me. Thanks are also extended to Dr. John W. Menne for his help in the analysis of the results, to Dr. Ellen L. Betz and Dr. Arnold S. Kahn for their helpful suggestions during the preliminary phases of the research, and to Dr. Ronald C. Powers for serving on my doctoral committee.
The purpose of this study is to measure how you feel about certain statements or how much certain statements apply to you. In completing these ratings, please make your judgment on the basis of how you feel about the statement or how much the statement applies to you.

On the following pages you will find a number of statements with a scale below each. You are to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement or to what degree the statement applies to you. Please mark on the answer sheet rather than the inventory booklet. The numbers on the scale refer to the location on the answer sheet which you are to mark to indicate which category of the scale applies.

For example, suppose one of the statements were the following:

The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.

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Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neutral | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree

If you strongly agree with the statement or if the statement applies very much to you, you should mark a 9 on the answer sheet.

Answer Sheet

If you mostly agree with the statement or if the statement mostly applies to you, you should mark an 8 and so on.

Please mark one number on the answer sheet for every item.
1. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is
unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.

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2. "Once a schizophrenic, always a schizophrenic."

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

3. One should take action only when sure it is morally right.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

4. It is wise to flatter important people.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

5. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

6. I like to let people know where I stand on things.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

7. I feel very upset when I commit some social error.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

8. When I hear a distinguished individual speaking, I think of how proud my folks would be if I were as distinguished.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

9. One should not depend on other persons or things; the center of life should be found inside oneself.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
10. I am afraid of people who want to find out what I'm really like for fear they'll be disappointed in me.

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11. Mental patients are often kept in the hospital long after they are well enough to get along in the community.

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12. Patients who fail to recover have only themselves to blame; in most cases they have just not tried hard enough.

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13. Close association with mentally ill people is liable to make even a normal person break down.

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14. Being a member of a fraternity or sorority is an important aspect of college life.

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15. There is something about mentally ill people that makes it easy to tell them from normal people.

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16. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

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17. Given equal qualifications men and women should be given equal employment opportunities.

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18. I refuse to let my mother dominate me.

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19. The disapproval of others would have little effect on me.

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20. With few exceptions most mental patients haven't the ability to tell right from wrong.

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21. One should be dependent on others and must have someone stronger on whom to rely.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

22. Women with promising aptitude should be encouraged to enter traditionally male-oriented fields such as engineering and business administration.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

23. To be superior a man must stand alone.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

24. It is important for me to be good at everything I do.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

25. The university grading system in its present form should be abolished.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

26. One of the main causes in mental illness is lack of moral strength.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

27. We should be sympathetic with mental patients, but we cannot expect to understand their odd behavior.

| 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |
28. Mental illness is an illness like any other.

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29. Most people are basically good and kind.

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30. When a mental patient is discharged from a hospital, he can be expected to carry out his responsibilities as a citizen.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

31. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

32. Abnormal people are ruled by their emotions; normal people by their reason.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

33. It is important for me to be liked or approved by virtually everyone in my community.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

34. As soon as a person shows signs of mental disturbance he should be hospitalized.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

35. We can make some improvements, but by and large the conditions of mental hospital wards are about as good as they can be considering the type of disturbed patient living there.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |

36. One should be quite upset over other people's problems and disturbances.

| 1 | 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 |
37. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

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38. I often feel awkward and out of place.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

39. I am unconcerned even if I know people are forming an unfavorable impression of me.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

40. What happens to me is my own doing.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

41. A mental patient is in no position to make decisions about even everyday living problems.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

42. It’s important for me to get the top grade on tests.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

43. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

44. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

45. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9
46. If someone is evaluating me I tend to expect the worst.

Mostly disagree | Only slightly disagree | Only slightly agree | Mostly agree
---|---|---|---
1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9
Strongly disagree | Somewhat disagree | Neutral | Somewhat agree | Strongly agree

47. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

48. The communists are the most destructive element in our civilization.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

49. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

50. Some cases of feeblemindedness are caused by overstudy.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

51. I would like it if everyone I met at school liked me.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

52. In order to consider myself worthwhile, it is important for me to be very highly competent, adequate, and achieving.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

53. There are certain people who are just no good.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

54. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9
55. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people.

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Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree Neutral Somewhat agree Strongly agree

56. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

57. When I get a job, I would like to be the best at that job.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

58. I rarely worry about seeming foolish to others.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

59. It is easier to avoid certain difficulties and self-responsibilities than to face them.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9

60. Past experiences and events are the determiners of present behavior; the influence of the past cannot be eradicated.

1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9
Arguments against Statement Regarding Effect of Past Experiences

Although it is true that past experiences have an effect on present behavior, it is not true that they entirely determine present behavior and that their effect cannot be removed. The rational individual, while recognizing that the past is important, also realizes that he can change the present by analyzing past influences, questioning those acquired beliefs that are harmful, and forcing himself to act differently in the present.

Human beings are flexible organisms. They can learn new behaviors, thereby overcoming past experiences. For example, a person may dread and therefore avoid social gatherings because in the past he has made many social blunders in these situations, for example, not knowing how to introduce someone. But this person can learn the appropriate behavior for these situations and may, then, enjoy social gatherings. The influence of the past would thereby be removed.

The following is another example of the effect of the past being removed. A child may have had a traumatic experience with an adult, causing him to be distrustful of people. But when he grows older, he may come in contact with many trustworthy people who renew his belief in others.

Or an individual may have, as a child, been locked in a closet and may have become fearful of being in closed spaces. However, through counseling he may lose this fear.

Also, a child may have been raised in a bad environment and turned to a life of crime. But through rehabilitation processes he may revert from this life of crime and become a respectable citizen.
There are many other examples of the influence of the past being removed through new learning or through a new view of the past experience. An individual may have had a sad experience in love and therefore avoids all close involvements. He may later, through talking with others or through reading, come to see that this disappointment in love was actually better for him and he can again become closely involved with others. Or an individual may have a low evaluation of himself because of failures he has experienced; but, if he focuses upon his abilities, he can change his evaluation of himself to a more positive one.

Much of man's behavior is learned. And what is learned can be unlearned.

The process of counseling is based on the premise that man can change and that the influence of the past can be eradicated.

Since man is capable of learning so many new behaviors, one would not want to say that "what I do today is just the result of what has happened to me".
Counselor Evaluation Sheet

You have just taken part in an experimental program by talking with one of the counseling students. As this counseling student's supervisor, I would like to know how you felt about this "counselor" and the "interview".

Below are several statements concerning the counselor and the interview. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement by referring to the scale that appears below and writing next to the statement the number that corresponds with your degree of agreement or disagreement. For example, if you strongly agree with the statement, write a 9 next to the statement. If you mostly agree with the statement, write an 8 and so on.

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Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree Neutral Somewhat agree Strongly agree

**Statements**

1. The counselor seemed relaxed during the interview. ____
2. The counselor was friendly. ____
3. The counselor seemed uninterested during the interview. ____
4. The counselor seems considerate. ____
5. The counselor seemed cold. ____
6. The counselor was threatening. ____
7. The counselor seemed patient. ____
8. The counselor seemed self-confident. ____
9. The counselor was serious. ____
10. The counselor was aggressive. ____
Besides knowing how you feel about the "counselor" and your "interview", it would help me, as this counseling student's supervisor, to know what some of your feelings and attitudes are about certain topics. This will give me a general idea of the spectrum of college students this counseling student has talked with.

Following are a number of statements. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement or to what degree the statement applies to you. To do this, refer to the scale that appears on this page and write next to the statement the number that corresponds with your degree of agreement or disagreement.

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Statements

1. I am dependent upon my parents. _____
2. I feel comfortable in social gatherings. _____
3. Compulsory draft is a violation of the rights of man. _____
4. I enjoy social gatherings because then I can be with a lot of people who are casual acquaintances of mine. _____
5. I can erase the effects of past things that have happened to me. _____
6. My dependence upon my parents bothers me. _____
7. I enjoy having a lot of casual acquaintances; this is more pleasurable to me than having a few close friends. _____
8. It is one's past experiences in life which determine what he'll do. _____
9. Because of the turmoil of the present times, the draft is a necessary process for this nation. _____
10. After a woman marries, she should not work. _____
11. Women have the same rights as men as far as employment is concerned. _____
12. I would like to be more independent from my parents. _____
13. Past experiences and events are the determiners of present behavior; the influence of the past cannot be eradicated. _____
14. A woman's place is in the home. _____
15. The armed services should be entirely manned by volunteers. _____
There are many different types of techniques a counselor can use in an interview. I would like to know the types of techniques the "counselor" used in interviewing you.

Below are several statements concerning interviewing techniques. Following each statement are several answers. Please circle the answer that is appropriate for your interview.

1. The counselor asked me questions. Yes. No.
2. The counselor related experiences which he had had. Yes. No.
3. I was allowed to talk as much as I wanted. Yes. No.
4. I did a role play. Yes. No.

Answer questions A through C only if you answered Yes to question #4.

A. My role play was (audio, video, not) taped. Audio. Video. Not.
B. (Only the counselor, others) will view my role play. Only counselor. Others.
C. I felt committed to the speech I read.
   Strongly disagree                      Strongly agree
   Mostly disagree                      Neutral
   Slightly disagree                   Slightly agree

5. The counselor explained my personality to me. Yes. No.

Answer questions D through E only if you answered Yes to #5.

D. His explanation was clear.
   Strongly disagree                     Strongly agree
   Mostly disagree                       Neutral
   Slightly disagree                    Slightly agree
E. His explanation was brief. Yes. No.

6. I was interviewed by more than one counselor. Yes. No.

Answer questions F through G only if you answered Yes to #6.

F. Both counselors were equally active. Yes. No.
G. One counselor asked the questions while the other explained my answers. Yes. No.