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Department of Psychology

## **Working with Attitude Change**

*- A qualitative study of attitude change and job-satisfaction*

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## Abstract

The aim of this study is to generate an understanding of how professionals work with attitude change, and their sense of job-satisfaction. The six participants, three males and three females, from both public and private sectors, were interviewed twice. The first interview was analyzed thematically and the second was analyzed through a narrative method. The interviews showed that people in this study who worked with attitude change are using the theories on the subject but that they are not always aware of this. The participants base their strategies on experience rather than scientific research on the issue. They all feel satisfied with their job, especially those who share the same values as their organization, but they all think that the amount of feedback is too small.

Keywords: Attitude change, job- satisfaction, compliance professional

Working with Attitude Change: A qualitative study of attitude change and job- satisfaction.

### *Introduction*

Modern society has come to be known as the information society. More information has become available to a larger group of people. There is a saying that "information is power", but as more and more people get access to the information through the Internet, television, newspaper, etc., that saying could be revised into "controlling the information is power". In democratic societies the media play a vital role and is sometimes called the third power, besides the parliament and the government. The media is the means used by different organization to reach and influence people to follow their wishes, commercial, ideological or what ever they may be. New professions have been created as a result of the increasing access to information. These professions are aimed at directing the information towards the right people, to shape the messages into the "right" package and to make sure that their message gets through all the "noise" of the overload of information that is directed toward the public. They try to influence, using different methods to persuade you. This study focuses on the part played by these professionals and their view on the task that they have and the tools they use. Attitudes are one of the most studied terms in social psychology. An attitude is usually conceived as having to do with an evaluation, by evaluation we generally mean some kind of judgement as to the value of something. These judgements are in most cases along the dimension of positive or negative and the term subsumes other terms in social psychology; like love, attraction, prejudice and favouritism, to name a few (Bagozzi, Gürhan-, Priester, 2002). There are many different definitions and views on how an attitude is constructed. The one- component attitude model defines an attitude as an affect or evaluation towards an object. The two- component attitude model claims that an attitude is a mental state of readiness to act and it guides evaluative responses. There is a three- component model of attitude that defines attitudes as consisting of cognitive, affective and behavioural components. Some researchers see it as a construct that precedes behaviour and guides our choices and decisions for action (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). The reason why attitudes are such a well studied area is the idea that attitudes might be useful in predicting behaviour, but several scientists have questioned this assumption. Tests have shown only a small positive correlation between self- reported behaviour and attitude. Further research into the area found that attitudes and behaviour relate to each other under different conditions and vary according to:

- Accessibility of the attitude
- Where the attitude is expressed, publicly or privately, and,
- The individual's identification with the group, high or low (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002.).

The link between attitude and behaviour is not without debate and the major question is whether attitudes can predict behaviour. Ajzen and Fishbein (in Hogg & Vaughan, 2002) researched the subject trying to predict general behaviour from specific attitudes and vice versa. When dealing with the link between attitude and behaviour Ajzen and Fishbein formed a theory of reasoned action (TRA). This model comprises three processes of beliefs, intention and action. The theory contains four components, which are.

1. The subjective norm- what the individual perceives to be other people's beliefs. This works as a guide to what is the correct behaviour.
2. Attitudes towards the behaviour- an individual's belief about the behaviour and the individual's evaluations about beliefs.
3. Behavioural intentions- an internal declaration to act.
4. Behaviour- the performed action (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002).

This theory focuses on the part of the process when the individual is weighting different components to come to a final intention. It describes something that could be called rational thinking that assumes a high level of awareness and that the process is such that the individual first seeks or gets information, which influences an attitude, which then affects the behaviour, in that order (Palm, 1994). Fazio (in Bagozzi et al., 2002) argued that the TRA applies only to the extent that people have the opportunity and motivation to process information. He developed the MODE model, which proposes that behaviour is sometimes spontaneously produced when an attitude is activated. An attitude can be spontaneously activated from memory when the person is exposed to an attitude object or to cues that are associated with the object, depending on the accessibility of the attitude. Once an attitude is activated, it leads to selective perception of the features of the attitude object that are congruent with the existing attitude. Norms influence the interpretation of the event because of the larger social situation. Action then follows. Once activated, attitudes bias the perception of the event and behaviour simply follows the interpretation without any necessary conscious reasoning (Fazio, 1990). Consistency theories have much to say about how selective people are in the information they seek and the data they take into consideration. People seek out, notice and interpret data in ways that reinforce their attitudes in different areas. This bias of information that is taken in by the recipient influences behaviour (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Even though the

connection between attitudes and behaviour has been questioned, attitudes are used when professionals try to influence behaviour through persuasion. Palm (1994) defines all persuasion as attempts to influence behaviour and by changing an attitude you can change the receiver's behaviour to reach the desired outcome.

### *A short history of persuasion research*

One of the pioneers in the area of attitude change was Carl Hovland. He and his colleagues sought to apply basic principles from research on learning on the phenomenon of persuasion. Their hypothesis was that the persuasion process is based on *attention*, *comprehension*, *yielding*, and *retention*. These are independent stages. This was a useful approach but it failed to get empirical support (Bagozzi et al., 2002). The biggest concern with the results was that the ability to remember persuasive information does not mediate attitude change or persistence. Instead, the evidence showed that message comprehension and learning can occur without attitude change, and that an attitude can change even when the person has not learned the specific information in the communication. This started a new approach in persuasion theory called cognitive response approach. This approach arose in the late 1960s and hypothesized that the impact of variables on persuasion depended on the extent to which individuals generate and consider their own idiosyncratic thoughts of the content of the information presented. This means that the person exposed to the message is an active participant in the persuasion process. They try to relate the message to their existing knowledge. During the 1950s, 60s and 70s the field of persuasion was researched but with no support for the cognitive response approach. Different variables thought to influence persuasion showed conflicting results when tested and failed to create a unified theory.

The cognitive response approach was not the only theory of persuasion in the 1960s. Researchers who subscribed to the balance theories of persuasion held another view on the matter. This was based on the notion that people preferred consistency (balance) in their own attitudes, thoughts, and behaviours (intrapersonal balance) as well as in their interpersonal relationships (interpersonal balance). This would mean that people are motivated to change their attitudes so that they are consistent with their behaviour, and in a way that agrees with their friends and disagrees with their enemies.

Tension began to emerge concerning the process by which balance was motivated. Cognitive dissonance argued that attitudes changed as a result of the internal feelings of

discomfort that arose when a person became aware of inconsistencies, and self-perception theory meant that the person mainly inferred their attitudes from their own behaviour. This led to a big debate that was finally ended by Fazio et al. (1977). They demonstrated *when* each theory was correct. They found that when the discrepant behaviour is outside the person's latitude of acceptance, internal feelings of discomfort affect the attitude (cognitive dissonance). When the behaviour is inside the person's latitude of acceptance, people change their attitude to balance the behaviour (self-perception).

What unifies these different theories is that they all offer a psychological process by which an attitude is changed. Carl Hovland and his colleagues meant that attitudes are changed by learning persuasive information, cognitive response approach process was based on idiosyncratic thoughts and feelings that people have as a response to a persuasive message, and balance process theory hypothesized that attitudes change as a result of the person's motivation for interpersonal or intrapersonal balance (Bagozzi et al., 2002).

McGuire (1989) also views persuasion as one process in different stages, which starts with exposure to the persuasive message and ends with the person's changed behaviour being consolidated. The stages are:

1. Exposure to the communication
2. Attending to it
3. Liking, becoming interested in it
4. Comprehending it (learning what)
5. Skill acquisition (learning how)
6. Yielding to it (attitude change)
7. Memory storage of content and/or agreement
8. Information search and retrieval
9. Deciding on the basis of retrieval
10. Behaving in accord with the decision
11. Reinforcement of desired acts
12. Post-behavioural consolidating (McGuire 1989, p.45)

According to this theory persuasion is part of a communication process, whose purpose is to change the behaviour of the recipient by influencing his or her attitude.

#### *Dual-process theories of attitude change*

When the amount of information increases, in the way that it has done, people do not have the ability to process all the information they face every day, so the professionals have

found different ways of reaching them. The theories presented so far have all viewed the process of persuasion as a single process. Some researchers have found that when they have used this perspective it cannot explain every outcome of persuasion and therefore two different dual-process theories have emerged to explain the phenomenon of attitude change. These are the Elaboration Likelihood Model and the Heuristic-Systematic Model. In contrast to the prior concepts, the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) hypothesizes that attitudes can be changed as a result of different psychological processes. The model groups the different processes by which attitudes can be changed into two: those in which attitudes are changed as a result of effortful elaboration (a.k.a. the central route) and those, in which attitudes are changed as a result of relatively non-thoughtful processes (a.k.a. the peripheral route). The ELM predicts that a person's motivation and ability influence which process is most likely to guide persuasion. If the persons have both ability and motivation they are more likely to change their attitude as a result of thoughtful elaboration of the issue-relevant persuasive information. In these cases they consider the presented information, generate thoughts and feelings and these cognitive responses generate attitude change.

This part of the theory is conceptually similar to the Cognitive Response approach. For people who do not possess motivation and ability to change their attitudes the process is different and does not entail thoughtful consideration. Instead, people might rely on less effortful scrutiny of the issue-relevant information, inference processes, and/or associative processes. When individuals lack motivation and ability, other processes are more likely to guide persuasion (Bagozzi et al., 2002). The ELM is presented in seven postulates:

1. People are motivated to hold correct attitudes.
2. Although people want to hold correct attitudes, the amount and nature of issue-relevant elaboration in which they are willing or able to evaluate a message vary with individual and situational factors.
3. Variables can affect the amount and direction of attitude change by (a) serving as persuasive arguments, (b) serving as peripheral cues, and/or (c) affecting the extent or direction of issue and argument elaboration.
4. Variables affecting motivation and/or ability to process a message in a relatively objective manner can do so by either enhancing or reducing argument scrutiny.
5. Variables affecting message processing in a relatively biased manner can produce either a positive (favourable) or negative (unfavourable) motivational ability bias to the issue-relevant thought attempted.

6. As motivation and/or ability to process arguments is decreased, peripheral cues become relatively less important determinant of persuasion.
7. Attitude changes that result mostly from processing issue-relevant arguments (central route) will show greater temporal persistence, greater prediction of behaviour, and greater resistance to counter-persuasion than attitude changes that result mostly from peripheral cues (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

The big contribution from the ELM is that it organizes whether persuasion processes is the result of effortful elaboration, or of non-thoughtful processes. Two approaches have served as standards by which to infer relative differences in elaboration: the assessment of cognitive responses and the manipulation of argument quality, something that the professionals can use in their work to influence. The measurement of cognitive responses assesses both the attitudes that result from a persuasive message and the thoughts that occurred as the result of a message. Out of this information they create a kind of index that shows whether the message was processed through the central or the peripheral route.

Another way of examining which route the message has taken is to manipulate the quality of the argument. The logic behind this method is that if the individual is exposed to a message under specific conditions that foster message-based elaboration, the quality of the argument should have a larger influence on attitude than when elaboration is low. In this way you can measure the extent to which the individuals elaborate the content of the message.

As noted earlier the ELM assumes that individuals are motivated to hold accurate attitudes. Different variables influence the motivation of the individual, which might be either individual or situational. The individuals' need for cognition is one variable that has an influence on the extent of elaboration. Some people enjoy thoughtfully considering information and therefore are more motivated to do so. Haugtvedt and Petty (1992) found that people with high need for cognition have an attitude that is more resistant to counter messages than people with low need for cognition. Since they elaborate more on the information that formed their attitude, they are firmer in their beliefs. Messages that go through the central route, are elaborated more, and are more resistant to counter persuasive information. Situational variables include the personal relevance (involvement) that influences the elaboration. To the extent that the message is presented in such a way as to increase involvement, elaboration is likely to increase. When it comes to ability to change attitudes a number of variables influence the extent of elaboration. Distraction is one of them and another is simply the availability of the information and time pressures of the recipient (Bagozzi et al., 2002).

According to the ELM, attitudes can also be changed through a basically non-thoughtful process, often as a result of pairing the attitude with a cue, and not so much by the merits of the information in the message. In some cases though, both of these processes are in play. In some of the experiments conducted to test this model the researchers found that even though the elaboration of the message was high the attitude did not change. But after some time the attitudes towards the persuasive message became more favourable. This is called '*the sleeper effect*'. According to the ELM, the sleeper effect occurs when a persuasive message has been elaborated, but some cue suggests that the message is flawed or inaccurate. Over time the cue dissipates and the persistence underlying changed attitude emerges (Bagozzi et al., 2002.). The characteristics of the source of the message influence the process and the outcome of persuasion. Two features of the communicator, credibility and attractiveness have a *communicator effect* on persuasion. Both features respectively emphasize the central route and the peripheral route (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). We will come back to different types of social influence later.

The other dual- process theory is the Heuristic- Systematic Model of persuasion. This model distinguishes between systematic processing of a message, which can be compared to the central route in the ELM, and the heuristic processing of a message. The heuristic process is a variety of simple decision rules or mental short- cuts. So, when we are judging the reliability of a message we may resort to such truisms as "statistics don't lie." These short cuts give the professionals a "way in" to reach even the most distracted receivers. Heuristics or short- cuts help us make up our minds and are often used by professionals to make us accept their message (Chaiken & Maheswaran, 1994). The individual may have to make judgements in situations that are not best suited for accuracy and thoroughness. Elements of the information that exists can take days or weeks to take into consideration. For these reasons, time limitations, volume of information and uncertainty of the accuracy of the information, it is unrealistic for the individual to use exhaustive strategies for making judgements in all situations (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

Cialdini (2001) points to the new fast moving and information packed society and how this affects the success of different kinds of messages. In his opinion people do not have the time to make decisions based on all the facts and increasingly take shortcuts. He says that using different triggers and rules you can ensure higher acceptance of the message. Compliance professionals who use these shortcuts have a bigger chance of getting results. One of these rules is the reciprocity rule, which uses the feeling of indebtedness. One person tries to repay what the other has provided. This is something we have been taught since birth.

Different ways that professionals can use this is by giving something before asking the person for a return favour. Another rule for the professionals to use is the commitment rule. If you get a person to take a stand, to publicly pick sides, you can make the person stubbornly follow that behaviour and that opinion. Someone who has committed to an idea will change his or her behaviour to be consistent with it. The commitment affects the person's self- image and this in turn affects behaviour to be consistent with the self- image. These variables affect people's attitudes when there is no motivation or ability for thoughtful systematic processing of the message.

A study conducted by Chaiken and Maheswaran (1994) found different ways of undermining the systematic processing of a message. They found that making the decision seem unimportant resulted in more heuristic processing regardless of whether the content of the message was strong, ambiguous or weak. But if they made the decision seem important to the participant the message was systematically processed on the basis of the content of the message. Short- cuts like source credibility did not influence the participants if the decision seemed important and the content of the message was strong or weak. They did find, however, that if the message was ambiguous, source credibility was a factor. In these cases both processes were used.

### *Social influence*

One of the most effective ways to influence is to use people's surroundings. One of the components in Ajzen and Fishbein's theory of reasoned action (TRA) is the subjective norm- what the individual perceives to be other people's beliefs. This works as a guide to what is the correct behaviour. People look to others to find what the correct attitudes to hold are and what the right behaviour is. How influential the surroundings are depends on the person. According to the social identity approach, first introduced by Tajfel (in Hogg & Vaughan, 2002) social influence takes different routes depending on which self- perception is salient, whether social identity is dominant and the individual's self- perception is based on group membership, or whether personal identity is dominant and the individual's self- perception is based on the individuality of the person. When the social identity is salient the person is more influenced by in-group norms as a member of that group. Sassenberg et al. (2005) call this type of influence norm- based influence. For a person with a salient personal identity, social influence is driven by a striving to be individually distinct from the communication partner. Some argue that individuals influence each other more if there is a close interpersonal bond.

A factor that plays a vital part, according to Cialdini (2001), is social proof. We observe others and let their actions guide us in our own behaviour. Usually what other people are doing is the right behaviour, social proof, and this keeps you from making as many mistakes as you would if you did the opposite.

Other triggers that the professional might use are the different attributes of the person who tries to influence. An attractive person has more influence than an unattractive person. This is because of the “halo- effect”. An automatic process occurs when one positive characteristic of a person dominates the way that others view that person. Studies have shown that we assign good- looking individuals such favourable traits as intelligence, talent, kindness and honesty (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991). We make these judgements without being aware that it is the person’s attractiveness that has influenced us. Similarity is also a trigger that affects the power to influence. We tend to like people that are similar to us. This is true for most areas, opinions, background, personality and lifestyle. Compliments are another trigger. Information that someone likes you is a remarkable tool to make somebody like you back and to create good- will in return. Familiarity is another factor that influences people. Things that we have already been in contact with affect us more.

Cialdini (2001) says that authority is a means by which you can influence others. This is based on the legendary study of Milgram (1963) where he observed people following the orders of authority figures even though that meant hurting others. This showed that there is a deep-rooted sense of duty and obligation towards authority. Because their positions give them access to more information and power it is the logical choice to follow their wishes, even if the action is not. To follow an authority’s will is in most cases profitable and therefore we allow ourselves automatic obedience. Most of the time just the symbol of authority is enough to influence people, including attributes like titles, clothes and trappings like expensive cars, affect behaviour and the way people receive different directives. Different symbols make people connote the person as someone with authority and therefore let themselves be influenced (Cialdini, 2001).

### *Involvement and Information Processing*

So what do all the theories that we have presented so far in common? Two important building stones can be found in basically all modern theories of persuasion. These are involvement and information processing. The term involvement is used in different ways depending on the researcher, but Palm (1994) provides a summary of three types of

involvement: *position involvement*, *issue involvement*, and *decision involvement*. All researchers use the term involvement as a way to describe the individual's mental state, and the relationship between the individual and an object in his mind. These objects can be divided into five different kinds:

- A. A singular object, such as a product, a label or a soccer team.
- B. A controversial issue that can be described with values pro or con, subjects such as nuclear power or abortion.
- C. A position in a certain issue, such as against nuclear power or for abortion.

A, B and C are as position involvements. To be involved in a label usually means that you have some kind of attitude towards that label. The difference between B and C is very small. To feel strongly about an issue usually means that you have an attitude or specific values, for or against a certain issue and act according to that attitude, but in some cases (let's say to a journalist) feeling passionate about an issue does not mean that you have taken sides.

- D. A message, like a television commercial
- E. A decision or intention, for example to buy something or to do something.

The objects in D and E are called decision involvement.

- F. A topic, like the environment, economics or literature.

The type of involvement that is described in F is called issue involvement.

People working with persuasion prefer a high issue involvement. This makes the people that the information is aimed at more susceptible to the message and the number of discussions between friends, co-workers and families increase. For high involvement issues there are both high and low decision involvement. For example you may have a high issue involvement for economics that can entail decisions like buying a new car, and low involvement issues like buying a new toothbrush. If you had to put a lot of energy into the decision the issue would suddenly become one of high involvement (Palm, 1994.).

Palm (1994) uses Petty and Cacioppo's term *personal relevance* as a synonym for involvement and calls it the smallest common denominator for all the different definitions of involvement. It concerns what can be described as objective personal relevance, which can be issues like personal economics or career choices. Personal relevance means that the wrong attitude and a decision based on that attitude can lead to something negative for the individual personally, and that there is an element of risk involved in decision making, the more personal relevance the more involvement in the decisions (Palm, 1994).

As we have shown there is no commonly accepted idea about how information is processed (one or two processes). Different models and theories explain it in different ways

and in different stages. Palm (1994) bring all the theories together and synthesizes what the researchers have written about information process:

1. A detailed conscious processing of the sender's message based on rational thinking.
2. A detailed processing of the sender's message, unconsciously biased by the preconceptions of the receiver.
3. A less detailed analysis of the sender's message unconsciously influenced by irrelevant factors.
4. No analysis of the sender's entire message, which is accepted without the sender needing to present an argument.

What the theories and models have in common is that they assume a connection between the degree of information processing and the degree of involvement. The degree of involvement determines the information processing and it is the level of involvement that is the means by which the compliance professionals and the persuader can affect their target group, a job that is not without complication. One of the biggest problems is that they are seldom present to observe the receiver actually getting the message. It is difficult for the compliance professionals to know if their effort has had an effect, or if that effect is the one intended. Taken everything that we have covered into consideration, they have to find some way of involving the receivers in the issue, to get their attention, they need to produce good arguments to convince them, and this is just for those receivers who have a need for cognition. For the rest there are different variables to take into consideration like the sender of the message, the social surroundings and how they can make the receiver committed to an attitude, to name a few. And all of their work depends on there actually being a connection between attitudes and behaviour. This made us wonder about the working climate in a profession that receives little feedback and where you constantly have to question yourself if you are doing the right thing. This led us into the second area of interest for this study, which is job satisfaction.

### *Job satisfaction*

Ever since the 1920's job satisfaction has been a subject for research in psychology, from a purely organizational perspective to a social psychological and cognitive perspective. It has gone from being a way for management to increase productivity to a way for the individuals to develop themselves. The market has changed a lot over the last 80 years, and so

a lot of research and publication have ensued. Despite the importance of the subject, there has been no genuine understanding of it, as Landy and Conte (2004) put it, because there has been no guidance of any compelling theory.

Arnold, Cooper, and Robertson (1998) conclude that in the field of job satisfaction research there are three different approaches. The first one concerns the nature of job satisfaction, both the positive or negative nature of the tasks, but also the genetic background of the individual, which entails the personality traits of the individual. The second approach is the social information-processing model, where job satisfaction is something that is provided by the coworkers, both as information and experience. The last approach is an information-processing model, where job satisfaction is seen as a cognitive process, where both the work place itself and the individual are part of the equation. Job satisfaction is a complicated web of both the work it self, the environment at work, and the individual. Locke gave the most common definition of the subject in 1976: “Pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experiences” (Arnold et al., 1998, p. 204).

Over the years two phenomena have puzzled researchers in the field of job satisfaction. The first one concerns the finding that very few people report dissatisfaction with their job. The other is the relatively low correlation between overall satisfactions and performance. Bruggemann and her colleagues started to research these two phenomena and Büssing (in Landy & Conte, 2004) finished their work. They proposed four different forms of work satisfaction and two forms of work dissatisfaction.

1. Progressive work satisfaction: A person feels satisfied with their work and by increasing the level of aspiration a person tries to achieve an even higher level of satisfaction.
2. Stabilized work of satisfaction: A person feels satisfied with the job and is motivated to maintain the level of aspiration and the pleasurable state of satisfaction.
3. Resigned work satisfaction: A person feels indistinct work satisfaction and decreases the level of aspiration in order to adapt to negative aspects of the job in smaller doses.
4. Constructive work dissatisfaction: A person is dissatisfied with the job, but the person tries to master the situation by problem- solving attempts.
5. Fixated work dissatisfaction: A person feels dissatisfied with the job. Maintaining the level of aspiration the person does not try to master the situation and try to solve the problem.
6. Pseudo- work satisfaction: A person feels satisfied with the job. There are unsolvable problems and frustrating conditions but maintaining the level of aspiration a distorted perception or denial of the situation results in a pseudo- work satisfaction

These six are the result of an interaction between three different variables: 1) what a person desires from work and what they actually get, 2) changes in goals and aspirations as a result of the work experience, and 3) the person's problem-solving and coping abilities (in Landy & Conte, 2004).

### *Motives and job satisfaction*

In the field of work motivation one of the most influential theories is goal-setting theory. The idea that goals are motivational is well established. Actions are motivated by a purpose, a goal. The person who sets difficult and specific goals perform better than the person who sets goals that entails a "do your best" mentality or those who set no goals at all. The most recent versions of goal-setting theory have focused on the concept of goal-commitment (Landy & Conte, 2004). In a model presented by Locke et al. (in Landy & Conte, 2004) it is proposed that goals have the effect that they *direct* attention and action, they mobilize the *effort* and *persistence* and motivate the person to develop relevant *strategies* to obtain the goals that they are committed to (Landy & Conte, 2004).

An important part of this is the *feedback loop* between the knowledge of the result of the effort and the relationship between the committed goal and the performance. The feedback tells you if the *direction* of the performance is correct, if the *effort* and *persistence* are adequate, and if the *strategies* are the right ones or if they need revision. This loop is often associated with control theory, the notion that individuals compare the standard (goal) to an outcome and adjust their behaviour so that the outcome is as close to the standard as possible (Landy & Conte, 2004).

What kind of goals the individual set depends on different variables. One of these variables is core self-evaluation, a personality trait that represents a fundamental assessment that people make about their worthiness, competence and capabilities. The evaluation varies from positive to negative self-appraisals. Locus of control is a core trait of the concept in addition to self-esteem, generalized self-efficacy, and neuroticism.

The concept of core self-evaluation is a commonly used criterion for job satisfaction. Studies have shown that people with positive self-regard are more satisfied with their job. Judge, Bono, Erez, and Locke (2005) found that a psychological mechanism that links core self-evaluation and job satisfaction is the way in which people choose their goals. A growing body of research shows that the people who choose goals that are concordant with their values, ideas, and beliefs are happier than people who pursue goals for other reasons. People

with a positive self-regard tend to choose more self-concordant goals than people who perceive themselves in a negative way. This has led researchers to believe that positive individuals pursue *approach work goals* (goals that lead to a positive outcome). Positive outcome goals lead to job satisfaction. In the case of people who perceive themselves in a negative way, they tend to pursue avoidance goals, which entail averting a negative result. The self-concordance model claims that people may pursue goals for one or more out of four reasons;

1. External: pursuing and following the wishes of others or to attain rewards that indirectly satisfy needs or interests.
2. Interjected: pursuing a goal to avoid feelings of shame, guilt or anxiety.
3. Identified: pursuing a goal out of a belief that it is an important goal to have and,
4. Intrinsic: pursuing a goal because of the fun and enjoyment it provides (Judge et al., 2005).

### *Occupational roles*

Within the field of work psychology the term role-taking derived from social psychology. The meaning of the term differs based on which social psychological theory is being used. If you see role-taking in a symbolic interaction way it is a condition for the individual to develop social awareness. If you see role-taking from a system theory perspective, there is both a role-sender as well as a role-receiver. The role is separate from the individual and is defined as knowledge of others' role-expectations and accepting and fulfilling them. An organization can be viewed as a system that contains a number of mutual and functionally dependent subsystems with different roles and the people playing these roles are completely dependent on each other (Westlander, 1993). The role in the case of the compliance professionals is a bit vague. There is no set job description on the job that they are expected to do. Often it is left up to their own imagination.

### *Purpose and research-questions*

The aim of this study was to generate a greater understanding of with the nature of persuasion as a profession. Is there a connection between practice and theory in the field of attitude change, and if there is, what theories do the practitioners subscribe to? Even though the relationship between behaviour and attitudes is under debate, attitudes are the target of the

persuasion in order to change behaviour. Therefore we also wanted to know how the practitioners view this connection. The last subject of interest was work satisfaction. What kind of work satisfaction can the practitioners find, when they work in an area where the amount of feedback is limited. The practitioners are seldom there to see the final behavioural change, so how can they see the result of their work? So the question has two parts: Is there a connection between practice and theory and how do practitioners find job satisfaction?

- Method

A previous essay by Lindman and Lundin (2005) who studied the relation between leadership and stress used a qualitative method that combined two different kinds of interviews to develop an increased understanding of the leader's experience of stress. First they used a semi-structured interview followed by a second interview with the same leader but this time using an unstructured interview. These interviews were then analyzed, the first one in a thematic way and the second one in a narrative way (Lindman & Lundin, 2005). This method seemed ideal to answer the questions that we asked for this study. Bruner (in Murray, 2003) has argued that there are two forms of thinking, one is pragmatic in a sense that it is more scientific and is based on classification and categorization, the other is narrative and organizes interpretations of the world in story form. This means that the method of two different types of interviews, one thematic and the other narrative, would give the participants a chance to think of attitude change and their sense of job satisfaction in the ways identified by Bruner, and generate rich and useful data. We have used a hermeneutic approach to the information that we have collected in this study. This means that we interpret the people in the study on the basis of our own experiences and therefore we can put our selves in their shoes and relate to their feelings and their views (Thurén, 1991). The hermeneutic researchers look on the subject in a subjective manner and out of their own understanding interpret the whole picture in relation to the smaller parts. The purpose is to find as complete understanding of the subject as possible (Patel & Davidson, 1994).

#### *Selection*

To select the persons for the interviews, we sat down and by discussing all the campaigns and organizations that we associated with attitude change, came up with eight different organizations. Some of them were non-government organizations that work directly and foremost with attitude change, and the others were organizations that had just one

campaign that had caught our interest by their advertising or media exposure. The next step was to contact the people in charge of these campaigns. By using the Internet and the organizations and companies' web pages, we found the email-addresses or telephone-numbers to the right persons. We sent possible participants E-mails containing information on who we are: Two psychology students who are interested in how it is to work with attitude change, and a description of the study, both its aim and procedures. They were asked if they would like to participate in two interviews with about a week in between, they were informed that the interviews would take between thirty minutes to an hour and that the first one would be longer than the second one. Of the eight organizations we contacted, six agreed to participate in our study. In three of the cases the E-mail reached the right person, in the other cases we obtained further information on whom to contact. The subjective selection of participants makes us able to go deep into a situation and to investigate the specific, which gives the material more stringency (Denscombe, 2000).

### *Participants*

The participants were three females and three males between 25 and 58 years of age with an average age of 40 years. They all had different backgrounds and different work-descriptions; the common factor was that they were all in charge of an attitude changing campaign. Three of the participants worked in different government agencies, two of them worked full time with an attitude changing campaign, and one of them worked as director of a public authority who has attitude-change as a part of its assignment. The other three worked in the private sector, two of them worked in non-profit organizations, one as an employee and the other as a volunteer. The last one worked for a company specialized in attitude change for commercial purposes. In this article we've chosen to give the participants pseudonyms, since some of them wanted to remain anonymous.

### *Procedure*

The participants were asked for a time and place that suited them to carry out the interviews. In four out of six cases this was their workplace during working hours, in one case the interviews were carried out in a café that suited the participant, and with one participant the first interview was carried out in a café and the other interview took place at the

interviewee's office. The time between the interviews was between three and ten days, depending on their schedule. The interviews were recorded with the participant's approval, with an MD-recorder or an MP3-recorder. The participants were divided between us based on where the interviews were carried out, so the same interviewer carried out both interviews with the same person. The first interview was a semi-structured interview with an intention to get to know the interviewee, and was more general in its construct. An interview-guide was created (appendix 1) for the first interview that outlined the subjects to be covered. It also contained suggestions for questions according to Kvale (1997). The intention was to establish a relationship with the interviewee by starting with basic question for instance age and background-information. This was followed by more specific questions about their tasks and their campaign. When a relation was established and we had adjusted to their language, the interview focused more on their definition of attitude-change and their specific perception of the attitude changing work they are doing. We also wanted to examine their sense of job-satisfaction, so the last part of the interview contained questions about their own specific job situation. All interviews ended with us asking the interviewees if there was anything they would like to add. The purpose was to let the interviewees tell us about their work and their campaigns. That's why we only used the interview-guide in a flexible way and the interviewees developed their ideas and gave detailed descriptions of the subject. The sequences of the questions and the subject were flexible (Denscombe, 2000). The second interviews also had a semi-structured interview guide (appendix 2). By asking the interviewee if they had thought about anything special since the last time we opened the second interview. After that we asked them to think back to a situation when they felt that they managed to change an attitude. It didn't have to be a revolutionary situation, just when they felt that their work paid off, we helped them with supportive questions if they needed, but wanted them to give us as a specific and deep picture as possible, using their own words. They were asked to be specific about the events that led to this situation and to be as detailed as possible about all that surrounded them. This was to get a picture of how they work in real life with attitude change, but also as a way to understand what makes them feel satisfied with their work. All interviews ended with us thanking them for their cooperation and an exchange of contact information to enable us to send the finished article to them.

### *Analysis*

We transcribed our own interviews in an as accurate and precise way as possible but not in a word-by-word way, which create constructions that do not reflect the conversation or the style of the text (Kvale, 1997). The use of written language in the transcriptions made it possible to reproduce the interviews in a clear and rich way, and since we're not analyzing the language of the interviewees we didn't have to give notice to the pauses and pronunciation in the interviews. After transcribing the interviews we made them anonymous and conducted the first analysis one by one. After this we compared each other's analysis, to see if we came to the same conclusions and if we interpreted them in the same way, and made a common analysis. This was done to avoid any biases from the interview situation. Since the interviews were carried out in different ways and they focused on different things, they were analyzed in different ways.

The first interview was analyzed in a thematic way, similar to what Kvale (1997) calls meaning constructions. We divided the material in the different categories all according to the subject that was to be examined in the interview, in the same way as the interview-guide presented them. The materials were put into a table with two columns, one with the original material and the other through meaning constructions. These meaning constructions are the core of the statements made, summarized to short expressive statements. With these expressive statements at hand we tried to relate them to our aim. A second division was made to put these meaning constructions into sub-categories to our subjects. Using these statements we wrote a descriptive analysis using quotes from the interviewees to make their meanings more concrete. The second interviews were analyzed in a narrative way (Murray, 2003). The interviews were summarized to create a story; these stories were then divided into a beginning, middle and end. Then the summarized stories were compared to each other using categories. The narrative interview was analyzed and interpreted by connecting the story with the broader theoretical literature on the subject, all according to Murray (2003). In the essay by Lindman and Lundin (2005), that inspired us to use this method, they used categories created by Burke (in Lindquist & Persson, 1997) and some that they created themselves. The categories used by them were scenes, participants, cause's and tools. These categories were created to visualize the diversity that can emerge in stories (Burke, in Lindquist & Persson, 1997), so we decided to create our own categories inspired by these but adapting them to the area of attitude change and job-satisfaction. The categories we choose were, method, situation, and feedback. These categories were than summarized and analyzed.

- Results

The result of the analysis is presented according to two different categories. The thematic interviews were analysed using the different themes with which we structured the first interviews. The first theme “Background” gives an introduction to the participants, the theme “Attitudes and working with attitudes” contain the participant’s views on the term “attitude” and what kind of attitudes they encounter and how they go about changing them, following that we introduce the participants feeling of job satisfaction. In the narrative analysis we summarised the stories and we looked closer at the participant’s method, situation, and feedback.

### *Thematic analysis*

The interviews were conducted in Swedish and the quotes used in this result section have been translated from Swedish into English. In the first theme, background, we introduce the participants, who they are and what they do. This is followed by their views on attitude and attitude change. Following this is the results of the questions about job satisfaction.

### *Background*

The participant’s backgrounds are very diverse. Some of them have consciously worked towards the position that they have and others have more or less ended up there.

### *Anna*

Anna has always been interested in working with the type of questions that she is working with;

“... So it was sort of a conscious decision that lead me to work here, since these questions have always interested me”

Anna is one of the few people working full- time at her non- profit organization. She is responsible for information and lobbying. Her goal is to influence people in powerful positions, governments and parliaments, and to make the ordinary citizen more involved in the issues. Her academic background is mainly in educational studies and in cinematography.

*Bo*

Bo got involved in projects that he is working with as a result of his work on another campaign. He was head hunted for the position that he is in for his good work in another project. He works for a local authority and with a project that tries to prevent negative behaviour. The work that he does is directed toward young people, as young as three to four years old. He says that the children inspire his work and how he goes about doing it.

*Cecilia*

Cecilia has also made a conscious career choice. She worked as a receptionist for a competing company when she decided that she wanted to work with marketing. When she had finished her studies (bachelor of art in marketing) and started to look for work, an old colleague called and told her about an open position at the company that she works for today. Cecilia's company works with commercial campaigns and her job is to map out the consumers and their behavior. Cecilia's work lays the ground for the following campaign.

- *David*

David on the other hand was one of the founders of the organization that he is a part of. His work is entirely non-profit and he is a full-time student of cultural sciences and works for an Internet-based organization on his spare time. He is passionate about the issue that his organization is involved in.

- *Erika*

One of the participants that have just ended up in the position she is in is Erika. She has had several different jobs in very different fields.

“To make a long story short, I've worked as a freelance journalist, with information, as a sport-instructor at a hotel, as a singer, and when I came home from that I worked as a traffic-inspector (...) and then the work that I am doing today as project-leader”

Erika works for a government agency and her job is to prevent negative behaviour. She has a coordinating role in several different projects in the field that she is involved in, and is responsible for this work in the Skåne region. She also has a background in educational studies. She got her degree while she was working, and has directed her studies toward the field that she works with.

*Fillip*

Fillip is an experienced medical doctor and he is specialized in the area of infectious disease that the project covers:

“It is often a coincidence that decides where you end up, when I was a young doctor I was asked by an older colleague if I could help him out with a study (...) but with time it grew into something more and it is an interesting field”

One part of his assignment is to change attitudes and also the behaviour of young people. His goal is to change a negative attitude and to create a positive behaviour.

*Attitudes and working with attitudes*

One of the questions that we asked the participants was how they define the term attitude. This was not an easy question to answer. They all struggled a bit but there were similarities in the answers that we received. According to the participants the term attitude entails opinions, beliefs, feelings, point of views. It was also defined as values by one of the participants.

Another said that:

“Attitudes are manifested in people’s actions” (David)

Several of the participants defined attitudes as something that has to do with emotions. A feeling that you get when faced with something, an object, or a message.

“To me it is an emotional experience that is strengthened by the prefix of positive or negative attitude towards something, so a point of view” (Fillip)

All the participants agreed that attitude change is a part of their job in one-way or the other. How the participants go about changing attitudes varies depending on what method they think is most successful. When asked which attitudes existed in their specific field the answers were more diverse, since the fields differ.

Both Erika and Phillip says that one attitude that they often encounter is that “it won't happen to me”. Another attitude that Phillip deals with is linked to feelings of shame and guilt.

David said that he is often surprised that there often seems to have been someone else there before him, who has already changed people's attitude.

We really don't need to influence people that much. We just need to strengthen their attitude. (David)

Erika finds that many of the young people that she meets when she is out working on her project do not know much about the consequences of the negative behavior that she is trying to prevent. She says that this lack of knowledge is easier to rectify than an attitude. Cecilia thinks that the Scandinavian consumer is harder to influence than others. In the interview she said that Scandinavians are more picky and harder to please.

### *Anna*

For Anna the method of influence is already set by the organization that she works for.

"From (...) perspective the basic thought is that ordinary people are supposed to be able to influence the people in powerful positions. And I have to say that the notion of dialog works pretty well"

The dialog with people in powerful positions for this particular organization is not just done through ordinary people, but also by people like Anna, who conducts seminars with politicians as a part of her lobbying activity. But politicians are not the only group that this organization tries to influence. They're also in contact with different schools and young people in other forums to try to educate and change their attitude in regard to the issues that the organization is involved in, by discussing the issues with young people and placing them in relation to the different problems they try to influence.

### *Bo*

In Bo's case the method of influence is left to his and his coworker's imagination. Their campaign contains many different channels to reach their target group. The target group that Bo has found to be most effective to influence and where the effects lasts the longest are children. They start with children as young as 3- 4 years. One part of the campaign involved children in the fifth grade, who were asked to make a movie about the problem that Bo and his colleagues are trying to prevent. The children sent in their movies to Bo, and the best movie received an award. One of the reasons that Bo points his campaign towards children is so that they can go home and tell their parents what they have learned and through the

children influence the parents. Bo is very careful to point any fingers in the communication with the children and he does not want any “don't” or “it is not allowed” messages where the children are concerned. He believes in long-term effects and that one change can bring another.

”If we could do this for another five, six or seven more years the picture could be completely different here in Malmö”

### *Cecilia*

For Cecilia and the different clients that she works with the task is not always to necessarily change the attitude, but rather to strengthen a positive attitude. But still the job is to influence an attitude, whether it is positive or negative, to make the target group consume the product. Cecilia, who works with attitude change for commercial reasons, encounters attitudes towards different labels that she is involved in. She refers to negative attitudes as “barriers” when talking about challenges that she faces in her work.

“So there are a lot of attitudes, opinions and barrier to specific labels”

Cecilia believes in emotional arguments and says:

”It is often the emotional arguments that go into your soul or into your foundation. That appeals to you more than just to build on rational arguments or rational values”.

In her opinion the best way to influence people is to base your communication on what she calls consumer- insight. Basically it means that if you know your audience you can adjust the message into something that will appeal to them and in that way best influence their attitudes.

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- *David*

For the Internet-based organization that David is a part of, the work with attitude change is not as much an issue of changing ordinary people's attitudes, but to influence people in powerful positions not to legislate against their wishes. He says that most people who come in contact with them have the same opinion in this matter as the organization. One purpose of the organization is to bring different groups together who haven't seen that they actually have something in common. They want to create an arena for communication and try to build a

network of artists, political groups, and agenda setters who can help them influence the people in a position of power that might help them reach their goal.

- *Erika*

For Erika it is very important that she feel that she is doing the right thing. She is constantly in contact with different researchers making sure that she is working in the right direction. But as she says there is no certain way to reach results. To her it is very important to work in a long-term way.

”You can't make a few intrusions and expect that that will change anything”.

One thing that she has found effective is different value- practices where the participants get insight to their values and take a stand, so when the situation calls for it they know their standpoint on the issue. The target group for Erika's campaign is not just the people with the negative behavior that she is trying to prevent, but also the people around that person. By influencing them she believes that she can make a difference.

- *Fillip*

Finally Phillip, who also is trying to prevent a negative behavior, talks about the effect of the sender. Credibility is an important factor according to him. He points to himself as an example of a sender that might not be the best in influencing young people, which is the aim of the campaign that he is a part of. Instead he gives an example of a campaign conducted in Umeå where they have used peer- education. This is something that he would like to try down here in the Skåne region as well. Right now they work with different organizations to inform young people and also through different media, such as newspapers and the local radio and television.

### *Job- satisfaction*

The matter of job-satisfaction resulted in different answers. To make them clear we've analyzed them from three different points of views; Feedback/result, reactions, and identification.

“It means a lot that a job is meaningful, that it is sensible matters you're dealing with is a contributing factor to

inspiration. Then it feels a bit pointless when there are no results (laugh). But then there's just to keep on doing it. " (Bo)

"The most fun part about this job is that you actually get to see the outcome, what happens, the creative part, that's satisfying by itself." (Anna)

- *Anna*

#### Feedback

Anna receives both positive and negative feedback, and she also receives feedback not only because of her own actions but also because of the organization's actions. The negative feedback is mostly caused by an action made by the organization; usually this feedback results in a discussion on the organization's values, and their reason for acting and what they could have done better. The positive feedback is very important in her work; in her field the issues are hard to deal with so every positive event is of utmost importance.

"... It's a victory, and it happens rather often, not as often as one would want to but in 40-50% of the cases"

In her own work she feels much appreciated by others and that's a kind of positive reaction that she likes to have.

#### Reactions

When Anna tells other people where she works the reaction tend to be positive surprise, those who gives an indifferent answer mostly doesn't know what the organization stands for. The negative reactions are rare and usually refer to a special question they're reacting to and wanting to discuss.

"Most people think, "Oh... that sounds exciting....""

#### Identification

Since she started as a member and by working voluntarily she agrees with the organization's values, for her it wouldn't be possible to do it any other way. This also shows in the discussions and conflicts they have in her workgroup. They rarely have any differences of opinion on the values of the organization, the conflicts mostly concern more everyday matters in the working space.

“We usually tend to agree, but if there’s a difference of opinion it’s mostly about what’s most effective....”

- *Bo*

#### Feedback

The results of the campaign is seen both from the questionnaires they send out but also from comments from their contractors. They’ve seen results and are very satisfied with their achievements. For Bo the questionnaires are the most important tool, it’s through these he knows what needs to be done, and also what has been successful. He receives feedback both from strangers on the streets, since he’s a well-known person in the city, and via mail and phone calls from the general public.

” Of course we have our questionnaires that show a clear shift of trends that shows us in black and white that things have become better not just in one campaign but all our efforts put together, that’s the confirmation (...) we’re on the right way, but there’s still a lot to be done.”

At the same time as he feels that they haven’t done enough, he feels very pleased with what they have achieved so far. A confirmation to their success is the huge amount of interest their project has attracted both from the media and other organizations all over the country and even abroad.

#### Reactions

Many people consider Bo’s work interesting and important, but they also understand the difficulties of his task. Since he is working strictly with attitude change the reactions are adjusted to that task, and many people react with the opinion that it is really difficult to change attitudes. The opinions within the organization have been different. Some have watched them carefully and felt that they have stepped on somebody’s toes, at the same time as others have appreciated them.

#### Identification

Since Bo started on this project he has become somewhat of a police, he tries to change people’s attitudes both at work but also in his surrounding. He has the courage to stand up for his own beliefs and this is something he didn’t do before he started this project.

“I’ve become somewhat of a police, the other day I scolded the manager of our department....”

“I have the policy that if I’m out walking and see someone behaving badly, then I usually tell them, or when I’m driving.”

- *Cecilia*

#### Feedback

The result comes from their clients, but it's difficult to know if it's their work that has created the success, there are many factors affecting the result.

"The most fun part about this job is that you actually get to see the outcome, what happens, the creative part, that's satisfying it self."

#### Reactions

"Unfortunately is it a bit difficult to explain and I don't even think my parents really understand what I'm doing. It can seem a bit fuzzy to people and even to me sometimes since it changes from day to day."

When Cecilia tells people what she works at, they often get a bit confused, they don't really understand, and if they know something about the field they often have a preconceived notion about her and her job.

#### Identification

Since the area Cecilia is working in is seen as very high status, she sometimes feels a bit lost in it and wishes she could say she was working with something else. The preconceived opinion on her occupation among people is so limited she would like to explain to them that it can be more multifaceted.

"But sometimes one can feel like it becomes a bit empty rhetoric when telling them what I'm doing"

- *David*

#### Feedback.

As soon as David or any of his colleges do anything they get an immediate response on their website, it's mostly positive reactions. They weren't really aware of their own impact until they made a statement on their webpage and they got media attention and reactions from all over the world. These made them feel important and that they really could make a difference and that they managed to become "something".

"We're rather watched over, but what we do makes a difference, and it feels great."

David is really satisfied with what they have achieved in only a few years and without funding, he doesn't want to take all the credits for it, it's been a popular issue these last few years, so he can't really distinguish what is the result of their activities.

### Reactions

Most people are surprised that people like David and the others in the organization exist for real, they're often impressed with their work. Some have become really famous within the group. He thinks that many people sympathize with them because of their underground perspective, they're fighting a much bigger and more powerful enemy, like David and Goliath.

### Identification

For David it's difficult to draw a line to when he's working for the organization and when he's not. It has become a sort of lifestyle.

"It's a rather small difference between talking to a friend and talking about something concerning the organization, it's become sort of a lifestyle, sort of cliché..."

Their aim is rather egoistic according to David, they're doing what they are doing because they benefit from it, but it also benefits a lot of other people. He feels rather satisfied to be able to do what he likes to do, his hobby, and by doing his hobby he supports others.

There is another organization that stands for the direct opposite opinion than the one that David is a part of. David thinks that they are important to them because it creates an us-feeling within his organization, and they doesn't see them as any threat.

- *Erika*

### Feedback

The concrete feedback that Erika receives is difficult to evaluate, all because of the nature of her task. If the effects of the negative behaviour they're trying to prevent decreases, it's a web of efforts that affects the statistics.

"Most often it's not our concrete doing that has an effect but us trying to make other people do something. And then it can be their efforts that have the effect but then it is their doing and we can't take credit for it."

For her to be able to evaluate the effect of their project she could use questionnaires, but she

doesn't really think that would make it any clearer.

“Of course we could send out questionnaires to those who had participated in our campaign and ask them if they had noticed the campaign and ask them what they thought about, but you never know if it has had any impact.”

### Reaction

On the question of how other people react when she tells them what she works with, she answered in a dual way. First it was the reaction within the organization. Since this is a relatively new area for the organization, it was first met with suspicion and they had difficulties getting attention from the organization, but lately they've been fully accepted. The reaction to Erika's work comes from the outside and is mostly positive but also nobody really seems to have the energy to absorb the message. At the same time she thinks that most people think she addresses an important issue.

“But they certainly thinks it's for a good cause”

### Identification

Erika has accepted the values of her organization, but it wasn't self-evident for her. She's considered the issue thoroughly and finally accepted the values with the notion that it's important to have this value. This makes her identify with the organization and also gives a great sense of job-satisfaction.

“It feels like I'm working for something with a good cause”

### *Fillip*

#### Feedback

The issue of feedback is difficult for Fillip to address, on one hand there are many statistics that can give him feedback, but on the other hand he doesn't know if he can trust them. His background in science tells him that if an experiment is to be considered a success he needs to repeat it again with the same result, which is impossible. During his career he has felt very pleased with his work based on positive statistical feedback, but almost every time the feedback has had a negative outcome the only reason for the lower levels were fewer participants.

"I would really appreciate if it were easier to measure these trends that we're trying to change and see that they did so, there have been periods of success when the trends changed the right way and I've felt very pleased thinking it was partly an result of our work that things had changed the right way, but I'm actually feeling more and more uncertain towards that."

In some ways he feels like the most efficient way to know if he's succeeding is to use his "gut-feelings" but it's a very delicate instrument to use. For Phillip it would be a great advantage if his results were measurable, but he concludes by stating that he's not satisfied with what he has achieved so far and will continue working and trying to work towards a more preventive strategy, which is more measurable.

### Reactions

Since the attitude changing part of Phillip's job is only minor the reaction he receives from his surrounding isn't that intense, but many people think it seems like a fun and exciting job.

### Identification

Phillip has been working in this field for 25 years and he feels secure in his occupational identity, for him his experience in the field is his greatest advantage.

These thematic interviews have given us an understanding of the participant's everyday work. By knowing their background we can increase our understanding of their opinions on attitudes and attitude change. They all have different concepts of what attitudes are and how to change them. This is mainly because of their background and their goals. Their sense of job-satisfaction is analyzed both from a feedback point of view but also as a result of their identification with the goals of their projects. This thematic analysis gives us rich data but to generate a deeper understanding of these matters a narrative interview was conducted.

### *Narrative analysis*

At the second interview the interviewees were asked to tell us about a situation where they felt that they managed to change an attitude. This shows us how they work in real life with attitude change, but it also tells us where they find job-satisfaction. These stories are

presented in a short version and afterwards an analysis of the stories is made out of three aspects: method, situation, and feedback.

### *To convince*

In Anna's office, she and her trainee had a discussion concerning a specific case that the trainee thought the organization should have a standpoint on and to participate in a campaign. Anna started by explaining the organization's basic outlook in these matters. She explained the consequences of an action like the one the trainee suggested by making a chain of arguments, both from the organization's official stand but also through several examples. After this the trainee changed his view and started to agree with Anna instead. Anna thinks this is a very good example of how well-founded argument and putting things in relation to different problems can make people change their opinions. Afterwards Anna herself thought that it was the facts in her arguments, not the way she presented them, that made him change his view. But she suspected that the fact that she is his supervisor might have affected the end-result. She found it satisfying to observe him making such a total change of view, especially since it was obviously a result of their conversation.

### *A child*

Bo was in the audience at one of the theatre performances within the project. He became very positively surprised by the children's strong commitment to the play, and how the actors had to really work hard to perform the whole show. After the show Bo stood outside the theatre with the actors talking to the children, when a small boy, about 5 years old, was the only one left. His day-care staff called him, but he just stood there, somewhat absent and hesitating and just staring at one of the actors. Finally the staff's nagging made him approach and hug the actor that was still dressed as his character. Bo doesn't know why this little boy did this, but he thinks of it as a confirmation that the project had succeeded, he was touched. This was the first "aha-reaction" that their project had had an effect, even though it's a long process.

### *A great campaign*

Cecilia was part of a team that created a big campaign for a major multinational client. The aim was to make the customers change their opinion towards one of the company's products. The product itself sells slowly in Sweden and has an image problem on the market. The campaign had to be adjusted to the Swedish market, which is a bit special, since it's more

cynical and hard to reach, according to Cecilia. They decided to cooperate with two other well-known Swedish brands with a good reputation and to combine two of their products into a campaign. The campaign became rather self-ironic and distanced which was new for the client, but was well received by both the client and the customers. Afterwards they received an unexpected amount of feedback, both from the client who praised them, which is unusual, and from a number of statistics that showed an increase in sales that exceeded their goal. Cecilia considers this a result of them actually managing to read the market correctly and to adjust the campaign, and that this made them change the customers' attitude towards the product.

### *The Party*

David and his organization started to arranged a club night, but the idea grew to also include an award ceremony, the whole thing was very uncertain until the very day of the party. When the day came, it had grown to be a full day, with seminars, discussions and of course the night club. The day became a huge success, with a lot of different people participating. The reason of the success was the fact that this was the first time the organization had an opportunity to present itself in a nuanced way. Before that mostly others had presented them. David thinks that this was the reason why the participants changed their opinion concerning them. Afterwards the feedback was very positive, both within the organization but also from the outside (i.e., the media), and they're planning to organize a similar day this year. David thinks that this event not merely was important to the members and the positive media-reaction, but also psychologically important for those arranging it, it was a boost for them and it gave many spin-off effects. It gave them something to gather around.

### *The reaction*

Erika was in charge of organizing an experience-day at a school, this experience was created to give to the students an emotional reaction. The aim was for the emotional messages to become an eye-opener for the students, so that they can change their present behaviour, but foremost to prevent them from a negative behaviour in the future. At this occasion the students had been to lectures, different events that showed what the consequences could be of proceeding with a negative action, and had participated in a forum-theatre. At the end of the day one of Erika's co-worker had noticed a male student sitting alone at the balcony looking like he was deep into thoughts. She went up to him and asked how he was, he replied

thoughtfully “yes... I feel sorry for all of those who don’t have an adult to talk about this to afterwards.” For Erika this was a kind of confirmation that the campaign actually fulfilled its purpose. This was the kind of reaction she always wanted to see after one of their experience-days. Afterwards of course she was well aware of the fact that not everybody reacts as this young man did, and in a perfect world even after three months the student would have the same understanding. She feels a lack of feedback that could confirm that their effort really pays off in a changed behaviour in the long run among the participating students.

### *An important decision*

At an important meeting Phillip and his colleagues had to make a difficult decision concerning a purchase volume. The arguments were very intuitive and emotional and they needed to come to a conclusion, so Phillip created a mathematical model. He thought that since the participants were 95% male with a background in the sciences, a model would appeal to them since it is exact and concrete. He was lucky because the model had no extreme values, so they could all gather around this model and decide on the volume to purchase. Even though his model was not exact nor well grounded, it made the problem-area clear. Afterwards he thinks that it was the timing of the introduction that made it work, also the fact that he is confident in his occupational-role and his long experience in the field. Phillip adds that he doesn’t look at himself as a strategic person, he just feels fully committed to his task.

### *Method*

The method used in these stories tells us about their actual work, and how they handle the difficult matter of attitude change.

The most obvious method is presented by Phillip; he uses his knowledge of the target-group to make them join him. Cecilia and her work-group works in the same way, by knowing the market they can adjust their campaign to increase their sale. Even Bo adjusts to his target-group; the idea of a play for children seemed to have had the wanted effect. For the other three the target-group wasn’t the main concern, for Anna and David it was almost a coincidence and not planned. Anna believes in using concrete facts and putting things into relation to one another to change attitudes and in this case she used them and succeeded. For David it was mainly pure luck, by thinking of what he wanted for his organization he created a forum for them to present themselves, and by doing this they managed to change many people’s attitudes. Finally there is Erika who has been using a method based on creating emotional reactions.

### *Situation*

For Cecilia it was just another day at work, it was nothing really extraordinary with the situation, which it was for all of the others. For both Bo and David this was the first time they've ever experienced a situation like that, Bo saw for the first time a young boy reacting to his campaign. David had created the whole situation with the seminars and the club, and was overwhelmed with the response. Phillip was used to situations like this, but this time he managed to make a real change. Almost the same thing happened to Anna in her office, but the difference is the receiver, Anna influenced her trainee, and Phillip influenced his colleagues. Erika was the only one who did not experience the situation herself, she only heard about it, but still it was an as important situation to her.

### *Feedback*

The thing that all the participants seem to agree on was the importance of feedback. That's why they all choose these stories, because they had a concrete confirmation of an attitude change. Erika got an eyewitness to how their method of creating an emotional reaction really worked. By hearing the stories about the young man she could see a clear connection to their thoughts behind the campaign. She also said that she needed more feedback to see if their efforts really paid off. For David the feedback was more unexpected and much needed, by getting positive feedback, both from the media, but also from within the organization, it strengthened both him and the organization. Anna just felt really satisfied by observing the power of her method, the only feedback she needed was the one of seeing her trainee change his view. Bo didn't receive any direct feedback but by just observing the children and especially the young boy, he got all the feedback he needed to proceed with the campaign. For Cecilia the feedback was important in many ways, foremost because feedback is rare, but also the amount of feedback, both from the client and from the customers. This confirmed that they had done a good job.

- Discussion

Since this study was carried out from a hermeneutic perspective the discussion on whether or not the results that we have just presented can bring any light to the working force of professional "attitude changers" in general is irrelevant. The results can only reflect these particular professionals, at this particular time, and that is interesting enough in the sense that

it shows us how these people view the process of attitude change and how they find different ways to try to persuade. If someone else were to do the same interviews with the same participants they might get the same answers we did, but since many of the answers that we received in the interviews came about from the conversation- style discussions between the interviewee and interviewer, the results could be different if the study were to be repeated. As to the reliability of the study, the conclusions that we come to are a result of our own interpretations of the data, and of the experiences that we draw from. This is one of the basic features of a hermeneutic approach.

These people have positions that give some of them access to powerful people and can possibly persuade them in different areas. Some have responsibilities to inform and influence others in ways that might save lives. As we have shown there is no unified theory on how the persuasion process works and the debate on whether or not attitudes actually influence behavior is still going on. In spite of this there seems to be a strong belief among the participants that attitudes really do affect behavior, and that changing attitudes can bring about desired behavior. If they weren't convinced of the connection between the two, there wouldn't be any need for the projects that they are working on.

In the quote from the interview with David we can see that he regards attitudes as manifested in actions, and he does not question the connection between the two. Other views on "attitudes" entailed opinions, beliefs, points of view, values, and emotions. This means that the participants defined the term in a similar way as the three- component model of attitudes, as consisting of cognitive, affective, and behavioral components.

Considering the attitudes that the participants encounter in their work, they vary according to the different fields that they are involved in. One attitude that both Erika and Phillip face in their work is the attitude that "it won't happen to me". Both Erika and Phillip work to prevent negative behavior and they both try to reach young people with their message. This can be compared to consistency theories and the notion that people seek out, notice and interpret data in ways that reinforce their attitudes in different areas. They are selective in the information they process. This would mean that the young people with an attitude that "it won't happen to me," will be harder to reach with the message. They simply won't take it into consideration, since it doesn't concern them. This is also evident in the statement made by Erika when she says that it is easier to rectify the lack of knowledge, since it isn't an attitude. The question is still whether it has had an effect. Do the young people who have this attitude really process the information and the knowledge that she provides?

The participants' actual work with attitude change takes different expressions depending on their view on the persuasion process and their experience of what methods make a difference. The organization that Anna works for has a clear profile in the way that they try to influence politicians and ordinary people. Their campaigns always use rational arguments and facts in their communication, but they also appeal to the empathy of people. This can be put in relation to the two dual-process theories, the elaboration likelihood model and the heuristic systematic process. They are trying to influence people through the central route, using arguments that require effortful elaboration. One of the reasons why they have found this method effective might be that it appeals to people's motivation to hold the correct attitudes (one of the postulates in the elaboration likelihood model). They also use forums and channels that allow the recipient to take some time to absorb the information, to ask questions and to discuss the content of the message. It is clear that Anna knows how effective this type of persuasion is and in the narrative interview she gives an excellent example of how rational arguments can influence a person's attitude towards a certain issue. Another factor in the story told by Anna was the fact that she was the supervisor of the trainee that she influenced. Cialdini (2001) points to authority figures as an effective means to persuade. Based on the position of Anna as his supervisor and the fact that she has access to more information and power in relation to him, the logical choice would be to listen to her arguments and follow her direction. In the case of the trainee and Anna the topic was very high involving and for both of them the issue (or in their case the area of interest) is very important. This would according to Palm (1994) make the recipient more susceptible to influence and the number of discussions increase.

In the story told by Bo a young boy is persuaded by the influencing theater that is a part of the campaign. The method used is aimed at young children. Bo and his colleagues are very particular about not telling the children what they can't do and instead they show them what they should do. For Bo the task is to prevent a negative behavior. One of the basic principles behind this method seems to be to make the issue as involving as possible to the children. They create characters in the theater that the children can admire and in this way they try to make the children copy the behavior of that character. Using the children as channels, they also want to reach the parents and involve them too. This is an example of what Palm (1994) calls position involvement. The children take a stand against this negative behavior and they will hopefully pass this on to their parents.

Heuristics is an important part of the influence that Cecilia's organization works with. In the campaign, which she takes as an example in her story, they used the positive associations

to one object and made a connection to another object, which isn't as positive in people's minds. The later object has a bad reputation and by connection this object to the earlier they hope to change people's attitudes. They use the peripheral route to activate emotions and create positive attitudes towards the different labels that they work for. Cecilia said in her interview that there is a difference between the Scandinavian consumer and other consumers. The difference, according to her, is that the Scandinavian consumer is more picky and harder to please. This has been a problem when it comes to the international campaigns that she and her organization need to adjust to the Swedish market. One explanation for this could be that the Scandinavian consumer might have a bigger need for cognition. If that is the case the message has to be based on good arguments to convince the consumer to buy the product. The message cannot only appeal to the heuristics or the peripheral route. It also needs to contain convincing arguments. But still Cecilia has found that one of the best ways to convince the receiver is to use emotional arguments. That is what will eventually bring the person to buy the product or view the label in a positive way.

The Internet-based organization that David is a member of works in a completely different way than the others organizations. They do not direct their communication towards the public in an effort to make them change their behavior. They are more interested in sustaining a behavior. Most ordinary people who come in contact with them are already convinced. The people that they do try to influence are the legislative politicians, and the method of choice is to try to bring people together and to find as many agenda-setters and influential people as possible to speak for their cause. Sassenberg et al. (2005) found that people who have a salient social identity developed what they call norm-based attitudes based on the salient attitude of the group the person is a member of. The attitude, or rather opinion, that David and the other members of his organization are trying to communicate is of bigger interest to certain groups than others, so in that sense the attitude that they have is norm-based.

They also use different influential people to help them in their cause, but since the issue is high in involvement for some groups (people who use the Internet) and actually completely irrelevant to others (people who don't use the internet as much), they need to find ways of making the issue involving for a larger number of people. That is why they use different media than just the Internet to communicate their message.

The participant who kept most in touch with the academically field of attitude change was Erika. She had in her studies encountered different theories and methods that can be used to influence, but experience have made them a bit obsolete and she feels that she has left that

way of thinking more and more. In the interview she talked about a ladder and different steps towards persuasion. The theory she is referring to is McGuire's different stages. Erika wants the persuasion to be long lasting and she has found that one method is useful in this way. This is something that she calls value- practice. In different ways the young people can practice their values or attitudes on the issue that she is involved in. The reason why she thinks this is so effective is because it prepares the young people for a situation where they might have to make a choice, and if they are aware of their attitude on the issue, and have verbalized it before, they might find it easier to make the "right" decision. This works on the same principle that Cialdini (2001) presented as a way of influencing people. If you can make a person publicly express an attitude that person is more likely to stick to that attitude and act accordingly. The reason this works, says Cialdini, is because the person does not want to seem inconsistent with him/herself.

Another way that Erika tries to persuade is by using social influence. She knows that for many of the young people that she talks to it will not matter what she says, they won't consider the information, since they don't believe that it could happen to them. This is another example of the consistency theories. To get around this problem she tries to influence friends and people around that person, to stop him/her from behaving in the way that she is trying to prevent.

In Erika's story she tells us about a day that is created to make the issue that she works with more involving to the recipients. During this day they get to see, hear, feel and touch the subject. The young man's reaction seems to be the result of an effortful elaboration on his part, and also a sign that he doesn't think that everybody elaborates enough on this issue or has someone to discuss their thoughts with.

Phillip is very conscious about the fact that the right messenger is crucial to the effect of the message. He does not consider himself to be the right person to speak to young people about the subject that he works with. That job he leaves to people their own age, as in the example of the peer- education. According to Cialdini (2001) he shouldn't sell himself short. As an authority figure (a medical doctor) he has more power to influence than he thinks. Another thing that Phillip has to consider is, as in the case of Erika, that there are many young people that lack information on the issue. They are simply misinformed and that needs to be revised. This is a big part of the work for Phillip, using different channels to reach out with the message.

As job-satisfaction is a difficult area to approach all of the participants had their own view on the subject, but they could all name a few things that were important to them to feel

satisfied with their job. Mostly it isn't things that have happened but things that they wish would happen to make them feel satisfied. Since they're all working in the field of attitude change, they have many things in common in the area of job-satisfaction. In the first interviews they all gave theoretical views on their job-satisfaction, but in the second interview they gave a much more "alive" picture of what it is that makes them feel good about themselves and their performances. They all managed to confirm their first interview in the stories.

From the data we received it is difficult to know which approach towards job-satisfaction is the correct one towards these participants, but all of them have mentioned their own interests, the importance of their co-workers, and the importance of their tasks and goal. So all three approaches could be used, but since they've mentioned so many different reasons for their job-satisfaction it is best suited to use an information-processing model that sees it as a cognitive process. This is useful to know for further research in the area.

The theory by Bruggemann and Büssing (in Landy & Conte, 2004) can be applied to our participants. Many of them have changed their goals and aspirations as a result of the work experience; both Erika and especially Bo have done this. The stories show us some of their problem-solving abilities, like Phillip, when he invents a mathematical model to convince his colleges, or when Anna manages to convince her trainee. It's a complex model for work-satisfaction and we haven't all the data to be able to classify the participants into any of the six work-satisfaction categories, but judging by the data it doesn't seem very likely that any of the participants would feel any special work-dissatisfaction.

The common opinion given by the participants is their need for more feedback, this is seen not only when asked about feedback, but it's also very obvious in all of their stories. The importance of feedback is shown by Locke et al (in Landy & Conte, 2004). in their feedback-loop theory. Here the relationship between the knowledge (that the efforts have had an effect) and the relationship between committed goal and performance is discussed by some of the participants. Bo, David and Erika especially talk about the importance of this in their stories. For them this was the first time they got any positive feedback on their efforts. It gave them a confirmation that they were on the right track, for Bo to observe the children accept his message, and for David it was when he suddenly got the feedback from his organization that they shared his values. When Erika got the second-handed feedback she felt assured that her efforts were correct and that she should stay with her strategy.

When talking about feedback in the first interviews they all wanted more feedback and especially feedback about their own efforts, they wanted confirmation that the efforts and

persistence were adequate for the strategies. For Phillip this was impossible, he had almost given up on getting any adequate feedback, he instead started to rely on his gut-feelings. He couldn't receive any feedback on the actual numbers but instead he receives much feedback from his colleges that had experienced a difference after his campaigns. For Erika the problem is the same, it's impossible to isolate the results from her campaign. The reason that it's just Phillip and Erika that experience this is the fact that both of them are working with changing negative behaviours and creating a positive attitude towards a positive behaviour encouraged by the society. For Anna the feedback is more important than to anybody else, in her case a positive feedback makes it possible to continue working in this rather "heavy" field. For her this is a real feedback that rewards her persistence. It's also a very concrete form of feedback that she receives, which confirms her strategies. In her story she manages to change a trainee's opinion, this is a good example of feedback that shows that the direction and performance of a strategy is efficient. Bo is the one that receives the largest amount of feedback. He receives feedback from contractors and from the questionnaires they send out, he has a conscious strategy to receive feedback from the community, who is his real employer, and who is affected by his work. He uses the feedback as a guideline in their work. He has consciously asked for direction. This feedback is important to his work but the feedback he receives from the children at the theatre and the feedback from average citizens on the street or via mail or phone contact is the most important for his own feeling of job-satisfaction. David also receives a lot of feedback, very direct feedback on everything he does. Mostly it's feedback from within the organization but also from outside, as on the party where he received an unexpected amount of positive feedback. Cecilia is the one that receives the least amount of feedback. This partly because of the same reason that Phillip and Erika don't receive as much feedback, the difficulties to link the effects to their efforts. Feedback is very important to Cecilia as seen in her story. One of the reasons to why she chose this story was because of the unusual amount of feedback.

But they all experience a lack of feedback. For some this is more frustrating than for others. To increase their sense of job-satisfaction they could use more feedback. Another important part to this is the fact that absence of feedback makes it difficult for them to improve their strategies and reach their goals.

Judge et al. (2005) focus on the concept that the congruence of choice of goals for an individual with their values, beliefs and ideas determines how happy they are. This is linked to their positive self-evaluation and is a commonly used factor in studies of job-satisfaction. In this study all of the participants are working in areas that are consistent with their own

values, beliefs and ideas, they're passionate about their job. Anna actively chose to work in this field because of her own beliefs in the organization's values. Bo was headhunted for the assignment, but he has really adapted to the organization's goal, not only during working hours but also in his spare time. Cecilia is the one who is the most different from the others, since she's an employee in a company working for different clients, so the organization has no common goal in the same sense as the other participants' organizations. Judge et al. (2005) have a model with different reasons for why they pursued different goals; in the case of Cecilia she pursues her goals because of reasons one and four. The external reason is that she wants to reach her goals due to other wishes or to attain rewards that satisfy needs or interests. In this case the wish of her employer and the client, and the reward is her salary. She also has an intrinsic reason. She's pursuing the goal because of the fun and enjoyment of it.

David shows the most characteristic of the self concordance model for this theory, he only does this because of his own values, ideas and beliefs and the fact that other people also gain from it is just a positive side effect. The fact that he was one of the founders of the organization also contributes to this. Erika also has a strong belief in the project's goals. She has grown towards this field during her career and within her organization she has adjusted her values towards the goals and the values of the organization. Phillip is fully committed to his goal, because of its importance. He couldn't work without these beliefs, it's impossible in his occupation.

Everybody except Cecilia pursues their goals for an identified reason as seen by Judge et al (2005). Of course they also have an intrinsic reason, but for all of them the identified reason is most important, and judging by recent research this would make them people with a positive self regard, and this would make them very satisfied with their jobs. Other researchers have also shown that positive individuals pursue goals that leads to a positive outcome, and this is also true for everybody in the study, at least according to their own values.

The participants are a group of people working towards goals that they pursue because of their values and beliefs, and this should make them feel very satisfied with their jobs. This is where the difference between the participants starts. Cecilia and the organization that she works for pursue commercial goals, while the other participants work towards more idealistic goals. Cecilia doesn't show as much passion for her job as the others and this might be because of the fact that her organization has goals that aren't of the same nature as the other participants' organizations.

As seen both in the interviews and in the stories, feedback can be seen from three different views, the first obvious one is the feedback from others on your concrete doings, the second is the feedback from your results, and the third is the feedback from others on your professional role.

Westlander (1993) argues that role taking in an interactionistic way is a requirement if the individual is to develop social awareness. This is the case of Erika, Phillip, Anna and Bo who all work towards social awareness. The theory is a complex interaction between the individual and the surrounding. Phillip has noticed this and is revealingly returning to the matter of roles when he discusses the best way to reach the target group. This is also the case with Bo who, by using many different roles, tries to reach as many different target groups as possible and as efficiently as possible. Anna noticed this while convincing her trainee, that his change of mind maybe wasn't a direct consequence of her persuasion tactics, but a result of her role in the organization, as his supervisor. In Cecilia's case it is the clients' role towards the community that is of most importance. David feels that their role as underdogs gives them an advantage and sympathy.

In a system theory perspective the roles are separated from the individual and are defined as knowledge of other people's role-expectations and their acceptance. For Cecilia this is nothing strange. The whole company is based on this role system. Even in Phillip's organization this is important. They all have different roles towards their different target group. He mentions that the effect of his statements sometimes increases based on his role as an experienced expert on the area. In David's case everybody in their organization has different roles and it is part of the foundations, some have cyber-roles that have even become famous throughout cyberspace. Many of the participants recognize the importance of roles in their work, some of them are using this actively to increase their ability to change attitudes while others sometimes finds it to be a problem.

### *Conclusion*

The connection between the theories of attitude change and the practice that the participants have shown us exists, but is sometimes vague and unclear. Not all of them are aware of the different theories that exist and find it difficult to define attitude change, even though they've managed to change attitudes. The most interesting phenomenon is the case of Erika who is one of the participants who has an academic background in the field, and she has rejected most of the theories. Mostly they use methods that they've found to be useful from their own experience and other methods that are commonly used within the organization.

They all of course use different theories in their job, but the awareness differs; Erika is aware of the theories that she has rejected and after this she has chosen a method that she thinks is more suitable. Phillip doesn't base his choice of method from any theory but from the experience of others in his own field. They've all adapted methods that are suitable for their cause and here it is possible to see that the connections between the different participants isn't if they're working in private- or public-sector, or if they are passionate about their work or not, it's all based on the attitude they're trying to change.

The way for the participants to find job-satisfaction is through the feedback from those whose attitudes they're trying to change. They find great satisfaction to observe the effects of their efforts, to get a confirmation that they're on the right track, and to be successful. Here the difference between their organizations and their goals is noticed; the more passionate they are about their case, the greater the job-satisfaction. The participants working with goals leading to a positive outcome, which is everybody except Cecilia, seems very satisfied. This might explain why Cecilia's characteristics stand out a bit from the rest of the participants.

So the job-satisfaction is partly based on the goals of the organization and how well these goals match your own goals, and by working with attitude change that is supposed to create a positive outcome, you should feel a greater sense of job-satisfaction. This is true for our participants and this might explain why they can keep on working despite the lack of feedback.

### *Further research*

This is an interesting and important field of research, with many new aspects to notice. Foremost it would be very interesting to compare these results to a group that doesn't work with attitude change, see how they differ in their opinions toward attitude change and how they find job-satisfaction. It would also be interesting to analyze this material from another point of view, to generate a greater understanding of the people behind the pseudonyms and to give these participants a standard questionnaire concerning job-satisfaction to confirm these findings. It would also be interesting to see if the values are shared within one organization. Do they all agree on the way to persuade and what the message should be, and how does this affect the outcome? Is it better to agree or to disagree?

Another way to go forward with this study is to shift perspective. To look at the phenomenon from the receiver's end. This could tell us whether the different efforts have the effect that they are supposed to have.

One thing that we noticed is that they often see their work as successful without having any actual evidence of this. This is sort of a confirmation bias from their part. Lots of money are spent within this field without knowing if the money is actually well spent and that their efforts really make a difference. It would be interesting to hear what the participants and their financiers have to say about the lack of feedback and failure to influence. Why are they so convinced that this is a necessary investment and that the efforts have an effect?

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## Interview-guide 1

## Background

- Age?
- Education?
- Position in the organization?
- How did you end up here?
- How long have you worked in this?
- Are you working in groups with others and does the organization cooperate with any other organizations?

## Project

- What are your tasks?
- What are your goals?
- How have you established your target-group and who is your target-group?
- How do you work to reach your goals?
- Does your work make a difference to the target-group?
- Do you want to change your target-group's behaviour?

## Attitudes

- How would you define attitudes?
- Can you relate this to your work?
- Do you think you're working with attitude change?
- What attitudes do you encounter in your field of work?
- Are there different attitudes that you're trying to influence?
- Do you find it difficult to influence others?
- Do you have any earlier experience of similar tasks?

## Job-satisfaction

- How do you evaluate your efforts at work?
- Do you feel satisfied with what you achieve?
- Do you share the ideals of the organization?
- Do you receive sufficient resources?
- How does the cooperation between you and your colleagues work?
- Do you agree on how to proceed?
- Do you think others appreciate your work?
- When you tell people about your work, what reactions do you receive?
- Is there anything relevant that you think I've missed?

Interview- guide 2

Have you been thinking about anything special since the last time we met?

Now I want you to think back to a situation when you experienced that you managed to change somebody's attitudes. Why did you choose this situation?

How often do situations like this come up?

Stay in the situation you've chosen

- What happened?
- In what context?
- When did this happen?
- Where?
- What led to this?
- How did you know you had succeeded?
- Do you remember any special details?
- How often do similar situations occur?
- What happened afterwards?
- Do you use this experience when you're trying to affect other people?