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Gaining Compliance From People In Impaired States: How "Friends Don't Let Friends Drive Drunk

presented by

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GAINING COMPLIANCE FROM PEOPLE IN IMPAIRED STATES: HOW "FRIENDS DON'T LET FRIENDS DRIVE DRUNK"

BY

Steve L. Robbins

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Communication

1994

ABSTRACT

GAINING COMPLIANCE FROM PEOPLE IN IMPAIRED STATES: HOW "FRIENDS DON'T LET FRIENDS DRIVE DRUNK"

BY

Steve L. Robbins

This paper examines the compliance-gaining strategies people use to prevent drunk others from driving. Specifically, it investigates the strategies individuals might use with acquaintances and close others who are intoxicated. A goal-driven approach is taken using Dillard's framework of primary and secondary goals. It is believed that the level of importance actors place on different goals affects the choice of compliance-gaining strategies. Nine hypotheses are stated which predict relationships between goals, situational variables, and message features. Findings suggest that perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy significantly affect ratings of goal importance. Moreover, results indicate that goal importance is a good predictor of intervention and persistence. The data also suggest that secondary goals may not be salient in a drunken driving intervention situation. Implications are subsequently discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	ſV
List of Figures	V
Introduction	1
Theoretical Framework	6
Method	16
Analyses	20
Results	24
Discussion	29
Appendix A	35
Appendix B	36
Appendix C	37
Appendix D	38
Appendix E	39
References	40

LIST OF TABLES

Correlations Among Primary and Secondary Goals	37
Correlations Among Goals, Situational Variables and Message Variables	37
Causal Model Scales	38
Secondary Goals Scales	39

LIST OF FIGURES

D-41- 1 4- 1-1									20
Path Model	 	্বত							

Introduction

A major public service message campaign extolling the dangers of drinking and driving asserts "friends don't let friends drive drunk." While the message is appealing in its simplicity and straightforwardness, it is curiously void of any suggestions as to how individuals might actually go about preventing intoxicated friends from getting behind the wheel. The problem of driving under the influence (DUI) is one with costly and often tragic repercussions. Recent statistics show that 25-50% of all motor vehicle accidents in the United States involve persons who were above the legal limit of intoxication (Jaccard & Turrisi, 1987; Ungerleider & Bloch, 1987). As much as 65% of single-vehicle fatal crashes involved drivers who were intoxicated over the legal limit (Ungerleider & Bloch, 1987). Even more disheartening is the fact that a disproportionate amount of these accidents involve young people between the ages of 15-24 (Swisher & Bibeau, 1987).

Rationale

Combating such a large problem as drunken driving is no easy task. One of the more effective and popular methods of deterring drunken driving incorporates the use of a designated driver. This method of preventing DUI calls for a pre-drinking strategy of choosing a person who will abstain from drinking in order to drive home those who are

intoxicated. It necessitates planning and cooperation among the people involved. However, there are many instances when people do not pre-plan or when people go alone to occasions where alcohol is being served. These situations present a unique problem to message sources; persuading an already intoxicated other to "hand-over his/her keys."

Persuading people who are drunk not to drive is an unenviable yet necessary task. It is a difficult task in light of the mental condition of the target. Intervening in such a situation often requires getting a person to cognitively process a message coherently when it is likely the case that s/he is unable to do so. That people see a need to attempt such compliance-gaining is supported by previous studies. A study by Hernandez and Rabow (1987) suggests that a large percentage of people have been in such a compliance-gaining situation. Furthermore, an even greater percentage of people say they would intervene if such a scenario confronts them (Hernandez & Rabow, 1987). Several studies suggest that individuals are more likely to intervene if they know the target and if they have previously spoken to the target (Newcomb, Rabow, Monto & Hernandez, 1991) Other studies provide evidence that there is a greater likelihood of intervention in more formal places like restaurants or bars (Rabow & Hernandez, 1987). Gaining a greater understanding of how persuaders perceive drunk driving intervention situations and how those perceptions affect compliance-gaining has pragmatic and theoretical value.

Study Purpose

This study will examine compliance-gaining strategies used by intervenors faced with intoxicated targets. The study is interested in how intervenors generate compliance-gaining messages with the goal of preventing drunken targets from driving. It seeks to answer several questions: (1) What compliance-gaining strategies do people consider and use to prevent others from drinking and driving? (2) What goals are salient in this particular situation? (3) What factors might actors consider when deciding whether to engage in compliance-gaining and to persist in the engagement?

The theoretical framework guiding this study is Dillard's notion of primary and secondary goals. The paper will begin by discussing situational dimensions as relevant factors in compliance-gaining contexts. Next, will then move to a brief explication of Dillard's multiple goals framework. Based on this framework, nine hypotheses are stated. We now move to the relevance of situational dimensions.

Situational Dimensions

In any compliance-gaining situation there are factors which the influencer must take into consideration before taking action. Previous research by Cody and McLaughlin (1980) indicates that there may be salient situational dimensions which affect compliance-gaining behaviors. The researchers suggest six factors as relevant to college students in compliance-gaining situations: *Intimacy*, *Personal Benefits*, *Resistance*,

Dominance, Consequences, and Rights. Intimacy refers to the degree to which the source perceives an interpersonal relationship with the target. Personal benefits refers to any gains and rewards which the persuader might receive by obtaining compliance from the target. The resistance factor can be thought of as the degree of resistance which the source expects the target to offer. Dominance refers to power differences in the relationship between source and target. Consequences are said to be the negative short and long-term effects which the source might anticipate as a result of the compliance-gaining attempt. Finally, the degree to which the source perceives compliance-gaining as legitimate action for the situation defines the Rights factor. The researchers state that some dimensions may be more salient than others given the situation. However, in a test of the Cody and McLaughlin dimensions, Dillard and Burgoon (1985) found few effects attributable to the situation and small effect sizes when effects were found. Their interpretation of the data did not dismiss the possibility that actors use situational dimensions to formulate message strategies. Rather, it suggests that the dimensions they tested were not relevant to their particular study. Although a useful set of situational factors that might influence compliance-gaining attempts has yet to be constructed, it is an intuitive notion that situational features impact compliance-gainers and their message choices. This author believes it fruitful to examine situational factors in terms of their relationship with goals. It is likely the case that situational determinants impact the evaluation of sources' goals, which in turn influence the choice of message

strategies. Subsequently, we now turn to a discussion of goals.

A Goal-Driven Approach

Previous research has suggested that a goal-planning-action (GPA) sequence perspective is an appropriate way of examining how actors produce compliance-gaining messages (Dillard, 1990; Dillard, Segrin & Harden, 1989). This perspective posits that the goal of getting another to do something which s/he would not otherwise do motivates planning, and that planning subsequently guides behavior or action. The present paper will use the GPA perspective to investigate how individuals go about preventing drunken others from getting behind the wheel. However, because previous drinking and driving literature suggests that intervention is more akin to spontaneous rather than pre-planned or consciously planned behavior (Newcomb, Rabow, Monto & Hernandez, 1991), the planning step in the GPA sequence will not be discussed. The situation presented to subjects in the present study severely limits the time between the recognition of a need for intervention and the intervention itself. Therefore, it is appropriate for this study to focus on the impact of goals on message selection and message choice while not explicitly addressing issues relevant to the planning process.

Theoretical Framework

Goals are often defined as future states of affairs which individuals seek to obtain and/or maintain (Dillard, 1990; see Hobbs & Evans, 1980; see Klinger, 1985). Dillard, Segrin, and Harden (1989) suggest that there are two general types of goals: primary and secondary. Primary goals or influence goals are said to define the interpersonal situation. That is, in any influence situation the primary goal is understood to be the altering of a target's behavior; whatever that behavior may be. The desire to achieve the primary goal acts as the compelling force which motivates the actor to action (Dillard, 1990). Dillard suggests that the importance of the primary goal affects the likelihood that the source will intervene and persist in intervention. Said differently, the greater the influencer believes it important to bring about behavior change in the target, the greater the possibility the influencer will act and persist to produce such behavior.

Secondary goals are considered to be goals which are common to individuals across situations (Dillard, 1990). This general class of goals works to shape and constrain the actor's compliance-gaining attempt. Because it is said that secondary goals mold compliance-gaining behaviors, we may expect them to influence the likelihood of choosing certain compliance-gaining strategies over others. Dillard (1990) suggests five categories of secondary goals: *identity, interaction, relational resource, personal resource & arousal* (see Dillard, Segrin, & Harden, 1989). *Identity* goals are objectives based on one's ethical and moral principles, rules for living, and desires to act within the bounds of appropriate

personal conduct. They are said to be associated with one's self concept. Interaction goals are goals which arise from concerns to act appropriately in social contexts. Operationally, they can be thought of as desires to avoid actions which might threaten the face of self and other and to communicate in a relevant and efficacious manner. Sources concerned with relational resource goals are moved to protect or enhance relational assets. It is expected that such source concerns produce actions and messages which avoid damaging the relationship between the compliance-gaining interactants. *Personal* resource goals motivate actions which maintain and improve upon assets valued by the source. These assets range from the physical and material to the mental and abstract. Among these assets are physical safety, time, possessions, happiness, etc. Finally, arousal management goals have to do with the assumed needs of individuals to maintain a comfortable state of arousal. While the boundaries of what is meant by comfortable differ across individuals, it is expected that individuals are concerned with not over-stepping the bounds of comfortable arousal. These secondary goals are said to run counter to the primary or influence goal and are expected to constrain the compliance-gainer's range of possible influence actions.

The Present Primary Goal

In the present case, the primary or influence goal is preventing an intoxicated other from driving. It is argued that the relative importance of this goal is judged by processing

certain situational information. In a drunken driving intervention attempt a rather salient situational factor is the consequence of target compliance, or lack thereof. While Cody and McLaughlin suggest consequences as a salient situational factor, they were referring to relational consequences which result from a compliance-gaining attempt. There is no discussion of what this author calls action/inaction consequences. These are consequences incurred by the target as a result of non-compliance. In the present situation, non-compliance has potentially lethal consequences: injury and death to self and others.

Along those same lines, it is assumed that a majority of individuals are motivated to protect friends or close others from actions that are perceived to be dangerous. Other things being equal, the greater an individual believes the danger to be, the more important it is to takes actions to protect the other. Partially because the media and other organizations (MADD, SADD, The Ad Council) have diffused the consequences (death and injury) of drinking and driving to much of the public, it is assumed that most people believe drinking and driving to be dangerous. Perceptions of the degree of perceived danger are probably a combination of many variables (number of drinks consumed, time of day, road conditions, etc.). However, it is believed that perceived drunkenness is the factor most salient to persuaders in this influence situation. In the present situation, perceived drunkenness is believed to be positively correlated with the actor's perception of danger. Given that perceived danger is said to be positively correlated with importance

of intervention and that perceived drunkenness is positively correlated with perceived danger, the more an individual believes another to be drunk, the greater the importance placed on preventing the other from driving.

Another situational factor which is believed to affect ratings of influence goal importance is relational intimacy. Simply put, the greater the perceived intimacy between the source and the target, the more important it is for the source to alter the target's behavior; in this case, to prevent the target from driving.

It has been argued that intervenors in the present situation place a level of importance on preventing a drunken acquaintance from driving, and that this level of importance is evaluated using certain salient situational features: perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy. The degree to which importance is placed on the goal of prevention is believed to impact actors' decisions to engage and persist in compliance-gaining. Dillard (1990) suggests that influencers weigh the importance of situational goals, both primary and secondary, to make decisions to engage in compliance-gaining and to persist in the attempt. Thus, the first hypotheses are stated.

- H1: Source perceptions of target drunkenness are positively correlated with importance of the influence goal.
- H2: Source perceptions of relational intimacy with the target are positively correlated with importance of the influence goal.
- H3: As the importance of the influence goal increases, so does the likelihood

that the source will intervene, as well as persist.

Goal importance also affects the amount of cognitive and behavioral effort an actor expends in interpersonal influence attempts to bring about desired results (see Dillard, 1990). As the importance of the primary goal increases so does the amount of cognitive planning and behavioral actions increase. However, it was noted earlier that drunken driving prevention is considered to be more spontaneous than planned behavior. As such, the amount of time between the recognition of the need to act and the act itself is relatively short. This short amount of time places a constraint on the actor. Waldron (1990) suggests that constraints such as time and number of goals cognitively tax the actor. Under cognitively taxing situations, actors are more likely to employ direct compliance-gaining strategies (Waldron, 1990). Direct strategies are said to be those which quickly and explicitly make clear what is wanted from the target; the quicker and more explicit the request the greater the level of directness. Hinting and the use of deception are considered to be low in directness. In the present situation, actors are expected to be more cognitively taxed as relational intimacy increases. That is, it is likely the case that the closer the actor feels to the target, the greater the need to attend to secondary goals in the situation. In this case, concerns with secondary goals are expected to tax cognitive processes more severely when close friends are involved than when acquaintances are involved. Thus, hypothesis four is stated.

H4: Relational intimacy is positively correlated with the use of direct

compliance-gaining strategies.

The Present Secondary Goals

Persuaders attempting to prevent a drunken target from driving face multiple competing goals which theoretically constrain and restrict their compliance-gaining attempt. Under Dillard's framework, among the highly salient goals in this situation are interaction goals. Asking or telling another not to drive may be perceived by the target as an attack on his/her abilities to take care of him/herself. In other words, such a situation is potentially face-threatening to the target and consequently inhibits intervention (see Newcomb et al., 1991) or requires the actor to manage communication in a non-face threatening manner. Since the present situation only involves people who know one another to some degree, it is likely that the persuader is motivated to guard against actions which might embarrass or degrade the target in the presence of others. Previous research suggests that the greater the actor's perception of intimacy, the greater the degree of importance is placed on protecting the face of the target (see Lim, 1990). Consequently it is expected that there will be a negative relationship between desires to achieve interaction goals and the use of anti-social compliance-gaining strategies. Anti-social strategies are globally defined as socially inappropriate behavior. Strategies which include the use of profanity, threats, punishments, etc., are said to be high in anti-socialness. Strategies which attempt to steer clear of controversy and avoid threatening or damaging the other's face are said to be low in anti-socialness. Hypothesis five is thus stated:

H5: There is a negative relationship between the perceived importance of interaction goals and the use of anti-social compliance-gaining strategies.

Relatedly, sources are believed to be concerned with relational maintenance. These concerns are captured by the category of goals labeled relational resource goals. It is likely the case that actors want to enhance or at least preserve the current relationship they have with their drunken target. In seeking to achieve this goal, sources are expected to resist using compliance-gaining tactics which might endanger the relationship. Consequently, it is predicted that greater importance place on relational maintenance will inhibit the use of anti-social strategies. Hypothesis six is stated:

H6: There is a negative relationship between the perceived importance of relational resource goals and the use of anti-social compliance-gaining strategies.

Similar to relational resource goals, another competing secondary goal which persuaders might consider in this situation are *personal resource* goals. The present situation is slightly different than compliance-gaining situations presented in previous research. In past situations, successfully gaining compliance did not necessitate the persuader to expend effort after gaining compliance (see Dillard, Segrin, & Harden, 1989). Presently, if the compliance-gaining attempt is successful, it is likely that the persuader may have to expend personal effort to get the drunken person home. This might involve

driving the target home, calling a taxi, allowing the target to spend the night, etc. All of these actions may compromise available compliance-gaining strategies if the persuader is unwilling or unable to carry out the actions. Desires to conserve such personal resources work against the primary goal by placing greater importance on this secondary goal. This is expected to affect the use of messages which involve what this author calls cooperative or compromise strategies. These strategies are similar to the Schenck-Hamlin et al. strategy of promise, but are not exactly the same. Promises usually involve offering something which the target might value in exchange for compliance, e.g., "I'll give you ten bucks if you let me drive you home." Cooperative/compromise strategies do not imply that the target will receive anything s/he values. For example, the message, "I'll drive you home if you hand over your keys," is cooperative/compromise because the target probably does not value a ride home since s/he thinks that s/he can drive him/herself home. Furthermore, receiving a ride home means that the target must make arrangements to get his/her car home at a later point. The target probably does not value having to take such actions. Therefore, it is expected that sources' desires to conserve personal resources will inhibit the use of cooperative/compromise strategies. Hypothesis seven is stated:

H7: There is a negative relationship between the perceived importance of personal resource goals and the use of cooperative/compromise compliance-gaining strategies.

A possible identity goal that might arise in the present situation involves using deceptive tactics. It is likely that many persuaders have moral and/or ethical principles that inhibit the intentional employment of deception or lying as a means to an end, especially when the target of the message is a friend. It is also likely the case that some of these persuaders might see deception as the most effective means for gaining compliance. However, deception runs counter to their moral and ethical standards for living, and as such, they find themselves in a cognitive tug-of-war with the primary goal and identity goal as opponents. It is expected that the greater the importance placed on identity goals, the less likely deceptive messages will be used to gain compliance. However, research suggests that deceptive messages may be employed when (1) authentic communication fails, (2) deceptive communication is believed to be efficacious, (3) deception is not expected to be detected, (4) detected deception will not result in unacceptable consequences (see Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1987). Furthermore, Neuliep and Mattson (1990) suggest that deceitful persuaders tend to use rationale or explanation-based strategies while truthful persuaders opt for positive or negative sanctions. Consequently, it is predicted that when deception is used in this situation, we would expect to find those messages to be logically or rationally based. Hypothesis eight is stated:

H8: There is a negative correlation between the perceived importance of identity goals and the use of deceptive compliance-gaining strategies.

H8A: In addition, when deception is employed, deception will be positively correlated with logically based strategies.

Arousal management goals are also said to affect the compliance-gaining attempt. These goals suggest that individuals want to maintain a state of arousal with which they are comfortable (Dillard, 1990). Desires to maintain an acceptable state of arousal might inhibit influencers from becoming overly angry or at least overtly angry, and thus, inhibit the use of anti-social compliance-gaining strategies. Such strategies are only expected to be used when others have failed. In other words, the more important the influencer believes the arousal management goals to be, the less likely s/he will use anti-social strategies. Hypothesis nine is stated:

H9: There is a negative relationship between the perceived importance of arousal management goals and the use of anti-social compliance-gaining strategies.

It is apparent that persuaders in the present situation face multiple competing goals. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the relative importance placed on these goals affects their evaluation. Invariably, there is competition between the primary goal and the secondary goals. Variations in the way individuals handle and resolve the competition between goals, it is argued, ultimately affects the selection of compliance-gaining messages. With this in mind, we now turn to the methods which will be employed to test the previously stated hypotheses.

Method

Sample

Participants were undergraduate students enrolled in a communication class at a large midwestern university. Those who participated received extra credit for their involvement. After discarding instruments with considerable missing data and those which suggested response bias or questionable involvement from the participant, N=187 usable instruments remained. Data from these completed instruments were used in subsequent analyses. The mean age of the respondents was m=19.4 years; 65% were females; mean years in college was m=2.3 years. Related to drunken driving intervention, only 14% of participants had never tried to prevent another from driving drunk, and approximately 17% had been in such a situation more than eight times. 40% of respondents have had someone try to prevent them from driving drunk and 63% have personally known someone who has been hurt or killed in a drunken driving accident. Indeed, undergraduate students are an appropriate sample; they have many opportunities to be in situations where they may be faced with preventing a drunken other from driving. Furthermore, these students fall into the age bracket which has a disproportionate amount of drunken driving related accidents.

Materials and Procedure

The instrument used in the study contained four major sections. In the first

section participants were given a drunken driving prevention scenario, asked to imagine themselves in that scenario, and asked to write down what they would do or say to the person in the situation. The general situation is as stated:

Suppose you see an acquaintance/very good friend (Tim) of yours at a party. You consider Tim to be an acquaintance because you only talk to him in class and rarely do anything outside of class/a very good friend because you have known him for years and do many things together. Near the end of the party Tim says he needs to go home and pulls out his keys as he begins to leave. From what you can tell, Tim shows some signs of being slightly/greatly affected by the beers he has drank. He seems to be slurring his speech a little/a lot, he's been slightly/extremely loud and obnoxious, and he has a slightly/very difficult time keeping his balance. What would you do and/or say to Tim given these specific conditions?

Four scenarios crossing perceptions of target drunkenness (low = slightly, high = extremely) and intimacy (low = acquaintance, high = very good friend) were used (see Appendix A for exact wording of each scenario). Since the research was interested in the types of messages that would be generated, the scenarios were developed to ensure minimal "I would not do anything," type responses. The scenarios were effective in that sense; only two people indicated they would not take action in the given scenario. These two respondents were left out of subsequent analyses. Participants were randomly given one of the four scenarios and a series of items and questions to which to respond. Obtaining constructed messages might give insight as to possible strategies used in this particular situation, especially ones which may not be captured by previous compliance-gaining studies.

After generating messages to the given scenario, participants responded to the second major section. This part of the questionnaire asked participants to respond to a series of 30 items. The items were designed to measure five hypothesized factors: 1) perceived drunkenness, 2) relational intimacy, 3) goal importance, 4) likelihood of intervention, and 5) likelihood of persistence. Following each item participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement using a 7-point scale ranging from "very strongly agree" to "very strongly disagree." To offer some protection from response bias and provide a slightly different measure of the five hypothesized factors, the last five items of the section were 7-point Likert items used to measure the factors.

The third major section of the questionnaire is similar to the second. Here, respondents were given a list of 37 items designed to measure the importance of the secondary goals, taken from Dillard's (1989) typology of goals, in the situation. All of the items used a 7-point scale. The first five items used a scale ranging from "No Priority" to "Very High Priority." In the remaining 32 items, respondents rated each item using "Very Strongly Agree" and "Very Strongly Disagree" as scale anchors.

The final section of the questionnaire presented participants with the Schenck-Hamlin, Wiseman, and Georgacarakos (1982) typology of compliance-gaining messages adapted to the present situation. This particular typology is chosen because there is empirical evidence to suggest its appropriateness over others (Dillard, Segrin, &

Harden, 1989; Neuliep & Hazleton, 1985). Each participant was asked to indicate on a 7-point scale, ranging from "Not Likely" to "Highly Likely," his/her likelihood of using each of the strategies.

Analyses

T-tests were used as a check of the manipulation of perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy. Indeed, the manipulation worked for each of the conditions. For perceived drunkenness there was a significant difference in the means between those in the slightly drunk condition (m =5.82) and the extremely drunk condition (m =6.17), (t =2.44, p <.05). For relational intimacy, the mean for those in the acquaintance condition was m =3.01, and the mean for those in the very good friend condition was m =5.87 (t =18.57, p <.001).

Constructed messages from section one were independently rated by four trained assistants for the degree to which they are *direct*, *positive*, *rational*, and *antisocial*. A 5-point scale was used for these ratings where 1 = low and 5 = high. The use of *deception* and the strategy of *cooperative/compromise* were coded for their absence or presence. Only two coders were used to code these latter strategies.

Ratings of *directness* reflected the extent to which the message was clear or made explicit what the source wanted the target to do. Messages in which the source made an immediate request for compliance were considered high in directness. Messages which didn't come out with an explicit request, but only hinted for compliance were rated low in directness. Cronbach's alpha for directness was .91.

Positivity ratings were based on the degree to which the source mentioned or made explicit the positive consequences of compliance or the negative consequences of

non-compliance. Messages which contained references to rewards or benefits are considered high in positivity. If the message referred to costs and negative outcomes, it was considered low in positivity. When there was mention of both positive and negative consequences, the consequences were compared and a global evaluation of positivity was made. Cronbach's alpha for positivity was .87.

In determining ratings for *logic*, messages were evaluated for their inclusion of evidence and compelling reasons. Messages which employ plausible and compelling reasons for compliance were considered high in logic. The use of hints or directs requests reflect a low degree of logic. Cronbach's alpha for logic was .92.

Ratings of *anti-socialness* reflected a global evaluation of whether the generated message was socially appropriate or inappropriate behavior. Messages which used profanity, threats, punishments, or were verbally aggressive were considered to be high in anti-socialness. Messages which steered clear of controversy, contained few references of profanity, threats, etc., and were not considered verbally aggressive were rated low in anti-socialness. Cronbach's alpha for anti-socialness was .94.

Messages were rated as deceptive if the source was thought to have deliberately lied, hid the truth, misrepresented himself/herself or the situation, or generally attempted to mislead the target. Messages were not considered deceptive if the source just hints or never comes around to asking for compliance. Cronbach's alpha for deception was .98. Cohen's kappa was .92.

A cooperative/compromise strategy was considered to be used when the source offers to do something to get the target home. That is, if the source indicated willingness to expend effort and energy in order to see that the target gets home safely then a cooperative/compromise component was considered to be present. For example, the source might offer to give the target a ride home or call a taxi for the target. Cronbach's alpha for cooperative compromise was .87. Cohen's kappa was .81.

In sections two and three, confirmatory factor analyses were performed to assess the relative validity of the hypothesized factors. In confirmatory factor analysis, the researcher a priori hypothesizes the existence of factors, designs items to measure those factors, and subjects the items to at least three separate tests. The first test is intuitive, assessing the face validity of each of the items. That is, do each of the items appear to be tapping the hypothesized factor and no other factor? Secondly, each of the items is tested for internal consistency. This statistical procedure tests for the similarity of the item-to-total correlations of each of the within factor items. Finally, parallelism (external consistency) is tested. To pass this test, each of the items within a factor must correlate similarly with other factors. Items which pass these three tests are then considered to be relatively valid indicators of the hypothesized factors. In general, a good number of the items were compatible with their respective factors. A list of the factors and the items which passed the content and statistical tests along with their loadings are presented in Tables 3 (see Appendix D) and 4 (see Appendix E). These scales were used in subsequent analyses.

Results

Hypothesis 1 predicted that as source perceptions of the target's drunkenness so would the importance of the influence goal. In this case the influence or primary goal is to prevent the target from driving. The data show strong support for hypothesis one (r = .70, p < .001).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the relationally closer or more intimate the source feels the target to be, the more important the influence goal becomes. There is strong support for this hypothesis as well (r = .58, p < .001).

Multiple regression analysis was also employed to test hypotheses 1 and 2. This type of analysis allows the researcher to assess the impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable while controlling for the other independent variables. The regression of goal importance onto perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy was found to be significant (Multiple R = .78, R^2 = .60, F(2, 185) = 138.09, p < .001). The standardized regression coefficients are b = .56, and b = .36 for perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy, respectively.

The third hypothesis predicted that as the importance of the influence goal increases, so will the likelihood that the source will, 1) intervene, and 2) persist. Again, the data suggest strong support for these predictions. For goal importance and likelihood of intervention the correlation is large and significant (r = .71, p < .001). Likewise, there is strong support for the correlation between goal importance and persistence (r = .81, p < .001).

<.001).

Additionally, path analysis was performed using Path (Hunter & Hamilton, 1992) to test the causal model implied in hypotheses one, two, and three. It was predicted in these hypotheses that perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy have a direct, positive effect on the judgment of goal importance (i.e., the importance of preventing Tim from driving). In turn, goal importance directly effects one's likelihood for intervention and likelihood of persistence within the intervention attempt. Results of the analysis suggests a moderately good fit to the data, $X^2 = 4.34$, df = 6, p = .502. The path model along with the corresponding path coefficients are presented in Figure 1 (see Appendix B).

Initially, simple linear regression was used to test each of the remaining hypotheses. Subsequently, logistic stepwise regressions were employed to examine which, if any, of the goals and situational variables influenced the message features (i.e., directness, positivity, logic, anti-socialness, deception). Stepwise regression allows the researcher to examine the effect of different combinations of independent variables on the dependent variable (Schroeder, Sjoquist, & Stephan, 1986). It searches for the "best" regression equation accounting for variables which have been already entered in the equation (Pedhazur, 1982). For each of the message variables, the goal scales as well as the scales representing relational intimacy and perceived drunkenness were tested in the regression equation as potential influencers of the dependent variable.

The fourth hypothesis predicts that as levels of relational intimacy increase so will the use of direct compliance-gaining messages. Indeed, there is a significant relationship between the two variables (r = .43, p < .001).

Hypothesis five predicts that sources concerned with interaction goals are less likely to use anti-social compliance-gaining strategies. This hypothesized relationship was not supported by the data (r = .01, p > .05, n.s.).

Hypothesis six predicts that when sources are concerned with relational resource goals, they will be less apt to employ anti-social strategies. This relationship was also found to be not significant (r = .05, p > .05, n.s.). In fact, the data suggest that none of the goals (primary and secondary), perceived drunkenness, and relational intimacy have an effect on the message feature of anti-socialness.

Hypothesis 7 predicts that there is a negative relationship between concern for personal resource goals and the use of cooperative/compromise strategies. Data analysis showed support for this hypothesis (r = -.23, p < .01).

Hypothesis eight predicts that sources concerned with identity goals are less likely to use deceptive message strategies. The data did not fully support this hypothesis (r=-.11, p>.05). Furthermore, hypothesis 8A predicts that when deception is employed there will a greater use of logic or rationally based strategies. The data suggest some support for the hypothesis, however it is not significant at traditional levels of significance (r=-.14, p<.07, n.s.).

Hypothesis 9 predicts a negative relationship between arousal management goals and the use of anti-social message strategies. The data suggest this relationship to be not significant (r = -.05, p > .05, n.s.).

The stepwise regression of the goal importance scale onto the secondary goals scales indicates only one significant relationship between the primary goal and secondary goals. There was a strong, positive relationship between the primary goal and the personal resource goal (r = .50, P < .001). Univariate analyses among the secondary goals provided four statistically significant relationships. Associations were indicated between the interaction goal and the relational resource (r = .44, p < .001) and arousal management goals (r = .30, P < .001). The arousal management goal also had significant relationships with the relational resource (r = .15, p < .05) and personal resource goals (r = .21, p < .01). Table 1 presents the correlations among the primary and secondary goals.

Correlations between the message variables (i.e. deception, directness, positivity, logic, anti-socialness) and the goals and situational variables are presented in Table 2 (see Appendix C). The data indicate that much of the impact of the goals and situational variables is on the message variable of directness. Results show statistically significant correlations between directness and the primary goal (r = .32, p < .001), relational resource goal (r = .17, p < .05), personal resource goal (r = .30, p < .001), perceived drunkenness (r = .23, p < .01), and relational intimacy (r = .43, p < .001). However, a stepwise regression indicates that only relational intimacy should be entered in the regression equation (b = .001).

.43, t = 6.4, p < .001, $R^2 = .18$). The other goals and situational variable do not produce any significant increase in R^2 . It appears that these goals are only correlated with directness because of their relationship with relational intimacy; that is, the primary goal, relational resource goal, personal resource goal, and perceived drunkenness are spuriously related to directness. Only two other significant relationships are presented in the table. Logic is positively correlated with both the primary goal (r = .22, p < .01) and relational intimacy (r = .19, p < .05). Again, stepwise regression indicates only the primary goal should be included in the regression equation (b = .22, t = 3.00, p < .01, R2 = .05). Relational intimacy, while its first order correlation with logic is statistically significant, accounts for less than one percent of the variance in logic (b = .09, t = 1.02, p > .05). It appears that most of the relationship between relational intimacy and the use of logic based compliance-gaining messages is due to the relationship between relational intimacy and goal importance (primary goal).

Discussion

This study examined the messages individual's produce in order to prevent another from driving while intoxicated. Using Dillard's (1989) theoretical framework of primary and secondary goals, nine hypotheses were presented as tests for that framework in the present drunken driving intervention situation. Hypotheses one and two predicted that the importance of the primary goal (preventing Tim from driving) would be positively impacted by the degree to which the compliance-gainer perceives Tim to be drunk and the degree to which he/she feels relationally close to Tim. These hypotheses were supported by the data. Indeed, these two variables (perceived drunkenness and relational intimacy) account for 60% of the variance in the primary goal (goal importance). Additionally, Dillard suggests that as more importance is placed on the primary goal, the greater the likelihood that the compliance-gainer will intervene and persist in the intervention. This was the case in the present study. There was a strong, positive relationship between goal importance and likelihood of intervention and persistence. The causal model represented by these five variables was tested with a path analysis; support was found for the model.

The verified link between perceived drunkenness and goal importance has important implications; especially in light of the indication that individuals will not only attempt, but will persist in the attempt to prevent another from driving while impaired. The data suggest that potential intervenors will take overt action if the goal of preventing another is important enough. If it is the case that one's perception of another's

drunkenness plays large part in elevating the importance of the primary goal, then it becomes considerably important to educate people about drunkenness cues. It is likely that many drinkers who are obviously drunk and too impaired to drive will be prevented from doing so. More dangerous are the drinkers who intoxicate themselves enough to impair their driving skills, but not enough to make it obvious that they are too drunk/impaired to drive. If we can educate individuals to be sensitive to subtle impairedness cues, then the baseline for perceiving drunkenness might be lowered. Consequently, we might expect to see more people stepping in to prevent an impaired other from driving at earlier stages.

None of the hypotheses predicting relationships with anti-social message strategies was supported. It is plausible that social desirability influenced subjects in their construction of messages. Also, to produce anti-social messages might require a state of arousal which the given scenarios did not induce.

Hypotheses 8 and 8A concerning deceptive messages also were not supported. The first predicted that source's concerned with identity goals are less likely to employ message which utilized deception. One plausible explanation for this finding has to do with costs and benefits. It may be the case that concern for violating one's beliefs, values, ethics, etc., are not salient in a situation where people's lives are on the line. Intervenors may judge the consequences (e.g., guilt) for deception in this case do not stack up to the potential rewards (e.g., the saving of a friend's life).

The second part of hypothesis 8 predicted that when deception is used in a message, then one might expect to find the employment of logic or rationally based compliance-gaining strategies. One possible reason for the non-significant finding is the fact that only 13% (N=23) of the participants constructed messages which utilized deception. Such a small number of cases makes it difficult to uncover any statistically significant relationships.

The results of this study suggest that, in this context, secondary goals are not considered greatly or, if they are considered, have little effect on message production. The primary goal seems to receive most of the attention. Indeed, it has a statistically significant with two of the message variables (i.e., directness, logic) and approaches statistical significance on two others. It is likely that the primary goal of preventing another from driving drunk overshadows any of the secondary goals. That is, while source's might consider one or more secondary goals in a drunk driving intervention situation, the power of the secondary goals to influence a compliance-gaining message strategy is small compared to the primary goal.

In sum, the data suggest that situational factors impact a drunken driving compliance-gaining situation. Individuals, it appears, will intervene and persist in the intervention in accordance to how important they judge it important to prevent a target from driving drunk. Moreover, the data suggest that sources' perceptions of drunkenness and how well they know the target significantly impact how important it is to prevent the

target from driving.

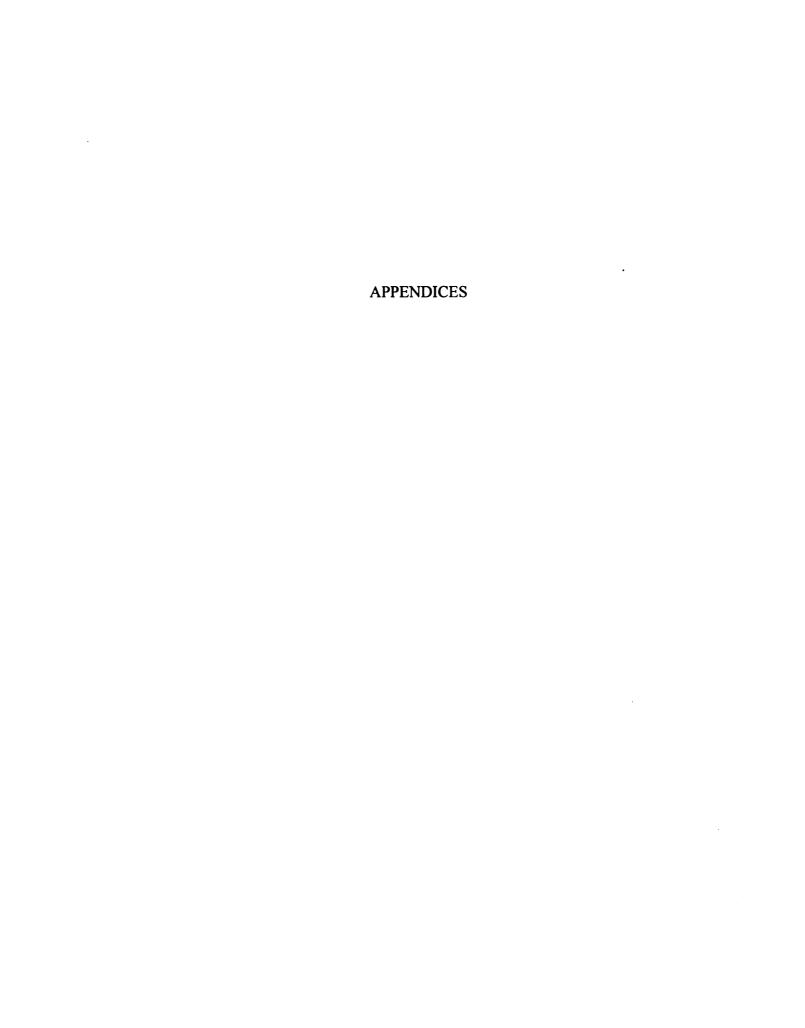
These findings have important implications for drunk driving intervention campaigns. Many of the well known drunk driving PSA's created by the Ad Council suggest that "friends don't let friends drive drunk." In many respects the results of this study support such a statement. However, it seems drunkenness it not the only concept here worth focusing on. Impairedness is something future intervention campaigns may want to focus on. For sure drunk individuals are impaired, but it is not necessarily the case that impaired people are commonly defined as drunk. Campaigns to educate people, especially young people, need to put a focus on impairedness cues which are likely not the same as drunken cues. The former are expected to be more subtle than the latter. To the extent that the recognition of these impairedness cues will lead to a higher rating of goal importance, we might expect people who have learned to recognize these cues will intervene and persist at an earlier stage of "drunkenness."

As for the message features, it appears that relational intimacy plays the biggest role in influencing the degree to which a compliance-gaining message is direct. According to this study, it is the only variable which should be included in the regression equation. Other variables, while significantly correlated with directness, appear only to be correlated with directness spuriously. The degree to which logic is used in a compliance-gaining message is predicted somewhat by the level of importance placed on the primary goal. However, only five percent of the variance in logic is accounted for by

goal importance. Apparently, there are other variables which affect the use of logic.

None of the goals and situational variables were found to impact the use of the other message features.

Because of the inherent limitations of a paper and pencil study such as the present one, it would be fruitful to go out in the field to capture compliance-gaining messages in real drunken driving intervention situations. Real situations would put constraints on sources which a laboratory situation is incapable of doing. Sources would not only be taxed cognitively, they would also likely experience physical arousal; two variables which undoubtedly would affect the messages which are produced. While the call to the field is not new, it does seem like the logical next step for such a line of study. Results of future studies of this sort might potentially save many lives which otherwise would have been taken as a result of drinking and driving.



Appendix A: Study Scenarios

Scenario 1

You see an acquaintance (Tim) of yours at a party. Tim is a male of average height and weight. You consider Tim to be an acquaintance because you only talk to him in classes you have together and rarely do anything outside of class. Throughout the party, you notice him drinking. Near the end of the party Tim says he needs to go home and pulls out his car keys as he begins to leave. From what you can tell, Tim shows few if any signs of being affected by the beers he has drank. What would you do or say to Tim given these specific conditions? Use the space below to write down your response. Please be as specific as you can about any actions you might take. For instance, if you decide to say something to Tim, please write down exactly what you would say to him.

Scenario 2

You see an acquaintance (Tim) of yours at a party. Tim is a male of average height and weight. You consider Tim to be an acquaintance because you only talk to him in classes you have together and rarely do anything outside of class. Throughout the party, you notice the him drinking. Near the end of the party Tim says he needs to go home and pulls out his car keys as he begins to leave. From what you can tell, Tim shows some signs of being affected by the beers he has drank. What would you do or say to Tim given these specific conditions? Use the space below to write down your response. Please be as specific as you can about any actions you might take. For instance, if you decide to say something to Tim, please write down exactly what you would say to him.

Scenario 3

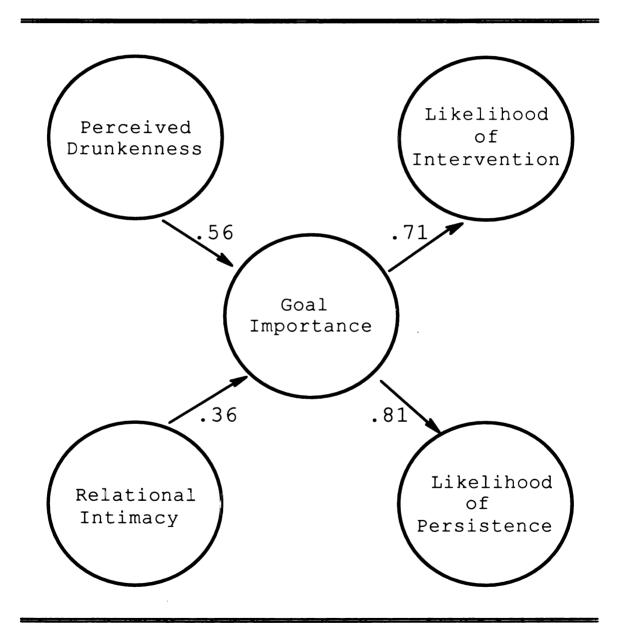
You see an acquaintance (Tim) of yours at a party. Tim is a male of average height and weight. You consider Tim to be an acquaintance because you only talk to him in classes you have together and rarely do anything outside of class. Throughout the party, you notice Tim drinking. Near the end of the party Tim says he needs to go home and pulls out his car keys as he begins to leave. From what you can tell, Tim shows signs of being greatly affected by the beers he has drank. What would you do or say to Tim given these specific conditions? Use the space below to write down your response. Please be as specific as you can about any actions you might take. For instance, if you decide to say something to Tim, please write down exactly what you would say to him.

Scenario 4

You see a very good friend (Tim) of yours at a party. Tim is a male of average height and weight. You consider Tim a very good friend because you have known him for years and do many things together. Throughout the party, you notice the him drinking. Near the end of the party Tim says he needs to go home and pulls out his car keys as he begins to leave. From what you can tell Tim shows few if any signs of being affected by the beers he has drank. What would you do or say to Tim given these specific conditions? Use the space below to write down your response. Please be as specific as you can about any actions you might take. For instance, if you decide to say something to Tim, please write down exactly what you would say to him.

Appendix B:

Figure 1
Path Model



Note: The model provided a moderately good fit to the data and was thus accepted, $X^2 = 4.34$, df = 6, p = .502.

Appendix C:

Table 1
Correlations Among Primary and Secondary Goals

Goals	Pr	It	Rl	Ps	Id	Ar	
Primary	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	
Interaction	.06	1.0	-	-	-	-	
Relational	.01	.44***	1.0	-	-	-	
Personal	50***	02	.06	1.0	-	-	
Identity	.00	.07	.01	.14	1.0	-	
Arousal	12	.30***	.15*	.21**	.10	1.0	

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 2
Correlations Among Goals, Situational Variables and Message Variables

Goals	Deception	Directness	Positivity	Logic	Anti-Social
Primary	.11	.32***	13	.22**	.09
Interaction	.09	.12	.00	.02	.01
Relational	.00	.17*	.03	.03	.05
Personal	.08	30***	.04	10	09
Identity	.01	.04	04	.03	12
Arousal	02	01	04	.05	05
Per. Drunkenness	.14	.23**	05	.07	04
Rel. Intimacy	03	.43***	08	.19*	.14

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Appendix D:

Table 3 Causal Model Scales

Factor	
Loadings	\cdot
Perceived Dra	unkenness (alpha = .78)
.78	I think Tim would be putting others in danger if he attempted to drive. (20)
.80	I think it would be unwise for Tim to drive. (22)
.64	How impaired from drinking do you think Tim is? (29)
Relational In	timacy (alpha = .84)
.88	If Tim were to move across the country, I would still try to keep in touch with him. (7)
.69	It would affect me deeply if something bad happened to Tim. 21)
.83	How close a relationship do you feel you have with Tim? (27)
Goal Importa	unce (alpha = .72)
.43	I would not waste my time trying to stop Tim from driving home. (5-R)
.48	I think it is important for Tim to be prevented from driving. (10)
.47	Although Tim should not drive in his current state, it matters little to me if he does. (12-R)
.56	Keeping Tim from getting behind the wheel is of concern to me. (14)
.54	Someone should persuade Tim not to drive home. (23)
.85	How important is it for you to prevent Tim from driving? (28)
Intervention ((alpha = .77)
.71	If Tim wants to drive, I would not do anything to stop him. (1-R)
.82	I would mind my own business and let Tim do what he wants to do. (3-R)
.67	How likely are to intervene to prevent Tim from driving home? (26)
Persistence (a	alpha = .91)
.76	I would show persistence in trying to prevent Tim from driving home. (8)
.88	I would not give up until I was successful at preventing Tim from driving home. (9)
.88	I would be willing to expend a lot of effort to prevent Tim from driving home. (19)
.85	If you were to intervene, how persistent would you be at trying to prevent Tim from driving home? (30)

Note: Numbers in parentheses denote the position of the item in the questionnaire. The letter "R" indicates the item was reverse scored.

Appendix E:

Table 4 Secondary Goals Scales

Factor	
Loadin	gs
Identity	(alpha = .80)
.66	I would be concerned with not violating my own ethical standards.(46)
.82	I would be concerned with maintaining my own ethical standards. (48)
.70	acting in ways consistent with my values and beliefs is important. (54)
.65	I would be concerned about being true to myself and my values. (65)
Interac	tion (alpha = .67)
.91	How high a priority is it for you to avoid embarrassing Tim in preventing him from driving? (39)
.55	Trying to avoid doing things which might make Tim look stupid is the least of my concerns. (47-R)
.48	I would avoid saying things which might embarrass Tim. (67)
Relatio	nal Resource (alpha = .64)
.75	How high a priority is it for you to avoid damaging your present and/or future relationship with Tim
	in preventing him from driving? (40)
.80	I would be concerned about maintaining my relationship with Tim. (51)
.33	If I had to hurt my relationship with Tim to prevent him from driving, I would do it. (64-R)
Persona	d Resource (alpha = .67)
.52	How high a priority is it for you to limit the amount of time, energy, and/or effort you spend in
	preventing Tim from driving home? (41)
.58	I would rather not have to give Tim a ride home as a means for preventing him from driving. (56)
.81	I would be willing to spend a lot of time and energy to prevent Tim from driving. (68-R)
.44	Protecting my own interests as I try to prevent Tim from driving is important to me. (75)
Arousa	Management (alpha = .91)
.82	How high a priority is it for you to avoid getting mad, upset, nervous, angry, etc., in preventing Tim
	from driving? (43)
.50	Maintaining control of my emotions is important as I attempt to stop Tim from driving. (45)
.45	I would not care if I got angry in trying to prevent Tim from driving. (70)

Note: Numbers in parentheses denote the position of the item in the questionnaire. The letter "R" indicates the item was reverse scored.

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