



Psy403 cut it short by iqra-1

Social psychology (Virtual University of Pakistan)

Cut it Short by iqra

Lesson 01

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

What is Social Psychology?

Social psychology is a discipline that uses scientific methods in “an attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling and behaviour of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of others” (Gordon Allport, 1985, p. 3).

Main Elements of Definitions

- Thoughts, Feelings, and Behaviors of individual
- Influence of other people
- How these influences will be studied? It will be done by the use of Scientific Method.

The definitions suggest a cause and effect equation – people influencing individual’s thoughts, feelings and behaviour.

Main Questions of Interest in Social Psychology

The main questions/ topics of interest in social psychology are as given below:

- Thinking about the self and others
- Evaluating persons and relationships
- Interacting with others

1st Question: Thinking about the self & others

Each question of interest can be further divided into different categories. For example, different questions can be asked under this first question of interest. The following 4 questions seem diverse but they refer to the thought process.

- **Social cognition:** Researchers who are working on social cognition can ask the following question in their investigation: “How do jury decide guilt or innocence”
- **Person perception:** People working on person perception can be curious to know: “How do we know when someone is lying or telling truth”
- **Attribution:** It refers to thought process that occur when we decide what caused another person’s behavior
- **The self:** We ask specific questions about ourselves, for example one may be inquisitive that “when does a thin body image promotes eating disorders”

2nd Question: Evaluating people & relationships

The following 5 questions also seem diverse but they all involve people’s feelings. Attitude is the most basic type of field - about feeling in general.

- **Attitude:** feelings lie at the core of + and neg. attitudes; how feelings, thoughts and behavior relate to each other: why people feel one way and yet behave in exactly the opposite way
- **Attitude change:** This question of social psychology is concerned with when and why people alter their attitude over time. For example, “how can we instill positive attitude in children toward school”.
- **Prejudice:** People interested in research on prejudice, etc. may also be interested in investigating that “how can society reduce stereotyping and discrimination”
- **Interpersonal attractions:** These issues may question, “why do people desire to make friends with one and not the others”, or “why people feel romantic attraction for one and not for other person”.

- **Close relationships:** Researchers working in this area may be inquisitive that “how our feelings toward significant others change over time”, for example, how happy marriages end into bitter divorces.

3rd Question: Interacting with Others

Human beings interact through many different behaviours, some of them are given below:

- **Social Influence:** studies how one person’s behaviour/ presence influences another person’s behaviour.
- **Helping:** “How can we convince more people to help disabled”
- **Aggression:** “Does media violence promotes violence in real life” why people assault, hit, and kill each other
- **Interpersonal Power:** why ordinary citizens sometime engage in torture, ethnic cleansing, or genocide
- **Groups:** “Why can’t one religious group agree with the other”... whether people behave differently while in group.

How Others’ Presence Affect an individual?

- **Actual Presence of people affecting the individual:**
First take an example, how might the actual presence of others influence one’s thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Response of cricket players may become different when fans of some opposing team shout and make loud noises to divert attention of the players. Similarly, your behaviour will be changed if you notice that someone is watching you.
- **Imagined Presence of people affecting the individual:**
Regarding how the imagined presence of others might influence thoughts, feelings, and behavior, think about past incidents when you were considering doing something that ran counter to your parents’ wishes. Although they may not have been actually present, but their imagined presence influence your behavior
- **Implied Presence of people affecting the individual:**
Finally, how the implied presence of others influences an individual? If you have an experience of driving on the motorway, you would have noticed that signs of specific speed limit make you conscious. Similarly, in shopping stores sometime posters indicate that “You are being watched” ... All of this makes you self-ware and brings a change in your behavior. Other Factors affecting the individual Social psychologists also believe that it is not only the presence of other people that influences a person’s thoughts, feelings and behaviour, but some other factors are also contributing to that. In this reference, three kinds of explanations of social behaviour can be presented. the factors that a social scientist might use to explain human behaviour.
- **Broad group level explanations**, i.e., evolutionary and cultural factors
- **Individual-level explanations:** such as childhood experiences, and family history
- **Mediating variables:** internal factors such as personality traits, and attitudes.

1. Broad Group-level Explanations: Evolutionary and Cultural Factors

Animals show different pattern of aggression than human beings, These are biological based. e.g.,

organized warfare seems to be a uniquely human activity. Similarly, people living in different countries demonstrate differences in exhibition of aggression. Evolutionary factors indicate that people living at particular places/ locations have evolved with a tendency to become more or less aggressive to outsiders than to their own kind? For example, tension and resulting aggression in

Yugoslavia and other countries like Israel and Palestine could be due to evolutionary and cultural factors both. To explain cultural differences in aggressive behaviour, Margaret Mead (1935) reported that some societies are peaceful (e.g., Arapesh of New Guinea) while others, although living in the same geographical region) are dominating and aggressive (e.g., Mundugumor of new Guinea)

Differences have also been reported in world-wide Violence rates, for example, in 1980s, violence rates of 8.5%/100,000 were reported in the USA as compared to 1.9% in Canada, and 0.6% in the UK. These different statistics indicate effects of culture and evolutionary factors on social behaviour.

2. Individual-level Explanations

□ Heredity & physiology: Genetic and biological factors also influence human social behaviour. For example, males have been found more aggressive than women due to a male hormone testosterone (Eagly & Steffan, 1986). Moreover, men with higher levels of testosterone have been reported as more aggressive than those with lower levels (Dabbs & Morris, 1990).

□ Past experiences: Early learning and child rearing practices also contribute to differences in people's social behaviour. For example, girls are taught not to be aggressive by their parents from their childhood. Moreover, expression of anger is not appreciated in girls and women. This gender difference is also very pronounced in some cultures, so culture also plays a dominant role in these associations. This also suggests that these group or individual level explanations are not mutually exclusive; they all seem to interact with each other. Another example can be how aggression would have been created and shaped in Kashmiris and Palestinians by the teachings of their parents in the process of growing up.

3. Mediating Variables

Mediating variables create a link between situational, cultural, and individual level explanations. These are related with the person concerned and cannot be directly observed, so they must be inferred from a person's behavior. The effect of mediating variables indicate that for understanding a person's thoughts, feelings and behaviour, one must slip inside the skin of the individual. The following refer to different mediating variables:

- **Beliefs:** compromise the cognitive information.
- **Attitudes** are evaluative responses.
- **Schemas:** a kind of mental model that people hold
- **Emotions:** transient states of arousal that direct our behavior
- **Personality traits** are stable dispositions influencing broad domains of behavior

Lesson 02
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social Psychology and Related Fields

Social Psychology and Sociology:

Edward Jones (1998) indicates in Handbook of Social Psychology that two scientific disciplines known as social psychology are employed in both, one in psychology, and the other in sociology. He suggests that the larger of the two is psychological branch: psychological social psychology, and sociological social psychology.

The following table illustrates differences in both disciplines:

| PSYCHOLOGICAL SOCIAL PSY | SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIAL PSY |
|---|---|
| 1. Central focus on individual | 1. Focus on group/society |
| 2. Variations in behavior believed to be due to people's interpretation of social stimuli and differences in personality. | 2. Explanations for such societal-based problems as poverty, crime, and deviance. |
| 3. Experimentation as the primary research method, followed by correlational studies, and then observation. | 3. Observational and the correlational studies as the primary method, followed by Experimentation |

Social Psychology and Personality Psychology

- These both disciplines can be considered as allies as their focus is on individual.
- May be for this reason, American Psychological Association has included both disciplines in same journals
- ❖ However, both disciplines are also different from each other on a few dimensions. For example, personality psychologists are interested in individual differences, while social psychologists focus on common humanity and in knowing that how people view and affect one another. An illustrative example for the difference in both disciplines is that Personality psychologist may be interested in that why some individuals are more aggressive than other, whereas a social psychologist may be interested in knowing that how social situations can lead most individuals to act kindly, cruelly, to conform.
- ❖ Another difference is that as compared to personality psychology, social psychology has a brief history. Many famous theorists worked in the first half of 20th century, like Freud, Jung, Adler, Horney and Rogers.

Social Psychology and Biology

Majority of the scientists agree that nature and nurture together form us. As area of a field is determined by both its length and width, so do biology and experience together create us. There is no doubt that our inherited human nature predisposes us to behave in ways that helped our ancestors survive and reproduce. Nature also endows us with an enormous capacity to learn. However, social neuroscientists do not regard complex behavior like helping and hurting to just neural or molecular mechanism. They hence indicate that to understand complex behavior we must consider under-the-skin and between-skins influences

The Profession of Social Psychology

PhD Social psychologists

Majority of PhD level social psychologists (75%) are working in Colleges / universities, while a minority (17%) works in Business/government setting. The pie chart given below shows this more clearly.

M.Sc . Social psychologists enjoy job diversity

The work distribution of M.A. level social psychologists is as under:

12%= 4-year colleges

44%= other nonuniversity academic settings

20%= business/ govt.

24%= human service fields (clinics, health agencies, etc.)

Current Trends:

Currently, social psychologists are involved in different kinds of works, e.g., researching in health psychology, environmental psychology, legal system, and investigating social factors in clinical psychology. In Pakistan, however, the role of social psychologist is not that diverse and mainly they are working in universities, and NGOs.

Applying Social Psychology

Social psychology had always intimate ties to the larger political and cultural spheres. It has addressed important social problems in past and present. It has always focused on real life problems, e.g., does media violence contribute to aggression in society; how social factors like family support can influence our susceptibility to disease.

History of Social Psychology

Social psychology is a relatively young discipline. Although some work on it started at the end of 19th century, most of the growth in social psychology occurred after 1950s. The history of social psychology reveals its American roots. The following periods illustrate the history of social psychology:

The Early Years: (1884-1934)

Norman Triplett at Indiana University can be considered the first empirical social scientist as he conducted the first social psychological experiment on that how the performance of a person does change when other people are present. He noticed that a bicycle racer's speed was faster when he was paced by other cyclists than when he was alone. Based on this observation, he devised the first exp. To learn what caused these different racing times, he asked children to wind line on a finishing reel both in the presence of other children and alone. The results showed that children did faster when with other children. This experiment was published in 1897. This introduced the Experimental Method in social psychology. However, the credit to establish social psychology as a distinct discipline goes to William McDougall (an English) and Edward Ross (an American), who published the first books bearing this title. Although these two published books on social psychology, Social psychology still lacked a distinct identity. Moreover, there was no answer to the question that how does social psychology differ from other disciplines, and what are its methods of inquiry, etc.

Floyd Allport was the person who served this purpose. He wrote a third book on social psychology and indicated very clearly "I believe that only within the individual can we find the behavior mechanisms and consciousness which are fundamental in the interactions between individuals. There is no psychology of groups which is not essentially and entirely a psychology of individuals.....psychology in all its branches is a science of the individual" (1924, p.4). He conducted studies on conformity, nonverbal communications, and social facilitation and demonstrated in his book that how carefully conducted research could provide insight into a wide range of social behaviors.

The Coming of Age: 1935-1945

First 3 decades of this century were spent in generating basic concepts and sound research methods in social psychology. Then two events occurred which played a dominant role in the development of social psychology at this critical juncture (world war II) in its history:

1. Great depression in the USA
2. Social and political upheaval in Europe

Following the stock market crash in 1929, many young psychologists were unable to find or hold jobs. Due to social forces, many adopted the liberal ideals of Roosevelt, or more radical views of communist or socialist parties. In 1936, these social psychologists established Society for the **Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI)**. They wanted to apply their newly developed theories and political activism to real-world problems.

The rise of fascism in Germany, Spain, and Italy created a strong anti-intellectual atmosphere in many of Europe's educational institutions. As a result, many leading social psychologists like Fritz Heider, Kurt Lewin, & Theodore Adorno, immigrated to America. There along with American social psychologists applied knowledge of human behavior in a variety of war time programs: undermining of enemy morale; selection of officers for the office of strategic services, etc.

Lesson 03

CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Aims:

To make students understand how to conduct social psychology research using diverse methodologies.

Objectives:

1. Describe empirical research and scientific method
2. Discuss basic steps in conducting social psychology research

General Introduction of this topic spreading over six lectures

Conducting social psychology research will be complete in almost 6 lectures. Apart from discussing characteristics of empirical research and scientific method, this section of syllabus will concentrate on unfolding basic steps involved in conducting research. Starting from selection of research problem, and defining and explaining variables, it will concentrate on discussion about ethical issues, methods of data collection, and various research designs. While discussing various sampling techniques, representative sampling procedures will be stressed as an ideal. However, this will also be acknowledged through various actual research presentations that young white college students are over-represented in much of social research. Correlational and experimental approaches to the study of behavior are compared, as are laboratory and field research. Data sources, including self-report, behavioral observation, and archival are contrasted, with a new discussion of the pros and cons of Internet data collection. Sources of bias inherent in research are acknowledged, and this section concludes with the basic considerations of writing a scientific research report.

What is Scientific Research?

According to Aristotle, "The secret of success is to know something nobody else knows." This seems very appropriate as knowledge gives power and information which we obtain from research reduces uncertainty and ambiguity

Research can be defined as "Research is the method of asking and answering a question with a set of systematic procedures which assist researchers in avoiding biases".

Characteristics of Empirical Research

- Well-planned
- Controlled for errors
- Internally and externally consistent
- Replicable

When do you conduct research?

The decision about conducting research depends on the cost and benefit analysis. The following diagrams 1 and 2 illustrate this more clearly whether to conduct research or not:

Figure 1

When do you conduct research?

- Is sufficient time available for conducting research?
- Is the information already on hand inadequate?
- Is the research question of considerable importance?
- Does the value of the research

information
exceed the cost
of conducting
research?

Conduct Research

Do Not Conduct Research

Time Constraints

Availability of Data

Nature of the Decision

Benefits

vs. Costs

Yes-Yes-Yes-Yes

No-No-No-No

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Value

-Decreased

uncertainty

-Increased likelihood

of a correct decision

-Improved relations/
business/health/
performance

Costs

-Research

expenditures

-Does not add to

knowledge

-Possible erroneous

research results

~~Value Should Exceed~~

~~Estimated Costs~~

Figure 2

These diagrams show that the value of the research should exceed the estimated Costs involved in the research.

Social Psychology Research

- Research in social psychology poses challenges not found in other sciences because the behaviors of interests aren't as tangible as the elements found in a physicist's laboratory
- Compared to other disciplines, social psychology relies on a wide range of creative research methodologies, e.g., lab experiments, field studies, surveys, questionnaires, archival data

Scientific Method

Like all sciences, social psychology relies on the scientific method. After 100 years of its practice, Scientific method is still the basis for investigation, and is different from nonscientific method "everyday approach". For social psychologists to effectively study social behavior—be it basic or applied research—they must carefully plan and execute their research projects (Sansone et al, 2004). In doing so, social psychologists employ the **scientific method**, which consists of a set of procedures used to gather, analyze, and interpret information in a way that reduces error and leads to dependable generalizations. The characteristics of scientific method are as under:

- Requires a certain level of explanation
- Relies on empirical evidence rather than intuition: Scientific method is characterized by a reliance on empirical procedures, rather than intuition, and by an attempt to control those factors believed responsible for a phenomena.
- Relies on direct observation & experimentation

Goals of Scientific Method

- **Description:** Describing, classifying, cataloguing events and relationships. For example, describing events and relationships, by using nomothetic approach and quantitative analysis. Nomothetic approach seeks to identify the similarities rather than differences. Levine et al. (1990) desired to investigate "Pace of life" in various cultures and countries. They decided to indicate pedestrian walking speed and accuracy of a country's bank

clocks, etc. to decide about the tempo of life of that nation. The results showed that the citizens of Japan had the fastest pace followed by American, while Indonesians appeared to be the slowest. Prediction

• **Prediction:** Description provides basis for prediction. Prediction when assessed by correlational relationships can not determine the causation. Examples of making predictions can be: prediction of later performance on the basis of early success; or “whether early deprivation can cause a deterioration in IQ”

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• **Understanding:** Description and prediction are the only first steps in understanding a phenomenon. It is achieved when causes of a phenomenon are identified. Three important conditions are essential to understand causal inferences: time-order relationship, other explanations:

1. Covariation of events: Understand what variables change in interaction to each other

2. Time-order relationship: (the presumed cause must occur before the presumed effect)

3. Elimination of possible explanations: Example: “active learning strategies help students learn”, other explanations could be motivation, I.Q., gender, etc.

Basic & Applied Research

Social psychologists conduct both *basic* and *applied research*. The goal in **basic research** is to simply increase knowledge about social behavior, knowledge for knowledge's sake (Fiske, 2004).

No attempt is made to solve a specific social or psychological problem. In contrast, **applied research** is designed to increase the understanding of and solutions to real-world problems by using current social psychological knowledge (Maruyama, 2004) Although many social psychologists label themselves as either basic or applied researchers, the efforts of one group often influence those of the other. Kurt Lewin resolves this controversy of the relative importance of applied and pure research by indicating that “no action without research, no research without action”.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The Research Process Involves a Series of Sequential Steps:

For social psychologists to effectively study social behavior—be it basic or applied research—they must carefully plan and execute their research projects (Sansone et al, 2004). In doing so, social psychologists employ the **scientific method**. This entire process of scientific inquiry unfolds in eight basic steps.

1. Develop a research question & review literature
2. Develop a research theory/ hypothesis
3. Variables and operational definitions
4. Choose a research design
5. Evaluate the ethics
6. Collect data
7. Analyze data and form conclusions
8. Report research results

Step 1. Develop a research Question & review literature

Research ideas do not develop in a vacuum. In selecting a topic to study, inspiration could come from someone else's research, from an incident in the daily news, or from some personal experience in the researcher's own life. Social psychologists generally investigate topics that have relevance to their own lives and culture.

Once a topic has been chosen, the researcher must search the scientific literature to determine whether prior investigations of the topic exist. The findings from these previous studies generally shape the course of the current investigation. Today, literature searches can be vastly accelerated by using a number of computer-based searching programs that catalog even the most recently published studies. In addition, social psychologists can often instantly obtain unpublished articles

from researchers at other universities either through next computer networks or fax machines.

Important points in selection of question:

- It is important to go beyond a general description of a problem by narrowing and zeroing in on what you want to study.

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- Generate questions – Read theories on your topic, consider own experience, think of exceptions, note inconsistencies in previous research
- Scientific theory guides research by suggesting testable hypotheses.
- A real world problem: incident/ news/ personal experience/
- The research question usually has a relevance to researcher's culture and experience

The research question comes from:

- Previous research
- Real world

Sources of Literature:

- Books
- Research Articles
- Electronic databases, e.g., PsycINFO, etc.
- Unpublished material

Reference

~~3. Franzoi, S.L. (2006). *Social Psychology*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 2.~~

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~~Lesson 04~~

CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY:

Aims:

To make students understand how to conduct social psychology research using diverse scientific methodologies.

Objectives:

- ☞ Describe empirical research and scientific method
- ☞ Discuss basic steps in conducting social psychology research

RESEARCH PROCESS

Step 1: Selection of research question

Sternberg (1997) indicates that some questions are simply not worth asking. He suggests that we should ask several questions before deciding the question is good one or not:

- Is my research Question a Good One
- Why this question be scientifically important?
- What is the scope of this question?
- What are the likely outcomes if I carry out this question?
- Contribution to knowledge?
- Why would anyone be interested in the results obtained by asking and answering this question?

2. Develop a theory & hypothesis

STEP 2: DEVELOP A THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

The questions of interest usually revolve around whether some phenomenon can be explained by a particular principle or theory. A **theory** is an organized system of ideas that seeks to explain why two or more events are related. What makes a good theory depends on a number of factors. The most salient factor to the working scientist is *the predictive accuracy* of the theory: can it reliably predict behavior? A second necessary factor is *internal coherence*-there should not be any logical

inconsistencies or unexplained coincidences among any of the theoretical ideas. A third characteristic of a good theory is that it should be *economical*, meaning that it only contains the principles or concepts necessary to explain the phenomenon in question and no more. Finally, a fourth and very important quality in a good theory is fertility the ability to fire the imagination of other scientists so that the ideas in the theory are tested and extended to a wide variety of social behavior.

The way that scientists determine the predictive accuracy of a theory is by formulating hypotheses. **Hypotheses** are specific propositions or expectations about the nature of things derived from a theory — they are the logical implications of the theory. According to Stanovich (1988), theories that have withstood the test of time have had a lot of hypotheses confirmed.

Example:

Theory: Exposure to a lot of TV violence is detrimental to children's social development

Hypothesis: Individuals who watch a great deal of TV violence during childhood will be more physically aggressive in adulthood than individual who watch little TV violence

Step 3: Variables and Operational definitions are very precise descriptions of how the variables have been quantified so that they can be measured.

In all scientific methods, social psychologists seek to determine the nature of the relationship between two or more factors, called **variables** because they are things that can be measured and that can vary. **Two types of variables are used in hypothesis: dependent & independent variables.**

When scientists describe their variables, they do so by using **operational definitions.**

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Examples of translating Concepts into Operations

- “Absence makes the heart grow fonder”
- “Media violence increases aggression”

We need to transform our conceptual variables into operational variables. For example, we have to clearly define what we mean by “absence” and “growing fonder”, etc.

Example 2:

Example from Bandura's study (1965)

Exposure to successful aggressive models induces aggressive behaviour in the observer.

Hypothesis: Children who watch a model are either reinforced or given no consequence for being aggressive will be more likely to imitate the model than when the model is punished for being aggressive.

Operational Definitions:

Reinforcement: the model being given candy and soft drinks along with words of praise for a superb performance.

Punishment:

Another adult shaking a menacing finger at the aggressive model and saying, "Hey, you big bully. You quit picking on that clown. I won't tolerate it."

Relationship between concept, hypothesis, and operational definition

Table 1 illustrates the relationship between theory, hypothesis and operational

Step 4: Research Methods

After developing a theory and hypotheses, researchers must next select a scientific method that allows the hypotheses to be tested in a way that minimizes error and leads to dependable generalizations. The three primary scientific methods used by social psychologist are *observational, Correlational, and*

experimental.

1. Correlational
2. Observational
3. Experimental

Step 5: Evaluate Ethics

Conducting research always involves a consideration between the values of doing the research versus the impact on subjects: “cost/benefit analysis”

American Psychological Association requires the following requirements for conducting a research:

- Informed consent: voluntary participation with full understanding of the possible risk factors involved
- Anonymity: when neither the researcher nor the reader can identify a given response with a given respondent
- Protection from harm: Put respondent’s well-being first

~~Relationship between theories, hypothesis, and operational definition~~

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- Confidentiality: when the researcher can identify a given person’s response but not to do so publicly.
- Minimize deception: Deception is usually essential in order not to alter the respondents’ responses; Deception cannot be used about aspects of research that would affect participant's willingness to participate.
- Debriefing: interviewing subjects to learn about their experience of participation. Communicate results of study

Mailgram’s Experiment:

Mailgram’s experiment published in 1963 provided a very controversial experiment regarding ethical issues. The article was entitled: “Be a good boy & do as u r told to do”

In the 1960s and 1970s, the issue of research ethics was upper-most in the minds of social psychologists because of a few controversial studies that appeared to put participants at risk for psychological harm (Milgram, 1963; Zimbardo, 1972). The most controversial of these studies were Stanley Milgram's obedience experiments, in which volunteers agreed to act as teachers in a learning experiment that in actuality was a study of obedience.

Although this study and others of its kind asked important questions about social behavior, serious concerns were raised about whether the significance of the research topics justified exposing participants to potentially harmful psychological consequences.

Figure 1: Research participant working on shock generator

- Stanley Milgram wanted some explanations for the horrors of world world war II when six million Jews, gypsies, and homosexuals were slaughtered by the Nazis. He designed an experiment to measure obedience to know why Germans were particularly obedient.
- Basic design was to order a subject to administer an

electric shock to another person and to see how far they would go with this procedure.

- Created an impressive 'shock generator' with 30 switches marked clearly in 15 volt increments from 15 to 450 volts; verbal labels from slight shock to danger (severe). The phony generator had buzzers, lights that flashed and dials that moved; all appeared authentic.
- He found out that obedience to authority was not a feature of German culture but a seemingly universal feature of human behaviour. He published an article "Be a good boy and do as you are told"
- This experiment, although no shocks given, the victim's cries were taped, was very controversial as it did not satisfy ethical considerations of informed consent. procedure created extraordinary tension; participants appeared very stressed which showed up with their nervous laugh, tension, fits of laugh
- Of 40 subjects all obeyed up to 300 volts, at which 5 refused and 26 continued to the end.

The primary criticism on such experiments is that such deception could lead to a loss of trust in social scientists

Analysis of Milgram's Study

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• Diana Baumrind's criticism regarding psychological harms to the participants (1993): She found it difficult to understand the similarity between Hitler's Germany and Milgram's lab. Hitler's subordinates thought that they were doing the great job finishing the subhumans, while this experiment according to Diana had no parallel with that situation.

Milgram's Reply:

- Experiment investigated a very important issue
- Procedure was defined to the subject in a way that supported their decision to disobey
- Subjects were debriefed
- 84% were glad to participate
- 75% indicated that they had learned something of personal importance
- Subjects received a written report

Milgram's Conclusion

"This experiment strengthened my belief that man should avoid harm to his fellow men even at the risk of violating authority"

Current Ethical Guidelines

In 1974 the U.S. government established institutional review boards (IRBs) for research involving human participants. These reviewing bodies, which are composed of scientists, medical professionals, clergy, and other community members, who make sure that the welfare of human participants is protected.

In 1982, the American Psychological Association published guidelines focusing on the **risk/benefit ratio**.

Step 6: Collect Data

When the IRB has granted approval, it is time to collect data from your sample. A **sample** is a group of people who are selected to participate in a given study. The people who are selected to participate in the study come from a **population**, which consists of all the members of an identifiable group from which a sample is drawn. The closer a sample is in representing the population, the greater confidence researchers have in generalizing their findings beyond the sample.

Regarding the data collected from your sample of participants, there are two broad categories: **qualitative** and **quantitative**. Qualitative data exists in a nonnumeric form, such as a scientist's narrative report of a conversation between two people. In contrast, quantitative data is numerical.

A **sample** is a group of people who are selected to participate in a research study.

Population consists of all the members of an identifiable group from which a sample is drawn.

The people who are selected to participate in the study come from a **population**

Population can be events, people or things

Figure 2: The Relationship between Population, Parameters, Samples & Statistics

Some important points about population

and sample:

1. Population is the total number of subjects, events, or objects
2. Parameters are population characteristics
3. Sample is a subset of the population
4. Statistics are estimates of population parameters.
5. It is important to know the ability to generalize from a sample to the population which critically depends on the representativeness of the sample.

~~Individuals in a population differ from each other, e.g., one population may have 40%~~

~~The Relationship Between Population,~~

~~Parameters, Samples & Statistics~~

~~Population (N=1000)~~

~~Sample~~

~~(n=30)~~

~~Statistics;~~

~~e.g., mean;~~

~~variance~~

~~Statistics are estimates of~~

~~Parameters, e.g., true mean,~~

~~& variance of population~~

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~~males, and 60% females, while the other could have a ratio of 70 to 30. A sample is representative of the population to the extent it exhibits the same distribution of characteristics as the population.~~

Sampling Strategies

Probability samples: when each and every element has an equal chance of being included

- Simple random: Simple Random: All items in selected population stand an equal chance of inclusion in the sample; subjects usually chosen by random numbers
- Systematic random: Sample selected according to some regular pattern; every tenth or so.
- Stratified: include quotas of population/ subgroups (strata), gender, ethnic distribution, etc. to ensue an adequate sample of each. Usually population parameters are obtained from census. Representative random sampling of all strata must be taken.
- Cluster: initially a convenient group is selected but this is then sub sampled randomly. Any generalization outside the population actually sampled should be cautious.
- Hybrid or “multistage selection”: Initially based on a cluster of potential sampling frames (several areas, or institutions). One of them is randomly chosen, then individuals are randomly chosen from within the chosen sampling frame (institution, e.g.). Generalization outside actually sampled population avoided.

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1. Franzoi, S.L. (2006). *Social Psychology*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 2.
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~~Lesson 05~~

~~CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY RESEARCH PROCESS,~~

DESIGNS AND METHODS (CONTINUED)

Aims:

~~To make students understand how to conduct social psychology research using diverse scientific methodologies.~~

Objectives:

- ~~○ Describe empirical research and scientific method~~
- ~~○ Discuss basic steps in conducting social psychology research~~
- ~~○ Discuss important research designs~~
- ~~○ Describe observational research method~~

RESEARCH PROCESS

Step 6: Collect Data

In the previous lecture relationship between population and sample was described. Regarding different sampling strategies, probability sampling, where each and every member of the population has an equal chance of being included, was discussed. Hence, this lecture will start from Non-probability sampling techniques, which can not guarantee the representativeness of the sample of its base population.

Non-probability samples: May not be representative; validity of inferences about population characteristics is neither assumed nor testable

1. **Purposive sampling:** the investigator selects the elements to be included in the sample on the basis of their special characteristics.

2. **Accidental sampling:** involves selecting respondents primarily on the basis of their availability and willingness to respond, like newspaper interviews of people on the streets, their comments are interesting but not necessarily representative of the wider community:

3. **Convenience sampling:** group composition is heavily biased and results shall never be generalized. Commonly used in pilot studies.

4. **Call-in surveys:** usually used by TV and radio shows to poll the views of their audience. People, who are willing to call, pay the calls make the sample. Crossen (1994) compares the results obtained by a random sample survey, and a call-in survey. The question was, "should UN headquarter stay in the USA or not?". In the Call-in survey, a solid majority, 67%, of 1,86,000 callers replied that it should stay out of USA, while a clear majority, 72% of survey subjects wanted in the USA.). Despite a massive sample size, the call-in survey can not be considered representative.

Types of Data

Qualitative data exists in a nonnumeric form

Quantitative data is numerical.

Techniques of data collection

- Self reports: Useful to measure important subjective states, e.g., attitudes, emotions, and perceptions. However, they rely on people's own descriptions of internal states. Because of this drawback some people prefer direct observation
- Direct observations
- Archival information (accumulated records): court records, newspaper (my studies), census, govt. documents)

These techniques are not mutually exclusive

7. Analyze the data and Reevaluate the theory

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Once the data have been collected, the first part of the 7th step is to conduct data analysis, which usually requires extensive knowledge of statistical procedures and computer software packages. The two basic kinds of statistics are descriptive and inferential.

Types of statistics

- **Descriptive Statistics** merely summarize and describe the behavior or characteristics of a

particular sample of participants in a study.

- Inferential statistics move beyond mere description to make inferences about the larger population from which the sample was drawn.

After data analysis determines whether the hypotheses successfully predicted the outcome of the study, researchers next reevaluate the theory. Were the research hypotheses supported by the data, which thereby supports the validity of the theory? If the data do not support the study's hypotheses, or if only some of the hypotheses were supported, the theory probably needs revising.

Example: Hoveland and Sears (1940) found significant correlation between economic frustration and lynching of black by white people in Old South.

Analysis of data also determines the validity of theory.

Step 8: Report the Results

“If research was not “written up,” did it really occur?

Three ways to disseminate knowledge:

- Publishing articles in scientific journals
- Making presentations at professional meetings
- Personally informing other researchers

Parts of a research article

- Title
- Authors and their affiliations
- Abstract
- Introduction
- Method
- Results
- Discussion
- Conclusions
- References
- Tables
- Figures
- Appendices (if any)
- Footnotes (including Author Note)

Research Designs

It is almost always helpful to make a firm distinction between designs based on looking for differences between groups and those looking for relationships/ associations between variables (Cohen & Holiday, 1982). This distinction makes the subsequent choice of appropriate analyses and statistics much more straightforward.

Important Research Designs

There are 3 important research designs.

1. Descriptive investigations: Non-experimental designs geared towards describing phenomena. e.g., a quantitative study to determine the normal range of body temperature of a population; a qualitative study of the environment in an intensive care unit.

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2. Designs based on differences between groups

- **Independent/ unrelated groups:** ideally created by random independent sampling, or by post-hoc division.
- **Dependent/ related groups:** groups linked by some factor which means that the values of one group are likely to influence the others (correlated); a clear example is the use of repeated-measures design to assess change over time. Repeated-measure are very popular designs as they require less subjects as they act as their own control. Moreover, within subject variability stays the same under all repeated conditions. However, they have

problems of order effect, which can be overcome by counterbalancing, a strategy when half of the group is tested before (in condition 1), and the other half is tested first in the 2nd condition, and the order is reversed for both groups. A similar design to repeated/dependent group design is matched samples design, where subjects are so closely matched across conditions that they are related.

3. Designs based on association between variables: Also used in experimental situations when the level of a variable is manipulated and associated change in the other variable is investigated, e.g., effect of punishment and reward on performance.

Extensions of earlier 3 designs:

- **Longitudinal designs:** Really an extension of a simple repeated measure design; subjects or events are studied in order to investigate change over prolonged periods of time, as in some case studies. It may also be called a kind of extended dependent group design.

- **Mixed designs** are combinations of independent and dependent group designs, hence having the characteristics of both.

Most Common Research Methods

The most commonly used research methods used in social psychology research are:

- Observational research
- Correlational research: Surveys
- Experimental Methods

Observational Research

Description Is the Goal of Observational Research

To understand behavior so that it can be predicted, controlled, or explained, a scientist must first describe it accurately. **Observational** research is a scientific method involving systematic qualitative and/or quantitative descriptions of behavior. In collecting this data, the scientific observer would not try to manipulate (that is, change) the behavior under study but would simply record it. Description is the primary goal here. The common types of observational methods employed by social psychologists are *naturalistic observation*, *participant observation*, and *archival research*.

Characteristics of observational research

- Simply record the behaviour, don't attempt to change it
- High in validity: as the observed behaviour is real, and actual sample of target behaviour rather than a sign of behavior .e.g., observation of prosocial behaviour at the time of real accident on the road.
- High in resource consumption: many apparatus or instruments may be required, timeconsuming, difficult to quantify

Essentials of Observation

1. Functional Analysis (Skinner, 1972) is an essential of observation consisting on:

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- Antecedent
- Behavior
- Consequence

2. Categories of behaviour

Categories of target behaviour need to be very clearly described and then operationally defined for better understanding and measurement. For example, Interpersonal interaction could have following further categories: initiates conversation, maintains conversation, maintains eye contact, among others, etc.

Categories of Aggressive behaviour:

Physical or verbal?

Physical: Pushing, hitting, kicking, punching, pinching, biting, throwing things, slapping, etc.

Verbal: Staring, frowning, cursing, speaking in a threatening way, name calling, etc

Readings

2. Franzoi, S.L. (2006). *Social Psychology*. New York: McGraw Hill. Chapter 2

Lesson 06
CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
OBSERVATIONAL METHOD

Essentials: Operational Definition

Compliance: A person immediately does what is asked of him or her

Humiliate: making fun of, shames or embarrass the individual intentionally

Other Essentials

- Format? Format: frequency, intensity, or duration?
- Recording: by writing in diaries, sophisticated instruments on kind of wrist watches, video, audio?
- Validity: determined by validity of categories, and inter-rater reliability (known as Kappa correlation)

Common types of observational methods

- Naturalistic observation
- Participant observation
- Archival research

Naturalistic observation is a form of observational method that investigates behavior in its natural environment (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). In such naturalistic studies, observers usually remain as unobtrusive as possible, so that their presence does not influence the behavior under study. In some observational studies, researchers are not present at all during data collection—hidden video cameras record the events. Later, researchers analyze the behaviors being investigated

Advantages:

- Behaviour remains unobtrusive
- Besides being used as the primary scientific method, also can be used during the initial phases of a project

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Another type of observational method is **participant observation**. Here, as in naturalistic observation, a researcher records behavior as it occurs in its natural environment but does so as a participant of the group being studied (Whyte, 1994). One of the chief benefits of this research strategy is that it allows investigators to get closer to what they are studying than any other method. An example is Leon Festinger's study (1957) on cognitive dissonance to observe the Chicago based doomsday cult. Mrs. Keetch, leader of the cult, claimed that she was in contact with the aliens from outer space. She also claimed that world will end on 21st December; the only survivors will be the cult. It was one of the first tests of cog. dissonance theory that people's thoughts and actions are motivated by a desire to maintain cognitive consistency. By participant observers, they found that people of cult rather than leaving the group believed that the group had saved the world. Other researchers have used this to conduct field experiments to investigate "when prophecy fails"

Advantages

Listed below are four advantages of both naturalistic and participant observation research (Hong & Duff, 2002; Weick, 1985):

1. Allow researchers the opportunity to watch behavior in its "wholeness," providing the full context in which to understand it.
2. Provide researchers the opportunity to record rare events that may never occur in a controlled laboratory environment.

3. Allow researchers the opportunity to systematically record events that were previously seen only by nonscientists.
4. Allow researchers to observe events that would be too risky, dangerous, or unethical to create in the laboratory.

Problems of observation

Despite numerous benefits in using naturalistic and participant observation methods, some problems also bear mentioning.

- First, due to the **absence of control that** researchers have in such studies, conclusions must be drawn very cautiously.
- A second problem is **observer bias**, which occurs when scientists' preconceived ideas about what they are studying affect the nature of their observations. Bias occurs when scientists' preconceived ideas about what they are studying affect the nature of them observations; e.g., believing ahead of time that men are aggressive than women; interrater reliability and clear definitions of aggression will help
- A third potential problem facing you in naturalistic and participant observation research is that your presence can significantly **alter the behavior of those being studied?** and thus taint the data.
- Finally, one last problem posed by these types of observational methods is that, more than any other scientific methods, **they pose the most ethical problems involving invasion of others' privacy.**

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The third observational method that we will discuss is **archival research**, which examines the **already-existing records of an individual, group, or culture**. Examples of archival material include

diaries, music lyrics, television programs, census information, novels, and newspapers.

A popular procedure for evaluating information in archives is *content analysis*, a technique in which two or more people (called judges), working independently, count words, sentences, ideas, or whatever other category of information is of interest.

Archival research is often used to examine the beliefs, values, and interests of a culture.

Example: Study (1994-7) of Federman (1998)

A total of 80 researchers at 4 universities assessed TV violence in 2700 randomly selected programs from 6.00 a.m. To 11.00 p.m. 2000 hours.

Definition of Violence: As any depiction of physical force, or the credible threat of such force, intended to harm an animate being/group.

Lesson 07

CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY CORRELATIONAL METHOD:

Correlational Research

Besides describing behavior, social psychologists are also interested in learning whether two or more variables are related, and if so, how strongly. **When changes in one variable relate to changes in another variable, we say that they *correlate*.** **Correlational research** assesses the nature

of the relationship between two or more variables that are not controlled by the researcher. In

studying the relationship between children's TV viewing habits and their aggressive behavior, researchers using the correlational method do not try to influence how much time any of the children in the study actually spend viewing violent shows. Instead, they merely gather information on the amount of time the children spend watching such programs and their degree of aggressive behavior, and then determine how these two variables correlate. A correlation assesses the extent to which two variables covary.

Correlation indicates?

- Direction
- Magnitude of a relationship

The direction and strength of the relationship between two variables are described by the statistical measure known as the **correlation coefficient** (r). *Strength Basis of prediction*

This correlation coefficient can range from -1.00 to +1.00 (perfect correlations). Figure 1 demonstrates positive and negative relationships, along with zero or no relationship.

Correlation & Causality

Cannot be used to determine “cause and effect” correlation between being outgoing and satisfied with life;

Two problems in determining causality:

- *reverse-causality problem* (aggressive boys) causes an effect effect an be cause
- *third-variable problem*: Spurious relationship extra variable causing effect

Correlation: Path Analysis: A statistical technique is used to understand potential causes of correlational relationships

Figure 4 illustrates the direct relation between parental support and getting adjusted in college, while a mediating variable, approach coping, is also indirectly affecting these two links.

SURVEYS

Although studying the relationships among variables can be done by directly observing behavior or examining archived information, it is often accomplished by asking people carefully constructed questions. **Surveys** are structured sets of questions or statements given to a group of people to measure their attitudes, beliefs, values, or behavioral tendencies (Lavrakas, 1993; Schuman, 2002).

The four major survey techniques are face-to-face surveys, written surveys, phone surveys, and computer surveys.

The face-to-face format provides highly detailed information and allows researchers the best opportunity to clarify any unclear questions. However, it is costly and there is always the possibility that people's responses might be influenced by the interviewer's presence. Written, phone, and computer surveys eliminate such interviewer bias and are much less expensive.

An important consideration in constructing surveys involves how questions are asked. Survey questions usually are either open-ended or closed-ended.

Types of questions:

- Closed-ended questions
- Open-ended questions

Examples

Closed-ended: Do you enjoy chatting online?

Response: Yes_____ No_____

-How much you enjoy chatting online?

Likert Scales:

Birth control should be absolutely prohibited?

Strongly disagree strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5

Social Psychology-Lecture 2: e.g., Likert Scale

Open-ended: Why do you like (or not enjoy) chatting online?

Response _____

An *open-ended question* requires a response that must have more than just a yes or no answer—research participants provide a narrative response.

A closed-ended question, in contrast, is

answered with a yes or no, or by choosing a single response from several alternatives. Closed ended questions are the quickest and easiest to score. In contrast, open-ended questions may provide information from respondents that might be missed with closed-ended questions.

However, open-ended responses require coding by carefully trained judges and this is a time consuming process.

One of the most important considerations in conducting surveys—as well as when using other methods—is getting responses from people who represent the population as a whole. **This representative sample is often obtained through random selection**, which is a procedure in which everyone in the population has an equal chance of being selected for the sample. As long as a sample is selected randomly, you are reasonably assured that the data will represent the overall population. However, when samples are not randomly selected, drawing conclusions from the data can lead to serious errors.

Finally, one last problem in conducting survey research is **social desirability bias**, which occurs when people respond to survey questions by trying to portray them in a favorable light rather than responding in an accurate and truthful manner

Order & format of Questionnaires

- Start with easy, salient and nonthreatening questions
- Avoid beginning with demographic and open-ended questionnaire
- **Funneling procedure: start with more general and move to more specific questions**
- Where appropriate, follow a chronological order, e.g., in job dates, case histories, etc.
- Only use ‘filter’ questions when unavoidable: Only use ‘filter’ questions (e.g., if yes, go to 31, if no, to 14) when unavoidable: it is likely that respondent may answer in such a way as to reduce the total number of questions.
- Avoid using double negatives.
- In face-to-face interviews, provide cards to show the scale

Threatening Questions

How to ask? “Did you kill your wife” (Barton, 1958)

1. The casual approach

“Do you happen to have murdered your wife”

2. The numbered card

Would you please tick the number on this card which corresponds to what happened to your wife?

The natural death

I killed her

The everyday approach

“As you know many people have been killing their wives these days. Do you happen to have killed yours?”

The other people approach

Do you know any people who have murdered their wives?

How about yourself?

The Kinsey technique

Stare firmly into respondents and ask in a matter of fact way:

“Did you ever kill your wife?”

Remember to put such question at the end of the interview

Important considerations in conducting surveys

- **Representative sample** obtained through **random selection**
- Social desirability bias should be minimized: Social desirability bias, which occurs when people respond to survey questions by trying to portray themselves in a favorable light rather than responding in an accurate and truthful manner

Designs in Surveys

Survey research is carried out according to an overall plan - a research design

Cross-sectional design: In Cross-sectional designs, one or more samples are drawn at one point in time; e.g., groups of different ages

Longitudinal design

Trend studies/ Successive samples: Different samples of respondents from the population complete the survey over a time period; they do not allow researcher to study changes in a population over time. A problem occurs when the samples drawn are not comparable; change in values of students, whether contemporary citizens are more informed than citizens of an earlier generation.

Cohorts' studies (usually age group) typically, a cohort is an age group, but may refer to other groups also, like people who got married during 1940.

Panel studies: the same respondents are surveyed over time (at several points in time) in order to examine changes in individual respondents; within subject variability is reduced; Practice effect and drop outs are there. Moreover, if time points are more, then it is a massive effort

Lesson 08

CONDUCTING RESEARCH IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

EXPERIMENTAL METHOD

Experimental methods

Experimental methods are research designs to examine cause-effect relationships.

The variable that is manipulated is called the independent variable, while the variable whose changes are considered to be the effect of the manipulated changes in the independent variable is called the **dependent variable** (e.g., **varying lighting conditions and performance of students**)

Experimental and control groups are two main groups used in experimental methods

Experimental Method:

Description

Because correlational studies

cannot definitively tell us why variables are related to one another, social psychologists use **experimental methods** to examine cause-effect relationships. In an experiment, the scientist manipulates one variable by exposing research participants to it at contrasting levels (for example, high, medium, low, no exposure), and then observes what effect this manipulation has on the other variable that has not been manipulated. The variable that is manipulated is called the **independent variable**, and it is the one the experimenter is testing as the possible cause of any changes that might occur in the other variable. The variable whose changes are considered to be the effect of the manipulated changes in the independent variable is called the **dependent variable**. The dependent variable is the response measure of an experiment that is dependent on the participant's response to the experimenter's manipulation of the setting (the independent variable)

A number of experimental studies have explored whether watching violent entertainment programs leads to increased aggressiveness in children. The independent variable in this study was exposure to violent films. In two cottages at the school, boys were shown a violent film every night for one week (for example, *Bonnie and Clyde*, *The Dirty Dozen*). The boys in two other cottages were shown the same number of nonviolent films during the same period of time (for example, *Lily*, *Daddy's Fiancée*). Significant differences were found between the two groups of boys, with the treatment group exhibiting higher levels of aggression both toward other boys and toward inanimate objects. Based on these findings, the social psychologists concluded that exposure to violent films had indeed caused increased aggressiveness.

FIELD EXPERIMENTS

The study just described is a special type of experiment called a *field experiment*, which is similar to the more common *laboratory experiment*, except that it is run in a natural setting, and participants often do not realize they are being studied. This greater realism increases the study's **external validity**, which is the extent to which its findings can be generalized to people beyond those in the study itself.

Unfortunately, one drawback to field experiments is that researchers have less control over what is happening to each participant during the study because they are in a setting where many variables are uncontrollable. These problems of control decrease the study's **internal validity**, which is the extent to which cause-and-effect conclusions can validly be made (Cook & Shadish, 1994).

LABORATORY EXPERIMENTS

By far, most social psychology experiments are conducted in laboratories. As an illustration, consider the following experiment investigating the effects that two independent variables, television violence and anger; have on boys' aggressive behavior. In this study, Donald Hartmann (1969) randomly assigned teenage boys to different levels of the two independent variables. At the beginning of the experiment, the boys, anger was manipulated by either having a **confederate** of the experimenter—who was posing as a fellow participant—insult him or treat him in a neutral fashion. Following the anger manipulation, the boys were assigned to one of three film conditions lasting two minutes. The first minute of each film showed two boys shooting baskets on a basketball court. For the remaining minute, the boys in the control group film merely played basketball, while in the two treatment-group films one of the boys began beating the other following an argument

After viewing the film, each boy participated in a seemingly unrelated learning study. As the "teacher" in the study, the participant was instructed to administer an electrical shock to a "learner" whenever the learner made a mistake on the learning task. The learner was the confederate who had either insulted the participant or treated him neutrally. The intensity of the shock chosen by the boys was the dependent variable. In reality, no shocks were ever delivered, but the boys were not aware of this until the end of the experiment. As predicted, boys exposed to a violent film and boys previously angered tried to deliver stronger shocks to the learner than did boys in the control conditions. Further, boys who had been both angered and exposed to a violent film chose the strongest shock levels of the six groups of boys. Thus, the combination of being exposed to a violent film while angry caused the greatest amount of aggression.

The experiment of Hartman is an example of complex experiments, which is illustrated in the following complex Lab designs.

Complex Experimental Design: Interaction

The main advantage of a lab experiment like Hartmann's is that variables can be well controlled, thus increasing internal validity. An important component of this control is that participants can be randomly assigned to the different levels of the independent variable.

Unfortunately, because of the researcher's desire to control as much of the experimental situation as possible in order to properly assign causality, an air of artificiality may exist in the lab (Gosling, 2004; Rozin, 2001).

Making Experiments Real

Experimenters recognize two types of realism

Experimental realism

Does the experimental situation feel real to the participants in that situation?

Mundane realism

Does the experiment have the look and feel of situations in the outside world?

Counterbalancing is applied to reduce order effect of same individuals exposed to 2 or more conditions called ABBA design: Changing the sequence of conditions for the participants; advantages are less subject variability, and more strong conclusions about causality

Matched participants

Other Research Methods used in Social Research

Meta Analysis

The findings from a single study are far less convincing than the findings from a series of related studies. This is why researchers are so interested in replication, which involves repeating a study

using different participants in an attempt to duplicate previous findings. To rely on more sophisticated comparison procedures when dealing with contradictory findings-from replication studies, researchers now use techniques called meta-analysis (Hall & Brannick, 2002).

Meta-analysis is a statistical technique to determine whether specific variables have important effects across many studies. Meta-analysis is the use of statistical techniques to sum up a body of similar studies in order to objectively estimate the reliability and overall size of the effect.

Social Psychologists Are Increasingly Using Emerging Technologies in Their Research

In addition to using more powerful statistical techniques, an increasing number of social psychologists are employing new technologies in their study of social interaction.

1. VIRTUAL ENVIRONMENT TECHNOLOGY

Recently, some social psychologists believe they have found a possible remedy to the dilemma of choosing between greater control and greater realism in experiments (Blascovich, 2003). They recommend using virtual environment technology, in which they create a virtual research environment using a computer. Virtual environment technology creates a virtual research environment using a computer.

2. THE INTERNET

The Internet is a relatively new medium for communication, and many social psychologists are employing it as an avenue to collect data. One of the biggest advantages in using the Internet is that researchers can recruit participants from the entire world and test them remotely (Birnbaum, 2004). This technology has greatly facilitated the ability of social psychologists to conduct crosscultural research. For example, in a series of Internet experiments on social exclusion, Kipling Williams and his colleagues (2000) collected data from more than 1,500 participants from over sixty countries. Other advantages of the Internet as a data collection site are that studies can be run without the presence of a researcher, without the need for large laboratories, without expensive equipment (except access to a computer and an Internet connection), and without limitations on the time of day in which the data are collected.

Web-based studies are not without limitations. Obtaining a representative sample is one of the primary concerns with Internet studies. Another limitation of the Internet is that researchers cannot guarantee that someone hasn't sent multiple copies of the same data to them masquerading as different participants.

3. BRAIN-IMAGING TECHNIQUES

In the last decade, new technologies have permitted us to peer deep into the living brain, providing researchers with a unique opportunity to understand how social thinking and behavior are associated with neural activity. Brain-imaging techniques provide researchers with measures of participants, neural activity while they engage in various tasks. The most commonly used brain-imaging techniques are:

The electroencephalograph (EEG)

Computerized axial tomography (CAT)

Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI)

Positron-emission tomography (PET)

Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI).

Conclusion: There is no one best method in all research settings. In each investigation, social psychologists must decide what method provides the best opportunity of meeting the study's goals.

Lesson 09 THE SELF

The Self Introduction

“No topic is more interesting to people than people. For most people, moreover, the most interesting is the self (Baumeister, *The self in social Psychology*, 1999)

1. In 1999, the word “self” appeared in 9269 book and article summaries in *Psychological Abstracts*.
1. Self concept is person’s answer to the question “who I am”
2. Twenty Statement Test (TST) by Kuhn & McPartland (1954) have been used to have an idea about one’s self-concept.
3. Self-schemas are beliefs about self that organize and guide the processing of self-relevant information
4. Self-schemas powerfully affect how we process social information

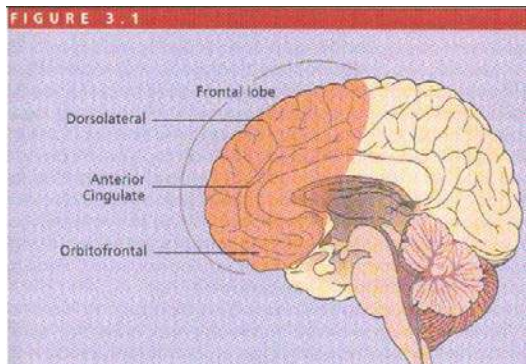
The Self Is a Symbol-Using, Self-Reflective, Social Being

The self is both a simple and a complex concept. It is not a mental construct located inside your head—it is you, a social being with the ability to engage in symbolic communication and selfawareness.

The reason the word “social being” is used to define the self is because selves develop in isolation, but only do so within a social context (Baumeister & Twenge, 2003; Hardin, 2004). Self-awareness and symbol usage—and thus, the self—may have evolved in our ancestors as a means to better deal with an increasingly complex social environment.

What brain area accounts for these remarkable cognitive abilities? Neuroscientists have identified the frontal lobes of the cerebral cortex as the primary source (Heatherton et al., 2004). The **cerebral cortex** is the wrinkled-looking outer layer of brain tissue that coordinates and integrates all other brain areas into a fully functioning unite. This is the brain's "thinking" center, and it is much larger in humans than in other animals.

The **frontal lobes** are involved in the coordination of movement and higher mental processes such as planning, social skills, and abstract thinking (Poldrack & Wagne 2004), and anterior cingulate of frontal lobe is involved in self-awareness



Most influential theorists of the concept of self

The most influential contributors to our understanding of the self were two early social theorists, psychologist William James and sociologist George Herbert Mead, and the contemporary self theories are based on the insights of them. In both James's and Mead's theories, the self is described as having two separate aspects, the self as knower (the I) and the self as known (the

me). The "I" is the active perceiver, initiator, and regulator of action; the "me" is the knowledge one has about oneself.

Types of self-awareness

Private self-awareness: It is temporary state of being aware of private, hidden self-aspects. We are aware of our private self when we looking ourselves in mirror, or become aware of our stomach cramps.

Public awareness: Public is being aware of public-self aspects. We become aware of our public self, when, e.g., we are being watched by others, or our photograph is taken.

Lesson 10 THE SELF (Continued)

Development of Self awareness

- Not inborn
- **Infants (9-12 months)** take their mirror image as of another child. They must first develop internalized identity to recognize their external mirror image
- **Later stage of infancy:** one recognizes that one is a separate individual around 18 months. Perhaps it develops with the growth of spindle cells of anterior cingulate, which are not present at birth.
- **Childhood:** one labels personal qualities and abilities
- **Adolescence:** the self becomes critically important as a basis for making life decisions
- **Middle & Late Adulthood:** the self continues to change, though generally not as extensively

Effects of Private self awareness

- **Intensification of affect:** Any negative or positive feelings experienced when privately self-aware will be exaggerated. For example, person privately self-aware can become very happy or unhappy on some event.
- **Clarification of knowledge:** Private events become clearer and more distinct, thus increasing our ability to report on them
- **Greater adherence to personal standards of behavior:** You are more likely to act in line with your personal beliefs than to conform to social pressures

Effects of public awareness

- **Evaluation apprehension:** You may experience greater anxiety when you realize that you are the object of others' attention. We know through experience that public examination results in either positive or negative outcomes.
- **Temporary loss of self-esteem:** Temporary loss of self-esteem may occur when there is greater discrepancy between ideal and actual public self; that explains why we feel bad after a failed presentation.
- **Greater adherence to social standards of behavior:** A heightened sense of traditionalism is expected from a public self-aware person.

As far as comparison between personal and public self-awareness are concerned, some scientists believe that People are motivated by a desire to meet personal goals, while other believe that we are largely a reflected image of our social group. Both are good in their own limited fashion.

Self-consciousness as a personality trait

Individual differences in self-reflection: When we are self-aware, the focus is only temporary. But

some people spend more time in self-reflecting than others. Habitual tendency to engage in self-awareness is known as the personality trait of self-consciousness

Private self-consciousness and public self-consciousness: Tendency to be aware of private aspects

of self, and tendency to be aware of publicly displayed aspects of self.

Advantages of private self-consciousness

- Self-disclosure improves relationships
- The physical health is less likely to be adversely affected as people notice early signs of illness and thus are more likely to take precautionary measures

Negatives of private self-consciousness

Habitual tendency can contribute to depression and neuroticism. **Neuroticism is the trait of chronic unhappiness.** There is some debate whether private self-consciousness can make one a better person. Some people argue that yes it does. However, others warn that one should not analyze one's feelings so much as it can drive one crazy. Studies have suggested reducing self-awareness by engaging in distracting activities (Moskalenko & Heine, 2003). When people's performance fall short of their expectations, the resulting frustration is aggravated by prolonged attention to private self. It intensifies one's emotional reactions.

Studies have suggested reducing self-awareness by engaging in distracting activities (Moskalenko

& Heine, 2003). Distracting attention from self can improve well-being, like watching TV, gardening, etc.

Public self-consciousness effects

More concerned about how others judge us More conforming to group norms

More likely to withdraw from embarrassing situations More concerned about our physical appearance

Self regulation

Self-regulation is the most important function of self, which is associated with the "I" aspect of self. During the course of our everyday life, we perform countless activities in which we don't have to think as they have become habits. But we have to sometime consciously control and exert a lot of cognitive effort in the process. It refers to the way in which people control and direct their actions.

It provides us with the capacity to forgo the immediate gratification of small rewards to later attain larger rewards. Study of Shoda et al. (1990) showed the survival value of self-regulation. They found out that people who learn how to delay gratification in childhood are better adjusted later in life.

Self Control Theory: Test-Operate-Test-Exit: TOTE: We test us against some standard, when we find that we are falling short of some standard, then we operate to change ourselves (study more), in the second phase we test us again, then exit when there is no or less difference between our behavior and the standard, then we are happy and exit.

Emotional consequences of not meeting the standard

Self-discrepancy is the distance between our self concept and ideal self, or how we believe/others think we should be (ought self);

Discrepancy produces strong emotions (Higgins, 1987):

Dejection-related emotions: Dejection: frustration, depression; with ideal self, e.g., I wish I was more physically attractive Agitation related emotions are anxiety, guilt which arise as a result of discrepancy with ought self,

e.g., I should help my family with more money but I can't

Self-Regulation failure

Negative emotions hinder the type of self-regulation necessary for achieving long-term goals. For example, you are dieting but when depressed start eating more. At any given time, we have limited energy to self-regulate. Each exercise depletes this energy. So, after exercising one activity of self-regulation, we find it hard on other unrelated activity.

Baumeister et al. (1998) maintained that self-regulating on one task makes it harder to immediately self-regulate on unrelated tasks. They concluded that exertion of self-control causes a subsequent decline in activity. For example, you did not go to party because of exams, and found it difficult to control anger when your brother was noisy later in the evening. Hence, exertion of self-control causes a subsequent decline in activity

Self schemas

_ Schemas are ingredients of self-concept. They are how knowledge about us is organized in memory.

_ Computer metaphor: the subjective self "I" consists of programs components, and the objective self "me" in other words schemas are the data aspect of the computer.

_ A schema is a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about some stimulus. The term schema has been borrowed from cognitive psychology.

_ Based on our experience; we can have schemas about things, people, and events.

_ We may be self-schematic or a schematic toward something. The qualities that are important to us, we are self-schematic about them. In contrast things which are not central to our self-concept we are a schematic for them.

GENDER SCHEMA

This self-labeling, known as **gender identity**, is the identification of oneself as a male or a female and the internalization of this fact into one's self-concept. Knowing that "I am a girl" or "I am a boy" is one of the core building blocks in a child's developing self-theory (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Once gender identity fully develops – around the age of 6 or 7 – little if anything can change it (Money & Ehrhardt, 1972).

A simplified representation of self-schemas

When children develop gender identity they strive to act in ways consistent with this identity. According to Sandra Bem (1981), if a culture emphasizes distinctions between women and men, then children growing up in that culture learn to process information about themselves, other people, and even things and events according to their perceived gender associations. In other words, they develop a **gender schema**, which is a cognitive structure for processing information based on its perceived female or male qualities.

For example, in North American culture, personal characteristics such as physical attractiveness cooperation and empathy, activities such as skipping rope and cooking, or even animals such as cats and birds come to be perceived as having a female connotation.

The fact that, in most cultures, masculine activities are more highly valued than feminine activities may largely explain why men score slightly higher than women on standard measures of global self-esteem (Kling et al., 1999).

Culture Shapes the Structure of Self-Concept

At the beginning of this chapter I asked you to contemplate who you are by describing yourself twenty times. Sociologists Manford Kuhn and Thomas McPartland devised this Twenty Statements Test (TST) in 1954 to measure self-concept. A common technique used to analyze TST responses (see Hartley, 1970) is to code each response into one of four categories; *physical self-descriptions* identify self in terms of physical qualities that do not imply social interaction ("I am a male"; "I am a brunette"; "I am overweight"); *social self-descriptions* identify self in terms of social roles, institutional memberships, or other socially defined statuses ("I am a student"; "I am a daughter"; "I am a Jew"); *attributive self-descriptions* identify self in terms of psychological or physiological states or traits ("I am intelligent"; "I am assertive"; "I am tired"); *global self-descriptions* identify self so comprehensively or vaguely that it does not distinguish one from any other person ("I am a human being"; "I am alive"; "I am me").

LESSON 11 THE SELF (CONTINUED)

Applied Social Psychology Lab: Negatives of private self consciousness

We all indulge in self-awareness, but if focus too much after a failure, it can intensify our negative emotions; we may become depressed. Hence outcome of negative self-consciousness may be indulgence in self destructive activities.

Examples: Binge eating; substance abuse; two most serious problems of youth today (Wechsler et al., 2000). The purpose is usually to reduce awareness of some distressing events. For example, in binge eating attention is redirected on chewing, tasting and swallowing, temporary relief from depression. According to Hull et al. (1986) UGs high in self-consciousness are more likely to indulge in substance use after academic failures.

Application of self-regulation theory

- Focus your awareness beyond the immediate situation and pay attention to long term goals.
- Pay attention to cues that trigger undesirable behavior, e.g., cues in social environment like arguments with family members
- Recognize when your resolve is weak. As mentioned earlier people have limited amount of energy at any given time to regulate, they should not exert in an unrelated activity
- Establishing an implementation intention are statements to yourself that as soon as a particular situation occurs you will be automatically initiate goal-directed behavior.
- Adaptive self-regulation of unattainable goals: Worsch et al.'s study (2003) with parents of cancer children.

Journal Activity

Each of us as individuals has a unique perspective on the world that is in part derived from the groups to which we belong. Our cultural background contributes to how we think, feel, and behave in the social world. Culture here is defined broadly and may include many types of things such as your ethnicity, religion, race, family size, geographical location, generation, and gender orientations. The procedure of this activity is as written below:

“Think about your own cultural background. Describe some ways that it has impacted your view of and behavior in the world. Some examples of influence include (but are certainly not limited to) patterns of family interaction, expectations regarding marriage, music preferences, food preferences, style of dress, values, sense of humor, political affiliation, behavior in public places, propensity toward competitiveness, ambition, gender roles, and conversational style. Also construct your self schema model”

Possible historical effects

Using this classification scheme, Louis Zurcher (1977) found that while American college students in the 1950s and early 1960s tended to describe themselves in terms of social roles, college students in the 1970s identified themselves in terms of psychological attributes. This self-concept trend has continued (Trafimow et al., 1991) and coincides with a rise in individualistic attitudes among Americans (Roberts & Helson, 1997).

Zurcher suggests that these self-concept and attitudinal changes are due to wide-spread cultural changes beginning in the 1950s (Wood & Zurcher, 1988).

In reaction to this dissatisfaction, Zurcher asserted that college students' identification with personal qualities rather than institutional affiliations was an attempt to achieve a greater feeling of personal control over their lives.

Individualist Collectivist comparisons

In general, American, Canadian, and European self-concepts are composed of predominantly attributive self-descriptions, indicating that these individualist cultures foster the development of an **independent self** for their members. In contrast, people from collectivist cultures such as China, Mexico, Japan, India, and Kenya have more social self-descriptions, indicating a fostering of an **interdependent self** (Kanagawa et al., 2001; Ma & Schoeneman, 1997). Within collectivist societies, childrearing practices emphasize conformity, cooperation, dependence, and knowing one's proper place, whereas within more individualist societies, independence, self-reliance, and personal success are stressed. One consequence of these differing views is that in an individualist society, people develop a belief in their own uniqueness and diversity (Miller, 1988). This sense of individuality is nurtured and fostered within the educational system (see table 3.4), and its manifestation is considered a sign of maturity (Pratt, 1991). On the other hand, in a collectivist society, uniqueness and individual differences are often seen as impediments to proper self-growth

(Kim & Choi, 1994). Instead, the self becomes most meaningful and complete when it is closely identified with—not independent of—the group (DeVos, 1985)

What about biculturalists?

Although cultures can be characterized as being more oriented toward individualism or collectivism, not everyone living within a particular culture will have the same individualist/collectivist leanings (Ayyash-Abdo, 2001).

Although we tend to cognitively suppress the simultaneous activation of competing social identities (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004), such suppression is not always successful. When biculturalists' dual views of themselves and their worlds collide, this can lead to internal conflict; as they attempt to reconcile individualist strivings with collectivist yearnings (Sussman, 2000).

How is this conflict best resolved? Based on studies of Pueblo, Navajo, Latino, Iranian American, Indian American, and Asia American/Canadian children and adults, neither abandoning one's ancestral collectivist culture nor isolating oneself from the dominant individualist culture is good for mental health (Benet-Martinez & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2003; Joe, 1994). Instead,

successful biculturalism entails retaining ancestral values and practices while incorporating new values and practices from the dominant culture.

Evaluating the self

It consists of numerous evaluations of self as being good, bad, or mediocre. This evaluative aspect of the "me" is called **self-esteem**. This difference in evaluating the self has important consequences for people's lives. Individuals with low self-esteem are generally more unhappy and pessimistic (DeNeve & Cooper, 1998; Shepperd et al., 1996), less willing to take risks to benefit themselves (Josephs et al., 1992), more likely to encounter academic and financial problems (Crocker & Luhtanen, 2003), less likely to have successful careers (Judge & Bono, 2001), and less likely to be physically healthy (Vingilis et al., 1998) than high self-esteem individuals.

Self-Esteem Development and stability

Feelings of self-worth gradually develop during childhood, with parents playing a critical role in determining its evaluative direction. Although young children do not have a recognizable sense of self-esteem, during middle childhood, their increasing cognitive maturity allows them to integrate others' evaluations of them and their own self-assessments into a global sense of self-esteem.

Research conducted in more than 200 cultures that children with high self-esteem usually have authoritative parents – who exert control not merely by imposing rules and consistently enforcing

Lesson 12 THE SELF (CONTINUED)

Introduction

People in western culture may have greater difficulty in knowing who they are today than they did in the past.

That knowing the self has become progressively more difficult. In earlier times, identity was fixed at birth by the family's recognized place in society. Today, people in many western cultures have so much freedom and mobility that they have to "discover" who they are. People may no longer know which of many possible selves is "the real me".

Ways of achieving self-fulfillment have changed along with ways of defining the self. In the Late Medieval period, for instance, Christians who observed the church's strictures were guaranteed fulfillment in heaven. Some psychologists believe that people in the modern era, in contrast, lead empty lives that they try to fill with meaningless consumption of material goods.

Modern people have a vague idea that they would like to achieve a goal called "**self-actualization**," but they are not certain what self-actualization is (Baumeister, 1987). In the "self and society" column, we see that the relationship between self and society has become progressively worse. People in the late medieval era derived both their identity and their fulfillment from their recognized place in what they regarded as a "great chain of being" in which all God's creatures had assigned places. By the early twentieth century, however, people came to believe that society was standing in the way of their personal fulfillment, so they became hostile and critical. In the late twentieth century, people know that society does little

to help them in their voyage of self-discovery. People have both a personal identity and a "collective" or social identity. Personal identity is independent of other people; social identity consists of being identified with groups or categories. A social identity is more than just a cognitive category. It is also a network of social relationships (Abrams, 1992; Ethier & Deaux, 1994). People in modern Western cultures may emphasize the personal identity over the social identity.

However, in traditional cultures generally social identity is emphasized over personal identity. Two frequently used methods for arriving at a personal identity are: reflecting on individual characteristics and using the social context.

Reflecting on individual characteristics

The first four processes involve primarily private knowledge. They are ways of thinking about a personal identity that can occur without reference to other people.

Even a hermit who has lived alone in the woods for many years could sit beneath a tree in solitude and reflect on his or her self-schemas, self-complexity, possible selves, and self-discrepancies.

Self-schemas

A schema is a set of beliefs that provides an organizing framework for understanding a topic, an event, or a person. A schema for physiques, for example, might help us to tell the difference between being "fat and being muscular.

Self-schemas, then, are beliefs that provide an organizing framework to help us understand ourselves. Self-schemas summarize the personality traits, attitudes, values, interests, and other characteristics that we attribute to our-"selves. They also include actions and interpersonal relationships.

In one study of self-schemas, the investigator asked college students how independent they were and whether being independent was important to them— in other words, whether they had a schema for being independent (Markus, 1977). Some students, "schematics," claimed that they were fiercely and consistently independent. Other students, "aschematics," claimed to be independent only part of the time and said that the trait did not matter to them. The aschematics had self-schemas for other characteristics, but not for being independent.

Other studies have shown that similar results apply to people who use self-schemas about being introverted versus outgoing, being masculine versus feminine, or being fat versus thin (Catrambone & Markus, 1987; Crane & Markus, 1982; Fong & Markus, 1982; Markus, Hamill, &

Sends, 1987).

Self-complexity

Some people think of themselves along only one or two dimensions. Children may react extremely to failure because they have relatively simple self-schemas that include only a "good me" and a "bad me".

Anorexics may become so preoccupied with weighing themselves, examining their bodies in the mirror, and watching what they eat, that they think of themselves along only the one dimension of being fat versus thin.

It may be dangerous to have too simple a self-schema. A college woman whose self-schema includes

the traits necessary for success in athletics, courses, making female friends, and maintaining a satisfactory relationship with a man, for instance, may have a healthier self-schema than another woman whose self-schema centers on only body weight and grades.

Students who had simple self-schemas had less positive moods after they learned that they failed than after they learned that they had succeeded. Students who had complex self-schemas were less influenced by whether they succeeded or failed. Self-schema complexity (having more than one dimension to the self-schema) is an effective buffer against stress-related illness and depression (Linville, 1987). The graph given below describes the research more clearly:

Possible selves

Possible selves are projections of future possibilities for the expected, desired; and feared future self. Students may have a "graduate" possible self. Anorexics may have a "thin" possible self.

Visitors

to a doctor's office may have a "seriously ill" possible self. Possible selves are "the selves we could become, and the selves we are afraid of becoming" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). The present or "now" self overlaps with but is not the same as the many possible future selves.

Possible selves can also affect the way people behave. People who desire a good possible self and

fear a bad possible self, for instance, may be more motivated to take constructive actions than are people who fear a bad possible self but cannot imagine a good alternative.

In one study of how to change possible selves, the researchers instilled successful and unsuccessful possible selves in college students (Ruvolo & Markus, 1992). After they imagined successful or unsuccessful future selves, all students participated in two tasks. One task required much persistence. The other required intense concentration. Students who imagined themselves succeeding persisted longer at the task that required sheer persistence and worked more accurately at the task that required concentration than did students who imagined themselves failing. The researchers concluded that our possible future selves are at least as important as are our present self-schemas, because they can motivate and guide us to success.

Present self-schemas differ in complexity. So do future possible selves. The two "tenses" of the self, however, are not always identical, nor are their Consequences. A person soon to enter prison

might have many present selves and few future selves. A soon-to-be-divorced person might have just the opposite.

Self-discrepancies

Even within present selves, however, people can reflect on their individual characteristics from different perspectives. The self might be different when seen from different ones of these perspectives (Higgins, 1987). Present selves can be divided into three types: the actual self, the ideal self, and the ought self.

You can view each of these three types of self from two perspectives: the self as seen by the individual and as seen by important other people like a parent, a best friend, or a spouse.

The ideal and ought selves to derive from early interaction between the child and his or her caretaker (Higgins, 1989). By giving or withholding their affection, the parents convey the message "this is the type of person we wish you were," from which the children internalize an ideal self. When children actively violate norms of acceptable behavior, parents react with criticism or physical punishment. Punishment conveys the message "this is the way you ought to behave if you knew right from wrong," from which the children internalize an ought self.

Problems arise when the individual perceives self-discrepancies, which are discrepancies between

the actual self and either the ideal self or the ought self, whether from the individual's perspective

or from other people's perspective. Both children and adults become depressed when other people withhold positive regard or when they are disappointed in themselves.

When their actual self is discrepant from or fails to live up to their own ideal self they feel dejected. When their actual self is discrepant from an important other person's ideal for them they feel ashamed.

The two major types of self-discrepancy thus elicit different types of emotional reaction. Discrepancies between the actual self and the ideal self make people feel sad; discrepancies between the actual self and the ought self make people feel anxious and agitated (Higgins, 1989).

USING THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

To arrive at a personal identity, then, people usually find it necessary to use the social context. Two processes (social comparison and selfdistinctiveness) that use other people in the social context to decide "Who am I?"

SOCIAL COMPARISON

The self concept depends importantly on the attributes of others who are either selected or available for comparison (Pelham, 1991; Rosenberg, 1993).

Social comparison occurs when people use others as standards of comparison against which to evaluate their own opinions, attributes, and abilities (Festinger, 1954). For some characteristics, no objective standard exists (Kruglanski & Mayseless, 1990). Am I thin enough to be attractive and successful? Do I have many friends? Such questions are difficult to People arrive at a personal identity by using the social context. They would not know how they compared to other people. answer in absolute terms.

Lacking objective standards, people draw inferences by comparing themselves, to others. But which others? Sometimes we get to choose from many possible others the specific people with whom we want to compare ourselves. At other times, we have no choice (Wood, 1989).

Sometimes we assume our personal identity and compare the self with other individuals. At other times we assume our social identity and compare ourselves with members of our own or rival groups (Brewer & Weber, 1994). In either case, the result of social comparison has an important influence on who we think we are.

People sometimes prefer to learn about people who are similar to them. At other times, they prefer to learn about people who are a little better or a little worse. Comparing yourself with someone who is a little better is called *upward comparison*. Comparing yourself with someone

who is a little worse is called *downward comparison*. Which makes people feel better about them? It depends. Upward comparison can lower people's self-esteem by suggesting that they are not performing as well as they might. It can also raise self-esteem by suggesting that improvement is Linville's study (1987)

Practical implications of previous four lectures: The Self

The following practical implications were discussed pertaining to one's knowledge and understanding of oneself.

_Negatives of self consciousness as a trait: self destructive activities

_Implementation of self regulation: cues, depletion of energy, affirmations

_High esteem as a positive trait, but be aware of dark side

_Importance of downward and upward comparisons

_Reduce discrepancies between actual and ideal and ought selves

Applied Social Psychology Lab: A case Example

This lecture was started with a case example of a USA Reporter Stephen Glass, who was an ambitious young man. He was known for integrity, intelligence, and supreme confidence. In the mid-1990s, while serving as executive editor for the University of Pennsylvania's student-run newspaper, Glass wrote, "The role of The Daily Pennsylvanian is not to make allies and not to make enemies—it is to report the truth." As leader of the school's paper, Stephen was both charming and demanding. He wrote vivid stories of his journalistic adventures, while simultaneously admonishing these budding journalists to check their facts before filing a story. One of those reporters recalled, "While fact-checking my writing, he once admonished me for inverting a quotation I had taken from a politician's speech. I had not changed the meaning of the speaker's words, but Steve insisted I quote the words in the order in which the speaker actually spoke them. At the time, I was impressed that Steve could be creative and also hold himself to such strict ethical standards" (Brus, 1998).

Following graduation, this likable, talented, and high-minded reporter soon became associate editor of The New Republic, and, at the age of 25, was a rising star in the world of journalism with his freelance reporting for such high-profile magazines as George, Rolling Stone, and Harper's Magazine.

Then something happened. In May 1998, Glass wrote a story for The New Republic about a 15-year-old computer hacker who broke into the database of a software company and posted the salaries of its executives on its web site. Instead of prosecuting this wayward computer whiz, the executives wanted to hire him. This story was different from Stephen's previous stories as this time he also published Website of Software Company and the name of hacker. However, when another journalist tried to locate that hacker, he did not find any trace of him. Further investigation showed his news stories were all fabrications, and his particular performance as a principled reporter abruptly ended. However, this case is an example how as self-presenters, we often consistently try to shape others' impressions. Another thing which this case example shows that how peoples' impressions of other person's are formed.

Lesson 13

PERSON PERCEPTION

What is person perception?

The process by which we come to know about others' temporary states such as their emotions, intentions, and desires and enduring dispositions such as their beliefs, traits, and abilities is known as person perception. This type of perception is often not a single, instantaneous event, but rather comprises a number of ongoing processes, which can be roughly classified into two general areas: impression formation and attribution.

Impression Formation

Impression formation is often based on rapid assessments of salient and observable qualities and behaviors in others. These judgments are obtained by attending to nonverbal cues, such as facial expressions and body posture, as well as incorporating more detailed and descriptive characteristics, such as traits, into an overall impression. If you talk to anyone who was there at the same time as him, I don't think you'll find anyone at the paper who questioned his ethics at all. Impression formation is usually just the first step of person perception. Often, we also want to understand what causes people to act in a particular manner. This attribution process goes beyond discerning people's current moods and feelings and attempts instead to use their past actions to predict future behavior.

Impression formation is the process by which observers integrate various sources of information about others' self-presentations into a unified and consistent judgment (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Ickes, 2003). The process of forming impressions is viewed by social psychologists as a dynamic one, with judgments being continually updated in response to new information. It is analogous to building a "working model" of a person and then using this as a guideline in our actions toward him or her.

Our Impressions of Others Are Shaped by Their Nonverbal Behavior

First impressions are often based on nonverbal communication, which is the sending and receiving of information using gestures, expressions, vocal cues, and body movements rather than words. Two of the more important nonverbal channels of communication are facial expressions AND body movements. However, all nonverbal cues including paralinguistic and unconscious mimicry are vast and varied:

1. Facial Expressions

More than two thousand years ago, the Roman orator Marcus Cicero wrote that the "face is the image of the soul." Centuries later, Charles Darwin (1872) proposed that facial expressions not only play an important role in communication, but that certain emotional expressions are inborn and thus are understood throughout the world. Studies conducted during the past thirty years provide support for Darwin's assertions: there is substantial cross-cultural agreement in both the experience and expression of emotions; although certain emotions are easier to distinguish than others, most researchers have concluded that certain emotions are more basic, or primary, than others. Most classification lists include the following seven primary emotions: anger, disgust, fear, happiness, surprise, contempt, and sadness. Other emotions that are considered basic by some theorists are shame and guilt. He believed that this ability to recognize emotion from the observation of facial expressions was genetically programmed into our species and had survival value for us.

Research supports the survival value hypothesis. For instance, a number of studies have

shown people pictures of crowds of faces to determine what facial expressions were most recognizable in such a clustered setting. As Darwin would have predicted, people spotted threatening faces (anger first, fear second) faster and more accurately than nonthreatening faces, even when the nonthreatening faces depicted negative emotions such as sadness (Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Lanzetta & Orr, 1986; Ohman et al., 2001).

2. Body Movements

Besides facial cues, the body as a whole can convey a wealth of information. William Chaplin and his coworkers (2000) have found evidence that in North American culture people with firm handshakes tend to be more extraverted, adventurous, and less neurotic and shy than those with weak handshakes. Recognizing the importance of this nonverbal behavior in forming favorable first impressions, many professional training seminars now teach attendees how to properly shake hands.

There are different forms of physical touches, like mother's touch to a child is very comforting (Maurer & Maurer, 1988). Similarly several forms of therapies, physical as well as psychological, use physician's touch in the process of healing (Borelli & Heidt, 1988). Studies have also reported comparatively less tension in those who touch and get touched (Anderson et al., 1987), which shows the power and importance of touch.

A series of studies by Joel Aronoff and his colleagues (1992) also suggest that people often infer underlying emotional states by reading the geometric patterns of bodies during social interaction; For example, in a creative analysis of dance characters in classical ballet, the researchers' found that the body and arm displays of the threatening characters were more diagonal or angular, while those of the warm characters were more rounded. These findings suggest that people analyze the shape of large-scale body movements to better determine another person's behavioral intentions. Yet although there are commonly shared meanings of many physical gestures, it is also true that people from different cultures often assign different meanings to the same physical movements

3. Nonconscious Mimicry

Beyond interpreting the meaning of specific nonverbal gestures, our impressions of others are also shaped by nonconscious mimicry, which is the tendency to adopt the behaviors, postures, or mannerisms of interaction partners without conscious awareness or intention. Mimicking others' facial expressions appears to be so inborn that 1-month-old infants have been shown to smile, stick out their tongues, and open their mouths when they see someone else doing the same (Metzlaff & Moore, 1989). Evidence that mimicry is often nonconscious and unintentional comes from number of studies.

Insight into the biological basis for nonconscious mimicry comes from PET scans and EEG recordings of people's brains while they observe another person performing an action. These studies found that similar neural circuits are firing in the observers' brains as are firing in the brains of those who are carrying out the action. These specialized neural circuits located in the premotor cortex are called mirror neurons

How does mimicking affect impression formation? In a follow-up experiment to their facerubbing/ foot-shaking study, Chartrand and Bargh (1999) found evidence that mimicry increases liking for the imitator. The researchers instructed confederates to subtly imitate the mannerisms of people they were interacting with in a "get acquainted" session (for example, rubbing their face or tapping their foot when their partner did so). Their findings indicated that people whose gestures had been mimicked liked the confederates more than those who had not been mimicked. Prosocial behavior these studies suggest that mimicry triggers _

positive reactions in people that lead to benefits to those who are present.

Nonverbal Channels

All nonverbal cues can be divided into visible and invisible channels. The examples are given below:

Visible and No visible channels

_Visible

_Facial expressions, gestures, posture, appearance, Eye Contact [not made in some cultures]

Indicates interest (friendship or threat)

_**Paralinguistic:** These are not related with variation in the content of speech but in the variation of tone and quality of speech. For example, Pitch, amplitude, rate, voice quality of speech

_Studies have indicated that:

_An attractive voice is resonant, articulate, and has a range; not shrill, high-pitched or monotonous (Zuckerman & Miyake, 1993)

_Attractive voiced are perceived as more strong and interpersonally warm (Berry, 1992)

LESSON # 14

PERSON PERCEPTION (CONTINUED)

Gender socialization

A social **role** is a cluster of socially defined expectations that individuals in a given situation are expected to fulfill. Social roles are

- (1) defined by society,
- (2) applied to all individuals in a particular social category, and
- (3) consist of well-learned responses by individuals. According to

Alice Eagly's (1987, 1996) **social role theory**, the different social roles occupied by women and men lead to differences in the perception of women and men and in their behavior, Stephanie Shields (2002) describes two contrasting emotional styles that are linked to gender socialization. Both are required of women and men, but each is expected more of one sex than the other.

Extravagant expressiveness is an open style of experiencing and communicating emotion that is associated with femininity.

The second emotional style telegraphs intense emotion under control, which Shields labels manly emotion because of its connection to a particular version of heterosexual masculinity. These two emotional styles associated with female and male social roles convey different messages to people witnessing their expression. The strongly felt—yet controlled—manly emotion conveys the message that the person is independent: "I can control my emotion (and thereby, my self), and

I can harness it to control the situation." The underlying message of extravagant expressiveness involves nurturance: "My emotion (and thereby, my self) is at your service." Shields contend that in North American culture /manly emotion is ultimately considered more important than extravagant emotion because it is believed to express rational behavior. In contrast, although the feminine emotional standards underlying emotional expressiveness foster many socially desirable behaviors (such as tenderness and selflessness), they are culturally tainted because of their association with emotion out of control. Research indicates that boys are encouraged to express emotions—such as anger, contempt, and pride—that reflect a sense of entitlement to power in society and are discouraged from displaying vulnerable emotions. In contrast, this same research suggests that girls are encouraged to express emotions associated with satisfaction, powerlessness, and service to others, such as happiness, fear, and empathy. Because of possessing these qualities, studies have revealed gender differences in general understanding of nonverbal cues. For example, Meta analysis of 75 studies showed that women are more adept to decode nonverbal communication (Judith Hall, 1978). **Women have also been reported to possess greater tendency to detect different kinds of nonverbal cues.** One study showed the greatest ability of women for decoding facial expressions followed by body cues and smallest for voice tone (Hall, 1984).

Research indicates that boys are encouraged to express emotions—such as anger, contempt, and pride—that reflect a sense of entitlement to power in society and are discouraged from displaying vulnerable emotions. In contrast, this same research suggests that girls are encouraged to express emotions associated with satisfaction, powerlessness, and service to others, such as happiness, fear, and empathy (Saarni, 1999). Women are also reported to be better at

communicating happiness, while men have been shown to be more proficient at communicating anger.

Cultural differences in certain nonverbal cues

Nonverbal behavior plays in impression formation and often consciously employs nonverbal cues in their self-presentation strategies.

Individualism and Collectivism

It makes abundant sense that cultures would develop social rules for when and how different emotions are expressed. Collectivists are much more likely than individualists to monitor their behavior so that it does not disrupt the smooth functioning of the group. Regarding emotions, research suggests that although people from collectivist and individualist cultures do not differ in publicly displaying positive emotions, collectivists are much more uncomfortable about publicly expressing negative emotions

Culture differences are also manifested in many forms of nonverbal cues. Some examples are given below:

- **Shaking hands:** In North American culture people with firm handshakes tend to be more extraverted, adventurous, and less neurotic and shy than those with weak handshakes (William Chaplin et al., 2000). Firm grip in America shows confidence and warmth, while Asians and Middle Easterners prefer a gentle grip and a firm grip shows aggressiveness. On the other hand, Japanese greet by bowing.

- **Touching:** It has been often reported that Americans and Asians are not touch oriented as compared to other cultures.

- **Space relationships:** North Americans are reported to prefer a distance of about 30 inches; Asians like it farther apart; Middle Easterners stand nearer, and moving away may be considered as a sign of unfriendliness

- **Eye contact:** In North America direct eye contact is considered a sign of confidence, while in Korea and some parts of Pakistan direct eye contact is considered very intimidating, and may sometime be an indicator of sexual interest. Usually in traditional cultures, females are taught to avert eye gaze.

Influence of Culture and Personality

Collectivists are much more likely than individualists to monitor their behavior so that it does not disrupt the smooth functioning of the group. Collectivists are much more uncomfortable about publicly expressing negative emotions

Impression formation with traits: Central traits

Personality traits are commonly used in forming impressions. In person perception, Asch hypothesized that our overall impression of others is not simply determined by adding up all their personality traits. Instead, certain traits exert a disproportionate influence on people's overall impressions, literally changing the meaning of other traits. **He called the dominant traits central traits. Intelligent, skillful, industrious, warm, determined, practical, and cautious.** These less important traits **Asch called peripheral traits.**

Based on these results, Asch concluded that warm and cold are central traits that significantly influence overall impression formation.

Since Asch's (1946) groundbreaking study, additional research found that as we become acquainted with others, we tend to form an overall impression by averaging all their traits together, but we give more weight to those we believe are most important

Further, the importance of specific traits may vary depending on the social context in which we make

evaluations (Singh & Teoh, 2000). For example, the traits intelligent and humorous may have equal scale values, but intelligent would carry more weight for a psychology department's graduate school admissions committee when evaluating applicants

Implicit Personality Theory:

When Stephen Glass was accused of fabricating his news stories, almost everybody who knew him or knew of him was shocked. Glass was the epitome of the young, hardworking, ambitious journalist. He just didn't seem like the kind of person who would do such a thing. As suggested by research on central traits, our knowledge about people is structured by: our prior set of beliefs about which traits go together, and the resulting personality judgments we make often defy the rules of cold logic.

These assumptions or naive belief systems that we have about the associations among traits and behaviors are called an implicit personality theory

In an implicit personality theory, as in impression formation generally, there appears to be operating a principle of evaluative consistency—a tendency to view others in a way that is internally consistent. Even when contradictory information is made available, we still generally persist in viewing people as either consistently good or bad. In this effort toward consistency, we will often distort or explain away contradictory information

Integrating Impressions

We infer what others are like from what emotions they express. Then we move quickly from observations of appearance and behavior to inferences about personality. In integrating impressions of others, several factors are important, some of them are mentioned below: Overall we tend to evaluate others positively. It is known as the positivity bias, which is the tendency for people to evaluate individual human beings more positively than groups or impersonal objects. It may seem contradictory, but because people are biased toward perceiving others in a positive light, when they learn that someone has negative traits they place more weight on these unfavorable attributes in forming an impression of the person. This negativity effect is the tendency of people to give more weight to negative traits than positive traits in impression formation

In essence, what the positivity bias and negativity effect tell us about person perception is that we are motivated to view people favorably, but favorable impressions are more vulnerable to change than unfavorable impressions.

The common explanation for the negativity effect is that negative traits are more unusual and therefore more distinctive. People pay more attention to those negative qualities and give them more weight. This tendency to direct attention to negatively evaluated stimuli, like the tendency to notice fearful and angry faces in a crowd, is believed to have survival value for human beings.

Primacy and Regency Effects

One other simple and basic factor influences impression formation, and it is related to the "order" in which we learn bits of information about someone (Van Overwalle & Labiouse, 2004).

Known as the primacy effect, it is the tendency for the first information received and to carry more weight in one's overall impression than later information. Why does early information figure more prominently than later information in our impression of others? One possible explanation is that the early bits of information we learn about another provide a cognitive schema or mental outline, which we then use to process later information. If the later information contradicts this schema, we are likely to ignore it

Although the primacy effect regularly occurs in person perception, it can sometimes be reversed

if people are warned against making hasty judgments or told that they will be asked to justify their impressions of a target person (Tetlock & Kim, 1987). In such circumstances, the last bits of information learned may be given greater weight than earlier information. This is known as the recency effect.

The Averaging Principle

Averaging is used to combine separate pieces of information about people, some of which are positive and others of which are negative. A weighted averaging model, in which traits are weighted by importance, provides the best predictions

Halo Effect

A liked person is assumed to have many other good qualities. People tend to form evaluatively consistent impressions of others.

Lesson 15

PERSON PERCEPTION: WHEN PERSON PERCEPTION IS MOST CHALLENGING

[Link to previous two lectures on person perception](#)

When we perceive other people, we start with salient categories such as sex, race, or age. We use the category to make initial assumptions about the person. If we are willing and able to do so, we also gather additional verbal or nonverbal information. We often interpret the new information as consistent with our first impression. If the new information seems inconsistent enough, we sometimes re-categorize the person or come to regard the person as an individual. Person perception, however, is biased toward perceiving people as merely instances of a category rather than as individuals. Additional verbal information can sometimes undo category-based assumptions, but only when the perceiver is highly motivated to form an individual impression. Some types of verbal information, such as knowing how the individual behaves, are as likely as physically salient categories to generate spontaneous trait inferences. Nonverbal information also offers many cues to forming an impression. We draw different inferences about people depending on how dominant and attractive their face appears, how high-pitched their voices seem, how youthfully they walk, and how often and youthfully they walk, and how often and intimately they touch each other.

"Accuracy" in person perception can be defined as agreement between the perceiver and the target of perception, agreement between two or more perceivers, or whether the perceiver's impression predicts the target person's future behavior.

By any measure, perceivers are more likely to be accurate about evolutionarily significant traits than about other traits. Contrary to popular belief, accuracy does not improve with length of acquaintance.

Person perception from verbal information is subject to several biases. When perceivers learn about a target person's traits in a specific order, for example, the initial traits affect the final impression more than do subsequent traits. Initial traits also change the meaning of subsequent traits, because perceivers use several effective strategies to interpret seemingly inconsistent information in a way that "fits" the initial impression. Perceivers are also biased by implicit personality theories. They believe that knowing one fact about a person, especially the person's standing on a "central trait," allows confident inferences about many other facets of the person's character.

Perceiving people's emotions from nonverbal information is also difficult. Despite some universals in how people display their emotions, different cultures have different "display rules." Knowledge of local display rules is necessary for successful "decoding" of a target person's emotions. Also, people are good at faking facial expressions and other nonverbal cues when they want to mislead perceivers. Women are better than men at "reading" the valid cues to emotion.

[When is person perception most challenging?](#)

Person Perception is the foundation of all social interactions: work, politics, patient-doctor relationship, romantic attachments, legal decisions, and international diplomacy. Usually it works

well, but sometimes person perception gets very tricky and challenging. Although there could be several instances where person perception can be demanding, there are particularly two instances where it could be very challenging:

- 1. Perceiving baby faces**
- 2. Detecting lies**

Perceiving baby faces

It becomes very difficult to be objective in case of very attractive characteristics of people with whom we interact. Similarly for certain people, we feel more sympathetic for example we feel sympathy toward handicapped. The perception of baby faced people is most tricky. We tend to treat baby faced as babies, which are considered dependent and fragile. Young of many species can look after themselves after weeks of their birth, but a human child is dependent for years. Human beings are prepared by their Evolutionary history to treat baby-faced in the same way as they do with children. Baby faced are unanimously explained as having large eyes, a small chin, thin eyebrows, and a small nose.

Stability of facial features

Zebrowitz and Montepare (1992) found that the adult's perceivers agreed almost perfectly on which were the baby-faced persons and which were the more mature-faced persons when they saw photographs of 6 age groups: infants, preschoolers, fifth graders, eighth graders, young adults, and older adults.

People who have baby faces also tend to keep their immature facial features as they move from one age group to the next. Zebrowitz et al. (1993) showed that the perception about someone having a baby or mature face was stable over the years. However, women were less likely to retain their baby faces from high school to their thirties. For both sexes, having a bay face at age 30 did not predict having a baby face at age 50 though.

Baby faced people may also come to believe they have the traits others assume they have (selffulfilling prophecy). Consistent with this, in one study the researchers Berry & Brownlow's (1989) found that baby-faced women perceived themselves as less likely to carry tasks requiring strength.

Baby faced are also perceived as having some positive traits, e.g., warmth, trustworthy, etc., and this perception is remarkably stable across cultures. One study showed that baby faced were perceived as weak, naïve, but interpersonally warm, honest, & dependent by Americans (white, black) and Korean students (Zebrowitz et al., 1993)

Positive and negative consequences

There are many positive and negative consequences of perceiving baby faced people as this perception will affect every field of life: media, work, legal system, and interpersonal attractions.

Interpersonal interactions:

It has been found that people behave and speak to baby-faced differently. As people think that children at younger ages require different treatment because of their cognitive immaturity, they may deal baby-faced in the same way, like speaking slowly and clearly. In one study, student's teachers taught two complicated tasks to a preschooler. Some students were shown pictures of baby-faced preschoolers while others saw those of more mature faces. The telephonic conversation was recorded so that the experimenter could determine to what extent the student teachers clarified, simplified, tried to get and hold attention, and spoke slowly. The results showed that the adult teachers were more apt to use baby talk when talking to the baby faced. (Zebrowitz et al., 1992)

Perception about traits:

Adults may assume that baby-faced are more honest but less intellectually competent. In one study (Brownlow & Zebrowitz, 1990), videotapes of 150 TV commercials were taken from morning, afternoon and evening time slots, and it was found that the baby-faced were cast primarily in commercials emphasizing trust, while mature-faced were shown in commercials emphasizing expertise

Problems in jobs:

Another important consequence of having a baby face occurs when people apply for jobs. Babyfaced applicants may be at a disadvantage compared to their mature-faced peers when they apply for certain types of jobs, most notably higher-status jobs that require leadership. In a study of how facial features might influence occupational hiring, college students examined resumes that included demographic and academic details. The examiners attached to each resume a photograph of a person who had either a baby face or mature face. Both faces were equally attractive. The students made hiring decisions about two jobs at a children's day care centre: teacher and director. The results showed that the baby-faced were selected more frequently for teaching job, while the mature-faced were considered appropriate for the post of director (Zebrowitz et al., 1991). Moreover, women applicants were more likely to be hiding for teacher job and men for director jobs. These findings indicate that the decision was only based on face, not on the resume. These results clearly demonstrate that baby-faced individuals may be discriminated against in ways that are legally prohibited for race and sex.

Double standard of justice:

Research has shown that baby-faced are convicted less for causing intentional harm, but are accused more for causing negligent harm (Zebrowitz & McDonald, 1991) To summarize, baby faced are perceived differently which affect many kinds of interpersonal interactions. Because babies need protection, perceivers assume that adults who have baby faces also have childlike traits. Baby faces are easy to identify across cultures and across the life span. People who have baby faces are treated as though they are warm and approachable, but also as though they are weak and incompetent. Perceiver's trust baby-faced actors in television commercials to be honest, hire baby-faced applicants for jobs that require interpersonal warmth, and treat baby-faced defendants leniently when they are charged with causing intentional harm. Conversely, perceivers "talk down" to baby-faced pupils, avoid choosing baby-faced workers for leadership positions, and consider baby-faced defendants likely to have caused negligent harm.

Detecting Lies

The success or failure of business deals, romantic relationships, international trade, murder trials, depend importantly on whether perceivers believe that another person is telling the truth. Of all organisms, however, the most skillful deceiver is the human being who is the acknowledged master of deceit and speaks lies in love and war and who indulges himself in little white lies. People lie because it is adaptive to do so, and because people get benefit from it.

Why lying is successful?

- Perceivers have a truthfulness bias (Zuckerman et al., 1981).(thinking that why someone would lie)
- Most behavior is accepted uncritically at face value
- To doubt a target person's authority often runs the risk of hurting the perceiver's own feelings

Accuracy in judgment

- People, who have access to multiple channels of communication, tend to be more accurate in judging others' emotions.
- Nonverbal leakage: True emotions tend to "leak" out through nonverbal channels
- The body is more likely than the face to reveal deception
- Generally, the verbal channel tends to be the most influential.
- Lying: The Giveaways

Liars blink more, hesitate more, make more speech errors, speak in higher-pitched

voices, and have more dilated pupils

Tables 1-4 displayed below describe how different forms of clues can be employed to detect lies:

| Verbal cues | Perceiver look for it | Valid |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-------|
| Negative statement | No | Yes |
| Irrelevant statement | No | Yes |
| Generalization | No | Yes |
| Distancing | No | Yes |

| Vocal cues | Perceiver look for it | Valid |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------|
| Hesitation | Yes | Yes |
| Higher pitch | Yes | Yes |
| Speech errors | Yes | Yes |
| Delay before speaking | Yes | Yes |
| Speaking slowly | Yes | Yes |
| Length of speaking | Yes | Yes |

| Miscellaneous cues | Perceiver look for it | Valid |
|--|-----------------------|-------|
| Differences | No | Yes |
| Planning time | No | Yes |
| Seem rehearsed | No | Yes |
| Guilt, heightened emotions: blinking, shrugging, sweating | | Yes |

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- “Always tell the truth. Then you don’t have to remember anything” (Mark Twain, 1835-1910)
- Paula DePaula’s lying figures (1996): In a week a person speaks 10 lies on average; people lie to one thirds of people they interact
- People who are more sociable, manipulative, and concerned about creating favorable self-impression are more likely to lie.
- Analyze yourself that when you lie, how do you conceal it, and what cues you use when you lie in your everyday life.

How to detect lie?

- One study found that inaccurate judges (30% accuracy or worse) focused on verbal cues, compared to accurate judges (80% or more) who focused on nonverbal cues (Ekman & Sullivan, 1991)
- We are easily deceived when we are involved in discussion
- In nonverbal cues, biggest mistake is placing too much emphasis on the face (Ekman et al., 1988) like on baby or attractive faces.
- In one study a sample of female nurses watched disgusting or pleasant short films and they were instructed to either report their honest feelings about the film or to conceal their feelings. Hidden video cameras either focused on their faces or their body/behaviour. These tapes were later viewed by some judges. The results showed that

the judges who were focusing on body movement like fidgeting fingers, shifts of body, etc. were more successful in detecting lies of nurses (Ekman & Friesen, 1974). It can be concluded that people lie because they benefit from doing so. Ironically, the more liars have to gain from lying, the easier they are to detect. Lie detection, however, is far from accurate.

Perceivers rely on cues that are not helpful and ignore cues that would be helpful. One frequently used cue is an "honest face." Another is expectancy violation. Because expectancies differ from one culture to the next, lie detection across cultures is very difficult. Within a culture, some people are better than others at telling and detecting lies.

Lesson 16 ATTRIBUTION

What is Attribution?

Attribution is the process by which people use information to make inferences about the causes of behavior and events.

Attribution Theory is the area of psychology concerned with when and how people ask “why” questions.

Two important psychologists who analyzed attribution theory were Gustav Ichheiser (1943) and Fritz Heider (1958). Both flee from Austria to USA in the 1930 because of the rise of fascism and anti-intellectual atmosphere in Europe. Their career diverged in USA; Heider became an influential theorist and Ichheiser fought mental illness and went into unimportance.

Fritz Heider (1958)

Heider emerged as the most important attribution theorist and shaped the development of this theory. He maintained that people are motivated by two primary needs:

- the need to form a clear view of the world
- the need to gain control over the environment

To satisfy these needs we act as trusting scientists, rationally and logically testing our hypotheses about the behavior of others. He talked about one important concept in relation to attribution locus of causality.

The locus of causality

In making causal attributions, by far the most important judgment concerns the locus of causality.

- **Internal attribution:** any explanation that locates the cause as being internal to the person such as personality, mood, attitudes, abilities, and effort (also know as a person attribution)
- **External attribution:** any explanation that locates the cause as being external to the person such as the actions of others, the nature of the situation, or luck (also know as a situation attribution)

Stability & Controllability:

Weiner (1982, 1986) added another to attribution- stability vs. instability of causes.

Stable vs. unstable causes: permanent and lasting vs. temporary and fluctuating

Although stability and instability of dimension is independent of internal and stable dimension (dispositional), stability of causes can also be explained in combination with locus of causality. For example causes may be internal and stable, internal but unstable, external and stable, external and unstable

Controllable vs. Uncontrollable causes

- Weiner also talked about another dimension of making attribution- controllability and uncontrollability.
- They also are independent of locus of causality or stability of causes but can also be explained in connection with them.
- These three dimensions appear to be the main way people explain events, e.g., stigmatizing AIDS and cancer (Meyer & Koebel, 1982) and are equally applicable in individualist and collectivist countries (Hau & Salili, 1991)

Figure 1 describes below how an event can be explained in multiple combination of Causality

Causes of academic achievement due to Locus, Stability and Controllability

| Controllability | Intern Stable | Internal Unstabl | Externa Stable | Externa Stable |
|-----------------|----------------|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Controllable | Typical effort | Temporary effort exerted for a particular exam | Some form of teacher bias | Unusual help from other |
| Uncontrollable | Exerted effort | Mood | Exam Difficulty | Luck |

Correspondent Inference Theory (Jones & Davis, 1965)

The theory of correspondent inferences describes how we use certain rules of thumb to infer dispositional (stable and internal) causes of behavior. The main characteristics are as under:

- People try to infer a correspondent inference that the action of an actor corresponds to, or is suggestive of, a stable personality characteristic
- People prefer dispositional attributions because this type of knowledge is more valuable with regard to making predictions about people's behavior
- However, social behavior is unclear so as a guide people use several heuristics to assess whether correspondence between behavior and personality is high

When we make dispositional attributions?

We are especially likely to make dispositional attributions when events are negative or unexpected

and this usually happens under following three conditions:

- **Social desirability:** an internal, dispositional attribution more likely when socially undesirable behaviors are observed
- **Choice:** an internal, dispositional attribution is more likely when the actor has freely chosen the given behavior (Jones & Harris, 1967)
- **Non-common effects:** an internal, dispositional attribution is more likely when the outcome of a behavior has a unique (or non-common) effect

The Covariation Model (Kelly, 1967)

The correspondent inference model is limited to single instances of behavior and focuses on internal attributions, whereas the covariation model focuses on multiple instances of behavior.

This theory maintains that for something to be the cause of a particular behavior it must be present when the behavior is present and absent when the behavior is absent (i.e., covary).

According to Kelly people make attributions by using the covariation principle. *Kelley's Covariation Model* (1967) states that people try to see if a particular cause and a particular effect go together across situations. The main elements of this model are as under:

- The correspondent inference model is limited to single cases of behavior and focuses on internal attributions
- The covariation model accounts for multiple observational points and details the processes that result in external as well as internal attributions.
- **Attributions are made using the covariation principle: For something to be the cause of a particular behavior it must be present when the behavior is present and absent when the behavior is absent (i.e., covary)**
- From multiple potential causes we ascribe causality to the one that covaries with the behavior to the greatest extent

The discounting and augmentation principles:

The discounting principle:

The role of a given cause is reduced if other reasonable causes are present (i.e., exam failure but illness - decreased internal attribution); e.g., if a salesperson is nice to us, we don't necessarily assume he or she is intrinsically friendly

The augmentation principle:

The role of a given cause is amplified if an effect occurs in the presence of an inhibitory cause (i.e., exam success in spite of illness - increased internal attribution)

Assessing covariation (Kelly, 1967)

In assessing covariation people rely on three kinds of information:

1. **Consensus information:** the extent to which others react to some stimulus (everyone believes that Ali is a bad person)
 2. **Consistency information:** the extent to which the person reacts to the stimulus in the same way on different occasions (a person is always rude)
 3. **Distinctiveness information:** the extent to which the person reacts in the same way to other, different stimuli (a person is careless about everything)
- Although the model is generally supported, all three types of information (consensus, consistency and distinctiveness information) are not equal (Chen, Yates, & McGinnies, 1988).
 - We attend more to the actor (consistency and distinctiveness information) rather than other actors in the context (consensus information), Windschild & Wells (1997)

Let's consider Stephen Glass's case, mentioned in Person Perception lectures, for understanding the co variation model of attribution theory:

Covariation Model

| Covariation Model | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Why did Glass's story contain unverified sources? | | | |
| Distinctiveness | Consensus | Consistency | Attribution |
| Low – His stories for other magazines also contain unverified sources. | Low – No other journalist had problems with unverified sources. | High A number of his previous stories had unverified sources. | Dispositional (lying, deceitful) |
| High – His stories for other magazines do not contain unverified sources. | High – Many journalists at 'New Republic' had problems with unverified sources. | High – A number of his previous stories had unverified sources. | Entity: something about 'New Republic'. |
| High – His Stories for other magazines do not contain unverified sources. | Low – No other journalist had problems with unverified sources. | Low – None of his previous stories had unverified sources. | Circumstances / Context (illness, deadline) |

Lesson 17 ATTRIBUTION ERRORS

Biases in Attribution

- Kelley's model is idealized to explain causes of behavior, but we really are simple scientists.

- Although people follow these rules and deduce causality logically in some circumstances, a number of attribution biases and ‘errors’ often occur
- Considerable research suggests that there are several prominent biases in the ways we make causal attributions

The process of making causal attributions entails several "biases." First, attributers seem too ready to assume that another person's traits correspond with his or her words and deeds. This "Correspondence bias" occurs because people overlook situational constraints, have unrealistic expectations for what other people are willing and able to do, overemphasize the link between the person and his or her behavior, and adjust their initial attributions inaccurately when they are "Cognitively busy." The fundamental attribution error is the correspondence bias.

The fundamental attribution error

Ichheiser (1940) maintained long time ago that “In everyday life interpreting individual behavior in the light of personal factors rather than in the light of situational factors must be considered the fundamental source of misunderstanding personality in our time”. More than 30 years later, Ross (1977) renamed this tendency to make internal rather than external attributions for peoples’ behavior. He maintained that the fundamental attribution error is the tendency to overestimate the impact of dispositional causes and underestimate the impact of situational causes on other person’s behavior. Ross and his colleagues devised a simulated TV quiz game in which students were randomly assigned to serve as either quizmaster or contestants. The quizmasters would ask 10 challenging but fair questions from the contestants. The results showed that observers and contestants both rated the quizmasters as more knowledgeable despite the process of random selection for serving as either contestant or quizmaster.

Explanations for the fundamental attribution error

The fundamental attribution error may occur because people make *dispositional* attributions automatically

- We only later use *situational* information to discount it.
- Predictability Need: It gives us greater confidence that we can accurately predict behavior
- Perceptual noticeable

– The person being observed is the most perceptually salient aspect of the situation (i.e., moving, talking, etc.) and so an internal (person) attribution becomes much more accessible.

Taylor and Fiske (1975) tested this hypothesis by varying the seats of 6 people who observed 2 actors engaged in carefully arranged 5-minute conversation. Observers were seated so that faced actor A, B or both. Then they were asked whom they thought had the most impact on the conversation.

Results: whichever actor they faced was perceived as the most important of the dyad.

Cultural differences

- The fundamental attribution error is more common in individualist cultures than collectivist (Miller, 1984) suggesting that social learning may also contribute to the explanation of the effect.
- People in non-Western cultures are more likely to take situational and contextual information into account
- However, cultures do not create people with rigidly independent or collectivistic styles,
- situational factors can trigger spontaneous self-concepts

The actor-observer bias

- People tend to attribute their own behavior to external causes but that of others to internal
 - *Actors* overestimate the importance of the situation in explaining their own behaviors: actors look at the situation, observers look at actors.
 - This bias suggests that *observers* overestimate the importance of an actor's dispositions for causing the actor's behavior;
 - Access to different information: actors have more background about themselves
 - Actors overestimate the importance of the situation in explaining their own behaviors
- Perceptual: actors look at the situation, observers look at actors

Storrm's Stusy ((1973)

- 2 participants as observers, 2 as 'conversational' actors
- Observers focus attention only on the actor they were facing
- Observers emphasized dispositional factors when explaining actor's behaviour
- Actors emphasized situational factors when explaining their own behaviour
- Perceptual salience: Actors attention is away from them (external), observers attention is on actor (internal)
- The actor-observer bias is reversed when participants shown videotapes of their opposite perspective before making attributions
- Actors saw own faces and made an internal attribution

False Consensus Effect

The attributers draw less dispositional inferences about their own behavior than about another person's behavior, because their own behaviors is less visually salient and because they believe that their own choices are more prevalent than they are, or at least more prevalent than they are viewed by other people who choose differently. False consensus occurs because our own behaviors are relatively easy to imagine, because we usually interact with "our own kind," and because it makes us feel good about ourselves.

Why do we tend to see our own behaviour and opinions as typical?

- We have a biased sample of similar others among our friends
- Our own opinions are more accessible/ salient
- We fail to realize that our choices reflect our construal and that others have different perceptions
- We are motivated to see ourselves as normal & good.

The Self-Serving Attribution Bias (SSAB)

We are not coldly rational informational processors of information. **When our performance results in either success or failure, we tend to take credit for our successes but deny blame for our failures.** Self-serving biases include attributing our own (but not other people) successes to internal-stable factors and our own (but not other people) failures to external-unstable factors, taking more credit than is due for desirable outcomes, and unrealistic (but useful) optimism about our life prospects. Where we will assign the locus of causality?: IQ, effort vs. unreasonable professor or luck? According to Olson & Ross (1988), we make internal attributions for our successes (e.g., I'm intelligent) and external attributions for failures (e.g., it was a particularly hard exam)

Explanations of the SSAB

- Motivational
 - Internally attributing success and externally attributing failure protects self-esteem
- Cognitive
 - We expect to do well in most things, which makes it logical to attribute failure to external

sources (Taylor & Riess, 1989).

The ultimate attribution error

We attribute our group's successes to internal factors and other group's successes to external factors (Hewstone, 1990)

Accuracy of judgments -- Our judgments are both accurate and inaccurate.

- **We tend to be accurate about external visible attributes.**
- **We are less accurate about inferred internal states (traits or feelings).**

Implications

The process and biases of causal attribution have important consequences for deciding what caused our own and other people's success and failure and for attributing responsibility or blame. When making attributions for success and failure, people who attribute their own success to internal causes and their own failure to external causes do more for their self-esteem than do people who make the opposite attributions. People who attribute their own success to stable causes and their own failure to unstable causes have more optimistic expectations for the future than do people who make the opposite attributions. Also, people who attribute another person's suffering to uncontrollable causes have more pity, less anger, and less urge to help than do people who attribute another person's suffering to controllable causes.

Attributions of responsibility influence how people react to personal and social problems. Dispositional attributions often elicit more punitive reactions than do situational attributions for disaster victims, quarrelling spouses, drivers in automobile accidents, and for people with liver disease and other health problems. Prospective jurors also make different attributions and award different sentences for rape depending on characteristics of the victim. Finally, attributions for murder differ depending on characteristics of the victim that the killer did not know and depending on the culture. People from collectivist cultures are less biased toward dispositional attributions for murder than are people from individualist cultures.

Lesson 18

SOCIAL COGNITION

What is Social Cognition?

Social cognition is the way we analyse, remember, and use information about the social world (Berkowitz & Devine, 1995)

Social cognition focuses on the way we use this information to arrive at coherent judgments.

Dual-Process models of social cognition: strategies

- **Explicit cognition:** Deliberate judgments or decisions of which we are consciously aware
- **Implicit cognition:** Judgments or decisions that are under the control of automatically activated evaluations

How do we organize and make sense of social information

Usually we make quick impression of people based on minimal information available and we do not have luxury of engaging in detailed impression. Luckily then we come equipped with alternative social strategies that rely on implicit cognition. To make sense of our social world, we categorize things, and develop theories (schemas) of how the social world operates.

We are categorizing creatures

- A mental grouping of objects, ideas, or events that share common properties is known as category– concepts
- Categories are building blocks of cognitions
- Bruner, Goodnow, & Austin (1956) indicated that category membership is determined via defined features, i.e., an animal with three body divisions, six legs, an external skeleton, and a rapid reproductive system = INSECT. If one or more of these attributes is missing the animal is something else.
- Expands our ability to deal with the huge amount of information

Social categorization (Hampson, 1988)

- The classification of people into groups based on their common attributes
- Usually done on the basis of readily apparent physical features: sex, age, and race; primary categories for human beings (Schneider, 2004); special for evolutionary and socio-cultural reasons
- BUT...many categories have uncertain or ‘Fuzzy’ boundaries (Rosch, 1978) and do not fit in with a strict classification system.
- Category refers to features that characterize the most typical (McGarry, 1999).
- **Prototypes are the most representative members of a category** (Barsalou, 1991).
- Categorization of less typical members may be slower/errorful because they are less available (male nurses).
- Correct categorization depends on how similar a given instance is to the prototype, e.g., the prototype of the category ‘engineers’ is a male which may lead to errors in categorization when encountering a female engineer. Similarly the prototype of a “nurse” fits well with a female.

Developing Schemas

- We not only mentally group objects, ideas, or events into categories, but we also develop theories about these categories, called schemas.
- A *schema* is an organized, structured set of cognitions about a concept.
- Event schemas are known as *scripts*.
- Schemas are often called stereotypes when applied to members of a social group
- Schemas can be about particular people, social roles, groups, or common events.
- People are good or bad in certain schemas, like someone’s computer schema may not be good.

Advantages of Schematic Processing

- Schemas Aid Information Processing
- Schemas Aid Recall
- Schemas Speed Up Processing
- Schemas Aid Automatic Inference

- Schemas Add Information
- Schemas Aid Interpretation
- Schemas Provide Expectations
- Schemas Contain Affect

What shortcuts stretch our cognitive resources: The cognitive miser?

- Processing resources are valuable so we engage in timesaving mental shortcuts when trying to understand the social world (Fiske & Taylor, 1991)
- Timesaving mental shortcuts, called heuristics, reduce complex judgements to simple rules-of-thumb (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974)
- Advantages of using cognitive miser are:
 1. quick social judgement and,
 2. Reasonable accuracy
- Quick and easy - but can result in biased information processing (Ajzen, 1996)

Three shortcuts

- Representativeness
- Availability
- Anchoring and adjustment

The Representativeness Heuristic

- The tendency to judge the category membership of people based on how closely they match the prototypical member of that category. There is an old saying that “It looks like a duck, it quakes like a duck, then it is probably a duck”
- One important qualifying information is base rates
- Importance of personal descriptions vs. base-rate information: study by Tversky & Kahneman (1973) where they told the research participants that an imaginary named Jack had been selected from a group of 100 people. Some were told that 30 were engineer and others were told that 70 of 100 were engineers. Half of them were given a description of jack that either fit the common stereotype of an engineer or did not. Then they were asked to guess the probability that Jack was an engineer. The results showed that when participants received only importance related to base rates, they were more likely to guess that he was an engineer, but when they received information about jack’s personality, they tended to ignore the baserate information. This tendency is known as **base rate fallacy**(myth).

Lesson 19 SOCIAL COGNITION

What are some ways of thinking about the past?

Hindsight bias

- The tendency, once an event has occurred, to overestimate our ability to have foreseen the outcome
- Fueled by our desire for making sense
- Does not occur for very unusual and strange events

Counterfactual Thinking

- *Counterfactual reasoning* involves imagining alternative outcomes (what if thinking). (kash mene yeh na kia hota)
- Most likely when people experience unexpected or negative events.
- “Downhill” changes more easily imagined than “uphill” changes

- People engage in counterfactual reasoning to make themselves feel better and to help prepare themselves for the future.
- Sometimes not only ineffective in emotional coping but also downright unproductive; study by Davis et al. (1996) of people who had lost spouse or child. People who indulged themselves in imagination how the tragedy could have been prevented by mentally undoing things preceding it felt more distressed and guilty.

How do expectations shape our social thinking?

- False consensus (others also think like us)
- Confirmation bias (giving attention to what we think and exclude other thing)
- Self-fulfilling prophecy (balance between what people expect and what we do)
- Just world belief (life is just)
- Learned helplessness (facing bad luck consistently)

The False Consensus effect

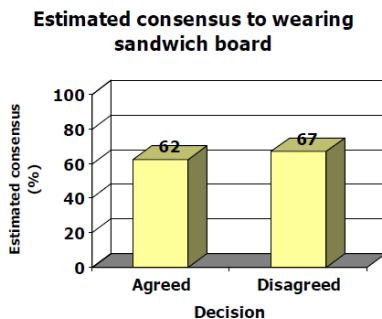
- The tendency to exaggerate how common one's own opinions are in the general population (Gross & Miller, 1997; Muller et al., 2002).
- Based on the belief that our opinions are fairly typical

Ross, Greene, & House' stuy (1977) Ross et al

- The researchers asked students the following question: "Would you walk around campus for thirty minutes wearing a large sandwich board saying EAT AT JOE'S!" (Traders Joe is a famous US take-away)
- Then they were asked to estimate the number of students who would make the same choice
- Students agreed to do so estimated that 62% will agree and those who disagreed estimated that 67% will not agree.

Figure 1 illustrates this study:

Ross, Greene, & House (1977)



Explanation of the FCE

- **The availability heuristic:** "our self concepts serve as the lens through which we view others (Kulig, 2000): Our own self-beliefs are easily recalled from memory making them most Accessible (available) when we judge whether others agree with us
- **False-uniqueness belief:** The tendency to underestimate how common one's own desirable traits ad abilities are in the general population. It appears to be a product of the self serving bias which is a tendency to more often attribute positive than negative traits to ourselves

Confirmation bias

This selective attention inhibits problem solving when our solution is incorrect.

- The tendency to seek information that supports our beliefs while ignoring disconfirming information
- When you look for the bad in mankind expecting to find it, you surely will (Lincoln, 1809-1865)
- For a man always believes more readily that which he prefers (Francis Bacon, 1561-1626)
- Synder & Swann (1978) asked research participants to find out whether the person they were about to interact was an introvert or extrovert. Consistent with the confirmation bias, the questions that participants asked were biased in the direction of the original question.
- Usually caused by taking cognitive shortcuts, but may also be due to our desire to get along with others; asking matching questions (Lyens, 1990)

The Self-fulfilling prophecy

- The process by which expectations about a person or group leads to the fulfilment of those expectations

Rosenthal & Jacobson' study (1968)

- Teachers told that 'tests' had revealed certain students were 'bloomers' and should improve substantially over the year
- The 20% 'bloomers' were actually randomly chosen
- IQ tested 8 months later
- Would teachers' expectations enhance the achievements of the selected pupils?

The Just-World Hypothesis (Lerner, 1980)

- A belief system in which the world is perceived to be a fair and equitable place, with people getting what they deserve
- Provides an illusion of control 'if we are good people good things will happen to us'

Advantages:

- Related to good psychological adjustment improves relationships 1996 and reduces stress

Disadvantages

- Defensive attribution (Shaver, 1970)
- Blame victims for their own misfortune to retain the belief that bad things only happen to bad people (and so a similar tragedy will not befall us!)
- qualified by similarity (Burger, 1981)
- What happens when people believing in a JW encounter contradictory outcomes? Like Earthquakes or 9/11. If the event was truly without personal fault, people with BJW often respond with revenge (Kaiser et al., 2004)

Expecting failure breeds helplessness

- The passive resignation produced by repeated exposure to negative events that are perceived to be unavoidable. In human beings first reactions are of anxiety, however as the extent of uncontrollable events increases and they begin to feel helpless, anger is replaced with depression.
- First discovered in animal research (Seligman & Maier, 1967)

- Not everyone experiences it, but people's attributions about the causation of initial lack of control determines the outcome (Abramson et al., 1978)

Applied Social Psychology Lab 2

After 9/11 FBI office was flooded with calls reporting possible suspects. Keeping in view that virtually every suspect had an Arab descent, answer the following questions.

1. What cognitive heuristic was employed in these social judgments? (Answer is representativeness heuristic)
2. Why people were relying on this heuristic? (Answer is availability heuristic)

Lesson 20 ATTITUDES

Discussion about new section “Evaluating Persons and Relationships” of study in Social Psychology

Since with the study of Attitudes, a new section is being started, some discussion was carried out about the main components of this section “Evaluating persons and relationships”. This section will comprise on the general study of attitude formation and change. This section will also focus on specific attitudes like negative attitudes of prejudice and discrimination, and positive attitudes of interpersonal attractions and attachments. The section will discuss causes of social intolerance and different forms of prejudice. Discussion will also be carried out on how positive attractions are formed.

What is an Attitude?

- A positive or negative evaluation of an object (Schuman, 1995), where an attitude object is a person, thing, event, or issue
- Earliest use of the term *attitude* came from theatre, described it as a body posture; dates back to the 1800s; later referred to as a “posture of mind” than of body.
- According to Allport, attitude is the most indispensable concept of social psychology. He maintained that “Attitudes determine for each individual what he will see and hear, what he will think and what he will do. To borrow a phrase from William James, “they engender meaning upon the world” (Allport, 1935, p. 806).

Three components of Attitudes

Before 1990s attitudes were interpreted in terms of their three components (tricomponent). This idea was based on “ABC” information namely:

- **Affective component:** the person’s emotions and affect towards the object
- **Behavioral component:** how person tends to act towards the object; Attitudes are but one determinant of behavior but not the only one; conversely past behavior also determines attitudes.
- **Cognitive component:** consists of thoughts and beliefs the person has about the object. Attitudes are often cognitively complex but evaluative simple. Because all of these components may not be present always, many psychologists have moved to single dimension definition evaluative.

Commonly used words for evaluating objects are bad, good, dislike, hate, love, etc. However, specialized terms are also employed to evaluate, for example, attitude toward self is referred to as self-esteem. Similarly negative specific attitudes are prejudice and discrimination whereas specific positive attitudes are interpersonal attractions and relationships.

Prejudice is an attitude toward group, whereas interpersonal attractions are for individuals.

Although evaluative component is central to an attitude, the other two dimensions -behavior and beliefs- can also not be overlooked.

Assessing Attitudes

Direct Assessment:

Usually, three methods are employed to measure attitudes directly:

1. Likert (Summated Ratings) scales:

What is your opinion about co-education at college level?

-4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4

Very much opposed Very much in favor

2. **Semantic Differential Scales:** Do You feel about the taste of this (any brand) coffee?
Unpleasant _____ Pleasant

3. Latitude of Acceptance

-4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4

All options acceptable to the respondent are encircled, while those not acceptable are encircled.

Indirect Assessment

- Social desirability problem in direct assessment led to indirect assessment of attitudes.
- Studies conducted in 1930s and then in 1969 showed reduction in stereotypes of White against black people. However, the evidence does not show a reduction in prejudice over time. This artifact thus can be attributed to social desirability factor.
- Bogus pipeline technique is used to convince the respondents that the experimenter has a pipeline into the respondent's real attitudes
- Bogus pipeline techniques are effective in getting people to admit that they smoke or drink too much, and engage in other unhealthy behaviors
- Recent advances in electrophysiology may remove the "bogus" from the bogus pipeline and make it possible to detect attitudes directly. For example, electromyography recordings can detect minute changes in these muscles accurately reflecting a person's feelings and thus can help detect attitudes.

Lesson 21 ATTITUDE FORMATION

Attitude formation:

In the following, different theories about how attitudes are formed have been explained.

1) Mere exposure (Robert Zajonc, 1968)

- The tendency to develop more positive feelings toward objects and individuals the more we are exposed to them
- No action or beliefs about the object required
- Familiarity does not breed contempt!

Experiment by Zajonc (1968)

- 'Experiment to determine how people learn a foreign language'
- 10 Chinese-like characters on computer screen, 2 seconds each
- Characters varied in how many times presented
- 'These characters are adjectives - are they positive or negative?'

Another experiment by Mita, Dermer, & Knight (1977)

- Participants showed a photo of them and the mirror image
- The prints were indistinguishable from each other
- Asked to rate which of two prints they liked better
- We prefer the mirror print because this is the view of ourselves we most often see
- Our friends see the 'actual' view
- This is the reason why we never like photos of ourselves?

2) Classical conditioning

- Classical conditioning when a neutral stimulus is paired with a stimulus that naturally evokes an emotional response (Learning through association)
- Aarther & Carolyn Staats (1962) first time investigated classical conditioning in association with attitude.
- But does this occur with social groups?
- The magnitude of the effect was not great, suggesting classical conditioning may contribute to, but not fully explain, affective components of attitude formation
- An even stronger effect when aversive stimuli paired with nonsense words (Cacioppo, Marshall-Goodell, Tassinari, & Petty, 1992)
- This suggests that classical conditioning is a more powerful determinant of attitude formation when little knowledge is available about the attitude object (e.g., different racial groups?)

the effect of pairing positive and negative words with different nationalities: Study by Staats and Staats (1958) **Subliminal conditioning**

- Classical conditioning that occurs in the absence of conscious awareness of the stimuli
- Krosnick et al. (1992) showed college students slide photos of a stranger going about her daily activities
- Preceded by very brief (13/1000 of a second) subliminal presentations of photos inducing positive and negative emotions
- Those exposed to the positive photos reported more positive attitude toward the stranger.

3) Operant conditioning

· Operant conditioning occurs where behaviour is strengthened following rewards and weakened following punishments. For example, a student may develop a positive attitude to math if praised for efforts, but his efforts remain unnoticed then may stop taking much interest in the subjects which may lead to deterioration in performance.

· Classical conditioning -----> affective component

· Operant conditioning -----> behavioral component

· Can also develop through the indirect means of *observational learning* (Bandura, 1986). For example, if your friend has a car accident, he will start avoid driving due to operant conditioning, but if you avoid or dislike driving, it will be the result of observational learning. This helps children learn many activities and skills. Also, they learn how to

4) Self-perception theory (Bem, 1965)

- We infer our attitudes from observing our own behaviors (i.e., behaviors can cause attitudes)
- Attributional processes - we attribute our own behavior as being indicative of certain attitudes
- Bem argued we are more likely to make attitude inferences when our behavior is freely chosen

Chaiken & Baldwin's Study (1981)

The researchers conducted an interesting empirical demonstration of self-perception theory of attitude formation. They first separated participants into 2 groups: strong and weak pro-environment. Then they induced them to endorse either relatively pro or anti statements on a questionnaire. The results showed that the participants who were induced into reporting pro-environment behavior reported more positive attitude for environment. However, this only occurred if their initial pro-environment attitude was weak.

Facial feedback theory

- Strack, Martin, & Stepper (1988) conducted a study to understand the impact of facial expression and movement on attitude. They showed cartoons to 3 types of participants; those who saw cartoons with pen in teeth, pen in lips, and in their no dominant hand. Later their attitude toward cartoons was asked.
- Pen in teeth (like smiling) vs. Pen in lips (prevents smiling)
- Pen in teeth -----> greater liking of the attitude object (cartoon)
- This indicates facial feedback hypothesis.

These results also support the vascular theory of emotions, as described below.

Vascular theory of emotion (Zajonc, 1993)

- Smiling causes facial muscles to increase **the flow of air-cooled blood to the brain producing pleasant mood**. On the contrary, frowning decreases blood flow promoting negative mood. In 1989 the researchers showed that even pronouncing vowel sound than other mimicking frowning (u) characters can decrease blood flow.
- **Other body postures, sitting upright at a normal-height table or sitting slumped over at a short-legged table determined levels of positive attitude**

6. Functional

- **Attitudes formed (and change) based on the degree to which they satisfy different psychological needs**
- e.g., changing from liking to disliking a brand of coffee because of anti-environmental practices
- Active vs. passive attitude theory

Lesson 22

ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR

The Attitude-Behaviour Relationship

During the 1970s a crisis of “confidence” in the attitude concept developed as a result of weak relationship between attitude and behavior.

Psychologists started questioning whether attitudes still should be considered a central concept of social psychology.

Difficulty was first demonstrated by LaPierre in 1934; in the US in the 30’s there was widespread prejudice against Asians. LaPierre went with a young Chinese couple across the U.S for 3 months.

The question under consideration was ‘Would restaurant/hotel managers refuse to serve the couple?’

Only 1 out of 66 hotels turned them away, 1 out of 250 restaurants refused service

Later a letter sent asking if they would serve Chinese Of the 128 replies 90% said they would refuse to serve Chinese people

When do attitudes predict behavior?

Factors affecting attitude-behavior relationship

1. Specificity
2. Test-retest reliability
3. Private vs. public self-awareness
4. Attitude strength

5. Attitude accessibility

Specificity

In LaPierre study Behavior was specific (the Chinese couple) but attitude was general (would you serve Chinese people in general)(having the greed to be paid and many factors involved)
Specific attitudes ----> Specific behavior

Test-retest reliability

The longer the time between attitude measurement and behavior, more likely the attitude will change

Private vs. Public self-awareness

- Privately self-aware ----> behave in line with own attitude
- Publicly self-aware ----> behave in line with public attitude
- William Forming et al. (1982) pre-tested students regarding their attitude toward physical punishment; From this group selected those having negative attitude toward physical punishment; Later the participants were asked to administer shocks to people; The results showed that participants behaved according to their private and public self-awareness; those private self-conscious and looking themselves in mirror administered shocks of lesser intensity. Those facing audience worked according to their public self-awareness.

Attitude strength

Greater information about attitude object:

having more information about an attitude object is often Attitude-Behavior consistency due to type of self-awareness sufficient to strengthen people's attitude.

Greater personal involvement with attitude object

Greater direct experience with attitude: With having a direct experience, people tend to engage in all 3 components of attitude: affective, cognitive, and behavioral.

All three factors lead to greater attitude strength and greater attitude-behavior consistency

- Study showing consistency between environmental attitude and knowledge and behavior (Kallgren & Wood, 1986): People were questioned first about their attitude and knowledge about environmental issues; later were asked to participate in pro-environmental activities. Those who know a lot showed more consistency between attitude and behaviour.

Attitude accessibility

The availability heuristic (tendency to judge the probability of an event; recall)

The more accessible an attitude the greater attitude-behaviour consistency

Measured by speed of response to questions concerning the attitude object (Fazio & Williams, 1986)

Theory of planned behavior

2. The theory of planned behaviour (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975)

People's conscious decisions (intentions) to engage in specific actions are determined by three factors...

1. Determinants of attitudes

One's beliefs about the consequences of performing the behaviour

One's evaluation of the possible consequences (he wants to opt medical but his belief is this is very difficult and second is that if he just get the admission he will pass the degree)

2. Determinants of subjective norms

The perceived expectations of significant others

One's motivation to conform to these expectations (expectation of others)

3. Determinants of perceived control

One's perception of how easy or difficult to perform the behavior, e.g., Quitting smoking

Attitude is positive (I want to stop smoking)

Subjective norms are positive (family wants you to stop smoking)

Perceived control is low (I'm addicted!)

Not an addictive effect, if one of the three components is strongly anti- the behavior, intention will be low and the behavior will not be carried out

Criticisms on the theory of planned behaviour

- Spontaneous unintentional behavior (e.g., attitude accessibility)
- Habits.
- Both of these involve little reasoned thought (behavioral intention)
- TPB is good for explaining logical reasoned behaviors but cannot account for automatic behavior
- We are, after all, cognitive misers...

Lesson 23

ATTITUDE CHANGE

Behavior changing attitudes

- From self-perception theory (Bem, 1965) we know that we can infer our attitudes from observing our own behaviors (i.e., behaviors can cause attitudes)
- Our behaviors can also change attitudes, if they are unexpected...(if we suddenly realize we are good at something)

Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957)

- A feeling of discomfort caused by performing an action that is inconsistent with one's attitudes
- Principle of Cognitive consistency were first introduced by Fritz Heider (1946)
- A motivational instead of a cognitive approach; has Gestalt roots that human beings not only expect and prefer their perceptions to be coherent but they are motivated to do so.
- Festinger maintained that instead of engaging in rational behavior, we often engage in irrational and maladaptive behavior, and much of the time we engage in rationalizing our behavior.

Festinger & Carlsmith's study (1959)

- Participants perform a boring task (emptying and filling trays; turning 48 wooden pegs)
- Told to lie to next participant (it's a great task!)
- \$1 vs. \$20 payment for lying
- An interviewer then asks how fun and interesting you in fact found the tasks to be
- Which condition will lead to greater favourability or attitude shift?
- Findings are counter to what operant conditioning would suggest (attitudes rewarded more will be more favourable)
- BUT...\$1 participants experienced a greater inconsistency (dissonance) between their attitude and behaviour than \$20 participants (and unpleasant state), i.e., 'It was a boring task', 'I told someone it was fun'. Festinger maintained that like hunger dissonance is analogous to hunger in aversiveness.
- The \$1 participants have insufficient justification so the only way to resolve the unpleasant inconsistency is to change their attitude to be in line their behaviour ('The task was fun!')
- Two inconsistent cognitions led to either adding a third cognition or by changing attitude. We need to be able to explain why we do things. The \$20 participants can explain their attitude behaviour inconsistency through reward (the \$20 was a sufficient justification for the behaviour) by adding a 3rd cognition to explain their counter attitudinal behaviour. However, \$1 participants changed their attitude to maintain consistency.

Factors affecting dissonance

- Justification; e.g., Doomsday cult group (as referred in previous lectures) transformed the bad experience into a good one to reduce dissonance
- Freedom of choice: e.g., if we are forced to do something this explains why we did it in contravention of our attitudes, so it does not create dissonance.

- _ Investment: e.g., supporting a political party even when evidence of incompetence, immorality, etc. escalates (refuse to accept evidence of impropriety because of all the time invested in believing the party's ideals)

Cognitive dissonance and Persuasion

- _ Cognitive dissonance is attitude change via an internal discrepancy
- _ Persuasion is attitude change via an external message
- _ Persuasion is the process of consciously attempting to change attitudes through the transmission of some message.

Factors that influence the persuasiveness of a message

- _ Source: Who is communicating?
- _ Message variables: What is the content?
- _ Audience: To whom the message is delivered?

Source Factors: Who is communicating?

- Source credibility
 - _ Expertise
 - _ Trustworthiness
- Source attractiveness
 - _ Physical appearance
 - _ Likeability
 - _ Similarity

Source Factors: Credibility

“Propaganda, to be effective, must be delivered. To be delivered, it must be credible”

- _ **Expertise:** Bochner & Insko's study (1966): Written powerful statements claiming that about fewer than 8 hours' sleep is required for effective functioning and same statements were attributed to either to eminent psychologists or YMCA director. Obviously, those people who were told that the statements were written by the eminent psychologist believed more in the statements.

_ *“We are not won by arguments that we can analyze but by tone and temper, by the manner which is the man himself”*

- _ **Trustworthiness:** Walster et al.'s study (1966) about the arguments of either a convicted criminal or a judge about the importance of police's ability for maintaining law and order than the rights of criminals. The criminal's arguments appeared more impressive to people because people who argue for actions that benefit them are not trusted, hence they suffer from low credibility. In contrast, those who argue for actions that are contrary to their vested interests have high credibility.

The 'sleeper effect' low credibility as a discounting cue

The delayed effectiveness of a persuasive message from a no credible source

Hoveland & Weiss's study (1951)

- _ Read article stating that nuclear submarines were safe
- _ Author = Oppenheimer (nuclear physicist supervising the construction of atom bomb) vs. Pravda (Soviet newspaper); (High vs. Low credibility for US students in 50's)
- _ Persuasion is not very straightforward and uncomplicated; 4 weeks later credibility lost its effectiveness. Other studies have also shown the delayed effects of credibility.
- _ Immediate effect - High credibility source --> greater persuasion; Tested 4 weeks later? Not much difference.

Explanation of the sleeper effect

Source memory:

_ Forgetfulness over time: i.e., over time, people forget where the source originated from and only remember the content (so credibility of source would have no effect) the credible source became dissociated from the message

_ Explains increase in low credibility source persuasion as well as decrease in high credibility persuasion.

_ **Kelman & Hovlan (1953)** replicated the original experiment but reminded participants of the source before their attitudes were reassessed. The sleeper effect was removed.

Three factors that promote the sleeper effect (A meta-analysis of over 70 studies by Kumkale & Albarrachin, 2004):

_ The message must be convincing enough in itself to lead to persuasion

_ Credibility information given after the message (or no processing of content will occur)

_ The low credibility source information decays faster than the message content

Source Factors: Attractiveness enhances persuasiveness

_ During 1920s when feminists were demonstrating against female inequality

_ Nephew of Freud, Edward Bernays, used attractive “liberated” women in an ad campaign for the cigarette industry to serve as a “torch of freedom” symbol.

_ Women had a campaign with anti-smoking slogans in 1929 Easter parade in Manhattan.

_ Many women adopted the “torch of freedom habit

_ The cigarette company’s profits soared with this newfound “liberated-female” market

Factors indicating attractiveness

Physical appearance

_ Attractive university UG were more likely (41%) to persuade fellow students to sign a petition as compared to less attractive (32%)

_ Commercials use central or peripheral route processing for persuasion. Usually attractive females are used, who are consciously placed in commercials to attract male viewers and to induce positive feelings, using **the principle of classical conditioning, without even making the viewer conscious of this purpose. That is why this is called peripheral route.**

Likeability:

Merely saying nice things is enough to get people to like you (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993)

Similarity:

Communicators can be similar to their audience in a number of ways:

_ Sharing attitudes and values is the most important condition (Simons et al., 1970)

_ Similar backgrounds

_ Appearance (dressing)

Message variables: What is the content?

In this section we will study that what makes a message persuasive in its own right independent of the source. Following are a few important points in this reference:

- Facts versus vivid images
- Fear
- Humor
- The use of one-sided vs. two-sided arrangements
- Repetition

Facts vs. Vividness images

Advertisers can use both evidence-based and vivid graphic messages to convince viewers to follow a certain course of action.

- Evidence based message
Example: “Last year 1100 students died with drug abuse”
- Vividness(full of life)-based appeal
Example: “Not everyone dies with drug use” (with graphic message of disturbed consequences)
- Evidence-based appeals are more persuasive. However, evidence is more persuasive when it is from a credible source.
- Persuasive power can be increased if evidence is combined with vivid imagery (Gonzales et al. 1988)
- Vivid images prime relevant information in memory (Sherman et al., 1990) Vividness can also undermine the persuasiveness of a message

Study of Frey & Eagly (1993):

- Presentation of vivid or non-vivid messages to undergraduate students
- Two conditions: High (instruction given to pay attention to some particular aspect) and low attentional (no instructions, just incidental presentation) constraints were created
- With high attentional condition both techniques were equally effective, while non vivid messages were more persuasive when incidentally presented.
- Vivid elements interfere with the full comprehension of the persuasive message.
- This cognitive “Wandering off” is most likely when vivid elements are incongruent with the theme of message (Smith & Shaffer, 2000). Interference occurs when people’s attention is not contained as vivid elements may catch attention instead of message

Does fear appeal persuasion?

“There are two levers for moving man – interest and fear” (Napoleon Bonaparte, French General and Emperor in 18th century.)

- Advertisements, organizations and people often try to invoke fear in order to persuade. For example, antismoke ads state, ‘nicotine habits will shorten life expectancy’. Insurance agents use fear element by suggesting to people, ‘your family will be thrown out of home after your death’ or try to create apprehensions about daughter’s marriage, or make ‘own home’ W.Bush created fear in American nation by indicating that the

country will be attacked again by the terrorists. However, too much fear can sometime be debilitating which can be counterproductive

- Can be explained by the Protection motivation theory (Rogers et al., 1997) which states that fear induces motivation to protect the self..

Conditions under which fear appeals can be effective

First 2 of the following are about changing attitude, whereas the last two are to ensure personal capability (similar to perceived behavior in 'Control theory of planned behavior').

- The target of the message is convinced that the dangers mentioned are serious
- The target is convinced that the dangers are quite probable
- The target is convinced that the recommendations to avoid the danger will be effective
- The target believes that s/he can competently take the action

Does Humour increase attention to a message?

- About 40% of all advertisements employ humor (Unger, 1996)
- Public relation consultants recommend punching up speeches with humorous anecdotes (Weinberger & Campbell, 1991). They also believe that humor is an effective persuader that is why they regularly recommend it.
- Increases people's attention than serious-sounding communication (Duncan & Nelson, 1985) as people are more likely to listen to someone who is trying to make them laugh or smile.
- Such persuaders tend to enhance their likability (Gruner, 1985)
- Humor must be relevant to the content in order not to be disruptive. Sometimes the joke may be so funny that people may remember it and not the actual message. It is generally believed that: Relevant humor ----> central route, while irrelevant humour ----> peripheral route (Smith et al., 1994)

One-sided vs. two-sided messages

Working in the USA Army Information and Education Department, Hovland and colleagues (1949) after the surrender of Nazi Germany wanted to convince the USA soldiers that the war in pacific against Japan will continue. Their used both kinds of messages to convince the soldiers about this. Their research showed that messages can be more credible if it also acknowledges opposing arguments. It also showed that the two-sided messages are effective if people initially do not agree with the message. However, later research found that two-sided message is not only effective with those who initially disagreed but who are either well informed or who are going to be exposed to opposing viewpoints in future. In these mentioning the opposition's views indicates that you are an objective and fair minded person

Attitudinal Inoculation

- A weak version of an opposing argument can help 'stimulate defenses' against a future opposing argument
- "Immunizing somebody against change isn't always very healthy for the reason that people do have to be open outside influences" (McGuire, 1999)

Does Repetition increase persuasion power?

- Mere exposure effect
- Repetition has the opposite effect on the stimuli that are initially perceived as negative (Cacioppo & Petty, 1989). Repetition seems to increase liking for stimuli that are initially perceived as neutral but has the opposite effect on the stimuli that are initially perceived as negative.
- Repetition increases liking only up to a point.
- Repetition with variation can overcome wear-out effect (Pratkanis & Aronson, 1992).

Audience Variables

- Good mood
- Involvement
- Individual differences

Audience variables: good mood generally fosters persuasion

- Evidence about greater attitude change among people eating at a snack shop and listening pleasant music indicate that good mood generally fosters persuasion.

Possible Explanations:

- 1) Classical conditioning
- 2) Cognitive-response approach: The feeling-as-information explanation
 - People who are in a positive mood are more susceptible to persuasion.
 - This approach suggests that people in positive mood are less likely to engage in extensive processing of the presented arguments
 - Negative moods signal something ‘wrong’ with environment which triggers greater processing to find out what necessary actions are required. On the other hand, happy people think that everything is fine. Moreover, they want to maintain their happy mood.
 - Generally happy people use peripheral route, unhappy use the central route. Hence, happy people are more susceptible to weak cues like attractiveness.

Involvement

Both of the following types of involvements have different effect on persuasion.

Issue involvement:

This involvement indicates that the outcome of argument has important consequences for the self – hence it will take a central route.

Impression-relevant involvement:

In this kind of involvement, the person usually thinks that his or her response may be scrutinised by others and may lead to social approval/ disapproval. This kind of involvement takes a peripheral route. Those attitudes which become associated with the self are highly resistant to change

If matter is personally relevant, audience will be more likely to be persuaded by well-reasoned arguments. On the other hand, if they are concerned that how they will be judged then they will be persuaded by a speaker who is popular and attractive – socially acceptable. The later kind of involvement is impression-relevant and takes a peripheral route.

Individual differences

Need for cognition refers to the degree to which someone prefers to engage in effortful thought. High NFC takes a central route. People who have high NFC, they not only think that the matter is important to the self, but they have a desire for cognitive challenges. People who have a low NFC, they usually take mental shortcuts and peripheral route, therefore their attitude is easy to change

Age and life stage:

Impressionable years: According to Krosnick and Alwin (1989), the heightened susceptibility of young people to persuasion is caused by their first-time exposure to social and political issues

Life stance hypothesis With more sophisticated methodology and statistical approaches, Visser and Krosnick conducted 6 survey studies of more than 8500 participants. They measured attitude change toward such social and political issues like international affairs, crime, race, etc. They indicated that attitude change is greater in both younger and elderly due to greater role transitions. Middle-aged adults are more resistant to attitude change.

Strength of attitude is determined by information, knowledge and involvement.

Attitude information and perceived knowledge rises in early adulthood and peaks around 50, and declines after 65. As people in adult years exhibit strong attitudes, so they are resistant to change.

Central vs. peripheral processing of perceived messages

| Routes to persuasion | Most likely to occur when | Effect on attitude |
|---|--|---|
| Central Route: Careful study of the available information to determine its merits | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Message personally relevant• High NFC• Neutral mood• Communicator speaks at normal rate | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strong• Resistant to counterarguments• Predictive of behavior |
| Peripheral Route: Relying on incidental cues and simple rule of thumb like attractiveness or length | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Message irrelevant• Low in NFC• Positive mood• Communicator speaks rapidly | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Weak• Susceptible to counterarguments• Not predictive of behavior |

Lesson 25

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice and Discrimination:

Inter-group intolerance

_ In English language, the pronouns we and they indicate the degree of social and psychological space between the speaker and the social group to which these pronouns refer. People associated with “they” pronouns usually are not like us. We state them like this, “they are disrespectful”; “they are different”; “they are dangerous, difficult, annoying”, and so on. We sometime feel sorry for them but we don’t want them around us. They (sometime) may be good ones, but usually they are not like us.

_ Social groups associated with the “distancing” “they” and “them” pronoun labels are valued much less than those with the embracing “we” and “us” labels.

_ This chapter is about the social psychology of inter-group intolerances

Prejudice and discrimination

_ **Prejudice** is a negative attitude towards the members of specific social groups. Attitude is general type of feeling. **Prejudice is specific form of feeling.**

_ **Discrimination**(action) is a negative behavior directed toward members of social groups who are the object of prejudice.

_ **Stereotypes:** Beliefs about the personal attributes shared by people in a particular group or social category.

Factors shaping prejudice & discrimination

1. Cognitive sources: Categorizing people
2. Emotional sources: Scapegoat & Authoritarian personalities
3. Social sources
 - _ Social inequalities: Unequal status, Religion, stereotype threat
 - _ Social identity
 - The minimal group paradigm
 - Social identity theory
 - _ Inter-group competition

Cognitive sources of prejudice

Categorization

_ One way we simplify structure our environment is to categorize by clustering things into groups. **For example, a biologist classifies plants and animals. In psychology, we classify people.** Once categorized, we begin to perceive people differently.

_ In multicultural societies, e.g., in USA, people of widely varying ancestry are labeled as Black and White, on the basis of skin colour. Afro Caribbean males are often labeled as “angry black man”, and are considered dangerous. In Pakistan, Zaat and Beradri system is the basis of categorization.

_ Ethnicity and sex are powerful ways of categorizing people. For example in many parts of UK, Pakistani people are called as Pakies, an insulting label.

_ By itself categorization is not prejudice, but it provides a foundation for that.

_ Social identity theory implies that those who feel their social identity keenly tend to categorize people as us or them.

Out-group Homogeneity Effect

_ Merely assigning people to different social groups can create out-group homogeneity effect, the perception of out-group members as being more similar to one another than one's own group.

_ "They are all alike, while we are diverse". Our tendency to perceive out-group members as similar to one another sets the stage for developing beliefs about their personalities, abilities, and motives" These beliefs are called stereotypes, a type of schema.

_ In-group homogeneity effect can also arise when there are many minorities at one place and they feel similar to each other on the basis of minority category.

_ Stereotypes are beliefs about people that put them into categories and don't allow for individual variation.

The function of stereotyped thinking

_ Quickness: Stereotyped thinking provides us with rich and distinctive information about people we do not personally know (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Quickness is one of the most apparent qualities of stereotyped thinking and provides basis for immediate action in uncertain circumstances. It provides shortcuts to thinking.

_ We don't have to get to know a person by time consuming method. However, it may result into faulty conclusions and judgments.

_ Appears to "free-up" cognition for other tasks; this resource-preserving effect has an evolutionary basis (Gilbert, 1989).

_ Filtering social judgments through stereotypes results in ignoring information that is relevant but inconsistent with the stereotype.

Stereotypes against Alien Cultures: Narratives from Mental Health Professionals in UK
A research was conducted in the UK to explore how far the perceptions of mental health professionals are derived from cultural stereotypes (Burr, 2002). Some important narratives stated

by mental health professionals during focus group discussions are as under:

Narratives about traditional feminine roles:

"I think the roles of women, the expectations, and because there is quite a lot of pressure and to conform, so South Asian women might find themselves quite isolated"

"My concept of the Asian women is that they are very much in the dark almost on the corners".

Here people not familiar to South-Asian countries' culture assume that people particularly women belonging to these cultures are more likely to be depressed because of cultural pathology.

Stereotypes: Cultural conflicts

"If they adapt to British culture, and perhaps if their Asian or ethnic values are not so rigid, then it may be easy"

"They all try to carry on their tradition in an alien culture, so you can see how their conflict is. I am amazed that they are not all depressed really. I think that they should all go home.... They don't fit here"

"They are swamping the country. They are just descending to these areas. They are probably thinking that streets are paved with gold, going to be mightily disappointed"

According to mental health professionals in the UK, the only idea to resolute conflict is that people belonging to alien cultures adopt western culture and leave the 'inferior rigid culture'.

Stereotypes: Arranged Marriage

"I think it will be very lonely, I didn't realize how many people lose their own families when they

go into an arranged marriage, you know, and their husband's family is more their family. It must be horrible"

The idea mentioned here that arranged marriage is inherently psychologically damaging is questionable.

Stereotypes: Expectations & Awareness

_ "We would be really depressed at some conditions that some cultures are faced with, but they just get on with it"

_ "I think Asian women are socially conditioned to take all those blows. They are the ones to take the entire heavy load. They can't say they are depressed. Only when they come to a place like this, that's when we start to see symptoms"

Mental health professionals in the UK believe that South-Asian people/ women are not capable to be depressed. Here Western therapists are ignoring the strengths of Asian cultures, while may have provided many positive buffers against distress.

Emotional sources of prejudice

Frustration & Aggression: The scapegoat theory

_ Prejudice is viewed by some people as displaced aggression onto a group that serves as a victim.

_ When the cause of our frustration is intimidating or unknown, we often direct hostility

_ The targets for this displayed anger can vary. Following their defeat in world-war I, and resulting economic depression, many Germans saw Jews as villains. One German leader explained, "The Jew is just convenient. ...if there were no Jews, the anti-Semites would have to invent them"

_ When cotton prices were low and economic frustrations were high, White considered black people as an easy scapegoat. So, there was more lynching of African Americans in the years of economic depression after the civil war

_ One source of frustration is competition (realistic group conflict theory). Goal fulfillment of one group becomes the frustration of the other group.

Emotional sources of prejudice: Prejudice as a personality type

_ Adorno and Frenkel-Brunswick fled from Nazi Germany during world-war II and were motivated to find out the psychology underlying the mass genocide of millions of Jews and other undesirables by Nazi Germany. Using psychoanalytic perspective, Adorno and Frenkel-Brunswick set out to discover how people with certain personality characteristics might be prone to inter-group hostility

_ Used interviews, case histories, surveys identified authoritarian personality

_ Authoritarian people conform rigidly to cultural rules and values and believe that morality is a clear right and wrong choices

_ The authoritarian personality is characterized by submissiveness to authority and intolerance for those who are weak to measure authoritarian personality.

_ Authoritarian personality (extreme obedience) results from personality conflicts and harsh childrearing practices

Social learning theory

_ In 1980s interest in the authoritarian personality was revived by Altemeyer when he stated that the origin of authoritarian personality is not personality conflicts from childhood.

Adolescents who socialize with authoritarian disciplinarians develop similar tendencies by modeling and reinforcement. Altemeyer (1981, 1988) suggested that the authoritarian personalities are caused by people learning a prejudicial style of thinking during adolescence.

_ Studies conducted over the past 20 years support social learning perspective (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003).

Lesson 26 PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION (CONTINUE.....)

Social Inequalities: Unequal Status

This lecture will discuss that what social conditions breed prejudice? How does society maintain prejudice?

_ Prejudice springs from several factors because it serves many functions: it may gain us social acceptance; it may protect from anxiety; may bring us pleasure; can protect our self-esteem, etc.

_ **Prejudice has been greatest in regions where slavery was practiced**

_ Nineteenth century European politicians and writers justified grand expansion by describing exploited colonized people as “inferior”, “requiring protection” and a “burden” to be borne (Allport, 1958, pp. 204-205).

Social inequalities: Religion

_ Religious ideology is well suited to reduce prejudice. All religions stress equality and justice, particularly Islam places a great emphasis on Heqooqul Aabad and rights of neighbours. Moreover, all prophets have been declared equal and it has been mentioned in Al-Quran that no prophet has a preference over others. On Hejatul widah, Prophet Mohammad presented a universal charter of human rights and clearly stated that no one is superior on the basis of race or color.

_ Although some religious beliefs can reduce prejudice, strong religious beliefs tend to be associated with prejudice shown in a review of 34 studies and in a survey of 1799 people (Batson & Ventis, 1982; Eisinga et al., 1990).

_ **Although intrinsically religious prove less prejudiced on questionnaires but appear to be equally prejudiced when measured behaviorally (Batson et al., 1978)**

_ “We have just enough religion to make us hate but not enough to make us love one another”

Social inequalities: Stereotype threat

Stereotype threat is the fear that you'll confirm a negative stereotype about a group that you belong to. In Grace's case, she's afraid that by making a mistake, she's promoting the stereotype that African Americans aren't good doctors. And, every time she's late for work, she fears she's confirming the stereotype that African Americans are always late

_ Experiments by Spencer & Quinn (1999): Researchers administered a difficult Math test to men and women with different instructions. They actually divided the test into two halves but presented it as two distinct tests. By employing a cross-over design, half of the participants were told that the first test was on which men outperformed women, while on the second there was no gender difference. In first group men were far better than women and in second there was no huge difference

Stereotype threat & Self-fulfilling prophecy

Self-fulfilling prophecy refers to the socio-psychological phenomenon of someone "predicting" or expecting something, and this “prediction” or expectation comes true simply because one believes it

_ Stereotype threat is different from self-fulfilling forecast, which hammers one’s reputation into one’s self concept, whereas stereotype threat situation is immediate. **However, gender and racial stereotypes can also be self-fulfilling.**

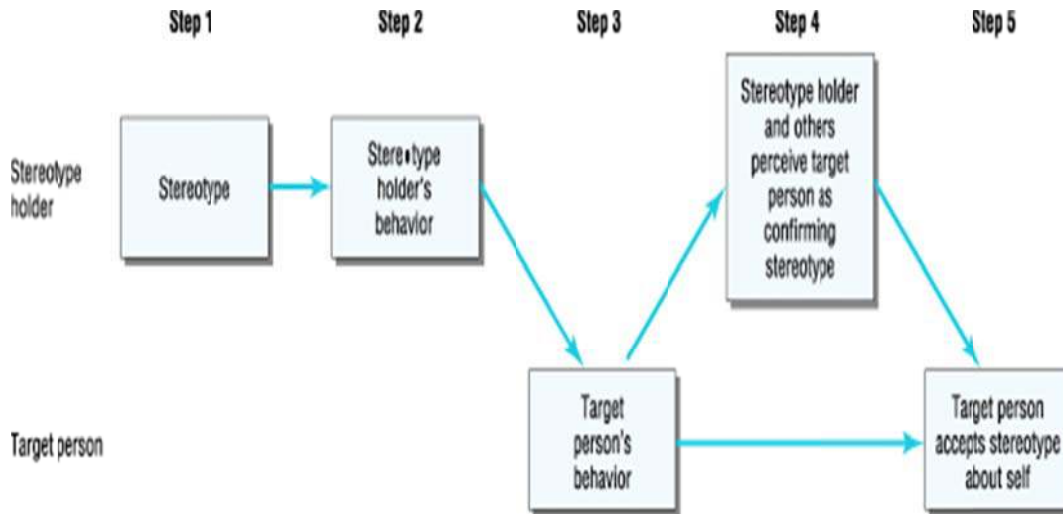
_ Racial stereotypes be similarly self-fulfilling, e.g., when difficult verbal tests were administered to Blacks and Whites (Steele & Aronson, 1995), Black performed poorly

because they are perceived as having low verbal ability.

_ Stereotype threat also affects athletic performance, when a golf test was framed as a test of “sports intelligence” Blacks performed worse; when it was framed as “natural athletic ability” Blacks performed better than Whites (Stone et al., 1999).

Knowing that one may be stereotyped by others can create a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Others’ behavior can influence the target, and mere expectation of being stereotyped can create stereotype threat.



Social sources: Social Identity

_ Human beings are group-bound species; our ancestral history prepares us to feed and protect ourselves-to live in groups. Human beings live for their groups, kill for their groups, and die for their groups.

_ We carry social identities-being woman, Pakistani, a psychologist, educationist, student, a member of Rotary club, etc.

_ Any situation may involve both interpersonal and intergroup elements, but usually one will be dominant.

_ An in-group member is someone who shares category membership with the perceiver.

_ An out-group member is someone who does not share category membership with the perceiver.

_ Self-concept contains not just a personal identity but a social identity.

_ Simple act of categorizing people as in-group or out-group members affects how we evaluate and compare them

_ In-group bias refers to the tendency to give more favorable evaluations and greater rewards to in-group members than to out-group ones.

_ Racism and sexism are the widespread category-based prejudice and discrimination

Social Identity: Self-concept

_ Group membership is sufficient to foster group favoritism

_ Participants allocated to two groups on a random basis

_ Identities of people in other groups unknown

_ Allocate money to people (via code numbers) in the two groups

_ Could not allocate money to self

Results

- _ A persistent tendency to allocate more points to their own group than the out-group.
- _ Mere categorization is sufficient to elicit intergroup bias. Minimal group categorization is an independent of stereotyping and existed even though people did not know each other before this experiment.
- _ Meaningless categories; no interaction between groups; no past relationship; (i.e., even without historical, cultural, or religious bases)
- _ Has been proved as a very robust finding (Brewer, 1979)

Billig & Tajfel's study (1973)

- _ Original MGP categorization on basis of 'liking of paintings' _ so not truly mere categorization, but belief similarity, which can increase discrimination
- _ Categorization by coin-toss (truly minimal) vs. similarity (you all liked the same paintings)
- _ But...mere categorization (on completely arbitrary basis) can still lead to bias
- _ Reward allocations to either ingroup or outgroup: more to ingroup
- _ How to explain the mere categorization effect?

Social Identity Theory

Our self-esteem is partly determined by the social esteem of our group as social identity is part of our self-definition, and we enjoy in the reflected glory of our group.

Tajfel & Turner (1979)

- _ People seek to enhance their self-esteem by identifying with specific social groups and perceiving these groups as being better than others.
- _ We indulge in ingroup biases when the social esteem of our ingroup is threatened; strength of identification indicates levels of bias

Intergroup Competition: Realistic Group Conflict Theory

_ Intergroup conflict develops due to competition for scarce resources (Levine & Campbell, 1972).

_ Two important changes occur in conflict:

- 1) Increased aggression toward the opposing out-group
- 2) An intensification of in-group loyalty (ethnocentrism)

Sherif et al.'s summer camp (robber's cave) experiments (1955)

What happens if you randomly place people into one of two groups and manipulate circumstances to promote intergroup competition? The central theme of minimal group categorization surrounds a classic study. Sherif et al. conducted study at a specially created 200-acre camp at Robber's Cave State Park, 150 miles southeast of Oklahoma City of USA.

- _ Boy's summer camp in U.S.
- _ 20 well-adjusted, 11-12 years old boys
- _ Divided into two groups
- _ Unobtrusive observations by campus counsellors.

Three phases:

- 1) Creating ingroups
- 2) Instilling intergroup competitions
- 3) Encouraging intergroup cooperation

100

Phase I: Creating in-groups

- _ Cooperative activities: By making meals, hiking, hunting for hidden treasures, pitching tents, etc.
- _ Developed unique identity (Rattlers & Eagles): Rattlers established a tough-guy group norm

and spent a great deal of time in cursing and swearing.

_ Started making clear and undeniable ingroup-outgroup statements

Phase II: Intergroup competitions

Hypothesis: “Intergroup competition would cause prejudice”

_ Weeklong tournament consisting on 10 athletic events

_ Each event winner received points and the group with most points would receive highly prized medals and impressive 4-bladed pocketknives.

_ Showed how easily hostility can be developed between groups who are brought in competition.

_ Eagles were losing, so they angrily burned Rattlers’ flag; Rattlers raided Eagles’ camps and ripped their mosquito nets, overturned their cots; next day Eagles returned the attack.

_ Intergroup conflicts transformed these normal, well adjusted boys into “wicked, disturbed, and vicious” youngsters” (Sherif, 1966, p. 58).

Phase III: Reversing the hostility

_ Researchers sought to determine whether simple noncompetitive contact between the groups would ease tensions, so they brought children together for meals and movie.

_ Both groups used each interaction as an opportunity to merely increase their bitterness

Conflict reduction: Super ordinate goals

An excellent example of how ethnocentrism can develop when 2 groups compete for scarce resources:

_ Bus breakdown - at lunchtime

_ Only together could the two groups push-start the truck

_ Decrease in out-group derogation

_ But.can merely being a member of a certain group promotes intergroup bias?

_ Recent studies show that mere perception of conflict is often sufficient to fuel intolerance

Lesson 27

REDUCING PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

This lecture will explore the prospects for reducing prejudice and discrimination. Two techniques are generally recommended for this purpose:

1. Contact hypothesis (group-based)
2. Re-categorization (Individual based): This approach is considered individual based as it is done by changing people's thinking.

The following 2 techniques are employed in this regard:

- _ Combination
- _ Subtypes and individual uniqueness

The contact hypothesis

_ Contact between members of different social groups, under appropriate conditions, can lead to reductions in intergroup bias (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969)

Benefits of contact: Wright et al. (1997)

- _ Participants divided into two teams
- _ Compete against each other
- _ One person from each team participated in an exercise to promote friendship with one member of the opposing team
- _ At each stage of the experiment asked to divide an imaginary \$500 between the teams

The results of this experiment have been illustrated below in Figure 1:

Conditions necessary for contact to reduce intergroup bias

Mere contact between groups will not necessarily reduce prejudice. It actually requires manipulation of a lot of situational variables. Thirty years after Allport's contact hypothesis, studies concluded that only contact is not enough, **it should be pleasant, sustained and cooperative than competitive**. The following conditions need to be fulfilled for contact to be effective for reducing prejudice and discrimination

- _ Social norms favoring equality must be in place
- _ There must be sustained close contact
- _ Contact must occur under conditions of equal social status
- _ Contact must be in the form of co-operative interaction

Social norms

The social conditions (government policy, schools, law) should all promote equality. Social norms have a significant impact on determining people's intentions. **It is where political and authority figures and group leaders can play an important role. If they publicly state support for equality, others are likely to follow that lead.** If supervisors tell at work places that sex, race, or statements based on physical characteristics will not be tolerated, such attitude can be reduced. On the other hand, if they oppose inter group contact, prejudice reduction is unlikely.

Unfortunately, many political and religious leaders encourage segregation for their own benefits. In psychology, the use of a few terms for different psychopathologies is discouraged for the same reasons, for example, alcoholics, schizophrenic, mentally retarded, etc. Similarly, instead of 'Abnormal Psychology' use of 'Mental health problems' is recommended

Cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957)

- When attitudes are not in line with behaviour this causes an unpleasant internal state.
- People are motivated to avoid this dissonance.

- So, people are likely to change their attitudes to be in line with behaviour.

It follows that laws which prevent discriminatory behaviour can therefore eventually lead to changes in attitudes

Sustained close contact

_ Several studies conducted in 1940s and 1950s demonstrated the importance of this approach. Studies conducted in France, UK, Germany, Finland, and the Netherlands demonstrate that intergroup friendship can reduce subtle and blatant prejudice.

_ Despite multicultural schools, prejudice is not decreased as children of different races segregate themselves in corners of class, cafeteria and play grounds. Researchers suggest that children should not be even sitting separately on the basis of their achievements.

_ Contact must be of sufficient frequency, duration, and closeness to allow the development of meaningful inter-group relations. Cook refers to that by using the term of 'acquaintance potential', which means that participants get to know each other. In this way, bias relevant to media portrayals can be removed.

_ Close contact will lead to generalization of the increased positive attitude towards the individual to the group as a whole (Cook, 1962)

_ Stephan & Rosenfield (1978): Increased quality contact did lead to improvement of White Americans' attitudes towards Mexican Americans

_ 'Team sports' is used as an effective strategy in schools (Brown et al., 2003) for motivating students to work together and work. Similarly 'Jigsaw puzzle' technique is used in US schools for promoting idea of working together and solving problems.

Study of Stephan & Stephan (1984)

_ Correlational path analysis revealed.... Frequency and closeness of contact ---> increased knowledge about the out-group ---> increased positivity of attitudes towards out-group.

3. Equal social status

_ Status is another form of prejudice. Intergroup contact does not always breed goodwill. For example, when it occurs between privileged and minority classes, it can in fact increase stereotypes and tension. According to Allport, equal status majority, and equal status minority should have contacts within their own groups. It implies that the groups interacting must be roughly equal in social status

_ If the minority group has contact with the majority group as a subordinate then this is likely to perpetuate negative stereotypes of inferiority

_ Teachers in schools and supervisors at work conditions should avoid creating unequal status groups

4. Intergroup cooperation

_ Co-operation is necessary for reductions in bias. As in the *Robbers Cave* animosity between the Rattlers and Eagles subsided when they engaged in a joint activity to achieve mutually shared goals (super ordinate). Similar results have been obtained in a variety of experimental and field settings, including schools, work, and the armed forces.

Superordinate goals and cooperation

Blanchard et al. (1975) showed that co-operation works best when the outcome of the super ordinate goal is successful

Study of Weigel et al (1975):

They compared the effects of cooperative vs. traditional teaching techniques in newly desegregated schools in USA.

_ Junior and senior high school children were taken as subjects.

- _ 60% white; 20% African Americans; 20% Hispani
- _ In cooperative classes, students worked in racially mixed teams of 4-6 students and cooperated as a group on all assignments
- _ Teachers ethnically varied

Effect of cooperative teaching in newly desegregated schools

In essence, it has been concluded in different studies that contact is meaningless or even counterproductive unless it has mutual goals, equal status, and sustained contact.

Problems with the contact hypothesis

Meta analysis of numerous studies testing Allport's contact hypothesis indicate that intergroup contact, under certain conditions, does indeed have a substantial effect in reducing prejudice. However, a few problems have also been pointed out in contact hypothesis:

- **Mutual intergroup anxiety:** The minority may have stereotype threat that they will be evaluated negatively by the majority. In contrast, majority group may be anxious of saying something negative.
- **Can lead to a protective self-presentation style:** Dominant group member talks less, while minority interprets it as hostility. This communication can result in backfire.
- **Generalization** - contact may lead to subtyping of the particular individual away from the group representation (so category-based prejudice remains).

So, contact will only reduce bias if the individuals are highly typical members who cannot be subtype away from the group so easily (Wilder, 1984).

Contact hypothesis is overly complex – there are so many conditions under which contact must occur that it becomes unworkable.

Can stereotyping be monitored through Recategorization?

Two types of Recategorization:

Combination

Separate groups might be combined into one larger group for reducing prejudice, e.g., if Whites and Blacks marry each other, the children will be of brown color. This is what has happened in America. Although racial discrimination has not totally abolished by this, it has helped at least in reducing prejudice against the minorities. On similar lines, **Zaat Beraadri** intermarriages will help reduce discriminatory behaviour for other groups.

Subtypes and individual uniqueness

_ We might try to break the existing categories into smaller subtypes, or to further divide the subtypes into units so small that each individual is regarded as unique.

The Common In-group Identity model (Gaertner et al., 1993)

_ 'Re-categorization' from a two-group ('us' vs. 'them') representation to a one-group representation

Gaertner et al.'s study (1989):

- _ Two minimal groups formed
- _ Two-groups vs. one-group conditions
- _ Participants either sat round a table in a segregated (AAABBB) or integrated (ABABAB) order
- _ Problem solving exercise requiring either original (segregated) groups decision or aggregated groups decision

Methods

- _ Students first divided into two three-person groups
- _ Both distinct groups displayed ingroup favoritism and prejudice

- _ Introduction of 2 Recategorization manipulations
- _ Persuaded the students as belonging to one group (6 people; like summer cave); relevant to combining different cultures into one “seamless”
- _ Other method emphasized individual uniqueness

Results

- _ Both types significantly reduced in-group bias
- _ Individual uniqueness manipulation reduced in-group bias (connection with the self-broken)
- _ The one category manipulation caused students to think more highly of former out-group members (started criticizing ingroup; began awarding former out-group the benefits of kinship)

Lesson 28

INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

What is Interpersonal attraction?

Definition:

Interpersonal attraction is the desire to approach another person.

The American Poet Lucy Graely's book "*Autobiography of a Face*" relates the story of her childhood and young adulthood, a time of overwhelming pain caused by intensive chemotherapy and radiation for facial bone cancer. She mentions the derogatory remarks of other children in middle school about her disfigured face. Very few people understand what it feels like to be the target of such remarks; yet many of us would have experienced the rejection by others as one or more of our personal qualities do not measure up to the standards of acceptability. This lecture will describe that besides physical appearance, what qualities, situational factors shape our desire to approach or avoid others.

Affiliation Needs

Around the world and across age-groups, most people spend about 3/4 of their time with others. People want not merely the presence of others but close ties with people who care about them.

Reasons for affiliation

Two theories explain the reasons for our affiliation needs:

1. Social comparison Theory
2. Social exchange theory

Social comparison Theory

- One way to know ourselves and better understand our place in the social environment is to compare ourselves with others.
- This information is required to evaluate the self.
- This theory proposes that we evaluate our thoughts and actions by comparing them with those of others (Festinger, 1954)
- Social comparison is most likely when we are in a state of uncertainty
- We prefer to compare ourselves with similar others
- Used not only to judge-and improve ourselves, but also to provide information about our emotions and even to choose our friends

Theory of Social exchange

- Focus of this theory is on interaction between people
- This theory proposes that we seek out and maintain those relationships in which the reward exceeds the cost. The exchanged goods can be either material (money, food, etc.) or nonmaterial (social influence, affection, information, etc.). For example, teachers exchange information for money. Husband and wife exchange work and affection with each other.
- States that people are basically rakes and they exchange rewards for maintaining their well-being.
- Earliest versions of this theory (George Homans, 1958) state that all social relationships are like economic bargains in which each party places a value on the goods they exchange with one another.
- Reward and cost can not be viewed in isolation as the possibility of an alternative relationship determines whether people will stay in a relation or not (Thibaut & Kelly, 195). This is the reason why people sometime stay in very dissatisfying or harmful

relations.

Factors influencing affiliation desires

- Evolutionary heritage
- The brain & central nervous system (CNS) activity
- Culture, gender & affiliation

Our evolutionary heritage

Need to belong is a powerful, fundamental and extremely pervasive motivation. Evolutionary psychologists state that the tendency to socialize, and make friends is an inherited trait. People differ in their desire for affiliation; some are “people persons” while some like a more restricted range of social contact. People want not merely the presence of others but close ties to people who care about them. Unfulfillment of these needs leads to stress, anxiety, and self-defeating thinking and behaviour.

MRI studies show that the social pain we experience following rejection is neurologically similar to the affective distress associated with physical pain, both originating in anterior cingulate, a part of frontal lobe of cerebral cortex of brain tissue. The social attachment alarm system seems to be connected with anterior cingulate during the course of evolution.

The brain & central nervous system (CNS) activity

Individual differences in the need for affiliation have been reported to involve differences in CNS Arousability & brain activity:

- CNS Arousability
- The Habitual degree to which stimulation produces arousal of the CNS
- Symmetrical have inherited a NS that operates at a higher level of arousal than extroverts (Eysenck, 1990). Studies have demonstrated that anterior cingulate, brain's danger and pain alarm centre, is more active among introverts, because of which they avoid a great deal of social interaction and situational change in order to keep their arousal from reaching to uncomfortable level.
- Socially active extroverts not only choose to perform tasks in noisy settings, they actually perform better there (Geen, 1996).
- Brain activity:
- Extroverts appear to experience greater activation of dopamine pathways in the brain associated with reward and positive affect
- On showing positive images, extroverts experience greater activation of brain areas that control emotion, such as frontal lobe and amygdala (Canli et al., 2001). Research suggests
- that experience of positive affect may be a primary feature of extroversion.
- Each of us has a NS that causes us to have varying degrees of tolerance for stimulation for social interaction, which may influence the emotion we experience in such settings. It is this biological difference that significantly shapes our affiliation desires

Culture, gender, & affiliation

· Affiliation needs are also shaped by cultural variables. It has been demonstrated through research that people residing in individualistic cultures have a greater affiliation need as people have to individually develop their own relationships over there. They also have to establish these relationships in many varied social settings. However, these relationships may be numerous but may not be particularly intimate.

· Geert Hofstede's study (1980) of 22 countries found a positive relationship between a culture's degree of individuation and its citizens' affiliation needs.

- Women have greater tendency to define themselves in terms of their close relationships. This is the reason that they remember birthdays and anniversaries more accurately. Women are generally known as relational people because of these traits.

Characteristics of the situation & attraction

- Proximity
- Familiarity
- Anxiety

Close Proximity Fosters Liking

The best single predictor of whether two people will be friends is how far apart they live. There is evidence that nearness can affect intimate relationships. In an early sociological study, James Bossard plotted the residences of each applicant on 5,000 marriage licenses in Philadelphia and found a clear relation between proximity and love. Couples were more likely to get married the closer they lived to each other.

In another study, Festinger, Schachter, and Back found that the closer people lived, the more friendly they became with each other. They investigated the development of friendships in married graduate student housing at the MIT in USA. After world-war II, these couples were randomly assigned to 17 different buildings. The couples were asked to name their 3 closest friends in the housing units. The results showed that two thirds of couples' friends remained in the same building and about 2/3 were living on the same floor.

These findings were replicated in later research as well (Ramsoy, 1966). Ebbe Ebbesen and his colleagues found that residents in a California condominium complex not only established most of their friendships with people who lived in the same housing units, but they also developed most of their enemies close-by as well.

Ebbesen explains this effect by stating that those who live closer to you are better able than those living farther away to spoil your happiness and peace of mind.

Why does proximity have an effect?

- Ease of availability
- Lower cost in terms of time, money, planning
- Cognitive dissonance pressures to like those with whom we must associate
- The mere eagerness of interaction increases liking

Familiarity Breeds Liking

Another important situation factor determining attraction is *familiarity*, the frequency of actual contact with individuals. Zajonc's (1968) *mere exposure hypothesis* proposes that repeated exposure to something or someone is sufficient, by itself, to increase attraction. In one experiment, participants were shown photos of different faces. The number of times each face was seen was varied. The more people saw a face, the more they liked it (Zajonc, 1968). Joseph Grush and his colleagues (1978) found that 83 percent of the primary winners in the election could be predicted by the amount of media exposure they received. This candidate exposure effect has been replicated in numerous studies (Schaffner et al., 1981).

At present, it's not clear why familiarity leads to liking. One possibility is that it is part of our evolutionary heritage: we may have evolved to view unfamiliar objects

Does affiliation desires increase with anxiety?

In the late 1950s, Stanley Schachter attempted to answer this question by bringing female college students into the laboratory and creating a stressful event. In his initial study, Schachter (1959) introduced himself to the women as "Dr. Gregor Zilstein" of the Neurology and Psychiatry Department. He told them that they would receive a series of electrical shocks as part of an

experiment on their physiological effects. In the "high-anxiety" condition, participants were told that the shocks would be quite painful but would cause no permanent damage. In the "low anxiety" condition, they were led to believe that the shocks were virtually painless, no worse than a little tickle. In actuality, no shocks were ever delivered—the intent was merely to cause participants to believe that they soon would be receiving these shocks.

After hearing this information, the women were told there would be a ten-minute delay while the equipment was set up. They could spend this time waiting either in a room alone or in a room with another participant in the study. Their stated preference was the dependent variable.

The results showed that the high anxiety people wanted to stay with others while waiting. Even when people were not allowed to talk with each other, even then others presence was preferred.

Perhaps others serve as a *social distraction to anxious individuals*, temporarily taking their minds off their anxiety. Schachter believed that the high- anxiety participants wanted to wait with similarly threatened others not necessarily to talk to them, but rather, to compare the others' emotional reactions to the stressful event with their own.

Lesson 29

INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION (CONTINUE.....)

Characteristics of others & attraction

The following characteristics of others have been involved in interpersonal attraction:

- _ Physical attractiveness
- _ Similarity
- _ Desirable personal attributes

Physical attractiveness

Despite the old sayings that "beauty is only skin deep" and "you can't judge a book by its cover", we tend to operate according to Aristotle's 2000-year-old pronouncement that "*personal beauty is a greater recommendation than any letter of introduction.*"

Research on physical attractiveness stereotype

What is beautiful is good:

Cross-cultural differences:

Although these findings are based solely on samples from individualist cultures, the physical attractiveness stereotype also occurs in collectivist cultures, but its content is a bit different.

Research with children:

The positive glow generated by physical attractiveness is not reserved solely for adults. Attractive infants are perceived by adults as more likable, sociable, competent, and easy to care for than unattractive babies (Casey & Ritter, 1996).

Attractiveness and job-related outcomes:

Field and laboratory studies conducted in both individualist and collectivist cultures indicate that physical attractiveness does have a moderate impact in a variety of job-related outcomes, including hiring, salary, and promotion decisions. In one representative study, Irene Frieze and her coworkers (1991) obtained information on the career success of more than 700 former MBA graduates of the 1973 to 1982 classes at the University of Pittsburgh. They also judged former students' facial attractiveness based on photos taken during their final year in school. Results indicated that there was about a \$2,200 difference between the starting salaries of good-looking men and those with slow average faces. For women, facial attractiveness did not influence their starting salaries, but it did substantially impact their later salaries. Once hired, women who were above average in facial attractiveness typically earned \$4,200 more per year than women who were below average in attractiveness. For attractive and unattractive men, this difference in earning power per year was \$5,200. Further, although neither height nor weight affected a woman's starting salary, being 20% or more overweight reduced a man's starting salary by more than \$2,000. Overall, the research literature informs us that physical appearance does indeed influence success on the job.

Obesity and attractiveness bias:

- _ People who are obese are stigmatized and face discrimination in the workplace.
- _ The negative view occurs because people are seen as responsible for their weight.
- _ Anti-fat prejudice is strongest in individualistic cultures (Crandall et al., 2001).

Who is Attractive?

Culture plays a large role in standards of attractiveness. However, people do tend to agree on some features that are seen as more attractive:

- _ Statistically "average" faces
- _ Symmetrical or balanced faces

Taking into consideration all the cross-cultural research, it appears that - all things being equal—men prefer women with relatively low waist-to-hip ratios because this body type signifies youth, fertility, and current non-pregnancy. However, in environments where people face frequent food shortages, male preference shifts to a higher female waist-to-hip ratio because this body type signifies greater ability to both produce and nurse offspring when food is scarce.

Beyond body type, there is also evidence that there may be universal standards of *facial attractiveness*. For example, a number of studies indicate that we prefer faces in which right and left sides are well matched or *symmetrical* (Chen et al., 1997; Mealey et al., 1999). Facial symmetry was one thing that Lucy Grealy's plastic surgeons tried unsuccessfully to restore in countless operations (see lecture 28 for reference). Evolutionary psychologists contend that we prefer facial symmetry because symmetry generally indicates physical health and the lack of genetic defects,

Besides symmetry influencing attractiveness, studies of people's perceptions of young men and women's individual faces and composite faces (computer-generated "averages" of all the individual faces), indicate that what people judge most attractive are faces that represent the "average" face in the population (Langlois et al., 1994). This tendency to define physical attractiveness according to the "average rule" has been found in many cultures (Jones & Hill, 1993; Pollard, 1995).

Evolutionary psychologists further contend that, besides symmetry and averageness, youthfulness and maturity figure into facial attractiveness judgments. Consistent with this hypothesis, a number of studies have found that possessing youthful or slightly *immature* facial features (large eyes, small nose, full lips, small chin, delicate jaw) enhances female attractiveness, while possessing *mature* facial characteristics related to social dominance, broad forehead, thick eyebrows, thin lips, large jaw) increases the attractiveness of males (Cunningham, 1986; Johnston & Franklin, 1993).

Why does attractiveness matter?

_ People believe attractiveness is correlated with other positive characteristics (consistent with *implicit personality theory*).

_ Being associated with an attractive other lead a person to be seen as more attractive him or herself.

_ According to evolutionary theory, attractiveness may provide a clue to health and reproductive fitness.

Is the attractiveness stereotype accurate?

Alan Feingold (1992b) conducted a meta-analysis of more than ninety studies that investigated whether physically attractive and physically unattractive people actually differed in their basic personality traits. His analysis indicated no significant relationships between physical attractiveness and such traits as intelligence, dominance, self-esteem, and mental health.

Birds of a feather really do flock together: Similarity

Social Psychological research generally indicates that we are attracted to those who are similar to us.

Demographic similarity:

Research on high school friendships found that students identified their best friends as those who were similar to them in sex, race, age, and year in school.

Attitudinal similarity:

In Newcomb's boardinghouse study (as mentioned previously), similarity in age and family background not only influenced interpersonal attraction, but similarity in attitudes also provided

mutual liking, Unlike physical and demographic characteristics, it generally takes time to learn another person's attitudes.

In laboratory studies, Donn Byrne and his colleagues accelerated the getting-acquainted process by having participants complete attitude questionnaires and later “introducing” them to another person by having them read his or her responses to a similar questionnaire (Byrne & Nelson, 1965; Schoneman et al., 1977). The researchers had actually filled out the questionnaire so that the answers were either similar or dissimilar to the participants’ own attitudinal responses. The results showed that the participants expressed much stronger liking when they thought they shared a greater percentage of similar attitudes with the individual. This finding is important, for it suggests that *the proportion* of similar attitudes is more important than the actual *number* of similar attitudes. Thus, we should be more attracted to someone who agrees with us on four of six topics (66 percent similarity) than one with whom we share similar opinions on ten of twenty-five topics (40 percent similarity).

Similarity in physical attractiveness:

In fact, researchers who have observed couples in public settings have found that they are remarkably well matched in physical attractiveness (Feingold, 1988). One possible reason *why* we are attracted to potential romantic partners who are similar to us in physical attractiveness is that we estimate they have about the same social exchange value as us.

This tendency to be attracted to others who are similar to us in particular characteristics, such as physical attractiveness, is known as the **matching hypothesis**, and it appears to be a socially shared belief (Stiles et al., 1996). We expect that people who have similar levels of physical attractiveness will be more satisfied as couples than those who are physically mismatched.

Desirable Personal Attributes

Warmth

1. People appear warm when they have a positive attitude and express liking, praise, and approval.
2. Nonverbal behaviors such as smiling, attentiveness, and expressing emotions also contribute to perceptions of warmth.

Competence

1. We like people who are socially skilled, intelligent, and competent.
2. The type of competence that matters most depends on the nature of the relationship. e.g., social skills for friends, knowledge for professors will be preferred. However, being “too perfect” can be off-putting

When social interaction becomes problematic

Whenever we approach others, we risk rejection. Even if others do accept our social overtures, there is the further possibility that we may commit a social blunder that ill causes them to form a negative impression of us.

Social anxiety can keep us isolated from others

Social anxiety is the unpleasant emotion we experience due to our concern with interpersonal evaluation (Leary & Kowalski, 1995). This anxiety is what causes us to occasionally (or frequently) avoid social interaction. We can experience social anxiety even when alone: simply anticipating social interaction is often sufficient to arouse it.

Defining and measuring loneliness

Loneliness is defined as having a smaller or less satisfying network of social and intimate relationships than we desire (Green et al., 2001).

Age, gender, culture and loneliness

Numerous studies have identified the young—adolescents and young adults—as the loneliest age groups. As people mature and move beyond the young adult years, their loneliness tends to decrease until relatively late in life, when factors such as poor health and the death of loved ones increase social isolation (Green et al., 2001). One reason why adolescents and young adults may be lonelier than older individuals is that young people face many more social transitions, such as falling in and out of love for the first time, leaving family and friends, and training *and* searching for a full-time job—all of which can cause loneliness (Oswald & Clark, 2003).

There does appear to be evidence that men and women feel lonely for different reasons. Men tend to feel lonely when deprived of group interaction; women are more likely to feel lonely when they lack one-to-one emotional sharing (Stokes & Levin, 1986).

Social skills deficits and loneliness

Similar to the negative consequences of social anxiousness, chronically lonely people often think and behave in ways that reduce their likelihood of establishing new and rewarding relationships. Studies conducted with college students illustrate some of these self-defeating patterns of behavior. Typically, in these investigations, students who are strangers to one another are asked to briefly interact in either pairs or groups, after which they rate themselves and their partners on such interpersonal dimensions as friendliness, honesty, and openness. Compared with individuals, nonlonely college students rate themselves negatively following such laboratory interactions. They perceive themselves as having been less friendly, less honest and open, and less warm (Christensen & Kashy, 1998; Jones et al., 1983). They also expect those who interact with them to perceive them in this negative manner. This expectation of failure in social interaction appears all the more hopeless to the chronically lonely because they believe that improving their social life is beyond their control (Duck et al., 1994).

Lesson 30

INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

What is intimacy?

“Intimacy refers to sharing that which is inmost with others”

Taken from a Latin word *intimus*, which means “inner” or “inmost”

Arthur Aron and Elaine Eron (1997) contend that in intimate relationships we psychologically expand our self-concept by acting as if all or some aspects of our partner are part of our own selves.

William James talked about “self as object of attention” or self-concept. People will think about and respond toward intimate ones as they do about themselves.

“A friend is, as it were, a second self” Cicero, 106-43 BC, Roman statesman

Inclusion of others in the self

Following are described research areas where evidence of inclusion of other in the self has been found. Accordingly, intimacy may be established in:

- Self-schemas
- The attribution processes
- Resource allocation
- Communal vs. exchange relationships
- Transactive memory
- Self schemas:
 - As the intimacy bonds depend between two people, they begin to incorporate some of the other’s self-schemas into their own self-concept. As a result of this cognitive blurring of self-other distinction, people need less time to recognize self-descriptive traits shared with their partner. For example, if both partners have self-concepts of being hardworking and neat, while being athletic is part of self-concept of one partner and hardworking is of other partner, it will be easier for both to remember their traits of industriousness and tidiness.
- The attribution process:

Contrary to actor observer effect, the attributions for the loved one are similar to those we would have for our actions
- Resource allocation:

Close partners also share their physical and psychological resources with each other.
- Communal vs. exchange relationships:

In most of our everyday relationships, we operate on the *principle of exchange* that whether we should maintain the relationship or not. The *communal relationships*, on the other hand, are organized according to the principle that people are to be given what they need. With loved ones we do not think about reward and cost, as if we are managing our bank accounts.
- Transactive memory:

People in intimate relationships have a shared memory system for encoding, storing, and retrieving information that is greater than either of their individual memories. For example, in marital partnership, one remembers place and organization of documents, while other

remembers the organization of grocery items. Both can update each other on what is in each other's knowledge area, and can further embellish their Transactive memory.

Attachment as an adaptive response

Attachment theories suggest that the tendency to form relationships is at least partly biologically based. Human infants have an infant attachment response observable within minutes of birth by:

The rooting instinct (sucking mother's breast)

The Moro reflex (ability to grasp and hold)

Within days: Newborns recognize and prefer face, voice, and smell of their mother

Spontaneously imitate their caretaker's facial expressions

Mothers produce oxytocin hormone which influences parenting behavior. Research shows that during labor and breast-feeding higher levels of oxytocin is related with desire for companionship and taking good care of their infants (Maestripieri, 2002).

John Bowlby (1969)

British psychiatrist John Bowlby (1969) was one of the first social scientists to systematically study the attachment process. He studied human and other species' infants and indicated that the purpose of attachment is to protect immature and highly vulnerable young ones.

He proposed that attachment is a part of many species' genetic heritage

There is a standard pattern of three responses produced by infants of many species:

- **Protest:** Following parental separation, infants scream and cry to get the attention, and thus fed and protected.
- **Despair:** No success in getting an access to their parents results into despair which reduces the likelihood of attracting the attention of predators in the case of animals.
- **Detachment:** if left unattended for long periods, begin to behave independently

Parent-child attachment

It is considered a cornerstone for all relationships in a child's life. Not unique to human beings but is found in most species of birds and mammals.

The strong emotional bond that develops between infants and their caregivers is known as attachment.

Attachment means that an infant responds positively to specific others, feels better when they are close, and seeks them out when frightened.

Attachment styles & later adult relationships

Although our biological heritage propels us toward our caregiver, the principle of reinforcement theory suggests that the caregiver's response will determine the strength of this desire to establish this proximity. Mary Ainsworth (1978), one of Bowlby's associates, identified two major attachment styles

- **Secure:** People with such attachment styles think that they are worthy of others' love; Moreover they think that people can be trusted. Parents of such children are nurturing and sensitive to children's needs.
- **Insecure:** People with insecure attachment style think that they are unworthy of love, and other people can not be relied upon. Their parents are usually inattentive to their needs. As infants interact with their parents, they develop either optimistic or pessimistic beliefs about human relationships (Moss et al., 2004)

Through childhood, insecurely attached children exhibit less social competence and lower levels of self-esteem and self-concept complexity

Exhibiting vacillating pattern of approach-avoidance (indecisive: sometimes initiating social contact, and sometimes avoiding social advances) invites social rejection confirming child's

insecurity and distrust

Many theorists believe that infant attachment to caregivers provides a “working model” for adult relationships. Hence, there is some evidence for continuity. However, attachment style may change if a person has a significant attachment-related event (e.g., divorce, abuse, etc.)

Attachment styles and culture

Although a universal feature, the nature of attachment styles is shaped by culture. These differences are due to different views about how to raise children, promoting independence or otherwise. For example, in individualistic cultures, parents discourage their children from staying near and are more likely to give them toys rather than picking them up. One study reported that American and German children are more likely to develop an insecure attachment style than those of Japanese (Cole, 1992).

New concepts in attachment styles

An additional discovery was that attachment styles are being determined by two basic attitudes:

- The extent to which one’s self esteem is positive or negative
- The extent to which one perceives others trustworthy

This new conception of attachment yields four kinds of attachment styles:

1. **Secure:** characterized by trust, a lack of concern with being abandoned, and a feeling of being valued & well liked
2. **Preoccupied:** characterized by trust, but combined with a feeling of being unworthy of others’ love and a fear of leaving
3. **Dismissing-avoidant:** characterized by low trust and avoidance of intimacy combined with high self-esteem and habitual self-trust
4. **Fearful-avoidant:** characterized by low trust and avoidance of intimacy, combined with a feeling of being unworthy of others’ love and a fear of rejection.

Research on attachment styles

Securely attached adults easily become close to others, expect intimate relationships to endure, and handle relationship conflicts constructively

If securely attached are involved with insecure ones, there is prototype mismatch, but secure partner can buffer the negative effects and may gradually change the insecure and make him change his feelings of intimacy and self-worth

· Cultural differences:

Individualistic cultures placed great importance on love in marriage compared to collectivistic countries like India, Pakistan, Thailand, and Philippines (Levine et al., 1995)

- **Passion** is the hot point of love indicating intense feeling, arousal, physical attraction, satisfying other drives and needs
- **Intimacy** is the warm point of love characterized by close, connected, bonded feelings, helping, being happy with, respecting, mutually understanding, sharing, and supporting behavior.
- **Commitment** is the cool point of love. It is deliberate choice about loving someone, maintaining long term commitment and short time decisions about being in love.
- **Companionate** love is characterized by self-disclosure, closeness, and concern after living long with each other. When our lives are intertwined with someone,

feelings such as affection, tenderness, sharing, and attachment become a hallmark of relationship.

Attachment styles & Friendship

As children grow up, they form emotional ties not only with family but they also form friendships with their peers. Friendship is different from family relations, which are largely nonvoluntary. As compared to those, relationships based on friendships are voluntary.

Two different levels of friendship

- Superficial friendships are formed and maintained because they are rewarding, and are based on the principle of exchange
- Developed friendships in contrast are based not only on rewards but also on friends' mutual concern for each other's welfare
- Disclosure is the revealing of personal information about oneself to other people. One of the prime avenues for creating developed friendships is through self-disclosure. People not availing this type of communication will have dysfunctional relationships and loneliness (Stokes, 1987)

Social penetration theory (Altman and Taylor, 1973)

The development of a relationship is associated with communication moving gradually from a discussion of superficial topics to more intimate exchanges

Cultural differences: North Americans tend to disclose more about themselves in a wider variety of social settings than people from collectivistic cultures (Chen, 1995)

Gender differences: In a meta analysis of 205 studies, Kathryn Dindia and Mike Allen (1992) found that women self-disclose more than men

Lesson 31
SOCIAL INFLUENCE

SOCIAL INFLUENCE

Introduction

– Social influence is ‘the exercise of social power by a person or group to change the attitudes or behavior of others in a particular direction’.

– Examples:

- Cartoons of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in Denmark, November 2005
- Pope Benedict XVI’s remarks for Prophet Mohammad in 2006;

Behavioral consequences of social influence

- **Conformity** is ‘a yielding to perceived group pressure by copying the behavior and beliefs of others. It indicates to what degree you conform to others’ social influence in dress, food and music preferences, etc. We can be influenced by our family, friends, teachers, and authority figures. Independence is a state different from conformity and it indicates that you are not controlled by others. However, when you do not conform, maybe you are acting independently or conforming to another group.
- **Compliance**: Publicly acting in accord with a **direct request**, e.g., standing and singing national anthem in public ceremonies. Although privately we agree or disagree with the behavior we are engaging in, we nevertheless indulge in that behavior to comply.
- **Obedience** is ‘the performance of an action in response to a direct order’. Obedience is taught from childhood to respect and obey authority figures (e.g., by parents, police, and teachers), more so in traditional Asian cultures. Actually, compliance implies loss of personal freedom which is valued very much in individualistic cultures. People usually prefer to comply with a request rather than being ordered.

Classic & contemporary conformity research

- – Norm development (Muzafir Sherif, 1935)
- – Solomon Asch’s work on group pressure
- – Stanley Schachter’s work on how people react to nonconformists

Norm development (Muzafir Sherif, 1935)

Sherif was Turkish-born. His research was partly spurred by his disagreement with individualistic cultures which maintain that a group is merely a collection of individuals and no new group qualities arise when individuals form into a collective entity. He contended that a group was more than sum of its individuals’ nongroup thinking. He studied how social norms develop into a group. In the following, his experiments are illustrated:

People show different attitude in presence of someone or when alone

Phase 1:

– ‘Visual perception experiment’

– How far does the dot move?

– 100 judgments - but movement was an optical illusion - the ‘**autokinetic effect**’

– Participants’ judgments regressed towards a consistent range of light movement (although the actual magnitude of estimated movement varied across participants)

Phase 2:

– Public announcement of estimates; “not free-for-all backbiting of light movement experts”

– This led to a convergence of all participants’ responses away from initially disparate estimates to a common standard

- _ This common group standard is known as a “*social norm*”
- _ Participants denied that other’s judgments affected their own
- _ Uncertainty increased the rate at which convergence on the social norm develops

Lesson 32

SOCIAL INFLUENCE (CONTINUE.....)

Classic & contemporary conformity research

Social norms may come into play in uncertain situations (such as ambiguous light movements) but what about when we do not agree with the majority? This is true for many situations when people seem to conform to a majority viewpoint even though they disagree (e.g., jury-based decision making).

Example: In the spring of 1992, Los Angeles was rocked by its worst race riots in 25 years following a jury trial in which 4 white LA police officers were acquitted of using excessive force in beating a black man Rodney King. The beating was captured in a videotape by a photographer.

One jury considered them guilty, but as other two members of jury blamed King. She had to change from guilty to not guilty, however she stated “to me they seemed blind and could not get their glasses clean, I wish they could see”.

Asch’s experiments on group pressure (1951)

- _ ‘Visual perception experiment’
- _ Participants were told that 6 others would also be taking part (but all 6 were partners)

The task

- _ Participants required calling out the number corresponding to the line that was equal in length to the standard line.
- _ They had to make a total of 18 judgments, 5 out of 6 confederates stated judgments before the participant.
- _ For the first 2 judgments confederates chose the correct line, after which they unanimously chose a clearly incorrect line in 12 of the remaining 16 trials
- _ Participants conformed to the (incorrect) majority on 37% of trials; 76% of participants conformed on at least one of the trials
- _ In contrast when participants made judgments privately only 1% made errors
- _ Why such blatant conformity when clearly incorrect?
- _ People find it easier to conform than to challenge unanimous opinion of others

These results are illustrated in Figure 2 below:

Post-conformity change of behavior

- _ How do people typically react to the reality of their conforming behavior?
- _ Research suggests that almost everyone attempts to reconstruct the facts (Buehler Griffin, 1884). When it runs counter to their own private views, two things happen: whether people conform to what majority says, or facts force one’s agreement with that standard.
- _ Post-conformity change of behavior allows conformists to justify their behavior and

maintain cognitive consistency

Two sources of group pressure (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955)

Normative influence:

Conformity due to the desire to gain rewards, or avoid punishment from the group (i.e., negative evaluation, people laughing at you). This was most likely in Asch's experiments. In such a situation, the question was whether to stick to their own judgment or go along with the group and avoid uncomfortable stares: "Fitting in" was of greater concern to people when there was no ambiguity in the situation. Another experiment conducted in 1952 by Asch showed that when 16 were participants and only one confederate was giving wrong answers. First respondents were surprised on his answers then started laughing uproariously.

Informational influence:

Conformity due to the desire to gain information (i.e., in ambiguous situations where you are not sure of your own perception). Information influence was most likely in Sherif's experiments. But both can occur in same situation: Virginia (the third jury) accepted group pressure that Rodney King's tape did not provide enough information (normative Influence) and began to consider other jurors' interpretation (informational influence)

Schachter's work on rejection of the nonconformist

- _ A group of 8-10 volunteers to form a "case study club" to discuss the case of a juvenile delinquent "Johnny Rocco"
- _ It was expected that the participants will take the favoring position
- _ Making recommendations of what the authorities should do on a seven-point love punishment scale
- _ Three confederates in each group taking differing "deviate" (punishment) position
- _ How the participants reacted to the deviates?
 - o First trying to persuade
 - o Rejecting nonconformists from future discussions

More research and implications

- _ A meta-analysis of 23 Schachter-like deviant studies suggest that rejection by group is more likely when there are only one or two nonconformists
- _ Such people are exiled from the group. Social rejection is final and perhaps most powerful form of normative influence directed toward nonconformists; one of the primary causes of depression
- _ Many teenagers conform to their friends' alcohol and drug use to gain acceptance
- _ It is more problematic for adolescents as their attitudes are still being formed for political and social issues.

Factors that influence conformity

- _ Group size
- _ Group cohesiveness
- _ Social support

Group size

Conformism increases with group size, but only up to 3 people... When Asch increased the number of unanimous confederates from 1 to 15, conformity increased but it was on its peak between 3-4 points, and then actually narrowing off.

Jennifer Campbell & Patricia Fahey (1989):

- _ Group size is important when the social reality is clear (judgments easy).

_ Size of the group is relatively unimportant when social reality is ambiguous (judgments difficult)

_ In ambiguous situation one or two people may influence you just as well as 3 or 4.

Group cohesiveness (Hogg, 1992)

_ Cohesiveness refers to a condition of the group when members are highly attracted to one another.

_ With strong sense of togetherness they will be intolerant of those who hold differing opinions.

_ In general cohesive groups engender more conformity than non cohesive groups (Christensen et al., 2004).

_ In Schachter's experiments, when the group was highly cohesive it exerted its greatest pressure on deviates.

Social support (Hogg, 1992)

_ In Asch's studies if just one confederate agreed with the participant, then conformity drops dramatically (Asch, 1956).

_ The same occurs even if one confederate disagreed with everyone's opinions (Asch; Allen & Levine, 1971).

_ Thus any breaking of social consensus is enough to reduce conformity

_ But - must be consistent, when a confederate who initially agrees with the participant then switches to the majority, conformity returns to normal (Asch, 1955). Thus to promote nonconformity, one should voice opposition, and do so early and consistently.

Minority influence

History is filled with stories of lone individuals or small relatively powerless groups who express unpopular views and they endure abuse from majority until eventually their views are accepted. Those who dissent from majority are heartily disliked. Style of behavior in presenting nonconformist behavior is important:

_ Sometimes a minority can shift the views of a majority

_ Minorities will have an influence only when they are consistent and confident.

_ *"Cautious, careful people always casting about to preserve their reputation and social standing, never can they bring about a reform"* (19th cent feminist Susan Anthony)

Moscovici, Lage, & Naffrechoux (1969)

_ 'Visual perception experiment'

_ Judgments of blue slides as green or blue

_ 4 participants and 2 confederates per group

_ Consistent and non consistent minority

The results of this experiment are illustrated in

_ Given the normative consequences (punishment)

and the informational advantages (consensus) of

conforming, if a minority consistently 'sticks to its

guns' then others attribute some degree of credibility to the minority argument.

_ Why majority's opinion is given importance, there is a common belief that there is truth in numbers (informational influence), and then people are affected by these numbers (normative influence). That is why people adopt majority's opinion without much critical analysis.

The following 3 conditions are essential for a minority to have its influence:

1. The minority must also be flexible and open-minded

o Example: Nelson Mandela (double minority) was successful in changing the social and political landscape of South Africa with his consistency and confidence coupled with his willingness to negotiate with White apartheid leaders. **In contrast, minority people will reduce their influence if are rigid.**

2. Degree of difference between minority & majority

3. Minorities have the strongest influence when they take positions in the cultural normative directions.

Norms: e.g., beliefs about equality and human justice may be rejected by some people; they still will be in line with the beliefs of most people.

It is not always essential that minority views are accepted, majority can impose sanctions and withdraw rewards from its members, and this is enough to keep public compliance with the majority.

Lesson 33

SOCIAL INFLUENCE (CONTINUE.....)

Obedience

_ Many social influences are hidden and subtly employed. For example, conformity generally refers to complying with an implicit norm.

_ Obedience is different from other types of influences because it is overt and easily recognized as an exercise of power.

_ If the order would cause serious health risks, then there is a chance for disobedience.

_ Obedience is based on the belief that authorities have the right to make requests.

Crimes of Obedience

“Crimes of obedience” can occur when the demands of authorities are immoral or illegal

The “Eichmann defense” refers to Adolph Eichmann’s claim that he was “just following orders” when he supervised the murder of 6 million Jews in Nazi Germany

Milgram’s Experiments (1963)

_ A study to investigate the effects of punishment on learning of word pairs.

_ Participant as teacher, confederate as ‘learner’ (of word pairs)

_ Confederate points out that he is 50 years old with heart problems!

_ Experimenter explains this is no problem and straps him into a chair in an adjacent room

_ Confederates making deliberate mistakes

_ Each time the learner makes a mistake he is given an electric shock, which increases each time a mistake is made

_ Participant receives a real 15 volt shock to enhance realism (none of the subsequent shocks are real)

_ Confederate (answering through an intercom) makes deliberate mistakes

_ At any query from participant, the experimenter just says ‘please continue’

_ At 150 volts he demands to be released, shouting, ‘Experimenter! That’s all! Get me out of here. My heart’s starting to bother me now. I refuse to go on!’

_ At 180 volts he shouts that he can no longer stand the pain

_ At 300 volts he refuses to give any more answers - which the experimenter treats as incorrect answers!

_ Screams of agony at each shock

- _ At 330 - silence...
- _ The last switch - 450 volts - labeled 'XXX - danger severe shock'

Predictions

College students, middle class adults and psychiatrists all predicted that participants would refuse to continue well before the 450 volt limit.

_ Psychiatrists predicted that 0.1% participants would obey the experimenter completely, while 65% of participants (24 out of 40) obeyed up to the maximum 450 volts.

_ All obeyed up to 300 volts - where the psychiatrists predicted 96% refusal

_ And these were 'normal' people with no personality disorders who all experienced intense stress during the experiment. Some people explained this by interpreting that the participants were inadvertently recruited sadists. However, they were observed sweating, trembling, stuttering, biting their lips, and groaning, as they struggled through the experimental procedure.

Inflicting psychological harm on victims

Because the findings were unexpected, Milgram carried out a number of experiments to better understand the conditions under which obedience or otherwise would be most likely. The results showed same level of obedience with men and women, and college student participants.

World-over findings of obedience level:

- _ Australia= 68%
- _ Jordan= 63%
- _ Germany= 85%

A series of studies by Meeus and Raaijmakers (1995):

Students sometimes note that the Milgram studies are now quite outdated, and wonder whether in these modern times the level of obedience would be as high. A series of studies by Dutch psychologists Meeus and Raaijmakers (1995) is relevant in this reference. Meeus and Raaijmakers used a procedure in which the real subjects were asked to serve as the experimenter's assistant in a study of people's ability to work under stress. They were told that they would help to interview a job candidate, actually a confederate of the experimenter, who was taking a test as part of the interview. The test was described as crucial to the job: if the job candidate passed, they would get the job. However, the ability to withstand stress was described not as crucial to the job but as part of the researcher's academic project. The subject's role was to make 15 negative remarks ("stress remarks") that would place the job applicant under strain. A series of four prods was given to the subject if they refused to carry on; the experiment was discontinued after refusal of all four. A control group was not prodded and could stop making the stress remarks at any point in the procedure. In the replication intended to most closely parallel the original Milgram experiment, 91% of the participants obeyed the experimenter until the end and made all the stress remarks. None of the control subjects went all the way to the end. A group of subjects given a written description of the procedure expected that 9% would complete the procedure. This level of obedience is even higher than that achieved in the Milgram study.

Variations in conditions affecting obedience

Variations increasing obedience

- _ Watching a peer give shocks
- _ Two other teachers continue

Variations decreasing obedience

- _ Increasing distance of experimenter
- _ Two other teachers quit

Compliance

Factors fostering compliance

Compliance: Publicly acting in accord with a direct request. As compliance involves a direct route, it generally induces more thinking and critical analysis than conformity. What strategies you can employ to increase the likelihood that others will grant your request? Following are the conditions associated with good compliance:

Positive mood

People in good mood are more active; less critical; pleasant mood activates pleasant thoughts

Reciprocity

The expectation that one should return a favor or a good deed; first do them favor, then other will be obligated to return

Giving reason

Langer et al. (1978) found evidence for the power of reason; A “placebo reason” (“Can I use the copier now *because I have to make copies?*”) increases compliance over no reason, and almost as much as a real reason (“*because I’m in a rush*”). Without giving reasons, compliance was 6% as compared to when request was made with providing reason. It worked because people have habitual desire to explain others’ behavior and use of heuristic

Two-step Compliance strategies

Foot-in-the-Door Technique.

- o First make a small request, then a large one.

Door-in-the-Face Technique; usually adopted by charities and organizations.

- o First make an unreasonably large request, then a smaller one.

Low-Ball Technique (Cialdini et al., 1978)

- o First make a reasonable request; then reveal further costs

That’s-Not-All Technique; don’t give the opportunity to reject: buy one get one free

- o First make a large request, then offer a bonus or discount

Social impact theory (Latane, 1981):

A theory that attempts to unify and explain the findings from conformity and obedience research:

_ The amount of social influence that others have depends on:

- Number - the number of people in the group exerting power
- Strength - status, power, expertise
- Immediacy - how close the group exerting power is in time and space

Lesson 34 AGGRESSION

Definition of Aggression

- Any form of behavior that is intended to harm or injure some person, oneself, or an object
- Aggression may be *antisocial, sanctioned* (e.g., self-defense), or *prosocial* (e.g., law enforcement)
- Aggression is a behavior and should be distinguished from feelings of *anger*
- Different from *assertiveness*, designed not to hurt others. Assertiveness is the ability to express yourself and your rights without violating the rights of others.

Distinction between "Instrumental" and "Hostile" Aggression

Instrumental aggression:

- The intentional use of harmful behavior to achieve some other goal.
- Aggressive acts are carried out with the objective of gaining material, psychological, or social benefits
- Carried out to avoid punishment
- Thoughtful and rational

Hostile aggression:

- Triggered by anger
- The goal of the intentionally harmful behavior is simply to cause injury or death to the victim
- Often thoughtless and irrational
- Hostile aggression is not really motivated by the anticipation of rewards or the avoidance of punishments

Gender differences in aggression

There is a widespread belief about men being more aggressive than women. Does social psychological research support this cultural belief? The answer is both yes and no. Meta-analytic studies indicate that males and females do differ in one important kind of aggression: physical aggression. There is some evidence that males are more likely than females to engage in aggression that produces pain or physical injury (Eagly & Steffen, 1986). One form of aggression that researchers largely ignored for many years is *indirect aggression*, a form of social manipulation in which the aggressor attempts to harm another person without a face-to-face encounter.

Gossiping, spreading bad or false stories about someone, telling others not to associate with a person, and revealing someone's secrets are all examples of indirect aggression. Together, they suggest we need to reexamine the "peaceful female" stereotype. Research also reveals that women commit crimes by methods which were very bold and aggressive such as hammering victim to death or killing with knives (Hashmi, 1974; Malik, 1958; Rizvi, 1962).

Personality and aggression

Gian Caprara et al. (1994, 1996) indicate that three personality traits consistently related to aggression are:

- **Irritability** (the tendency to explode at the slightest provocation)
- **Rumination** (the tendency to retain feelings of anger following provocation)

Emotional susceptibility (the tendency to experience feelings of discomfort and inadequacy)

- **Kirkpatrick et al. (2002): downward revision of self**

• A comprehensive review suggests that aggression is more commonly a result of threats to highly favorable views of the self and is most likely to occur when a person's high self-esteem is fragile and unstable. Apparently, in these instances, aggression is a defensive reaction to avoid making any downward revision of self-esteem.

Explanations of aggression

- Biology of aggression: Evolutionary, Behavior genetics, Hormonal activity
- Cathartic: Frustration aggression hypothesis
- Learning

Biology of aggression

_ Aggression is manifested not only in direct participation, but in so many of human activities. Even when people do not directly participate in aggressive acts themselves, many enjoy watching others do so in action-adventure films or sporting events, e.g., bull fighting or wrestling games (Mustonen, 1997).

_ Aggression even manifests itself in the play guns and toy soldiers we produce and purchase for our children's enjoyment. And judging from their faces as they play with these toys, enjoyment is what it often brings them. **Based on these observations, is it reasonable to conclude that the human race has an inborn tendency for aggression?**

Evolution shaped our aggressive behavior patterns

_ A number of social scientists concur with the judgment that we are naturally aggressive species

_ Aggression is beneficial from a survival point of view

_ Victims of aggression tend to be non-relatives

_ But...

o There are wide differences in aggression within cultures, and

o over short periods of time this variety and rapid changes are not possible in evolutionary terms

Biological factors

Biological research suggests that individual differences in aggression are partly due to inheritance and hormonal changes.

Behavior genetics:

• Identical twins tend to have more similar aggressive tendencies than fraternal twins. The problem with this research, however, is that parents tend to treat identical twins more similarly than fraternal twins, and thus, it is difficult for us to clearly distinguish between biological and environmental determinants of aggression.

Hormonal activity:

_ Research indicates that chemical messengers in the bloodstream, known as hormones, influence human aggression (Adelson, 2004). Higher than normal levels of the male hormone testosterone is reported in highly aggressive individuals of both sexes (Carlson, 2004). **These findings suggest that high testosterone levels may either directly cause aggression or indirectly cause it by encouraging social dominance and competitiveness.**

_ Although a growing number of social psychologists are acknowledging the impact that biological factors can have on our capacity for aggression, the vast majority still believe that the form that the aggression takes, as well as its intensity, is influenced most by the many psychological, social, and cultural forces. For example, in one study of male tennis players,

winners' testosterone levels increased after the match while losers' hormonal levels decreased (Mazur & Lamb, 1980)

Cathartic: The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis

- _ Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer & Sears (1939) defined frustration as any external condition that prevents us from obtaining the pleasures we had expected to enjoy.
- _ Frustration will always elicit the drive to attack others
- _ Every act of aggression can be traced back to some previous frustration
- _ Engaging in aggression is Cathartic (reduces aggressive drive)

Hovland & Sears (1940)

- _ Lynching of African Americans in late 1800's increased when the price of cotton decreased
- _ Low cotton prices indicated economic depression --> frustration --> aggression

Does catharsis purge aggression?

- _ The idea of catharsis has been derived from Freud that indirectly expressing feelings of hostility will reduce subsequent aggression.
- _ The claim that aggressive tendencies are reduced following the expression of aggression has been subject to a great deal of scientific study.
- _ Although this notion of catharsis reflects a common belief that people can purge themselves of powerful emotions by "letting off steam" or "getting it off their chests," little empirical evidence supports this proposition.

Shahbaz Mallick & Boyd McCandless (1966)

- _ Third-grade girls and boys worked on a block-construction task in pairs
- _ Confederate child either allowing participants to complete the task or to obstruct completion
- _ Immediately after they were either involved shooting a toy gun at a target or talking with the experimenter (half had neutral talk and half were told that the child was upset)
- _ Each of the naive participants then was given an opportunity to hinder the confederate's progress by forceful a "hurt" button
- _ Engaging in make-believe violence does not purge aggressive drives.

Lesson 35 AGGRESSION (CONTINUE.....)

Aggression

_ It is often believed that catharsis reduces aggression. However, the research literature indicates that once verbal aggression begins, it is difficult to keep it within manageable bounds.

_ People who are given the opportunity to aggress directly against someone who has frustrated them often become more aggressive. In contrast, households that engage in little or no verbal aggression rarely ever experiences physical violence

_ Family conflicts often begin with verbal quarreling, which then escalates to screaming and yelling, and finally to physical aggression

The Cognitive-Neo-associationism Model

Realizing that the association between frustration and aggression had been exaggerated, Leonard Berkowitz (1969, 1989) developed a new theory. He asserted that frustration is just one of many factors that can stimulate negative affect. Besides frustration, other aversive factors such as pain, extreme temperatures, and encountering disliked people can also cause negative affect. All negative events are associated in a network in memory. Leonard Berkowitz explains how hostile aggression is often triggered by circumstances that arouse negative feelings:

Cognitive-associative networks:

o Negative affect is encoded into memory and becomes cognitively associated with specific types of negative thoughts, emotions, physiological responses, and reflexive behaviors.

Initial "fight" or "flight" tendencies:

o Whether we react to negative affect with "fight" or "flight" depends on our:

_ genetic tendencies

_ past conditioning and learning

_ attention to aspects of the situation that ease or hinder aggression

o An aversive event initially activates not one but two different networks:

_ impulsive aggression-related tendencies

_ impulsive escape-related tendencies

Unthinking" aggressive responses:

o Negative effects and reflexive actions evoked in the cognitive-associative networks at this stage is rude, or basic

Higher order cognitive intervention:

o Cognitive control mechanisms become active when we are self-aware and attend to what we are thinking

Situational factors

· Heat hypothesis (hot weather leads to aggression)

· Triggers of aggression

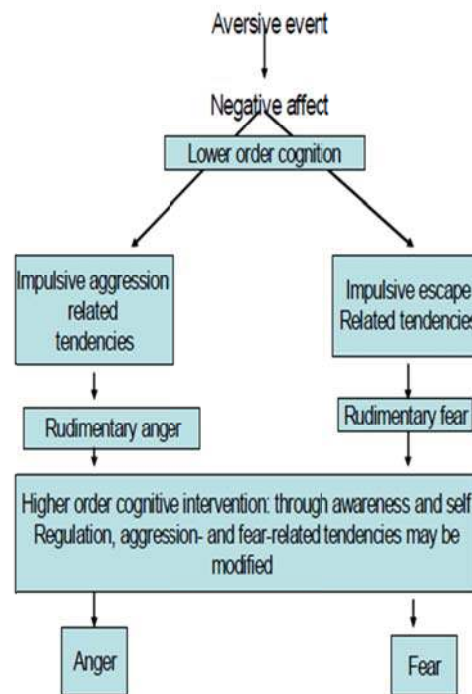
Discussion: Anger, Catharsis and Neo-association Theory

The text discusses the argument against the catharsis hypothesis (the idea, derived from Freud, that indirectly expressing feelings of hostility will reduce subsequent aggression). A recent experiment also provides a nice illustrative argument against the catharsis hypothesis and ties into ideas about mental control discussed earlier in the text. Bushman (2002) draws on Berkowitz's

(1993) "cognitive neo-association theory" of aggression for his prediction. Cognitive neo-association

theory suggests that aggressive thoughts are linked together in an associative network in memory, so that thinking about one aggressive act

should prime other aggressive thoughts and predispose aggressive actions. To test the contrasting predictions offered by the catharsis hypothesis and cognitive neo-association theory, Bushman angered his participants (300 men and 300 women) by having them write a one paragraph essay on their position on abortion and having it ostensibly evaluated by another participant. The "other participant's" feedback rated the essay negatively (about -9 on a -10 to +10 scale) and included the handwritten comment, "This is one of the worst essays I've read!" Subsequent to this, participants were assigned to one of three conditions: a rumination condition, in which they punched a punching bag while thinking about their opponent; a distraction condition, in which they punched a punching bag while thinking about the benefits of physical fitness; and a control condition, in which they did not punch a punching bag. The dependent variables were participants' rated mood and their aggression on a reaction-time task in which participants competed with the "other subject" to press a button which would blast the slower person with noise; participants could set the decibel level of the punishing blast. Results indicated that the rumination group was significantly angrier than either of the other groups, and was also highest in their level of aggression. The distraction group, who punched the bag while thinking about fitness, was less angry but was *not* significantly less aggressive than the rumination group. **These results directly contradict the predictions of catharsis theory and are in line with the predictions of cognitive neo-association theory.**



Situational Factors: "Heat hypothesis"

- Pakistan: general observation that people are impatient and irritable during hot summer days.

Situational Factors: Aggressive cues as "triggers" of aggression

- Berkowitz believes that the presence of aggression-associated cues in the environment can act as triggers for hostile outbursts by making aggressive thoughts more accessible.
- An aggression-associated cue is anything that is associated with either violence or unpleasantness, such as guns, knives, and clubs.
- The most obvious aggressive cues are weapons, while less obvious cues are negative

attitudes and unpleasant physical characteristics.

- Numerous studies indicate that the presence of aggression-associated cues does indeed trigger aggression

Michael Carlson and his coworkers (1990):

- Cues enhance aggressiveness in already angry
- A handgun kept in the home is 43 times more likely to kill a friend or family than the intruders
- Study in Pakistan (Suhail & Khalid, 2006): use of gun (46.1%) followed by knife (28%)
- “Not only the finger pulls the trigger, but the trigger may also be pulling the trigger” (Berkowitz, 1968, p. 22)
- They found that although both hunting rifles and assault weapons served as cues to aggression for people with no prior hunting experience, only assault weapons served as cues for hunters (Bruce Bartholow and his colleagues, 2005)

Social learning theory (Bandura, 1979)

- Albert Bandura, one of the leading proponents of **social learning theory**, contends that people learn when to aggress, how to aggress, and against whom to aggress.
- Social behavior is primarily learned by observing and imitating the actions of others, and secondarily by being directly rewarded and punished for our own actions
- Based on operant conditioning principle
- Occurs through both *direct* and *indirect* means

The rewards of aggression

- An aggressive act receiving rewards is more likely to occur in the future
- The rewards could be material, such as candy or money, or they could be social, such as praise or increased status and self-esteem
- When behavior, like aggression, is repeatedly not rewarded, or is even punished, this will generally lead to a reduction in the frequency of the behavior. Psychologists call this weakening and eventual termination of behavior *extinction*. Extinction of aggressive actions is exactly what parents are aiming at when they give children "time-outs" following harmful outbursts.
- An Inconsistent pattern of reward withdrawal can do more harm than good. In one study demonstrating this principle, young children were rewarded for hitting a doll (Cowan & Walters, 1963). Half were rewarded every time they acted aggressively, but the others were rewarded only periodically. In both instances, the rewards increased the children's aggressive behavior. However, when the experimenters stopped the rewards, the children who had been only periodically reinforced continued to hit the doll longer than those whose aggressiveness had been continuously reinforced (Cowan & Walters, 1963).

Observational learning (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961)

Bandura's experiments:

- Although learning does occur through direct reinforcement, we most often learn by watching and imitating others without being directly rewarded for doing so. **This observational learning is also known as social modeling.**
- In perhaps the most well-known series of observational learning experiments, Bandura and his colleagues (1961) set out to determine whether children would imitate the behavior of an aggressive adult model.
- Compared to a control condition where no aggressive behavior was exhibited by the

adult...

- Child and Adult in room both independently playing with toys
- After a short while the adult stands up, walks over a big inflatable 'Bobo' doll and starts kicking, punching, and hitting the doll with a mallet screaming 'Kick him!...Knock him down!!!'
- Child then led to another room with similar toys
- Children in the experimental condition room were likely to hit and punch the Bobo doll like the adult, and even sometimes screaming the same phrases that the adult did
- Children are most likely to pay attention to and model the behavior of those:
 - o with whom they have a nurturing relationship, and
 - o Who also have social control over them? Parents are prime candidates as role models, but behavior can also be observed and modeled from television, books, and other mass media sources

Lesson 36

REDUCING AGGRESSION

Introduction

Legal systems throughout the world use punishment to deal with violent criminals. The most common treatment is punishment; ultimate punishment is death. Three conditions necessary for punishment being effective are described below:

- Quick
- Relatively strong
- Consistent

Relatively effective strategies

- Punishment
- Making unsuited responses
- Reducing frustration
- Teaching non aggressive responses

Punishment

Is punishment truly effective?

- Aggressor punisher may serve as an aggressive model according to social learning theory
- That is exactly the process underlying the continuing cycle of family violence (Hanson et al., 1997)
- Although punishment may reduce aggressive behavior, it does not teach the aggressor new prosocial forms of behavior
- Fear of punishment or retaliation reduces aggression only in the immediate situation.
- Generates anger, sparks counter-aggression: Cognitive neo-associationism model would suggest that it may even provoke intense anger in the aggressor-turned-victim (if aggressors are extremely angry, threats of punishment will not work)
- Even if they worked, this is too expensive to be a wide-spread solution

Incompatible response strategy

- All organisms are incapable of engaging in two unsuited responses/ emotions
- Inducing incompatible responses/ emotions with anger may effectively deter such actions (Robert Baron, 1976)
- Baron's study (1976) based on Turner et al.'s (1975) observation that motorists honk their horns to express their irritation

Baron's study (1976):

- Instructed a research confederate to driving a car near campus to frustrate other motorists by stopping car at a traffic light for 15 seconds
- Two observers noted the motorists' frustration
- Three experimental conditions
 - o Making sympathy (someone crossing the road)
 - o Creating humor (someone with clown mask crossing the road)
 - o Mild sexual arousal (lady crossing the road)
- Two control conditions
 - o Simple distraction
 - o Being absent from the scene

Reducing frustration

- Government responses to try to reduce largescale economic frustrations are sometimes effective, sometimes not.

Killing studies in Pakistan indicate that people involved in homicidal acts belonged to middle social class, supposed to have more social and psychological conflicts and burdens. However, such programs can not totally eliminate frustration, so other techniques for reducing aggression are necessary.

Teaching non aggressive responses to provocation

- Social modeling
- Internalizing anti-aggression beliefs
- Apologies as aggression controllers
- Social skills training
- Reducing exposure to violence

Social modeling:

- Social learning theorists contend that non aggressive models can urge observers to exercise restraint in the face of provocation
- Research participants who watched a non aggressive model exhibit restraint in administering shocks to a victim were subsequently less aggressive (Baron & Kepner,

Internalizing anti-aggression beliefs:

- When people internalize certain beliefs and attitudes into their self-concept, they are more likely to act in ways consistent with them (belief ownership)

Apologies as aggression controllers:

Study by Ken-ichi Ohbuchi et al. (1989):

- Japanese college students were embarrassed by their poor performance while working on a complex experimental task
- Because the experimenter's assistant committed a series of errors in presenting experimental material to them
- Experimenter criticized the assistant who then either apologized for causing the participants to fail, or said nothing
- Participants were asked to rate the assistant on several dimensions which were to be used as a basis for the assistant's grade
- **A public apology significantly reduced hostility**
- The implications of these techniques are that by just saying sorry you can reduce interpersonal hostility.
-

Any gender differences in willingness to apologize?

- Women are more willing than men to take responsibility for a perceived social transgression (Gonzales et al., 1990)
- Women tend to be more apologetic when severely reproached (Hodgins & Liebeskind, 2003)
- Men have a fear of "losing face" or social status in such confrontations (Hodgins et al., 1996)

Social skills training:

- **The art of apologizing is just one skill in a large repertoire of interpersonal skills learned through the process of socializing**
- Children of low IQ are less likely to learn, hence have more of a combative interpersonal style that invites aggression and further interferes with their intellectual development
- As children mature, their impulsive aggressive reactions to anger are replaced by more socially acceptable aggressive responses, such as negotiations, compromise, and

cooperative problem solving

- Social skills training can take many forms: role-playing of non-aggressive behaviors, modeling the prosocial actions of others, or generating non aggressive alternative solutions to conflict

Reducing exposure to violence:

Robinson et al.'s study (2001):

- Third- and fourth-grade students at 2 comparable schools were examined over a 6-month period
- In one school TV and video-game exposure was reduced by one-third by encouraging students and parents to engage in alternative forms of home entertainment
- Intervention school children showed less subsequent aggression on the playground

Lesson 37

PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Definitions

All of us have experience of helping and being helped by others. Sometime our prosocial behavior involves little cost, while on other times it involves money, effort, or time. Two kinds of helping behavior exist with different motives. Nineteenth century philosopher Auguste Comte maintained that egoistic help is based on egoism; in which the person wants something in return. On the other hand altruistic help is for another person's welfare. Prosocial, egoistic and altruistic behaviors are distinguished below from each other:

Prosocial Behavior: Voluntary behavior that is carried out to benefit another person

Egoistic helping: A form of helping in which the ultimate goal of the helper is to increase one's own welfare

Altruistic helping: means helping someone when there is no expectation of a reward

Types of Helping (McGuire, 1994)

- Casual help, e.g., giving directions
- Substantial help, e.g., lending money
- Emotional help, e.g., listening
- Emergency help, e.g., saving someone, helping in crisis

Explanations of helping behavior: Why do we help?

- An Evolutionary perspective
- A Sociocultural Perspective: Norms of reciprocity, social responsibility, social justice
- A Learning Perspective

Helping is Consistent with Evolutionary Theory

Sometime we help for some personal gain, while on other times we help without any personal motive. Not only human beings, but many examples of prosocial behavior have been observed among animal species, e.g., dolphins, lions, chimpanzees, etc. One principle of evolutionary theory is that any social behavior that enhances reproductive success (the conception, birth, and survival of offspring) will continue to be passed on from one generation to the next. However, to reproduce, an animal must first survive. Taken together, there may be mechanisms for the genetic transmission of helpful inclinations from generation to generation. Evolutionary theorists contend that it is not only personal survival that is important. Rather it is a gene survival that promotes reproductive fitness.

“Kin selection” provides an explanation for gene survival:

- There is a preference for helping blood relatives because this will increase the chances for the helper's genes to pass on to successive generations. Because your blood relatives share many of your same genes, by promoting their survival you can also preserve your genes even if you don't survive the helpful act. This principle of kin selection states that you will exhibit preferences for helping blood relatives because this will increase the odds that your genes will be transmitted to subsequent generations.
- Animals help others more who are genetically related.

But People also help non-relatives. How this becomes possible? This is explained by Trivers (1983) in the next perspective on prosocial behavior explanations.

A Socio-cultural Perspective: Social Norms

Reciprocal helping:

According to this principle, people are likely to help strangers if it is understood that the recipient is expected to return the favor at some time in future. Trivers (1983) believes that reciprocal helping is most likely to evolve in a species when certain conditions exist. Three of these conditions are:

- Social group living, so that individuals have ample opportunity to give and receive help.
- Mutual dependence, in which species survival depends on cooperation, and
- The lack of rigid dominance hierarchies, so that reciprocal helping will enhance each animal's power.

Considerable research supports both kin selection and reciprocal helping among humans and other animals. For example, when threatened by predators, squirrels are much more likely to warn genetically related squirrels with which they live than unrelated squirrels or those from other areas. Similarly, across a wide variety of human cultures, relatives receive more help than non-relatives, especially if the help involves considerable costs, such as being a kidney donor (Borgida et al., 1992). Reciprocal helping is also common in humans, and, consistent with evolutionary-based mechanisms to prevent cheating, when people are unable to reciprocate, they tend to experience guilt and Figure 1 illustrates the power of reciprocity: shame.

Three social norms that serve as guidelines for prosocial behavior deal with reciprocity, responsibility, and justice. The first of these prosocial norms, the norm of reciprocity, is based on maintaining fairness in social relationships. This norm prescribes that people should be paid back for whatever they give us. This norm also explains the discomfort that people typically experience when they receive help but cannot give something back in return.

Norm of responsibility:

In comparison to the reciprocity norm, the other two prosocial norms dictate that people should help due to a greater awareness of what is right. For instance, the norms states that we should help when others are in need and dependent on us. Acting on this norm, adults feel responsible for the health and safety of children, teachers have a sense of duty and obligation to their students, and police and fire-fighters believe they must help even at the risk of their own lives. This social responsibility norm requires help-givers to render assistance regardless of the recipient's worthiness and without an expectation of being rewarded.

Norm of social justice:

In contrast to the dependent-driven social responsibility norm, the norm of social justice specifies that people should help only when they believe that others deserve assistance. People become allowed to the deserving label by either possessing socially desirable personality characteristics or by engaging in socially desirable behaviors. Thus, according to the social justice norm, if "good" people encounter unfortunate circumstances, they deserve our help and we have a duty to render assistance.

A Learning Perspective

Observational learning in children:

According to social learning theorists, observational learning or modeling can influence the development of helping in at least two ways (Rosenkoetter, 1999; Rushton, 1980). First, it can initially teach children how to engage in helpful actions. Second, it can show children what is likely to happen when they actually engage in helpful (or selfish) behavior. In this learning process, what models say and what they do both shape the observers' prosocial behaviors. For

example, in one study, sixth-grade girls played a game to win chips that could be traded for candy and toys (Midlarsky et al., 1973). Prior to actually playing, each of the girls watched a woman play the game. In the charitable condition, the adult put some of the chips she won into a jar labeled "money for poor children" and then urged the girl to think about the poor children who would "love to receive the prizes these chips can buy." In the selfish condition, the adult model also urged the child to donate chips to the poor children, but she did so after putting all her chips into a jar labeled "my money." Results indicated a clear effect of prosocial modeling. Girls who had observed the charitable model donated more chips to the poor than those who had seen the selfish model.

Prosocial modeling in adults:

Modeling prosocial behavior is not confined to children. In one study conducted in a natural setting, motorists who simply saw someone helping a woman change a flat tire were more likely to later stop and assist a second woman who was in a similar predicament (Bryan & Test, 1967). In another experiment (Rushton & Campbell, 1977), female college students interacted with a friendly woman as part of a study on social interaction (this was not the true purpose, and the woman was a confederate of the researchers). When the fabricated study was completed, the two women left the lab together and passed a table staffed by people asking for blood donations. When participants were asked first, only 25% agreed, and none actually followed through on their pledge six weeks later. However, when the confederate was asked first and signed up to donate blood, 67% of the participants also agreed to give blood, and 33% actually fulfilled their commitment.

Rewarding prosocial behavior:

Although observing the prosocial actions of others can shape children's and adults' own helping, the consequences of their actions will often determine whether they continue to engage in prosocial behavior. Social rewards, such as praise, are generally more effective reinforcers than material rewards, such as money (Grusec, 1991). In one such experiment conducted by Rushton and Goody Teachman (1978), children were first induced to behave generously by having generosity modeled to them as in the previously described game-token studies. When the children donated some of their winnings to an orphan named Bobby, the model either praised the child for his or her imitative generosity (reward condition) by saying "Good for you, that's really nice of you," or scolded the child (punishment condition) by saying "That's kind of silly for you to give to Bobby. Now you will have fewer tokens for yourself." There was also a no-reinforcement condition in which the adult said nothing. Children who were praised gave more to Bobby on later trials than did children who were scolded. The effects of being either rewarded or punished for prosocial behavior were so strong that they still influenced how much the children gave to Bobby two weeks later.

Another study demonstrates that verbal praise or scolding by an adult model can either strengthen or weaken children's level of generosity (Moss & Page, 1972). In the reward condition, the woman asking for directions rewarded her helper by saying, "Thank you very much, I really appreciate this." In contrast, in the punishment condition the woman responded to help by saying, "I can't understand what you're saying, never mind, I'll ask someone else." Researchers found that when people were rewarded by the first woman, 90% of them helped the second woman. However, when punished by the first woman, only 40% helped in the later situation. As in the study with children, this adult study suggests that people's future decisions to help are often influenced by the degree to which current helpful efforts are met by praise or rebuke.

When do we help?

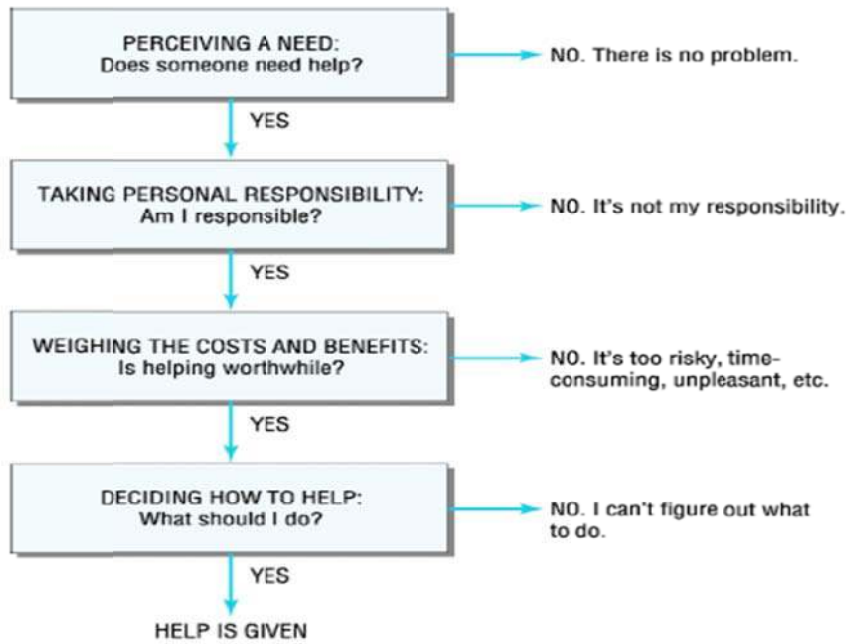
On March 13, 1964, Kitty Genovese was wounded on her way back to home. A man stabbed her with knife near her apartment building in New York at 3.20 a.m. Her cries rang out in the night but nobody came for help while at least 38 of her neighbors were watching from the windows. The apathy of her neighbors was the topic of news stories, and people's dinner conversations. Two people who discussed the murder at length were social psychologists John Darley and Bibb Latane. Bystander intervention model eventually emerged as a result of these dinner discussions.

Bystander intervention involves a series of Decisions

Although people often see people in need of help, they sometimes don't go and offer it themselves. People decide whether or not to offer assistance based on a variety of perceptions and evaluations. Help is offered only if a person answers "yes" at each step. The bystander intervention model maintains that there are four stages which must be gone through before helping occurs.

The first thing that you, as a potential helper, must do is notice that something unusual is happening. Unfortunately, in many social settings, countless sights and sounds flood our senses. Because it is impossible to attend to all this stimuli, and because we may be preoccupied with something else, a cry for help could conceivably go completely unnoticed. This stimulus overload effect is more likely to occur in densely populated urban environments than in rural settings (Milgram, 1970). Indeed, it is one of the likely reasons why there is a negative correlation between population density and helping (Levine, 2003). Another reason is that sometimes it is difficult to notice things out of the ordinary as what is unusual in one setting may be a normal occurrence in another. As a bystander to an emergency, if you do indeed notice that something unusual is happening you move to the second step in the decision-making process: deciding whether something is wrong and help is needed. Returning to the previous example, if you pass by an unconscious man on the sidewalk you may ask yourself, "Did he suffer a heart attack or is he merely sleeping.

When you define the situation as an emergency, the bystander intervention model states that the third decision you must make is determining the extent to which you have responsibility to help. According to Latane and Darley, one factor that may play a role in your decision to help or not is whether an appropriate authority figure is nearby. Let's continue this hypothetical emergency situation, but now imagine that there is no police car in sight. Faced with the reality of a clear emergency, you still may not help if you convince yourself that all the other motorists watching this incident could help just as well as you. The presence of these other potential helpers, like the presence of authority figures, may cause you to feel less personally responsible for intervening. If, however, you assume responsibility for helping, a fourth decision you must make is the appropriate form of assistance to render. But in the heat of the moment, what if you are not sure what to do? You may become paralyzed with uncertainty about exactly how to render assistance. Finally, if you notice something unusual, interpret it as an emergency, assume responsibility, and decide how to help, you still must decide whether to implement your course of prosocial action.



Lesson 38

PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR (CONTINUE.....)

Bystander Intervention

Two psychological processes can prevent helping at different stages

- The audience reserve effect (stage 1)
- Diffusion of responsibility (stage 2)

The audience inhibition effect

People are inhibited from helping for fear of negative evaluation by others if they interfere and the situation is not an emergency

Latane & Darley (1968)

- Recruited male college students for a study on problems of urban life
- Hypothesized that when others are present, people are less likely to perceive a potentially dangerous situation as an emergency, especially when others seem unconcerned.
- Participants sitting in a room completing a questionnaire
- Three experimental conditions: participant alone, with 3 other participants or with 2 unconcerned confederates
- White smoke starts entering the room through a small air vent
- After 6 minutes too thick to see through!
- What would the participant do in different situations?

when alone 75% of the time the participant finally left the room to report the emergency.

However, when the participant was others in only 38% of the trials, did a single person report the incident before the six minute mark. As opposed to these two conditions, when others were calm more audience inhibition effect occurred. The researchers concluded that when others are present, people:

- not only are less likely to define a potentially dangerous situation as emergency
- respond more slowly

Latane & Rodin (1969)

- Experimenter leaves participant in a room
- After several minutes a tape is played in which a crashing sound is heard and then the experimenter's screaming...
- "Oh my God, my foot...I ..I..can't move...it..... Oh . my ankle...I...can't get this...thing...off me...."
- 70% helped when alone, only 7% helped with unconcerned confederates!

Explanations of audience inhibition

- **Evidence comes from conformism research** (experiments of Sherif and Asch).
- **Information influence** (looking to others to define uncertain situations): When we are not clear how to define a particular situation, we are likely to become dependent on others for a definition of social reality. Thus when a group of people witnesses a possible emergency, each person bases his interpretation of the event partly or exclusively on the reaction of others. In "Smoke" and "Woman in distress" studies, others' behavior significantly inhibited helping.
- **Normative influence** (fear of being negatively evaluated - 'losing your cool'). People have learned to maintain a calm "exterior" so that other people do not evaluate us negatively.
- Post experimental debriefing with the participants indicated that some participants who did not intervene claimed that they were either unsure of what had occurred or did not

think that the situation was very serious.

Diffusion of responsibility

In some situations there is a clear emergency (not ambiguous and no fear of 'getting it wrong').

When others are present people believe they are less personally responsible.

Darley and Latane believed that this realization that others could also help diffused the neighbors' own feelings of individual responsibility. They called this response to others' presence the diffusion of responsibility—the belief that the presence of other people in a situation makes one less personally responsible for events that occur in that situation..

Diffusion of responsibility on the Internet

· Diffusion of responsibility also occurs when people need help on the Internet

Markey (2000):

· More than 4,800 people were monitored in 400 different Internet chat groups over a month's time to determine the amount of time it took to render assistance to someone who asked for help.

· It took longer for people to receive help as the number of people present in a computer mediated chat group increased.

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Emotional arousal & Cost-Reward

assessments Piliavin et al. (1981) Latane and Darley explain the social problem of non-intervention; Piliavin describes why we decide to help in emergency. Jane Piliavin and her colleagues (1981) attempted to answer this question by developing a theory of bystander intervention that extends and complements Latane and Darley's model. These researchers added to the decision-making equation by focusing on bystanders' emotional arousal during an emergency and their assessment of the costs of helping and not helping. Essentially, their work focuses on the later part of Latane and Darley's model, namely, deciding on personal responsibility (step 2), deciding what to do (step 3), and implementing action (step 4).

According to their arousal cost-reward model of helping, witnessing an emergency is emotionally arousing and is generally experienced as an uncomfortable tension that we, as bystanders, seek to decrease. This tension can be reduced in several different ways. We could intervene and thereby decrease our arousal, but we could also reduce arousal by either ignoring danger signs or benignly interpreting them as nothing to worry about.

What are the costs to the bystander for helping? This could involve a host of expenditures, including loss of time, energy, resources, health (even life), as well as the risk of social disapproval and embarrassment if the help is not needed or is ineffective. If both types of costs are low, intervention will depend on the perceived social norms in the situation. The most difficult situation for bystanders is one in which the costs for helping and for not helping are both high. Here, the arousal cost-reward model suggests two likely courses of action:

1. One is for bystanders to intervene indirectly by calling the police, an ambulance, or some other professional helping source.
2. Another course of action is for bystanders to redefine the situation in a way that results in them not helping. Here, they could decide there really is no emergency after all, or that someone else will help, or that the victim deserves to suffer.

This theory's consideration of these two cost factors cannot explain the behavior of heroes, but it does explain the behavior of more ordinary bystanders in emergency situations. However, a number of studies support the arousal cost-reward model's hypothesis that people often weigh the costs of helping and not helping prior to execution assistance.

Who Helps?

Positive and negative moods

- Alice Isen (1970) administered a series of tests to college students and teachers
- Three experimental and one control condition: In experimental conditions, participants were later told that they had either performed very well or very poorly. The third group was told nothing at all about their performance. In addition to these three experimental conditions, a control group was not administered any tests at all.
- The participants who had "succeeded" at the tests were later more likely to help a woman struggling with an armful of books than any of the other participants.
- This good mood effect following success has been replicated in other studies (Klein, 2003)
- People in good mood are more likely to help due to following reasons:
 - Perceive other people as "nice," "honest," and "decent," and thus deserving of our help.
 - We help others to enhance or prolong our good mood.
 - When happy, we are less likely to be absorbed in our own thoughts; thus, we are more attentive to others' needs.
 - A fourth possibility is that good moods increase the likelihood that we think about the rewarding nature of social activities in general.

Other Research:

People are more likely to help others:

- On sunny days than on cloudy ones (Cunmngnam, 1979)
- After finding money or being offered a tasty treat (Isen & Levin, 1972)
- After listening to uplifting music or seeing a comedy (North et al., 2004; Wilson, 1981).

Bad moods and seeking relief

- Isen and her coworkers (1973) found that people who believed they had failed at an experimental task were more likely to help another person than those who did not experience failure.
- Although this response certainly seems to contradict the good mood effect just described, one possible link between the two moods is the rewarding properties of helping.
- Negative moods sometimes lead to more helping because helping others often makes us feel good about ourselves, when feeling bad we may help as a way of escaping our mood—just as we help when we are in a good mood to maintain that mood.

Michael Cunningham and his colleagues (1980):

- Feeling guilty can also increase helping behavior. Michael Cunningham and his colleagues (1980) conducted a field study in which individuals were approached on the street by a young man who asked people to use his camera to take his picture for a class project.
- The problem for the would-be helpers was that the camera had been rigged to malfunction. When the helpers realized the camera was not working, the young man examined camera closely and asked the helpers if they touched any of the dials.
- He then informed them that it would have to be repaired. The researchers assumed that such an encounter would induce a certain degree of guilt in these individuals.
- These now guilty people passed a young woman who suddenly dropped a file folder

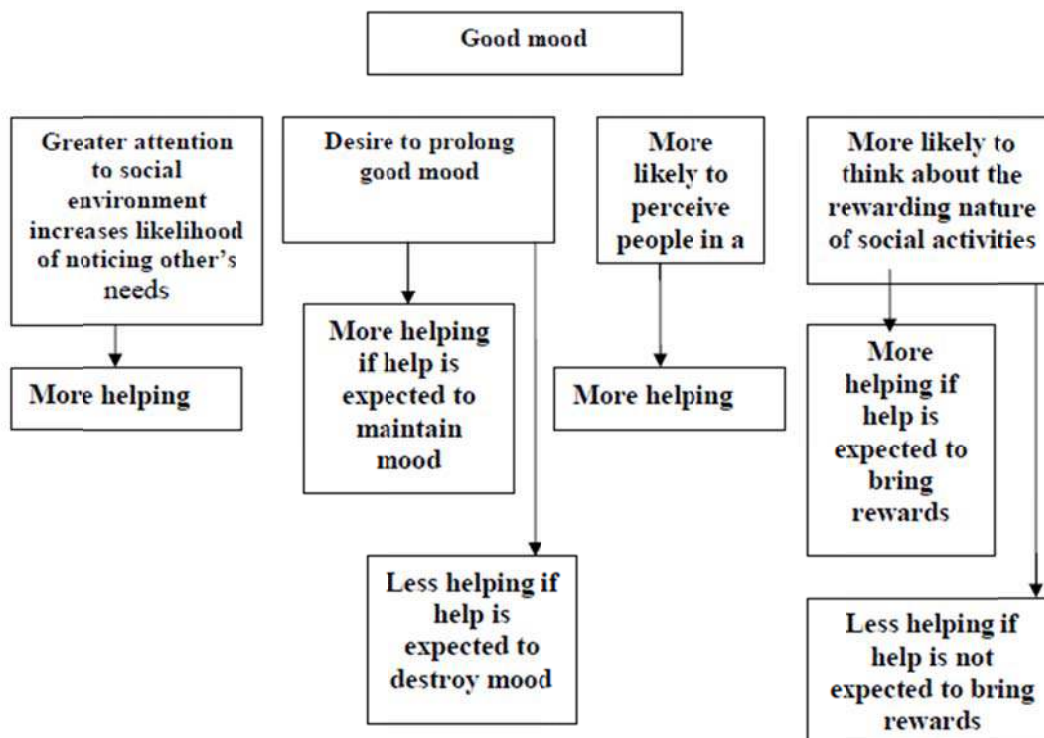
containing some papers.

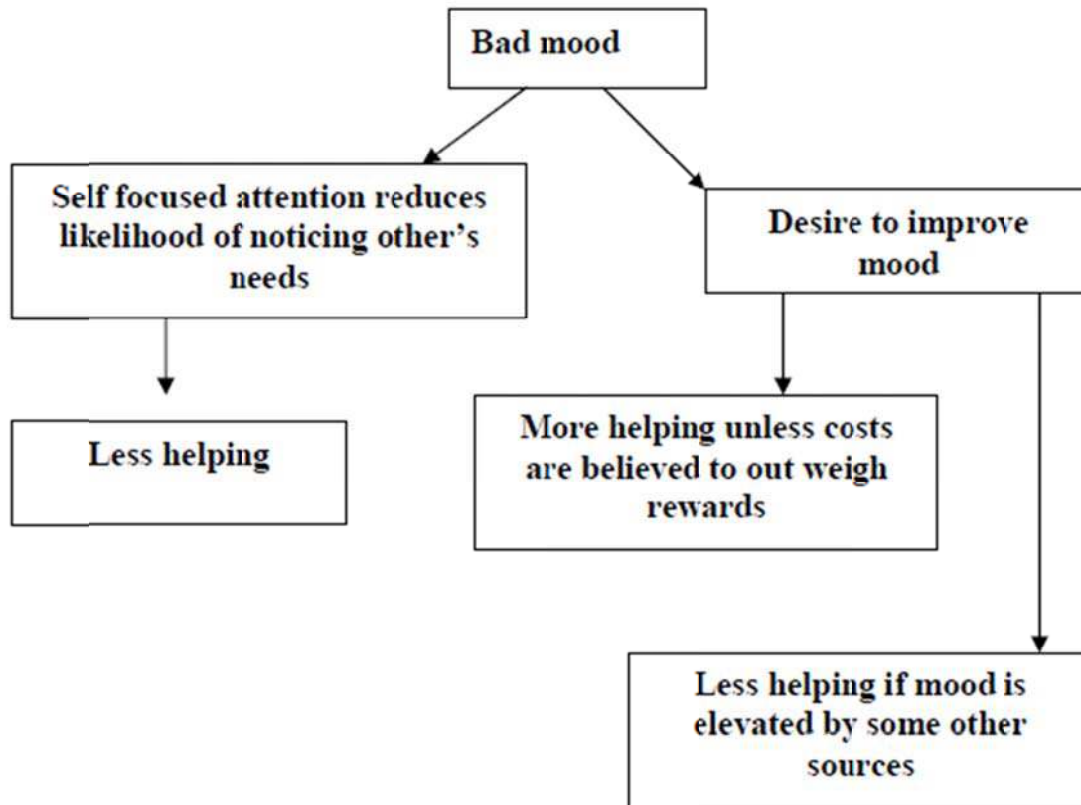
- How do you think they responded to this needy situation?
- Only 40% of the passersby who had no broken camera experience paused to help; in comparison 80% of guilty helped.

Debate over the effect of negative mood on prosocial behavior

Although these studies demonstrate that negative moods can also lead to prosocial behavior, Robert Cialdini and Douglas Kenrick (1976) attempted to explain why this is the case by proposing that when we are in a bad mood, our decision to help is often based on a simple self-serving question: Will helping make us feel better? For those in a bad mood, helping when we are in a bad mood, if the perceived benefits for helping are high and the costs are low, the expected reward value for helping will be high, and thus, we will likely help to lift our own spirits.

However, if the perceived benefits and costs are reversed so that the reward value is low, we are unlikely to help. Essentially, this model predicts that bad moods are more likely to lead to helping than neutral moods when helping is easy and highly rewarding. Studies suggest that when we experience extremely negative moods, such as grief or depression, we may be so focused on our own emotional state that we simply don't notice others' needs and concerns (Carlson & Miller, 1987). Other studies suggest that even when experiencing less severe negative moods, we are less likely to help than those who are in good moods (Isen, 1984). The “negative state relief model” answers this debate by asserting that perceived benefits for helping determine whether bad mood will lead to help or not (Cialdini & Kenrick, 1976).





Any gender differences in helping?

Alice Eagly and Maureen Crowley's (1986) indicate that men and women differ in their willingness to engage in certain prosocial actions:

Eagly & Crowley's (1986) meta-analysis of 172 studies:

- Men are more likely to engage in helping that is heroic and chivalrous.
- Men are more likely to help strangers—especially if the person needing help is female, if there's an audience, and if the situation is dangerous.
- *Women are more likely than men:*
- to provide social and emotional support to others (Shumaker & Hill, 1991)
- More willing to serve as caretakers for children and the elderly (Trudeau & Devlin, 1996).
- Although these differences appear real, the help men render apply most to non routine prosocial acts such as offering help to strangers in distress. When other forms of prosocial behavior—such as helping a friend or caring for children—are studied, women generally prove to be more helpful than men.
- These differences become stronger from childhood to adulthood and are most apparent when gender roles are salient.

Lesson 39 GROUP BEHAVIOR

GROUP BEHAVIOR

What is a group?

- Two or more people who interact with one another, share common goals, are somehow interdependent, and recognize that they belong to a group
- Here the focus is on the effects of physically interacting regularly in a work group, team, etc. and the effects this has on productivity (i.e., vs. social categorization)

Basic Features of Groups

Social norms are shared rules and expectations about how group members should act. Some groups have norms for personal appearance, opinions (no involvement in religious or political activities in universities, etc.) behavior (smoking prohibition in university). Sometimes written guidelines are provided regarding these norms, while on other occasions they are learned through everyday conversation.

Social roles are clusters of socially defined expectations that individuals in a given situation are expected to fulfill. Sometime social roles evolve during group interaction; sometime people import their role into their new group that they enjoyed playing in previous groups.

Social status refers to social position based on prestige and authority and distribution of power among members. You can tell who has higher status in a group by paying attention to verbal and nonverbal behavior. Usually people with higher status maintain great eye contact, stand more erect, are more likely to criticize and command, and not only speak more but are also spoken to more. The social status often is ascribed rather than earned. There are many advantages to having high status in a group. These people have high self-esteem, are better liked by others, and are more satisfied with their group relations. However, in case of bad decisions causing negative group consequences, they are judged rather harshly.

Cohesiveness refers to forces that cause members to remain in a group. As group cohesiveness increases, people feel, think, and act more like group members and less like isolated members. This cohesiveness allows the group to exert its influence on members, which increases productivity.

Positive factors associated with cohesiveness:

- Liking of members for each other
- Extent to which members act effectively together
- Success of group in meeting goals

Negative factors associated with cohesiveness:

- Difficult to Leaving
- Lack of Alternatives
- Group influence on individual behavior

Group affecting individuals

The following three phenomena can occur with negligible interaction (minimal group situation)

Social facilitation

An individual performing an activity is increased in the presence of an audience

Social loafing

An individual performing an activity as part of or behalf of a larger group of performers

Deindividuation

May occur in crowded, anonymous situations when people lose a sense of responsibility for their own actions and feel free to express aggressive and sexual impulses

Social Facilitation

- The enhancement of dominant responses due to the presence of others
- Norman Triplett (1897) conducted one of the first experiments investigating whether the presence of others enhance performance (cyclists).
- Subsequent studies conducted during the first quarter of the 20th century found that the presence of others enhances the speed with which people perform simple tasks, but inhibits task efficiency in more complex tasks (Allport, 1920)
- Observed also in animals (Chen, 1937) such as dogs, rats, fish, birds, and even ants and cockroaches

Explanations of social facilitation effects

- Drive theory
- Evaluation-apprehension
- Distraction-conflict
- Mere exposure

Drive theory of social facilitation (Zajonce, 1965)

- Researchers attempted to answer that presence of others should affect differently in case of easy and complex tasks. Zajonce proposed a theory to settle the contradictory findings.
- All animals are genetically subject to become physiologically aroused when around conspecifics (members of one's own species) because they receive most of the rewards and punishments from them, and have developed an innate arousal response due to their mere presence
- Correct responses are dominant in case of easy tasks, but correct responses are not dominant in case of difficult, unless memorized, like math test or learning maze (difficult) vs. clapping (easy).
- Increased arousal enhances performance on easy task, increased arousal promotes incorrect responding in case of complex tasks.
- This, in turn, increases the tendency to make a dominant (well learned) response.
- If the response correct - social facilitation, if incorrect - inhibition

Further research to test Zajonce's theory

Zajonce demonstrated that facilitation and inhibition were not limited to humans. He placed cockroaches on either runways (a simple task) or in mazes (a complex task) and measured their running speed when either alone or in the presence of a gallery of other roaches. Supporting previous research, the presence of other roaches did indeed facilitate performance on the runway task, whereas it hampered performance in the mazes.

We become energized in front of others unless we are self-conscious or hyper-aroused.

Evaluation apprehension

- Concern over being judged by others (Cottrell, 1972)

Cottrell et al., 1968

- Counter to the 'mere-presence' effect
- Performance was evaluated in three different conditions: working alone, in the presence of confederates working on the same task, in the presence of blindfolded who supposedly were performing for a perception test
- As compared to being alone, with seeing subjects, participants were having both evaluation apprehension and mere exposure.
- With blindfolded, however, no evaluation apprehension as blindfolded could not evaluate the participant's performance.

· If people present, but not evaluating, no social facilitation occurs

Distraction-conflict explanation

· Conflict is a well-documented source of arousal, and in such a situation it is the distraction conflict alone that creates arousal.

· Heightened arousal occurs due to conflict between the task at hand and attending to others in the immediate surroundings (Baron, 1986)

· Can explain social as well as non-social 'distractions' (e.g., loud noises, flashing lights, etc.)

· Overall, all three theories (drive, evaluation apprehension, and distraction conflict) can contribute to the explanation of social facilitation/ inhibition

Mere presence

· Zajonc contends that even without evaluation apprehension and arousing distraction, mere presence of others produces some arousal.

· People's colour perceptions are stronger when they make judgments with others present (Goldman, 1967)

· Most joggers are energized when jogging with others even without any competition

· Current trend in organizations is to have an "open-office plan". Rather than private offices, open areas are divided with low partitions. The presence of others may boost the performance of well-learned tasks, but disrupt creative thinking.

Lesson 40

GROUP BEHAVIOR (CONTINUE.....)

Social Loafing

What is social loafing?

When an individual's contribution to a collective activity (pooled) cannot be evaluated, individuals often work *less* hard than they would alone.

- Occurs when our efforts are lost in the crowd
- Group induced reduction in individual output is known as social loafing
- Social facilitation occurs when individual output in a group can be assessed

Early & contemporary research

Max Ringleman (1913) conducted first empirical study: efforts to pull a rope or pushing a cart were less when people worked in a group

Latane (1979)

- • Six blindfolded participants in a semicircle
- • Earphones with shouting voices being played
- • Told to shout as loud as possible
- • Told they were shouting with one other person vs. with 5 others, while actually always just them shouting
- • Social loafing occurs behaviorally and cognitively
- • Occurs due to a diffusion of responsibility
- • Bystanders fail to aid victims when there are more people
- • Occurs in both individualistic and collectivistic cultures,

Task complexity & social loafing

Jackson & Williams (1985):

- So far all the activities we talked about were simple. But if evaluation apprehension is the key to social loafing, then working together will lower the evaluation apprehension
- Task was working on a complex computer maze alongside a co-worker
- Task outcome responsibility is diffused among fellow co-actors; evaluation apprehension is decreased
- Told that they would be individually vs. collectively evaluated
- Participants showed better performance when collectively evaluated

With complex tasks the diffusion of responsibility allows less evaluation-apprehension so easier to attend to the task

- On poorly learned tasks, less evaluation apprehension and presumably arousal allows more careful concentration on the task at hand, and thus an increase in performance

Processes leading to social loafing versus social compensation

· Karau & Williams (1993) maintained that:

o Social loafing depends on how important the person believes his/her contribution is to group success, and how much the person values group success.

o *Social compensation* occurs when a person expends great effort to compensate for others in the group, and when others are performing incompetently, and the person cares about the quality of the group product

Reducing Social Loafing

- Make each person's contribution identifiable
- People were led to believe that their performance (shouting) was identifiable or never identifiable (Williams et al., 1981)
- Provide them with a standard to evaluate their own or group's performance.
- Provide rewards for high group productivity
- Make task meaningful, complex, or interesting: On challenging tasks people may perceive their efforts as indispensable
- **Social ostracism: Lazy workers are socially rejected until they conform to the group productivity norm.**
- Gender differences have been reported by Williams & Sommer (1997): males coped by redirecting their interest to non-tasks in their surroundings, while females when were given a chance to get back into the good graces of the group, they worked hard to do so.

Social loafing across cultures

- Social loafing has been found in India, Thailand, Japan, & China
- However, social loafing may be greater among people from the U.S. than among Asians; 17 studies showed these results (Karau & Williams, 1993).
- In summary: Whether social facilitation or social loafing occurs depends on:
 - • Whether individuals are identifiable
 - • Task complexity
 - • How much participants care about the outcome
 - • Loyalty to family and work groups in collectivistic cultures.
 - • Gender: women showed less social loafing as they are considered less individualistic.

Deindividuation

- Research indicates that groups can arouse us, and can lower evaluation apprehension. In such

circumstances our normal inhibitions may diminish and we may engage in behaviors we normally avoid.

- May occur in crowded, anonymous situations when people lose a sense of responsibility for their own actions and feel free to express aggressive and sexual impulses.

- Prentice-Dunn and Rogers (1980) believe that accountability cues, such as anonymity, tell people how far they can go without being held responsible for their actions.

- These cues loosen restraint against deviant behavior by altering a person's cost-reward calculations, e.g., during a riot people often believe that they would not be caught.

Situational factors leading to deindividuation

Deindividuation is an internal state that involves lowered self-observation and evaluation.

Once it occurs it results in intense behaviors, which are not under stimulus control, difficult to terminate, and are self-reinforcing. Once inhibitions are gone, people impulsively engage in antisocial behavior, like vandalism, aggression, and rioting.

According to Zimbardo (1970), following are the factors leading to deindividuation:

- • Group size
- • Stimulus overload
- • Changed states of consciousness
- • Secrecy
- • Arousal
- • Noncognitive interactions
- • Diffusion of responsibility

Internet-induced deindividuation:

Christina Demetriou and Andrew Silke (2003) established a web site to determine whether people who visited to gain access to legal material will also try to gain access to illegal and pornographic material when they discovered it was available (not available actually). Over a three-month period, a majority of more than 800 visitors tried to get an access to the illegal material. The researchers concluded that "Virtual" groups created on Internet sites

Explanations of deindividuation

- Deindividuation increases when individuals are anonymous and as group size increases.

- Diener (1980) indicates that the crucial cognitive factor in deindividuation is a lack of self awareness. Deindividuation might create a special psychological state in which people are focused externally and unaware of own values. People do not attend to their own inner values and standards. When people fail to take themselves as an object of attention, they abdicate their personal standards of conduct and fall prey to the influence of immediate situation.

- Not a loss of personal identity, but deindividuation setting facilitates a transition from a personal to a more social identity. People are simply conforming to the prevailing group norm.

Lesson 41

GROUP BEHAVIOR (CONTINUE.....)

David Dodd's Exercise

David David Dodd describes a highly effective and entertaining exercise that illustrates the concept of deindividuation. According to Dodd, the object of this exercise is to demonstrate

that even normal, well-adjusted college students are capable of deviant, antisocial behavior given the right situational conditions (e.g., feelings of anonymity and irresponsibility). The procedure of the experiment is as under:

- Please respond anonymously to the following question:

– “If you could be totally invisible for 24 hours and were completely assured that you would not be detected or held responsible for your actions, what would you do?”

- The average number of antisocial responses given by Dodd’s college students (36%) is no different than the number of antisocial responses given by inmates at a maximum-security prison where he once taught.

Group Decision Process

Group decision making and the ‘risky shift’

- The ‘risky shift’ describes the tendency for people to accept more risky odds when considering a dilemma in a group (Stoner, 1961)

- Stoner (1961) asked management students to individually respond to 12 hypothetical problems. Then he brought them together in groups and instructed to discuss until they reached a unanimous decision. He found out that after discussion the group was ready to take more risks.

- But not all decision dilemmas reached risky shift. Sometimes people become more cautious in groups (Knox & Safford, 1976)

- How could group discussion produce both greater risk taking and greater conservatism?

Group Polarization

- It is not that people become more risky or cautious in groups per se but rather the group’s initial attitudes are enhanced or polarized.

- After group discussion members’ initial attitudes become exaggerated. It is actually strengthening of initial attitudes.

- More likely to occur with important issues (Kerr, 1992)

Research findings:

- Groups initially low or high in prejudice were even less or more after discussion (Myers & Bishop, 1970)

- Terrorist organizations became more extreme gradually over time (McCauley & Segal,

- Members of jury held more extreme opinions about a defendant guilty or innocent (Myers & Kaplan, 1976)

The process of group polarization:

In group polarization, discussion by group members enhances the initial attitudes or views of those who already agree, regardless whether those views reflect caution or risk. Researches indicate that group polarization is more likely to occur on important issues rather than trivial ones.

Explanations for group polarization

•Social comparison

- We are motivated to self evaluate by comparing us with others. They want others to evaluate them positively, and after discussion they find out that they are not nearly as extreme in the socially valued direction as others as they initially thought. So they begin to shift toward even more extreme positions. Comparisons with others promotes a desire to fit in with socially valued ideals so attitudes become more extreme (normative influence)

•Mutual persuasion

- In group discussion people learn more (encounter more arguments) so are more persuaded (informational influence). The desire is not to be evaluated positively but the desire to

arrive at correct or true solution. Hearing new supportive arguments that they had not initially considered, members gradually come to adopt even more extreme positions. It is arguments in favour of their own position rather than against it.

- Daniel Isenberg's meta-analysis of 21 different group polarization studies:
- Social comparison and persuasive arguments often occur in combination to produce extreme group decisions
- How these two could produce group polarization?
- In issues involving intellectual tasks when facts are weighed group, members are primarily concerned with the information presented in people's arguments. When it is judgmental task, and there is not clear right or wrong answer, people are more likely to compare their views with others.

Martin Kaplan (1987) suggests that they may operate in different situations: issues involving intellectual vs. judgmental tasks

Groupthink

- An extreme form of group polarization (Janis, 1982) March 19 2003
- A deterioration in mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment in groups due to an excessive desire to achieve consensus
- Example: On March 19, 2003 President Bush ordered the invasion of Iraq. The CIA had provided evidence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, and Saddam was

Groupthink caused by...

- **High in-group cohesiveness (conformity)**
- Janis (1971) stated that cohesiveness is a positive group characteristic but it is also associated with conformity. When people are strongly attached to group, they want badly to be accepted. When it is combined with the other two factors, groups become more susceptible to group think.
- **Threatening situational context**
- At the time of stress people become dependent on the reassuring support of others, which would increase the group's influence on individual members.
- Stressful situations lead to people valuing speed over accuracy
- **Structural/procedural faults**
- Lack of systematic checks, isolation of the group, and a directive leader; directive leader who lets other members know what his inclinations are regarding the group's final decision choice may lead to groupthink

Turner et al. (1992):

- Investigated both cohesiveness and stressful threat
- Created high and low cohesiveness groups; gave names to each of the "high cohesiveness" groups and had them wear tags bearing group name. "Low cohesiveness" received neither tags nor group identities
- The problem was that some workers producing automobile panels had decreased productivity, while one worker Joe was piling up his work.
- Asked all groups to recommend a solution for an automobile production problem
- Rank order of possible solutions was suggested:
- promoting Joe was a low quality solution
- Removing him from his station was a medium quality decision.
- high quality decision was rotating workers on an hourly base, so that pile up does not occur

- Told high threat group that their session will be videotaped for using in subsequent sessions, and their evaluation will be used to evaluate “dysfunctional group processes”.
- An interaction between cohesiveness and threat was observed.

Symptoms of groupthink

Overestimation of the competence of the in group:

Illusion of invulnerability and an unquestioned belief in the in-group’s own morality. American president and his colleagues thought that USA will crush armed oppositions and will win the hearts and minds of Iraqi. Same is true for USA’s observation for Afghanistan.

Close-mindedness:

- Bush and his administration did not examine the evidence that would have confirmed the existence of weapons. **Members of close-minded group rationalize the correctness of their decisions.**

Increased conformity:

Members reject those who raise doubts about the group’s assumptions and decisions, and they censor their own misgivings. With all this conformity pressure, members develop an illusion that everyone is in agreement.

Groupthink is more when there is a lot of loyalty, and not much intellectual diversity within a decision making body.

Tetlock’s study (1992)

- Tetlock tested Janis theory of groupthink and presented content analysis of the factual accounts of 10 historic decisions that potentially involved groupthink
- Historic events involving disastrous decisions exhibited significantly more group decision
- Some of groupthink characteristics were suspicion of outsiders, restriction of information exchange, and punishment of group dissenters

Overcoming groupthink

- Leader remains impartial and encourages the expression of dissent
- Use separate subcommittees to discuss same issue separately
- Consult outside experts
- Making decisions in this way will facilitate the type of critical analysis that is the hallmark of success, both on the individual and group level.

Lesson 42

INTERPERSONAL POWER: LEADERSHIP

Leadership

The leader of a group is the person who has the most impact on group behavior and beliefs. According to Pescosolido (2001), the person who exerts the most influence and provides direction and energy to the group is the leader this is the person who initiates action, gives orders, doles out rewards and punishments, settles disputes between fellow members, and pushes and pulls the group toward its goals. Leaders may be appointed, elected, or emerge over time. Many groups have only one leader; other groups have two or more individuals with equally high levels of influence. Generally, groups tend to have multiple leaders as their tasks become more diverse and complex.

Theories of leadership

- –The great-person theory
- –The situational perspective
- –The contingency theory

The great person theory

The great-person theory of leadership suggests that leaders possess particular characteristics. This perspective on leadership maintains that some people are born to lead and others are born to follow. According to this "trait" or "great person" perspective, some people are more clever or dominant than others, so they rise to the top. This perspective is based on anthropological studies, that certain human beings also have traits that make them "natural leaders." One such trait is intelligence. In some groups, the leader is more intelligent than his or her followers. Intellectually gifted individuals often make very successful leaders.

In some studies of small groups, the person who talked most became the group leader (McGrath & Julian, 1963). Two other important traits are a need for achievement and being perceptive about other people's needs. The best leaders seem to be people who are both strongly driven to succeed and skillful at maintaining good relationships with their followers.

Stogdill's early (1948) and later review (1974) of 163 studies from 1949-1970 showed that **the success of a leader is related to different traits:**

- Intelligent
- Need for achievement & being perceptive about others' needs
- Strong interpersonal skills
- Confident
- Optimistic
- takes initiative in social situations

The Situational Perspective

A second perspective on leadership holds that the situation creates the leader. According to this "situational" perspective, the person who becomes a group's leader is the one who happened to be in the right place at the right time (Cooper & McGaugh, 1969). Adolph Hitler rose to power in pre-World War II Germany because citizens who had suffered military and economic collapse wanted the most forceful leader they could find. Groups frequently respond to crisis by choosing a leader who in other circumstances might be perceived as too authoritarian. Situational factors as trivial as who sits at the head of the table can also affect who emerges as the group leader (Howells & Becker, 1962).

Leadership and talking:

Finally, Situational factors affect who talks the most in a group, which in turn affects who emerges as leader. In one study of talkativeness and leadership, four college men held a group discussion (Bavelas, Hastorf, Gross, & Kite, 1965). After the discussion had ended, the four men rated each other on traits like leadership. The more the target man talked, the higher he was rated on leadership. In other words, a purely situational factor, having nothing to do with the man's own personality, cast him in the role of group leader.

Communication patterns:

- Communication pattern is another situational factor that is important in making a person leader.
- Some groups (corporate & govt. Bureaucracies) have formal, established patterns of communications
- Several different possible group communication networks: people occupying central position emerge as leaders than peripheral

The Contingency Theory of Leadership

According to the **contingency theory of leadership**, the group member who acts as leader is contingent, or dependent, on what the group needs to accomplish (Fiedler, 1964, 1967, 1971, 1993). According to the contingency theory of leadership, potential leaders differ in whether they are task-oriented or relationship oriented. **Task-oriented leaders** concentrate the group's energies on the task at hand. They are impatient with and intolerant of group members who do not contribute to the group effort. **Relationship-oriented leaders**, in contrast, concentrate the group's energies on maintaining cohesion, harmony, and cooperation. They tend to get along well with subordinates, even those who may not be contributing as much as they might to a particular group effort.

To identify these two leadership styles, **Fiedler developed the Least Preferred Coworker Scale**, which asks leaders to evaluate the person in the group they like least. Fiedler found that leaders who evaluated their least preferred coworker (LPC) very negatively were primarily motivated to attain successful task performance and only secondarily motivated to seek good interpersonal relations among group members. These low LPC leaders fit the mold of the task-oriented leader.

In contrast, Fiedler found that leaders who evaluated their LPCs positively were primarily motivated toward achieving satisfactory interpersonal relationships among the group members and only secondarily motivated to successfully complete group tasks. These high LPC leaders fit the mold of the relationship-oriented leader.

Predicting leader effectiveness

Who makes the best leader—someone who is task-oriented or someone who is relationship-oriented?

According to the contingency theory of leadership, "it all depends (Fiedler & Garcia, 1987). In some situations a task-oriented leader is more effective. In other situations, a relationship-oriented leader is more effective. The determining factor is how much control the leader has. **The leader's control depends on three factors: the leader's relationship with the group; the degree to which the group's task is structured or well defined; and the leader's power to bestow rewards or punishments.** In "favorable" situations where the leader has good relations with subordinates, the task is well defined, and the leader's power is unquestioned, a **task-oriented leader is best for both group effectiveness and group members' satisfaction.** **Interestingly, a task oriented leader is also best for "unfavorable" situations, where the leader has very poor relations with subordinates, the task is very unstructured, and the leader has little real power.** **A relationship-oriented leader functions best, however, in the "mid-range" situations where leader-follower relations are moderately good, the task is neither structured nor unstructured, and the leader's "legitimate" power is moderate.** In one test of contingency theory, university administrators were identified as either task-oriented or relationship-oriented (Chemers, Hays, Rhode-wait, & Wysocki, 1985). Their jobs were classified as low, moderate, or high in situational control.

Task-oriented leaders felt under the most stress when their leadership situation was uncertain—when they held neither high nor low situational control.

Relationship-oriented leaders, in contrast, felt under the greatest stress when they had low rather than moderate control over the situation. Task-oriented leaders also reported far more stress-related physical illnesses (such as angina pectoris, colitis, and eczema) than did relationship-oriented leaders in moderate situational control jobs, whereas relationship-oriented leaders reported more stress-related illnesses in low situational control jobs.

Transformational and Transactional leadership

- House (1976), Burns (1978), Bass (1985) linked the need of leaders and followers in an interactive process.
- Bass distinguished transformational and transactional behaviour
- Transformational leaders raises

followers to higher levels of morality and motivation

- Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire was developed to measure transformational and transactional leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1989)

Transformational Leaders Take Heroic and unconventional Actions

One of the earliest approaches to understanding leadership was to search for person; traits that caused some people and not others to become leaders. Unfortunately, few leaf characteristics have been identified. Leaders tend to be slightly more intelligent and taller than non-leaders, are more confident and adaptable, and, not surprisingly, have a higher desire for power (Chemers et al., 2000). They also tend to be more charismatic, a quality that has prompted a number of researchers to analyze the psychological dynamics of charismatic or **transformational leaders**.

Transformational Leaders:

A transformational leader changes—or transforms—the outlook and behavior of followers, which allows them to move beyond their self-interests for the good of the group or society (Bass, 1997). Some great leaders of the twentieth century inspired tremendous changes in their respective societies by making supporters believe that anything was possible if they collectively worked toward a common good (as defined by the leader). The general view of transformational leaders is that they are "natural born" influence agents who inspire high devotion, motivation, and productivity in group members. Because transformational leaders often use unconventional strategies that put them at risk, it is not uncommon for them to face severe physical hardships—and even death—in moving the group to its goals.

Survey, interview, and experimental studies suggest there are at least three core components to transformational leadership (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996; Rai & Sinha, 2000).

1. **Ability to communicate a vision.** A vision, which is a future ideal state embodying shared group values, is the main technique that transformational leaders use to inspire followers. In communicating a vision, leaders convey the expectation of high performance among followers and a confidence that they have the ability to reach the vision.
2. **Ability to implement a vision.** Transformational leaders use a variety of techniques to implement a vision, such as clarifying how task goals are to be accomplished, serving as a role model, providing individualized support, and recognizing accomplishments.
3. Demonstrating a charismatic communication style. Transformational leaders have a captivating communication style, in which they make direct eye contact, exhibit animated facial expressions, and use powerful speech and nonverbal tactics.

Subtypes of Transformational leadership (as measured by MLQ)

- Charismatic/idealised influence:
role model, respect, trust
- Inspirational motivation
Provide meaning, team's spirit, commitment to goals
- Intellectual stimulation
To be innovative and creative, no critique of mistakes
- Individual consideration
coach/mentor, two-way communication

Subtypes of Transactional leadership

- Contingent reward for performance
— reasonably effective
- Management by exception (corrective)
—active: monitor deviance
—passive: if supervising large numbers of subordinate
- Laissez faire: non-transactional
—decisions not made, action delayed
—responsibility ignored

How do leaders wield power?

Winston Churchill exerted considerable interpersonal power in his letters to Roosevelt, in which Churchill tried to bring the United States into the war on Britain's side. The letters contained six types of interpersonal or social power that Churchill and other leaders use: expert power, referent power, informational power, legitimate power, reward power, and coercive power.

Six types of leaders' power

1. **Expert power** comes from having superior knowledge or ability. Modern subordinates in the workplace often do not have access to the organization's plans and problems. Supervisors wield expert power because they know details of the organization that subordinates do not know.
2. **Referent power** involves emphasizing a common identity. Churchill always signed his letters to Roosevelt "Former Naval Person." Although such a signature may seem odd for the leader of the British Empire, it emphasized that Churchill and Roosevelt had both served their countries' navies. Before becoming president, Franklin Roosevelt had served as U.S. Secretary of the Navy. Similarly, modern workplace supervisors wield referent power over subordinates by making them feel like part of a team. Referent power depends on building a social identity.
3. **Information power** consists of using arguments that are logically compelling. When Churchill emphasized the danger to the United States should Britain be defeated, Roosevelt found the argument very convincing.
4. **Legitimate power** is based on social norms and obligations, especially reciprocating when someone else has done you a favor. Churchill first put Roosevelt in his debt by sharing military secrets that were vital to U.S. interests. Then he emphasized that Britain was sacrificing to defend the United States and other countries from subjugation.
5. **Reward power** comes from ability to grant rewards. Modern workplace supervisors also use reward power selectively to accomplish their goals. The person who controls your promotions and pay raises is in a good position to demand obedience.
6. **Coercive power** involves a threat of punishment.

When the types are used

The higher in the organization a leader was and the more people the leader supervised directly or indirectly, the more the leader used threats of punishment, promises of rewards, and appeals to company loyalty to get followers to obey. Power affects a leader's choice of influence tactics in settings as diverse as industry and psychotherapy (Kipnis, 1984). Hitler and his Nazis came to rely almost exclusively on coercive power.

Different sex for different tasks?

Women are chosen as leaders by groups that are pursuing "feminine" tasks, whereas men are chosen as leaders by groups that are pursuing "masculine" tasks (Eagly & Karau, 1991; Eagly et al., 1994). According to the traditional stereotype, "feminine" tasks include deciding how to spend wedding money, sewing buttons on a panel, and getting to know other group members by sharing feelings. "Masculine" tasks include ranking the desirability of auto accessories, repairing a machine, and discussing how to survive in a disaster. In other words, groups chose as leader a person who is expected to have expert power.

Unfortunately for qualified women, most business tasks seem "masculine." When businessmen and businesswomen in the United States describe the ideal leader or the ideal manager, they typically describe someone who acts like the male sex role stereotype and-not someone who acts like the female sex role stereotype. Subordinates perceive women business executives, for instance, as having more of all six types of power when the women wear a jacket and "look like a man" than when they do not. According to traditional sex role stereotypes, acting like a man involves being independent, masterful, competent, and assertive, whereas acting like a woman involves being friendly, unselfish, and concerned about other people's feelings.

Reaction to women as leaders

In one study of how subordinates react to male versus female leaders, groups of four college students held a discussion (Butler & Geis, 1990). The group's goal was to rank how important

various items (for example, food, a first-aid kit, water, a compass, rope, a star map) would be for surviving a spaceship crash on the moon. Only two of the four group members (one man and one woman) were actual participants. The other two group members were confederates who had studied all possible arguments for and against each survival item. In some of the group discussions, either the male or the female confederate "took over" and started leading the group. The "solo leader," whether male or female, directed the discussion and provided the final rationale for each group decision. The other confederate, although he or she offered good suggestions, adopted the role of "follower." In other group discussions, the male and female confederates both "took over." With their greater preparation, the confederates were easily able to direct and to dominate the discussion and the group's decisions. When the discussion ended, the experimenters asked participants to rate each other's competence. The participants did not display sex bias by rating female leaders as less competent than male leaders. The experimenters suspected, though, that participants might be biased without being aware of it. During the discussion, the experimenters placed observers behind one-way mirrors to record the facial expressions of participants. According to these observers, whose ratings agreed with each other, participants betrayed their true feelings by smiling and nodding agreement whenever the male confederate "took charge" and by frowning and tightening their facial muscle whenever the female confederate "took charge." Also, when participants were later asked to describe each other's personality traits, both men and women described the female solo leader as bossy and excessively dominating. When she talked more than everyone else and forced the group to be task-oriented, which she had to do to become a solo leader, the female solo leader violated sex role expectations and "earned" the condemnation of other group members.

Lesson 43

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY IN COURT

Social Psychology Applied

Social Psychology Applied is not a separate section as far as syllabus of social psychology is concerned. Instead it is based on the theories and principles of social psychology that we have studied so far in different sections of our syllabus. Although knowledge of social psychology can be applied in a variety of social settings, and fields of human interaction, we will specially discuss two areas where this knowledge is very effectively applied:

- Social Psychology in Clinics
- Social Psychology in court

Social Psychology in Court

Introduction

Several questions interest social psychologists working in court setting, for example, how influential is eyewitness testimony? How trustworthy are eyewitness recollections? What makes a credible witness? Such questions fascinate lawyers, judges, and defendants. And they are questions to which social psychology can suggest answers, as most law schools have recognized when they hire professors of "law and social science."

- Two heavily researched sets of factors :

–Features of the courtroom drama that can influence jurors' judgments of a defendant

–Characteristics of both the jurors and their discussions.

Although many aspects of court and legal system are of interest to social psychologists, we will be just discussing two main topics due to shortage of time and space:

- Eyewitness testimony, and
- Other influences on judgment of jury.

Eyewitness testimony: Persuasiveness

Several studies have indicated that eyewitness testimony is very persuasive. At the University of Washington, Elizabeth Loftus (1974, 1979) found that those who had "seen" were indeed believed, even when their testimony was shown to be useless. When students were presented with a hypothetical robbery-murder case with circumstantial evidence but no eyewitness testimony, only 18% voted for belief. Other students received the same information but with the addition of a single eyewitness and 72% voted for conviction. For a third group, the defense attorney discredited this testimony (the witness's eye sight was weak and was not wearing glasses). Did this discrediting reduce the effect of the testimony? In this case, not much: 68% still voted for conviction.

Later experiments revealed that discrediting may reduce somewhat the number of guilty votes. But unless contradicted by another eyewitness, a vivid eyewitness account is difficult to erase from jurors' minds. That helps explain why; compared to criminal cases lacking those that have eyewitness testimony are more likely to produce convictions.

How accurate are eyewitnesses?

The persuasiveness of eyewitness leads us to a very important question and that is the accuracy of eyewitness testimony. Is eyewitness testimony, in fact, often inaccurate? Stories abound of innocent people who have wasted years in prison because of the testimony of eyewitnesses who were sincerely wrong. More than seven decades ago, Yale law professor Edwin Borchard (1932) documented 65 convictions of people whose innocence was later proven. Most resulted from mistaken identifications.

To assess the accuracy of eyewitness recollections, we need to learn their overall rates of "hits" and "misses." One way to gather such information is to stage crimes comparable to those in everyday life and then solicit eyewitness reports. This has now been done many times, sometimes with disconcerting results. For example, at the California State University-Hay ward, 141 students witnessed an "attack" on a professor. Seven weeks later, when Robert Buckhout (1974) asked them to identify the assailant from a group of six photographs, 60% chose an innocent person. No wonder eyewitnesses to actual crimes sometimes disagree about what they saw. Later studies

have **confirmed that eyewitnesses often are more confident than correct.** For example, Brian Born-stein and Douglas Zickafoose (1999) found that students averaged 74% confident in their later recollections of a classroom visitor, but were only 55% correct.

Factors affecting eyewitness testimony

Stress and Arousal

– Stress increases memory for the event itself but decreases memory for what preceded and followed the incident.

Weapon Focus Effect

– People tend to keep their eye on weapons because of their danger and novelty.
– This distracts their attention from the robbers.

Own-Race Bias

People are more accurate in identifying members of their own race.

Retention Interval

Accuracy drops with time rapidly at first, then levels off.

Suggestive Questioning

The way witnesses are questioned influences their memories of the event.

Some questions are suggestive but not deliberately misleading

•E.g. Loftus & Palmer (1978) found that people said a car had been going faster in an accident if they asked about its speed when it “smashed” into the other car as opposed to “hit” it

Other questions are deliberately misleading, asking about nonexistent details.

Identification procedures:

Show-ups

Ask witnesses to indicate whether or not a single witness is the committer

Simultaneous lineups

Show the witness several potential suspects at the same time.

Sequential lineups

Show potential suspects one at a time; this approach has been proved effective.

Three hypotheses for how post-event information affects memory

- Over-writing
- Forgetting
- Source monitoring

People retain memories of both the event and any post-event information but cannot identify the source of the memories. Evidence supports this technique.

Reducing Error in eyewitness testimony

Train police interviewers:

When Ronald Fisher and his co-workers (1987) examined tape-recorded interviews of eyewitnesses conducted by experienced Florida police detectives, they found a typical pattern. Following an open-ended beginning (“Tell me what you recall”), the detectives would occasionally interrupt with follow-up questions, including questions eliciting terse answers (“How tall was he?”). Fisher and Edward Geiselman (1996) and the new guide book say interviews should begin by allowing eyewitnesses to offer their own unprompted recollections.

The recollections will be most complete if the interviewer jogs the memory by first guiding people to reconstruct the setting. Have them visualize the scene and what they were thinking and feeling at the time. Even showing pictures of the setting—of, say, the store checkout lane with a clerk standing where she was robbed—can promote accurate recall (Cutler & Penrod, 1988).

After giving witnesses ample, uninterrupted time to report everything that comes to mind, the interviewer then jogs their memory with evocative questions (“Was there anything unusual about the voice? Was there anything unusual about the person's appearance or clothing?”). In this reference, Ronald Fisher et al. (1987) suggested that allow eyewitnesses to offer their own unprompted recollections and ask questions. People may be guided to reconstruct the setting for better recall (Cutler & Penrod, 1988). A statistical summary of 42 studies confirmed that the “cognitive interview” substantially increase details recalled, with no loss in accuracy (Kohnken et al., 1999).

Minimize false lineup identification:

Instructions given to eyewitnesses are also important. Identifications are most accurate when the witness is told that the suspect “may or may not” be in the lineup. Another useful strategy is that give a blank lineup to the identifiers which contains no suspects, and screens those who make false identifications.

Educate jurors:

- If the facts of a case are compelling, then jury can lay aside their biases and render a fair judgment.
- However, studies conducted in several countries show that jurors discount most of the factors which are known to influence eyewitness testimony
- A survey of 63 experts on eyewitness testimony lists the most agreed-upon phenomena to help jurors evaluate the testimony of both prosecution and defense witness:

Question wording:

An eyewitness’s testimony can be affected by how the questions are asked.

Lineup instructions

Post-event information:

Eyewitness testimony is not only affected by what they actually saw but information they obtained later on.

Accuracy vs. confidence

An eyewitness’s confidence may not be a good predictor.

Attitudes and expectation:

Eyewitness’s perception and memory of an event may be affected by his attitudes.

Other influences on Judgments

Physical attractiveness

- We have seen (in chapters of person perception and persuasion) that communicators are more persuasive if they seem credible and attractive. How jurors and judges make social judgments?
- Michael Efran (1974) asked students whether attractiveness should affect presumption of guilt. The answer was, “No, it shouldn’t”. But did it? When Efran gave other students a description of the case with a photograph of either an attractive or an unattractive defendant, they judged the most attractive as less guilty and recommended that person for the least punishment.
- Many experiments and field studies have supported these results.

Similarity to the jurors

Jurors are more sympathetic to a defendant who shares their attitudes, religion, race, or gender (Selby et al., 1977) English speaking people more likely to think the person not guilty if the defendant’s testimony was in English rather than translated form Spanish or Thai (Stephen & Stephen, 1986). Similar prejudice has been reported in psychiatry.

Readings:

- David G. Myers, D. G. (2002).

Lesson 44

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY APPLIED: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN CLINIC

Introduction:

Among the many thriving areas of applied social psychology is one that relates social psychology's concepts to depression, to other problems such as loneliness, anxiety, and physical illness, and now to happiness and well-being. This bridge-building research between social psychology and clinical psychology seeks answers to four important questions:

- As lay people or as professional psychologists, how can we improve our judgments and predictions about others?
- How can the ways in which we think about self and others feed such problems as depression, loneliness, anxiety, and ill health?
- How might these maladaptive thought patterns be reversed?
- What part do close, supportive relationships play in health and happiness?

Making clinical judgments

Social psychologists are also interested to know whether influences on our social judgment also affect clinicians' judgments of clients. If so, what biases should clinicians (and their clients) be wary of?

Is Anjum suicidal? Should Ali be admitted to a mental hospital? If released Shaukat will be a homicide risk? Facing such questions, clinical psychologists struggle to make accurate judgments, recommendations, and predictions.

Such clinical judgments are also social judgments and thus vulnerable to illusory correlations, overconfidence bred by hindsight, and self-confirming diagnoses. Professional clinicians are "vulnerable to insidious errors and biases," concludes James Maddux (1993).

Illusory correlations

The assumption here, as in so many clinical judgments, is that test results reveal something important. Some projective tests relate people's responses (e.g., drawing big ears, bushy eyebrows, pointed hands, figure without feet, etc.) with suspiciousness, hostility, anger, conflicts, insecurity, etc. Some tests are indeed predictive. Others, such as a projective test, "Draw-a-Person", has correlations far weaker than their users suppose. Why, then, do clinicians continue to express confidence in uninformative or ambiguous tests?

Pioneering experiments by Loren Chapman and Jean Chapman (1969, 1971) helped us see why. They invited both college students and professional clinicians to study some test performances and diagnoses. If the students or clinicians expected a particular association they generally perceived it, regardless of whether the data were supportive. For example, clinicians who believed that suspicious people draw peculiar eyes on the Draw-a-Person test perceived such

Hindsight bias

It has often been criticized that the clinicians are too readily convinced of their own after-the-fact analyses. If someone we know commits suicide, how do we react? One common reaction is to think that we, or those close to the person, should have been able to predict and therefore to prevent the suicide: In hindsight, we can see the suicidal signs and the pleas for help. One experiment gave people a description of a depressed person who later committed suicide. Compared to those not informed of the suicide, those told the person committed suicide were more likely to say they "would have expected" it (Goggin & Range, 1985). Moreover, if they were told of the suicide, their reactions to the victim's family were more negative. After a tragedy, an I-should-have-known-it-all- along phenomenon can leave family, friends, and therapists feeling guilty.

David Rosenhan (1973) and his seven associates provided a striking example of potential error in after-the- fact explanations. To test mental health workers' clinical insights, they each made an appointment with a different mental hospital admissions office and complained of "hearing voices." Apart from giving false names and vocations, they reported their life histories and emotional states honestly and exhibited no further symptoms. Most were diagnosed as schizophrenic and remained hospitalized for two to three weeks. Hospital clinicians then

searched for early incidents in the pseudo-patients' life histories and hospital behavior that confirmed and "explained" the diagnosis.

Rosenhan later told some staff members (who had heard about his controversial experiment but doubted such mistakes could occur in their hospital) that during the next three months one or more pseudo-patients would seek admission to their hospital. After the three months, he asked the staff to guess which of the 193 patients admitted during that time were really pseudo-patients. Of the 193 new patients, 41 were accused by at least one staff member of being pseudo-patients. Actually, there were none!

Overconfidence

A third problem with clinical judgment is that people may also supply information that fulfills clinicians' expectations. In a clever series of experiments at the University of Minnesota, Mark Snyder (1984), in collaboration with William Swann and others, gave interviewers some hypotheses to test concerning individuals' traits. Snyder and Swann found that people often test for a trait by looking for information that confirms it. If they are trying to find out if someone is an extravert, they often solicit instances of extraversion ("What would you do if you wanted to liven things up at a party?"). Testing for introversion, they are more likely to ask, "What factors make it difficult for you to really open up to people?"

Clinical versus statistical prediction

Given these hindsight- and diagnosis-confirming tendencies, it will come as no surprise that most clinicians and interviewers express more confidence in their intuitive assessments than in statistical data (such as using past grades and aptitude scores to predict success in graduate or professional college). Yet when researchers pit statistical prediction against intuitive prediction, the statistics usually win. Statistical predictions are indeed unreliable, but human intuition—even expert intuition—is even more unreliable. Three decades after demonstrating the superiority of statistical over intuitive prediction, Paul Meehl (1986) found the evidence stronger than ever.

Social cognition in problem behaviors

Negative cognitions can be related to host of problems as mentioned below:

- Social cognition and depression
- Social cognition and loneliness
- Social cognition and anxiety
- Social cognition and illness

Social cognition and depression

As we all know from experience, depressed people are negative thinkers. They view life through dark-colored glasses. With seriously depressed people—those who are feeling worthless, lethargic, uninterested in friends and family, and unable to sleep or eat normally—the negative thinking becomes self-defeating. Their intensely pessimistic outlook leads them to magnify bad experiences and minimize good ones.

- Depressive realism is the tendency of mildly depressed people to make accurate rather than self-serving judgments, attributions, and predictions.
- In over 100 studies involving 15,000 subjects, depressed people have been more likely than non depressed people to exhibit a negative explanatory style (Sweeney et al. 1986)

Is negative thinking a cause or a result of depression?

Depressed moods cause negative thinking

- Currently depressed people recall their parents as having been rejecting and punitive. But formerly depressed people recall their parents in the same positive terms as do neverdepressed people (Lewinsohn & Rosenbaum, 1987).
- Edward Hirt and his colleagues (1992) demonstrated, in a study of Indiana University basketball fans, that even a temporary bad mood induced by defeat can darken our thinking. After the fans were either depressed by watching their team lose or elated by a victory, the researchers asked them to predict the team's future performance, and their own. After a loss, people offered bleaker assessments not only of the team's future but also of their own likely performance at throwing darts, and solving anagrams. When things aren't going our way, it may seem as though they never will.

- Being depressed has cognitive and behavioral effects: A depressed mood also affects behavior. The person who is withdrawn, glum, and complaining does not elicit joy and warmth in others. Stephen Strack and James Coyne (1983) found that depressed people were realistic in thinking that others didn't appreciate their behavior. Their pessimism and bad moods trigger social rejection. Depressed behavior can also trigger reciprocal depression in others. College students who have depressed roommates tend to become a little depressed themselves. In couples, too, depression is often contagious (Katz & others, 1999).

Negative thinking causes depressed mood

- Negative explanatory style contributes to depressive reactions.
- One study monitored university students every six weeks for two and a half years (Alloy & others, 1999). Only one percent of those who began college with optimistic thinking styles had a first depressive episode, but 17 percent of those with pessimistic thinking styles did.
- "A recipe for severe depression is preexisting pessimism encountering failure," notes Martin Seligman (1991, p. 78). Patients who end therapy no longer feeling depressed but retaining a negative explanatory style tend to relapse as bad events occur (Seligman, 1992). If those with a more optimistic explanatory style relapse, they often recover quickly
- Vicious cycle of depression makes one more vulnerable to depression (see below in Figure 2)

Social cognition and loneliness

If depression is the common cold of psychological disorders, then loneliness is the headache. Loneliness, whether chronic or temporary, is a painful awareness that our social relationships are less numerous or meaningful than we desire. Jenny de Jong-Gierveld (1987) observed in her study of Dutch adults that unmarried and unattached people are more likely to feel lonely.

But loneliness need not coincide with aloneness. One can feel lonely in the middle of a party and one can be utterly alone in a room. Chronically lonely people seem caught in a vicious cycle of self-defeating social cognitions and social behaviors. When paired with a stranger of the same sex or with a first-year college roommate, lonely students are more likely to perceive the other person negatively (Wittenberg & Reis, 1986).

Adolescents experience such feelings more commonly than do adults. When beeped by an electronic pager at various times during a week and asked to record what they were doing and how they felt, adolescents more often than adults reported feeling lonely when alone (Larsen & others, 1982). Males and females feel lonely under somewhat different circumstances—males when isolated from group interaction, females when deprived of close one-to-one relationships (Berg & McQuinn). As many recently widowed people know, the loss of a person with whom one has been attached can produce unavoidable feelings of loneliness (Stroebe & others, 1996).

Shyness is a form of social anxiety characterized by self-consciousness and worry about what others think. Compared to unshy people, shy, self-conscious people (whose numbers include many adolescents) see incidental events as somehow relevant to themselves. Shown someone they think is interviewing them live (actually a videotaped interviewer), they perceive the interviewer as less accepting and interested in them (Pozo & others, 1991).

Shy, anxious people also overpersonalize situations, a tendency that breeds anxious concern and, in extreme cases, paranoia. They also overestimate the extent to which other people are watching and evaluating them. If their hair won't comb right or they have a facial blemish, they assume

everyone else notices and judges them accordingly. Moreover, shy people often are conscious of their self-consciousness. They wish they could stop worrying about blushing, about what others are thinking, or about what to say next.

Social cognition and illness

- Reactions to illness
 - Noticing symptoms
 - Explaining symptoms: Am I sick?
 - Do I need treatment?
 - Socially constructed disorders (Small & others, 1991).
- ✧ On April 13, 1989, some 2,000 spectators assembled in an Auditorium in California, USA, to enjoy music performances by 600 secondary school students. Shortly after the program began, the nervous students began complaining to one another of headaches, dizziness, stomachaches, and nausea. Eventually 247 became ill, forcing evacuation of the auditorium. A fire department treatment operation was set up on the lawn outside. Later investigation revealed nothing—no diagnosable illnesses and no environmental problems. The symptoms subsided quickly and were not shared by the audience. The instant epidemic, it seemed, was socially constructed.
- Emotions and illness
 - Heart disease has been linked with a competitive, impatient, and—the aspect that matters—anger-prone personality (Matthews, 1988). Under stress, reactive, anger-prone "Type A" people secrete more of the stress hormones believed to accelerate the buildup of plaque on the walls of the heart's arteries.
 - Optimism and health:
 - Link between optimism & later good health (Peterson et al., 1988): In 1946 Harvard University students were assessed for optimism, and in 1980 they were reassessed. The results showed a link between early optimism and later health.
 - A link between optimism and immunity to common illnesses, like cold, sore throat, and flu has been identified (Scheier & Carver, 1991).
 - Stress and illness
 - People who undergo highly stressful experiences become more vulnerable to disease
 - The death of a spouse, the stress of a space flight landing, even the strain of an exam week have all been associated with depressed immune defenses (Jemmott & Locke, 1984)
 - Explanatory style and illness
 - As defined earlier, negative and pessimistic explanatory styles are related with poor outcomes in mental and physical health.

Social-psychological approaches to treatment

Inducing internal change through external behavior

Consistent with this attitudes-follow-behavior principle, several psychotherapy techniques prescribe action. Behavior therapists try to shape behavior and assume that inner dispositions will tag along after the behavior changes. Assertiveness training employs the foot-in-the-door procedure. The individual first role-plays assertiveness in a supportive context, then gradually becomes assertive in everyday life. Rational-emotive therapy assumes that we generate our own emotions; clients receive "homework" assignments to talk and act in new ways that will generate new emotions.

Breaking vicious cycles

If depression, loneliness, and social anxiety maintain themselves through a vicious cycle of negative experiences, negative thinking, and self-defeating behavior, it should be possible to break the cycle at any of several points—by changing the environment, by training the person to behave more constructively, by reversing negative thinking. Several different therapy methods help free people from depression's vicious cycle.

Engaging in Social skills training

Depression, loneliness, and shyness are not just problems in someone's mind. To be around a depressed person for any length of time can be irritating and depressing. As lonely and shy people suspect, they may indeed come across poorly in social situations. In these cases, social skills training may help. By observing and then practicing new behaviors in safe situations, the person may develop the confidence to behave more effectively in other situations.

Explanatory style therapy

The vicious cycles that maintain depression, loneliness, and shyness can be broken by social skills training, by positive experiences that alter self-perceptions, and by changing negative thought patterns. Some people have social skills, but their experiences with hypercritical friends and family have convinced them they do not. For such people it may be enough to help them reverse their negative beliefs about themselves and their futures. Among the cognitive therapies with this aim is an explanatory style therapy proposed by social psychologists.

One such program taught depressed college students to change their typical attributions. Mary Anne Layden (1982) first explained the advantages of making attributions more like those of the typical nondepressed person (by accepting credit for successes and seeing how circumstances can make things go wrong). After assigning a variety of tasks, she helped the students see how they typically interpreted success and failure. Then came the treatment phase: Layden instructed each person to keep a diary of daily successes and failures, noting how they contributed to their own successes and noting external reasons for their failures. When retested after a month of this attributional retraining and compared with an untreated control group, their self-esteem had risen and their attributional style had become more positive. And the more their explanatory style improved, the more their depression lifted. By changing their attributions, they had changed their emotions.

Maintaining change through internal attributions for success

- Once improvement is achieved, it endures best if people attribute it to factors under their own control rather than to a treatment program.
- More recent focus less on the therapist than on how the interaction affects the client's thinking (Neimeyer et al., 1991)
- The thoughtful central route to persuasion provides the most enduring attitude and behavior change.

Social support and well-being

There is one other major topic in the social psychology of mental and physical well-being. Supportive close relationships—feeling liked, affirmed, and encouraged by intimate friends and family—predict both health and happiness. However, relationships are associated with both – stress and happiness.

- Our relationships are fraught with stress.
- "Hell is others," wrote Jean-Paul Sartre
- Still, on balance, close relationships contribute less to illness than to health and happiness.